THE PANAMA MASSACRE.

IMPORTANT AND INTERESTING DOCUMENT.

Report of the United States Commissioner.

EVIDENCE TAKEN AT PANAMA.

Mr. Corwine's Advice to Seize the Isthmus.

PANAMA, Friday, July 18, 1856.

SIN: After a careful, thorough, and impartial investigation into the facts and circnmstances connected with the massacre of American citizens, and the pillage and destruction of their property at and near the Railroad Station, in the immediate vicinity of Panama, on the night of the 15th April, 1856, I have the honor to submit herewith my

REPORT.

I am directed to inquire:

First-As to how the affair commenced, and who began it? and to detail as minutely as possible the successive steps in the riot.

Second-Was the assault upon the Railroad Station and citizens of the United States, and the robbery and destruction of their property, unpremeditated? or was it made in pursuance of a previous arrangement?

Third-Was there any hostile feeling on the part of the natives or residents of Panama against citizens of the United States? and if so, how did it originate? Was it occasioned by any improper conduct of persons passing through Panama to and from the steamers, on any occasion anterior to that of 15th April? Fourth-Did the authorities of Panama fail in their duty to suppress the riot? and if so, was this occasioned by the confusion of the scene, or was it intentional on their part? And first, as to the origin of the affair, I have to state that the depositions of the several witnesses on this head,-those for instance sworn to and subscribed before the United States Consul at this place, and the Vice-Consul at Aspinwall, on the one hand, and those before the local authorities of Panama on the other hand, slightly conflict with each other,-not so much as to the facts,-but more especially owing to the confused and obscure manner in which the Spanish testimony is given, and its not being as full as was to have been expected, in view of the deplorable event to which it refers. But the accompanying certificates and affidavits of parties of the highest respectability, marked A, B, C, as to the respective characters of these witnesses, for veracity &c., which I found it necessary to take, in order to arrive at the truth, will enable you also to form a just estimate of the relative value of their statements. The only witnesses whose evidence bears directly upon the origin of the affair, and who took no part therein, are ROBERT LAKE, DENNIS SHANNON, DAVID FIGHER, and JAMES MCALUR, all citizens of the United They were in the employ of the Panama States. Railroad Company, engaged in the construction of an iron launch for the use of the Company, at the place where the disturbance first commenced. It appears that McALUR, one of the deponents, interposed to prevent trouble between the two parties with whom the difficulties originated. With this exception they took no part in the affair whatever. They substantially state that about 6 o'clock, or 616 o'clock on the evening of 15th April, 1856, they came out of the mess-house of the Railroad Company together from supper, and were standing on the bridge near the Iron launch; that whilst there, they saw two Amercans, one of whom was apparently intoxicated, approaching the bridge (near the Iron launch) followed by a negro, who had a large knife in his hand, and who was demanding a dime of one of the Americans in payment of a watermelon; that the negro spoke English and used violent language towards the American party; that the demand for the dimo was made on the intoxicated passenger, and that his companion in order to appease the negro, paid him the dime but that the negro still continued to use insulting lan guage, brandishing his knife as if to intimidate the passengers; that the intoxicated passenger then drew a pistol, but upon being remonstrated with by other passengers, he was about putting it into his pocket, without firing it, or making any other use of t: that whilst in the act of replacing the weapon in his pantaloons' pocket, a light-colored native stepped forward, seized the pistol, and taking it from the passenger, fired it at him; that the shot did not hit the passenger, but singed one of the deponents. DENNIS SHANNON, who was standing close by; that no shots were fired by any of the passengers at the time; that the negro and the native who fired the pistol immediately afterwards, ran towards the huts in the Cienaga, and shortly returned with three other natives, armed with machettes; that these natives, after cursing and using other violent and exciting language, retired to the Cienaga; that very soon after a large crowd of negroes, armed with stones, machettes, and other weapons, came down from the huts and commenced an attack on McFarland's Hotel (the Pacific House) and the Ocean House. This testimony is clear, direct, and positive, showing conclusively that the first hostile demonstration, by the actual discharge of a loaded pistol at an American citizen, with evident intent to kill, was committed by a colored man, resident of Panama. And, as the deponents were eye-witnesses of, and not parties to, the transaction, their evidence should be received as conclusive. The next testimony, on this head, is that taken by the local authorities of Panama. And as it accompanies the Governor's official account of the affair o 15th April, addressed to the Ministers of Foreign Af fairs at Bogota, it is fair to infer that it is all this Gov ernment has to offer in palliation or justification o the conduct of those of its citizens and officials who so brutally murdered our unarmed and unoffending countrymen on the night in question. At least, it is all that has been published in the official Gazette of this place. The first witness is JOSE MANUEL LUNA, a colored man, a native of Parita, a town in the interior of this Isthmus, and who was at the time a resident of Panama, who states that he washin the Cienaga, on the night of the 15th of April, 1856; that three or four Americans, a little drunk, came to where he was, and one of them took a slice of watermelon, asking how much it was worth? that he, deponent, told him that the price was a real (dime.) That then the American commenced eating it, and, before finishing it, threw it on the ground, and turned away. That the deponent followed him, demanding the real; that the American said, "don't bother me," to which the deponent replied, "take eare, that here we are not in the United States-payme my real and it will be all right;" that all this was said in English, and that to these remonstrances the American said he "would pay with a pistol shot," at the same time putting his hand on his pistol. Deponent then said "if you have your pistol, I have my dagger also, and I also put my hand on it." That at this point he, deponent, met MIGUEL HABRAHAN, and that he, HABRAHAN, put his hand upon the barrel of the American's pistol, when he, the American was about to fire on the deponent; that then another American, who, according to the belief of deponent, was a passenger, took a real and paid for the slice of melon; that then the deponent turned away, convinced that the matter was settled; that whilst he was proceeding to his place, "he heard a shot, and, upon looking round, saw MIGUEL HABRAHAN struggling with the American who fired directly at said HADRAHAN; that the struggle resulted in MIGUEL HABRAHAN falling to the ground, and the Americans, above-mentioned, falling on him; that said MIGUEL HABRAHAN got up with the pistol in hand, went off, followed by the Americans to the centre of the Cienaga, where the row then hecame goneral." This testimony by no means proves that the shot was fired by the American. For example, the deponent states that he "heard a shot," and according to his own statement, immediately preceding, that "he had turned away, convinced that the matter was settled," it is to be inferred that he did not see the American fire the pistol, and his subsequent assertion. therefore, that "on looking round" after he "heard" the shot, he saw HADRAHAN struggling with the American, who fired directly at said HABRAHAN." should be received with caution, if not discredit; for it will be perceived that he does not positively state he saw the American fire the shot; but states it in such manner as if it were a fact taken for granted. If hi evidence proves anything, it goes to corroborate th statement of ROBERT LAKE, DENNIS SHANNON, DAVID FISHER and JAS. MCALUR, that HABRAHAN fired th shot, as he evidently is the native referred to in thei affidavit, who wrested the pistol from the American for LUNA distinctly says that HABRAHAN had th pistol in his hand when he got up from the scuffle and went off. The next witness who deposed before the local authorities, is SABASTIAN DIAZ, a negro, who is notorious for having obtained in a great many instances,

considerable sums of money under false pretencer, from Americans crossing the Isthmus, prior to the completion of the railroad, and for which offence he was arrested and imprisoned at my own instance, during my term of office as United States Consul at this port.

His crime consisted in his hiring mules to our countrymen, exacting payment in advance, and absconding with the money without furnishing the mules. The accompanying affidavit, marked D, fully sets forth his character. He states in his testimony that the dispute arose between a native woman and an American passenger about a pincapple, and for which he learned the American refused to pay; that the woman called to her assistance a certain man named MIGUEL HABRAHANS; that the American having refused either to pay for or return the pineapple, insulting words passed between them; that the deponent endeavored to retire, because he saw all the Americans congregating together, he feared trouble; that having got a little away from where he was, he heard a pistol shot, and was told it had been fired upon MIGUEL HABRAHANS.

This is the substance of all SABABTIAN DIAZ deposes to having reference to the origin of the disturbance; and as his testimony consists in what he heard and what he was told, it amounts to nothing, even if his character wore unimpeachable. It differs, however, in one respect, from the statement of Jose MANUEL LUNA. The latter states that the dispute arose between himself and the American about a slice of watermelon, whilst DIAZ says that it was between a native woman and the American, and about a pineapple.

I now have to speak of MIGUEL HABRAHAN, and of his testimony, the last witness who deposed before the local authorities of this place, respecting the origin of the difficulty on the 15th April, and who figured so conspicuously in the affair. He, too, is a colored. man, and it will, perhaps, be well to state here, that about four days after the massacre, which I affirm in view of the evidence, was the result of his rashness, he fled the country, conscious, doubtless, of his guilt, and justly apprehensive that his crime would meet with speedy punishment. Ile states that he was passing through the Cienaga when the dispute was going on between MIGUEL LUNA and the American; that he observed the American had a pistol in his hand; that when the dime was paid to LUNA, and he was returning to his stall where he was selling, he, the deponent, told the American to put up his pistol; that in place of doing this he discharged it at deponent, who, having liberated himself, grappled with the American; this resulted in the other Americans, who were with him, falling upon deponent; that as soon as he, deponent, could do so, he took away the pistol from the American, and ran off from amongst them; they followed him; that he got out of their way, &c., &c. It is perfectly clear to my mind with the evidences of LARE, FISHER, SAUNNON and MCALUE before me, that this man HABBAHAN, fired the first shot. If he did not wish to have a difficulty with the Americans, why did he remain behind after LUNA, who had received pay for his slice of melon, and who expressed himself satisfied, or rather that he was convinced the matter was settled, turned away? He stands convicted by his own testimony when he says that he first liberated himself" before he "grappled with the Americans !" He fails to state from what or when he "liberated himself." This deficiency in his testimony, however, is happily supplied by Messrs. LAKE, FISHER, and SHAN-NON, and MCALUR, all of whom it will be recollected, were disinterested, having taken no part in the quarrel or fight. They all swear most positively that, whilst the intoxicated American, who had the dispute with LUNA, was in the act of replacing the pistol in his pantaloons pocket, before it had been fired, a, light colored native stepped forward, seized the pistol, and taking it from the passenger, fired it at him. This could have been no other person. than HABRAHAN, as LUNA himself testifies to his having the American's pistol in his hand when he saw him on the ground, &c., &c. Aside from the discrepancy in HABRAMAN'S testimony, it is the universal opinion of respectable forcigners residing in Panama, that he is notoriously a bad character, and that no faith or credit should be given to his statement. By the accompanying certificate, marked, of Mr. PACHICO, a highly respectable native citizen of the country, and who is a lawyer by profession, as well as practice, showing what HABRA. HAN admitted to others, it will be seen that he played the very part in the commencement of the disturbance, as described by LAKE, FISHEE, SHANNON and MCALUR, to wit: that he fired the pistol at the American who had the dispute with LUNA relative to the piece of melon. I have thus noticed as fully and completely as possible all the facts and circumstances bearing on the origin of the difficulty, and shall now proceed to introduce the testimony of other native witnesses who have deposed before the local authorities of Panama, bearing on the successive steps of the riot. The following names comprise all the natives who have thus deposed : PEDRO OBAMO Y PEREZ, JOSE M. BORBUA, JOSE M. RODRIGUEZ and JUAN MERCADO. PEDRO OBAMO Y PEREZ states that he met at the Plaza of Santa Aua, about 6 o'clock, P. M., April 15, a group of his countrymen, some of whom were armed, and on asking them what the matter was, he was told, " another 19th of May"that on hearing several musket shots in the direction of the Cienaga, he went thither; that upon arriving there, he saw a multitude of his countrymen in front of the Railroad Station, but that not one of them was able to get by or pass the bridge, where copper launches were in course of construction, as apparently from the Company's buildings a constant fire was kept up on them from among the window blinds; that some of those who were there had arms, but not firearms; that from time to time the alarm produced by the damages caused by the shots from the Company's buildings became greater, without, however, obliging them to quit their post, which they maintained, notwithstanding they took no offensive measures against the Company's buildings; that soon he was joined by his brother, whom he dispatched for the Governor; that when the Governor arrived, he tried in vain to find out the origin of what he was witnessing-"be cause, to every question he put, he was replied to, now by showing him a wounded native of the country, now by informing him of the death of another, now by asking for arms to repel force by force;" that he got separated from the Governor ; that, finally, among the houses in the Cienaga owned by Americans, he fell in with the Governor again; that when he saw the Governor about to follow the U.S. Consul's Secretary, he, deponent, accompanied him; that he saw three men fire revolvers; that he received a slight shot a little below the left groin. Fearing his wound was serious, he left. This PEDRO OBAMO Y PEREZ, it appears, by the testimony of RAN RUNNELS, sworn to before the United States Consul at this place, was one of the leading spirits who incited the mob to deeds of blood and plunder, for Mr. RAN RUNNELS states most positively that Mr. OBAMO Y PEREZ addressed inflammatory appeals to them, and furnished them with a keg of powder which he had dispatched his brother to town for. and which was purchased of PEREZ, PLANAS & Co. It. thus appears that, instead of sending his brother for the Governor, as he avers, he sent him for powder with which to supply the mob-and oven if he did depute his brother to request the Governor to repair to the Cienaga-it was not done with the view of suppressing the disturbance, but rather to encourage it. For Mr. RUNNELS further states that he was present at the Cienaga when ORAMO Y PEREZ made a speech shortly after the Governor arrived on the ground, in which he urged that functionary to open the Park and let the natives arm themselves. It is a little singular that the dreadful fire he alleges to have come from the Railroad station did not kill more of the "multitude," (mob,) for it is not a likely story that the Americans, who are generaly skilled in the use of firearms, would have fired in such force as he alleges, with such little effect. The official report states that there were only two killed during the whole affair. And we have positive evidence that they were killed by a wounded American, who was pursued by them from one of the hotels, as he was endeavoring to escape from the mob. JUAN MERCADO, a native of the country, and LAKE, a citizen of the United States, testify to this fact. A large number of witnesses of the highest credibility state most positively that there was no firing from the Station buildings, while the few who do admit there were a few shots fired from that quarter, all concur in saying they were made in self-defence, and were of so feeble a character as to amount to nothing serious, as the natives were at too great distance from the Station-house, prior to the attack on that building, to have been affected by any shots fired from it. This is the testimony of men who were engaged in restraining the passengers from leaving the station when they had been appealed to, to go to the Cienaga, outside the railroad station inclosure, to rescue their countrymen who were being murdered by the infuriated mob, while the testimony of PEDRO OBAMO, be it remembered, is that of a man who was actively employed in urging the mob on to acts of murder, and supplying them with materials with which to destroy life. It is also a little singular that neither PEDRO OBAMO Y PEREZ nor any of the native witnesses who deposed before the authorities of Panama, with the exception of JUAN MERCADO, make any mention of the murder of our defenceless people in the hotels, and the pillage of three establishments by the mob, "his countrymon," as he is. pleased to call them. The shot of which he, OBAMO Y PEREZ, speaks of having received in the region of the grom, was doubtless, if fired (of which there is no positive proof) by an American, was done in self-defence, as nearly all the testimony taken goes to show that those of our countrymen who were in and near the hotel, situated in the Cienaga, where PEDRO OBAMO Y PEREZ was at the time, had either goue there to rescue their families. or had been surprised and surrounded by the mob. and had to make their way out the best way they could. As this man, PEDRO OBAMO Y PEREZ, Was a prominent participator in the the riot, if not the leading instigator of it, no importance or credit whatever should be attached to his testimony, except that in one particular it corroborates the testimony of other witnesses who were with the Governor at the time he alleges to have received a shot in his hat; a point at least three hundred yards from the station-house, and from which it would have been impossible for him to have seen that building, or any one in it to have seen him. JOSE M. BORBUA, who next testifies, says but little, and as his testimony, in reference to the most important facts, consists principally in what he heard, it would be a waste of time to recapitulate what he says. The next witness, JOSE M. RODRIGUEZ, states that when he arrived at the scene of the disturbance he found the Governor in the midst of a great tumult, trying to restrain the disorder. At the time when Mr. THEODOBE SABLA, U. S. Consul's Secretary, arrived to speak to the Governor, that he, together with PEDRO OBAMO Y PEREZ, in pursuance of an invitation, accompanied or followed the Governor; that when they had almost reached the house, where the foreigners had

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fortified themselves. Mr. SABLA advanced a step in front and said the Governor was there; that these words were said in English that they might not fire that notwithstanding this, five shots were discharged at them; that from this fire Mr. SABLA and Mr OBANO Y PERE: were wounded, and the Governor's hat was perforated with a ball: that after proceeding to the beach with his wounded friend, he returned to the place of the disorder: that while passing through one of the bye streets some woman cried out to him, "Sir, don't proceed, because the people have become infuriated on hearing that Mr. OBAMO has been wounded, and, as you are dressed like a foreigner. they may kill you ;" that on arriving at the theatre of disorder, he understood that a part of the police was in the Plaza of Santa Ana; he ran there in search of them ; that from thence he came with them. and several gentlemen by the side of the railroad that goes from the bridge to the beach; that on deponent's arrival at the office of the Company, Mr. GARBHDO, Chief of Police, occupied it: that it was simultaneously invaded, also, by the populace, and then commenced a frightful disorder, which those who wished to oppose it were unable to restrain, but they were enabled to prevent the burning of the Company's house, and saved more than one hundred passengers whose death would have been inevitable. This witness fails to state what house the "foreigners had fortified themselves in." If he means the stationhouse, his statement is at variance with the testimony of every witness who was in that building, and whose opportunity for knowing what was going on there was much greater than his. If he refers to the " Pacific House." there is abundant evidence to prove that at the time Mr. SABLA was shot there were no Americans in that house, or any other hotel in that immediate vicinity, as those that were not killed and wounded had sought refuge in the Railroad station or its inclosure. It will, perhaps, be well to remerk at this point, that the "fortifications" to which this and other native witnesses refer are three-quarter inch white pine weather boarding-this being the material with which the Railroad buildings and hotels are made l

Mr. THEODORE SABLA denies one or two statements made by Jose RODBIGUEZ, and explains where he was when he received the shot in his leg. He says :

"I did not announce, at that moment, either in English or in any other way, the approach of the Governor, and consequently a volley could not have been fired at us by way of reply, and much less from the door of the station of the railroad, as we were, as I have said, at a distance from the office, being in front, more or less, of the "Pacific Eating House" when I left the Governor. When I received the wonnd which I have got. I was alone in ti principal street, between the house of MOALLASTER and the "Pacific Eating House," and it was not by a volley but by accident in the firing that took place between a party of the people of the country, that had taken up a a position further up than we were, and some strangers who were near the house of MCALLASTER.'

gistered; of these I think from fifty to seventy were women and children.

Some few passengers were in and about the hotels and refreshment stands outside, but adjacent to the railroad station. Of these, some were waiting their chance to get to the ticket office: others were eating, drinking, &c.

Some few women and children were in these hotels. whose husbands and protectors were at the ticket-office, attending to the registry of their tickets.

Many outside people were standing at various points within the railroad grounds, witnessing the embarkation of passengers, &c., &c. Among these were Sr. Manuel Diez, in company with Mr. Ran Runnells, Madame Ansoatigue, and another native lady; the British Consul and daughter: the wife of Rev. J. Rowell, (American Minister at Panama.) with her father, and many of the Cortes' passengers, waiting in the city for transit to Aspinwall, together with other strangers and many residents, both foreign and native.

Some of the above were present at the beginning of the riot. The rest, I believe, left the ground just previous to it.

As far as I had observed, the passengers were of a respectable class, and orderly. I saw up to this time no drunkenness: I saw during the entire night one drunken man; he was a passenger, and was sitting on the steps leading up the railroad platform from the Bay; he was firing a revolver in the air; this was after the commencement of the riot, but before any shots had been fired into or from the Railroad Station, to the best of my knowledge and belief; I made him desist, representing that his act but increased the confusion, without doing good.

At about 6 P. M., on the evening in question, (15th inst.,) the preceding statement gives the general condition of affairs in and about the Railroad Station.

At this time, while standing on the pier with Mesara, Center and Nelson, I heard the report of a fire-arm, which appeared to come from a spot outside, but near to the gate of the Railroad Station ; it was followed almost instantly by shouting and hallooing from the direction.

A moment after the report of the fire-arm, I saw a na tive man come to the beach, close to the shed covering the iron scow, (in course of erection by the Railroad Company,) and run along the same towards the city: I followed him with my eye until he passed behind the icehouse of Mr. Johnson, a distance. I suppose, of about 400 yards; a few minutes after I lost sight of this native, I heard a bell in the city ring an alarm, and immediately thereafter I saw large crowds coming towards the Railread Station.

From the time I heard the report of the fire-arm until saw these crowds collecting, I think not more that ten minutes elaused.

From the time I heard the said report of a fire-arm until [heard a noise, which proved to be an assault on the hotels adjacent to the Railroad Station, I think not more than five minutes clapsed.

Upon hearing the fire-arm report above referred to. 1 sent the Captain of the steamer Taboga to ascertain what he matter was. He soon returned, and informed me that a dispute had arisen between a vendor at one of the refreshment stands and a drunken passenger, during which one shot from a revolver had been fired, but by which party he did not know.

By the time this report was made to me, the crowds, before referred to, were in plain view from the pier moving

selves. It was a moment of intense excitement. The interposition of the constituted authorities of the country had been invoked. Trusty messengers had been dispatched for the police, with the request, as it will appear, to repair quickly to the Railroad Station to defend it and other property there, as well as the lives of the American passengers against the assaults of the infuriated mob. This is a very important stage of the proceedings, as it involves the question as to the complicity of the Governor, Chief of Police and others of the authorities.

Capt. McLane very graphically describes what followed. He says:

"Not a sound went from the Station. doubtless each person there felt that dreadful scenes of massacre, rapine, and plunder were inevitable, unless the authorities of the country could be brought and interposed between the reckless and maddened rioters and their innocent, unarmed and defenceless victims.

At this moment the long listened for sound of the bug note was heard, bringing relief to many an aching heart we congratulated each other, and in a moment more would have been outside of the inclosure to welcome our deliverers, when there was poured into the Station a heavy volley of musketry, accompanied with savage shouts for blood this volley was quickly followed by others: the dreadfu reality came upon us that the police had joined the mob in a moment, the police, headed by Col. Garrido, had crossed the clear space between the Cienaga and Station-Houses, and from under the windows of the Ticket Office

and Freight Room, commenced firing into them. At the same time the outside mob, with some of the police in company, entered the Station from the west end along the track, firing through it to clear the way, and broke into the various rooms, machetts in hand, and began their work of murder and plunder.

When the police attacked the Station-house, I fell back behind the old mess house in company with the gentlemen already named. Upon consideration, we determined to make an effort to return to the city, find and bring back the Governor, as the only way the *terrible massacre* could be stopped."

As it appears from several witnesses, the Chief of Police among the rest, and the Governor's own admission in his dispatch to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs at Bogota, the attack on the Station by the police was made in pursuance of his (the Governor's) orders.

When the police took possession of the Station Capt. McLane, accompanied by the gentlemen named. then proceeded to the city in quest of the Governor, who, it was understood, had left the Cienaga. After some delay and trouble he and Mr. Nelson succeeded in finding him, and brought him to accompany them to the ground and stop the massacre that would inevitably result from the joint attack of the police and mob upon the unarmed and defenceless pas sengers. He finally consented. But the order he had previously given to fire upon and occupy the Station was strictly carried out by the brutal wretches who composed his Police force-nearly every person in the Station-house having been brutally massacred by them and the mob of which they formed a part. The Governor was remiss if not culpable, in other respects. as appears by the affidavit of MCLEAN, WILSON and others. After they had returned from the city, the former states: " At this time I was informed that a party on the beach had a cannon loaded and aimed at the Taboga, which they were going to fire. Mr. Nelson explained this to the Governor; he proceeded to the spot designated, and there found a small iron cannon trained on the Taboga: the person in charge of it was Dolores Urriola; the Governor told him to have it removed, which the said Urriola refused to do, saying that it belonged to him: The Govern or told him if he fired into the Taboga he would kil some Panama ladies who Mr. Nelson had informed him were on board of her. Upon this the said Urriola pledged himself that it should not be fired, though he positively refused to have it removed from the ground : I recognized one of the Cassanova's among those standing about this cannon While the Governor was interfering to prevent the cannon from being fired. I saw several natives bring to the beach, close to us, a black trunk, which, within a few feet of his Excellency, they were endeavoring to break open. I did not see the Governor interfere to prevent this." This brings us to the second question, as to wheth or the assault on the Railroad Station and citizens of the United States, and the robbery and destruction of the property, was unpremeditated or made in pursuance of a previous arrangement. A large number of credible witnesses, who have resided long on this Isthmus, and with whom I am personally acquainted, and to whose statements due faith and credit should be attached, depose on this head a William Nelson, a citizen of the United States, and for the last seventeen years a resident of Panama. having been interrogated by me, deposed as fallows: He believes it must have been premeditated, judging from the tolling of the bell of Santa Aña, which seemed to be a signal, as immediately afterwards a crowd of armed men. who evidently assembled in response this signal, came down and attacked the hotels and passengers. Mr. David M. Corwine, a citizen of the United States, an attaché of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's Office, and who has resided in Panama since January 1850. being interrogated in like manner, says: He thinks that the natives had been preparing to attack the passengers and property of American citizens for some time previous to 15th April last, for the purpose of pillage, and would have carried out their intenonswithout provocation. The disturbance between the native and passenger relative to the point, precipitated their action. They eagerly siezed the opportunity offered, and under cover of the approaching night, began and ended the work of pillage and slaughter. From the slight provocation given, and the quickness with which the armed mob assembled and commenced the attack upon the hotels in the Cienaga without cause, he thinks the affair was the result of preconcerted action, and he fully believes that the assault on the Railroad Station at a later hour of the same evening, by the police and mob, was

tainly neither could nor would justify the massacre of. 15th April last.

Arthur Mackenzie, a subject of Great Britain, next deposes and saith: That there has always been bad feeling on the part of the negro population against the Americans crossing the Isthmus, and that there have already been several fights with them on the beach at the time of landing or embarking, which was caused by the conduct of both parties; some of the passengers when drunk being insulting to the blacks, and the latter, on the other hand, disposed to overcharge and otherwise impose upon the passengers. Any col. lision between them might at all times have been prevented. had the authorities used the slightest effort to preserve order by keeping a small police force on the spot at such times. He further thinks that an ill feel. ing has been created among the negroes, owing to the fact that the Railroad Company had made a demand on the General Government for that part of the suburbs of the city known as the Cienaga, and which is inhabited by this class, and from which they feared they would be driven without compensation. Also by reason of the opening of the railroad, and use of the steamer Taboga having thrown many of them out of remunerative employment which they previously en.

joyed. T. B. Williams, a conductor on the railroal, states that from the completion of the railroad from Aspinwall to Panama, he has invariably considered a hostile feeling existed against the interest of the Railroad Company and American citizens generally, residing on the Isthmus. He has always noticed for some time past an ill feeling from a large portion of the Paname. nos against all foreigners, transient as well as resident and from appearances, a tendency to create disturbances and cause litigation, whenever they could conveniently do so. Persons in transit and resident foreigners have invariably acted fairly, candidly and hon. estly to the Panamenos and natives of the country. paying for what they received, and often treble it value.

Frederick Ansoutigue, a native citizen of Panama being interrogated by me, saith : that he has heard bad feeling expressed by some of the colored population against Americans, arising out of the conduct of disso lute persons crossing the Isthmus; but no such ex pressions has he ever heard from the respectable portion of the population.

Samuel K. Holman, an employe of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, saith: Judging from the rudeness of the native population towards the Americans. he thinks that an ill feeling existed, which appears to have originated partly on account of many of them being thrown out of employment by the opening of the Railroad : he has seen passengers acting imprudently towards the natives at times. but in no way to justify an attack upon them, such as that of 15th April: the conduct of Americans and other passengers generally. has always been orderly and peaceable; he has had the best of opportunities of seeing how passengers conduct themselves, having been in the employment of the Steamship Company for many years; that he has never known the life of a native to have been taken by an American, nor has he ever seen an American use a deadly weapon towards a native. I now come to the fourth and most important ques. tion Did the authorities of Panama fail in their duty and if so, was this occasioned by the confusion of the scene, or was it intentional on their part? Every witness to whom I have propounded this questionwithout a single exception-have answered most directly and positively in the affirmative to the first clause—all stating that the authorities did fail to sup press the riot. And as to the reasons assigned for this failure, I will allow the witnesses to speak for themselves. William Nelson states that the authorities did fai to auell the riot : he does not think that when the Governor came on the ground, he intended attacking the passengers, but that, after his arrival, he was alarmed and frightened into giving the order to the police to advance and fire upon the Station : and that this alarm was occasioned by his finding himself in the midst of the negroes of the Cienaga, most of whom are said to be his personal enemies. This deponent states from what has been reported to him and not from personal knowledge. He knows that the Governor armed the people of the country on the morning of 15th April. When they went inside the walled part of the city. and demanded arms, and that on the following morning a report being spread that men were coming from Aspinwall, the Governor gave an order to a body of negroes for one hundred muskets. which order was taken away from them by Ex-Governor Manuel M Diaz, in the presence of witness. The attack of the authorities, that is, of the police upon the Station, was unprovoked. The Governor and polico had been sent for by the Agent of the Railroad and Steamship Companies to quiet the riot which occurred previous to the attack on the Station, and massacre of the passengers. Prior to the arrival of the police every thing was quiet at the Station; there was no firing: the riot was over, but the natives were momen tarily expected to return, by the people of the railroad and passengers, who were all anxiously awaiting the arrival of the police to protect them. When the police arrived, they marched down to within two hundred feet of the Station House, and without givin notice of any kind, they commenced firing as fast as they could. Deponent saw them, but did not know they were the police, but supposed they were part of the mob. There was no firing from the Station House. and had the police, instead of firing upon the people there, marched up to the building, they would have been hailed as deliverers. Deponent wishes to make a distinction between the riot among the passengers and natives, and the subsequent organized attack by the authorities and police on the Station House, which resulted in the massacre. The first had ceased for at least an hour, and evcrything was quiet at the Station House, when the police and mob jointly attacked it The first was a riot of mob against mob. the latter an organized massacre by the order of the Governor, com mitted by the police and mob together. In no instance did the police fire upon the armed natives. The at tack was made solely on the defenceless passengers and the firing by the police on the Station House ceased when the mob broke into it. David M. Corwine states that the authorities signally failed to suppress the riot: they made no attempt to do so. Had they performed their duty when first arriving on the ground, the riot would have been quelled in the Cienaga, where it began, and had in a great mea sure ended, and the terrible murders in the Railroad Station would never have been committed. But, without provocation or cause, they assaulted the Station. from which not a shot was fired, to my knowledge,and I had good opportunity for judging, never having left my position at the gate of the Station, from the commencement of the original disturbance until th police and mob had possession of the buildings and grounds. Every thing was quiet, and, in my opinion nothing occurred after their arrival to superinduce the necessity of the attack as made by them on the defenceless men, women and children in the Station. He does not believe that the confusion of the scene mis directed the efforts of the authorities to quell the riotas he before states, no attempt was made by them to this end, unless the attack on the Station and subsequent murders might be so termed. Two attacks were made,—the first, immediately after the row about the fruit, was directed by a mob of natives against the ho tels in the Cienaga, then filled by passengers, the ma jority of whom were women and children. This last ed, as near as he can judge, about an hour or more and then ceased, in a measure. About twenty minutes, or perhaps longer, after the termination of this attack, an organized assault was made by the police and the mob on the Station of the Panama Railroad It was in this last attack that most of the murdered passengers received their death wounds, at the hand of the police, and so many were seriously injured. Frederick Ansoatigue, whom I have previously noticed as a highly respectable native-born citizen Panama, states that the only action of any kind on the part of the authorities which he saw, was the firing on the station by the Police! not being in position to observe, he did not see any of the higher officials. He thinks the Police in firing upon the Sta tion acted without provocation. He witnessed the assault upon the Pacific and other houses adjoining and afterwards on the Railroad Station. The assau commenced on the Pacific House about six o'clock and on the Railroad Company about eight o'clock The first attack was made exclusively by the mob prior to the appearance of any of the authorities. Th attack on the Railroad Station was made after the arrival of the Police, and by them and the mob, he saw none of the higher officials taking part in it. Samuel K. Holman states that there was no attempt

and prevented the loss of property by the Railroad and Steamship Companies; they could have prevented the natives from tearing up the track and cutting down the telegraph wires ; and they could have sent men on the road, to prevent any attack on the Express train which was momentarily expected.

Two other witnesses. Captain Alexander McLane and Moses Brinkerhoff, the latter a Conductor on the Railroad, stated substantially the same, as to the part borne by the Governor, Chief of Police and those under his command, as the above witnesses.

Arthur McKenzie, not being in a position to observe what attempt the authorities made to quell the mob. could state nothing positive thereto. But he, Captain McLane and Mr. Brinkerhoff, all concur in saying that there were two distinct attacks in the manner already described by the other witnesses.

Captain McLane and Mr. Brinkerhoff's testimony on this head, I shall omit quoting, as it would amount to a recapitulation of the facts set forth in the foregoing statements. I shall therefore close the testimony of witnesses who deposed before me, by giving the statement of Arthur McKenzie, with regard to the number of attacks made on the passengers, &c., during the night of the 15th April last. I give it because it differs somewhat from the others in one particular. He says there were two attacks, the first by the negrocs, immediately around the station, made on the Pacific and Ocean Hotels, and McAllister's store. The second on the station by the people who arrived afterwards and joined them. He supposes fifteen minutes had elapsed between the first and second attacks. In the second attack the police fired upon the station, and the negroes came round the rear of the station on the Railroad track when he left. Before the arrival of the police there were a few shots fired from the station, but not such as to warrant tho attack upon the station. These shots, he believes, were made more with the view of frightening the negroes than of doing any actual harm, as an evidence of which only two negroes have been reported as killed during the entire riot.

The only particular in which Mr. McKenzie's stat >ment differs from the other witnesses, is where he says there were a few shots fired from the station before the police arrived, whilst the other witnesses who have deposed on the subject, Messrs. Nelson, David M. Corwine, Frederick Ansoatigue, Edward Allen and T. B. Williams, all state there was no firing from that quarter. As these gentlemen were all at the station during the entire disturbance, and therefore had the amplest opportunity of observing what was going on. it is fair to infer that Mr. McKenzie may have labored under a mistake in this particular, or rather he may have confounded the few shots of which he speaks with those fired by the few drunken men referred to " ---- " esses, who rushed out of the inclosure in revolvers at random. At all events,

McKenzie inot regard the fow shots he alleges to have been fired from the station as at all serious, for he says: "They were not such as to warrant the attack upon the station." And in proof of the utter harmlessness of the shots fired, he further says "These shots he believes were made more for the purpose of frightening the negroes than of doing any actual harm, as an evidence of which only two negroes have been reported as killed during the entire riot." There is not then a shadow of proof that there was firing from the station-houses as alleged by the authorities in justification of the assault upon the buildings by the Police. There were a few inconsiderate per sons who would occasionally rush out of the Railroad inclosure and discharge their fire-arms at random, and who entreated the passengers to join them, but were restrained by the timely interposition of Col. Ward the United States Consul, assisted by Capt. Aller McLane, Wm. Nelson, David M. Corwine, and others. This is the concurrent testimony of nearly all the witnesses, if not all, who have testified on the subject I shall now refer to some of the atrocities commit ted, by the rioters and members of the police, as detailed by several witnesses, principally subjects of Great Britain, from which it will be seen that the most revolting crimes were perpetrated—such as murder, rape, pillage, and an attempt at arson Robert Lake, a citizen of the United States, and an employe of the Panama Railroad Company, states that he saw the police walk up to one man in the dopot, who was begging on his knees for mercy, and blow his brains out ; that he saw the police murder another man in the freight house, shooting him in the side, cutting him with their machettes, and then rob him that whilst walking on the platform of the station. he saw some natives carry out some five dead bodies. al being white men, and take them through the gate to. wards the Cienaga; between 2 and 3 o'clock at night he saw another man cut down between the Ocean House and Pacific Hotel, by six more natives; they killed him on the spot and dragged him off; after this he saw the natives rob another man, and kill him by the cars.

"Salla and Messrs. Pedro Obario i Pérez and José Maria Rodriguez actually set out for that office : that on approaching it, and after Mr. Sabla had announced -that the Governor was there, they fired upon him and his party, wounding Messrs. Sable and Obario ; that under such circumstances the citizen Vice-Governor ordered the Chief of Police to march and dislodge those who occupied that position; and that they, attacked by said force, had to yield. During this time.

and for some time after, the infuriated crowd rushed on the North Americans to sacrifice them, and some. perhaps, were so sacrificed. The Prefect fails to state where he, and those to whom he refers, were at the time, whether in the Cienaga, among the native huts. or in the immediate vicinity of the Railrond Station : though he evidently intends to convey the impression that the Governor and his party were near the latter place. Mr. Theodoro Sabla, one of the parties referred to, says they were in front of the "Pacific Esting House." Now, this establishment is at least three hundred yards from the Station, and is situate in the Cienaga, surrounded by cane huts, and from its relative position to the Station, it were impossible that shots fired from the latter, in that direction, could be effective. Mr. Sabla denies the Prefect's statement in several very important particulars, in a communication which was published in the Panameño a few days after the appearance of the Prefect's statement. He savs:

"1. I did not give a message to the Governor in the name of the Consul of the United States, that he would pass to the office of the Company to quiet the foreigners. but I invited him to come with me to the principal street, where the Consul awaited him to arrange with him about what was necessary to be done to put an end to those dis-

2. I did not approach the said office with the Governor. but we stopped in front of the "Pacific Eating House," and then I left the Governor, telling him I would go on before him to prevent any misunderstandings.

- 3. I did not announce, at that moment, either in English or in any other way, the approach of the Governor, and consequently a volley could not have been fired at us by way of reply, and much less from the door of the station of the railroad as we were, as I have said, at a good distance from the office, being in front, more or less, of the " Pacific Eating House" when I left the Governor

4. When I received the wound which I have got, I was alone in the principal street, between the house of Mc-Allaster, and the " Pacific Eating House," and it was not by a volley, but by accident in the firing that took place between a party of the people of the country, that had taken up a position further up than we were, and some

strangers who were near the house of McAllaster. I will add that a few minutes before receiving the wound already spoken of, the Consul was on horseback in the middle of the street, between the passengers and me; I saw his horse lean and almost turn round, which made me think that the Consul, or, at least his horse, had received a wound ; a little after the Consul left by the beach, and I did not see him more until he returned to his own house.

Mr. Prefect Gamboa proceeds to state what he and other officials, assisted by peaceably disposed citizens, did to prevent the further effusion of blood, &c., and concludes his report thus : "I have directed the Alcalde of the City to draw up the 'summary' connected with it. I trust in God the authors of such attrocious crimes (hid to-day, in the shade of such confusion,) will be able to be discovered, that the weight of the law may fall on their heads. God protect you." That Mr. Gamboa and a few other Panamenos did all they could to save the lives of the passengers, after the police had cruelly murdered all they encountered in the railroad station, is conceded by every American residing in Panama. This he might have done in the first instance had he excreised due caution and prudence. It was to him that the message from the officers of the Railroad and Steamship Companies, to send the police to their relief, to protect them and their property from the mob, was delivered, and had he done his duty as an official, he would have directed the police to have directly proceeded to the station to protect it, the passengers and others from the assault of the mob One of his own countrymen, Mr. Frederick Ansoatigue, who was dispatched from the Railroad Station to the town for the police, states that, upon his arrival in town, he found the Prefect at the Police Station about six and a half o'clock P. M., 15th of April, and told him that the people at the Railroad Station, and the persons owning property there, wanted the police down to protect them and their property from the mob. Here, then, it is shown, that the Governor, Prefect and Chief of Police had no excuse for assaulting the Station. The Prefect was requested to send the police to protect that point. Instead of doing this. however, by direction of the Governor, they attack it, and the result is known,-a number of innocent, unoffending people were horribly massacred, and not a shot was fired on the mob. When the Governor, Prefeet, and Chief of Police arrived on the ground, they saw three American houses-the Pacific House, Mc-Allister's store and the Ocean House, all sacked. This they must have known was the work of their people. yet no effort was made to punish the perpetrators; but the innocent passengers, who had sought refuge from the infuriated mob in the station-houses, were to be sacrificed. They were not even allowed to leave, but were shot down like dogs. Such barbarity on the part of the Police is without a parallel. It cannot be justified upon any principle. It will not do for the author. ities of Panama to say that the people in the stationhouses fired upon the Police. This is disproved by a dozen credible witnesses, who were in and around these houses. It was the duty of the Governor and Chief of Police to have satisfied themselves of this fact. But no; they must needs take the words of the rioters, in whose protection they acted throughout, save when they interposed to prevent any further taking of life. The Prdfect, in the conclusion of his report, quoted above, expresses the hope that the "authors of the atrocious crimes will be discovered and the weight of the law fall upon their heads." This all looks very well, but up to this moment-three months and upwards since the commission of these "crimes." not a native of the country has been arrested, although the instances are numerous where stolen property has been found in the possession of many of them. The declaration of Sr. Manuel Maria Garrido, Chief of the Police, is the next official document published : and as it has been effectually answered by Wm. Nelson, Esq., in a communication to the Panama Star and *Herald*, I here insort it entire, with the simple remark that the most implicit reliance can be placed on every statement Mr. N. makes. I have known Mr. Nelson personally for more than six years, and a more honorable, truthful man, cannot be found anywhere. For many years he discharged the duties of United States Consul at this Port, and has since filled various posts of trust. He says: "In the Gaceta Official of yesterday, I have seen an flicial communication of Sr. Manuel Maria Garrido, Chief of Police, under date of 16th instant, respecting the massacre of the passengers who were about to embark from the Railroad Station on board the steamship John L. Stewhen s on the previous evening, the 15th. Mr. Garrido commences his narrative from the time the massacre had ceased, though the plundering still continned, and calls upon me and other gentlemen who were present to testify to the truth of his statements. Thus called on, though with reluctance, I feel myself compelled to state the facts as I witnessed them. In the first place, Mr. Garrido states the Americans tried wice to discharge a cannon (which had previously been lischarged) against himself and the police. In this Mr. Garrido is mistaken; the cannon was not discharged at all during the evening up to the time I left to look for the Governor, and that was after the freight-house and office had been taken by the mob. In the second place Mr. Garrido states that he occupied himself afterwards in transferring to the Taboga all the men, women and children, who were in the Company's building, and might have been sacrificed by the ungovernable and infuriated mob ; that he succeeded in so doing be vond his hopes, saving from death over two hundred persons : that on reaching the door, they were attacked by a mob, armed with poignards, who attempted to assassinate them, but he and the police opposed them, escorted many on board the Taboga, and that the balance were escorted to the city by the Prefect, Mr. Gamboa, and other indi viduals-citing as eye-witnessess Mr. Center, Mr. Corwine. and myself. Far be it from me to withhold any credit due to Mr. Garrido : I cheerfully testify to the praiseworthy exertions of himself, the Governor, the Prefect, Don Maria Diaz and many others, to prevent further outrage to the passengers, when the massacre had ceased. Still, being called on for my testimony, I must state that Mr. Wil liams was not present at the above scene at all. I presume he refers to Capt. McLane, agent of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, who, together with himself, ascended the stairs to relieve the passengers who had sought refuge in the upper story of the building, whilst I remained with the sentinel at the door to prevent others of the mobor the police from following : and it was then and there that the police pointed their muskets on the building, and would have fired on the upper rooms, but for their being informed that by so doing they would kill their own Commander, who was above. All of the passengers released were sent to the Taboga, none came into town; those rescued by Mr. Gamboa were others, who had escaped from the freight-house and elsewhere.

Mr. RODRIGUEZ, in the foregoing declaration, admits two very important facts :

First-That the police and mob took possession of the railroad station-house simultaneously with each other-showing that if there was not an understanding between them, they at least sympathized with each other, and had the same object in view-the murdering of our people, and p llaging of property, as the seque showed.

Second-That the authorities of the country could not restrain the mob.

The last native witness examined by the local authorities is JUAN MERCADO, and who appears to give the most direct and truthful account of the affair in the Cienaga. His : eclaration was made on the 16th of April, the day succeeding the massacre, and is as follows: On being asked about what he knew about what took place yesterday in Panama, he replied: That vesterday, about six o'clock in the afternoon, while deponent was at the railroad station at Plaza Prieta he saw two Americans jump out of the window o MOFARIAND'S Hotel, (Pacific House,) on account of stones thrown at the Hotel by natives of Panama that they did the same to the Hotel in front. (Ocean Hotel:) that a wounded American fired at a Panamenean: that the same American killed two Panameneans who were pursuing him; that a few moments afterwards a party of Panameños arrived, armed, who charged the Americans: the Americans fled, as well as he, deponent.

There are three other witnesses whose testimony the local authorities produce, and upon which the seem to rely to corroborate the declarations of their own people. Their names are ALEXANDEE HENEI QUIZ. FREDERICK CLARE and T. B. WILLIAMS-the first and second are Jamaicans, and the latter is an American. HENRIQUEZ and WILLIAMS have made supplementary affidavits, in which they deny most posi tively having given such testimony as that published by order of the Governor in Spanish. HENBIQUEZ states in his affidavit, marked -----, that the one in Spanish was not read to him, although he requested it might be, and that the authorities at Aspinwall obliged him to sign it against his will; that he deposed before the Prefect at that place, through the public interpreter, that he heard the police bugle sounding, and in two or three minutes after he saw the police and natives fire upon the railroad station, but that this had been omitted in his affidavit before the said Prefect: that on making this statement to the interpreter, that official remarked to the Secretary "that he had better exclude that part from the testimony, as, if such a statement were to appear, it would go hard against the Governor." Such is one, at least, of the miserable expedients resorted to, by the authorities of this State. to justify or palliate the crimes committed by their lawless countrymen on the night of the 15th of April last. The Official Gazette, which I inclose, contains all the testimony which has appeared, in Spanish, together with the Governor's letter to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs at Bogota, which has been furnished to me, at my request, by the Secretary of State of Panama, accompanied by a note vouching for the authenticity of the documents therein contained. also inclose translations of the Governor's dispatch, together with all the affidavits that accompanied it marked — I have thus noticed all the testimony taken by the local authorities of the State of Panama, with which I have been furnished, having reference to the origin of the difficulty, as well as to the subsequent progress of the riot, with the exception of the declarations of the Prefect of this Department and the Chief of Police. which accompany the Governor's official dispatch to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs at Bogota. These documents I shall notice fully in my review of the testimony which follows, relative to the part borne by the Governor, the Chief of Police and his posse in the massacre at the railroad station. The evidence on this head-going to establish the complicity of the Governor, the Chief of Police, and those under his command—is full and conclusive. A large number of witnesses, citizens of the United States, as well as subjects of Great Britain, together with a native citizen of Panama, have all testified on the subject, and their testimony is singularly corroborative. Indeed it will be difficult to find anywhere more concurrent testimony among the same number of witnesses. The evidence is so direct, full and satisfactory, that I shall take occasion to quote largely from it, in order to show that the conclusions at which I have arrived are just and correct. It appears that immediately after, if not simultaneously with the disturbance between the intoxicated American and HABBAHAN, in which all accounts concur in saying that no blood was spilt or serious injuries inflicted, the native negroes gathered in large force in the Cienaga, armed with muskets, machettes, knives and stones, and commenced murdering our citizens indiscriminately, and despoiling and plundering their property in a manner almost too revolting to record. Nothing would appease their wrath or stay their fury; defenceless men, women and children were alike brutally and horribly murdered. They forcibly entered, plundered, and destroyed everything in the Pacific House, the Ocean Hotel, and MCALLISTER'S store, all situated on the Cienaga, and owned by citizens of the United States. It further appears that the negroes were fully prepared to make an attack on our people for the purpose of murder and plunder either with or without provocation, (and certainly the affair between the American and HABEAHAN was not a justifiable provocation,) in proof of which i may be stated that not more than two minutes are supposed to have elapsed from the time the pistol was fired during the scuffle between these two persons be fore the natives collected in great crowds, armed as above stated, and commenced the assault upon the hotels and the passengers therein. They had evidently agreed upon a signal-the testimony of Mr. WILLIAM NELSON and others go to prove this-for i seems that no sooner had the American and HABEA HAN commenced, than a native was dispatched in great haste in the diractien of the Plaza of Santa Ana. where most of the blacks reside. It is supposed he was sent to notify those in that neighborhood as to what was being enacted at the Cienaga, and give the signal, for, in an incredible short space of time, the bell in the Church of Santa Ana sounded an alarm, which appeared to be the signal for the natives outside the city to assemble and arm themselves, which they did, as hundreds and thousands of them, most o whom were armed with such weapons as have already been described, rushed to the Cienaga, threatening vengeance upon the Americans-Yankees, as they termed them. Nearly all the witnesses of any credi bility testify as to these facts. Capt. ALLAN MCLEAN, Agent of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company at this place, and who was present during the riot from its inception to its close, in his deposition before the United States Consul, gives a clear, concise, and evidently impartial account o the affair; and having taken no part in it. save his efforts to restore peace and prevent bloodshed, the most implicit faith should be given to his statements. About six o'clock on the morning in question, I was standing on R. R. Pier, in company with Mr. A. J. Ceuter. Superintendent of P. R. R. Co., and Mr. Win. Nelson, R. R. Co.'s Commercial Agent.

towards the R. R. Station At this time there were on the pier some thirty to forty natives, who had been employed by the P. M. S. S. Co in discharging the freight, baggage, &c., from the cars into the scows; some of these men seeing the excited crowds rushing towards the station, shouting and waving their arms, jumped from the pier, and started to join them : they, however, at my order returned.

I explained to them that they would only increase the excitement, and become parties to the riot already commenced,

I then left them in charge of one of the Company's em proceeded to the Station-house Ticket. ployes, and office, (about 100 yards distant.) in company with Messrs Center and Nelson. These natives (which I left on the pier) subsequently, as the riot progressed, left there. many of them joined their countrymen in their attack upor the passengers. I am unable to say ; some, I know, did not. On my way to the ticket-office, I saw a party of men loading an old iron cannon, substituting for balls and bullets. (of which none could be obtained.) iron boiler rivets. This cannon was, when loaded, carried and placed outside of the gate of the Railroad Station, commanding the street leading to said gate from the Cienaga or native hut town: it was placed in charge of a reliable man, with orders to him not to fire it, unless the emergency was great the danger imminent—unless, indeed, the natives should advance on the Station, and could not otherwise he restrained and checked in their headlong career of fury, and desire for murder and plunder.

Before reaching the ticket office, the appearance of riot seemed so great, that I dispatched a message to the Chief of Police to bring his force on the ground, and at

My messenger was a trusty native, who, for some time has been a workman for me, as head man over our coaling men : he was wounded by a ball in his neck while engage on his mission--which, however, he executed.

Arriving at the ticket office, I found the ticket clerks engaged in registering tickets, the windows through which the passengers handed them being crowded. These windows were on the back side of the building, and away, a great measure, from the tumult going on at the front and though the passengers were aware that there was a disturbance going on, they had no conception of its serious-

As for myself, I did not expect that the Station would be regularly assaulted.

By this time many shots had been fired, principally by the natives at the adjacent hotels, and some few by the inmates of those hotels, in self-protection.

I expected that the police would soon be on the ground when I felt it was only necessary for them to draw up in the clear space between the Station and Cienaga for quiet to be restored.

In order to remove the passengers, however, as speedil as possible from the vicinity of the excited native nonlation. I directed the ticket clerks to put away their books and papers, and to send the passengers on board the Ta-

When I went into the ticket-office, there was excitement and confusion there among some few of the passen gers and others who had gone there : I saw some old rusty muskets taken from the side of this room, (where they had been hanging for some months,) and attempts made to load them : I saw several pistols in the hands of persons in this room; many were asking for ammunition. though no one, to my knowledge, could find any : I heard, however

T. F. W. McFarland, proprietor of the Pacific Hotel, states that he saw the police and mob fire on crowds of unarmed men, women, and children, who were standing three or four yards from the muzzles of their guns, and then they commenced plundering; by breaking open boxes of Express goods, the doors of the officers' rooms, the company's safes, &c; on the wharf where the steamer Taboga was lying, he saw two men shot and fall into the mud; the shots came from the Cienaga

Samuel Harris, a British subject, states on the night of the 15th April last, during the massacre at the Railroad Station, some ladies came on board the Lady Pough, which was moored near the wharf of said station, for their own and family's safety, who told him that their persons had been violated by colored men, that rape had been committed upon them that night ; since then he had heard several colored men boast of having ravished women upon the aforesaid \mathbf{night} T. William McGuire, a naturalized citizen of the United States, declares that at the time the Ocean House was broken open, he saw a woman with an infant in her arms, running and crying out for mercy, pursued by about thirty of the mob; that a musket shot was fired at her, when she screamed, and he supposed she was wounded ; that about three hours afterwards he went to the place, and, from appearances, i appeared to him that violence had been committed upon her person. John McAllister, whose store was forcibly entered and sacked by the mob. states that as he passed his store on the morning after the riot, he saw natives carrying away and destroying his property ; they were engaged in bottling liquors from varioue casks, and he saw no policemen interfere to prevent it; on the same day he saw some of the policemen wearing boots which he knew were taken from his store. John V. Dubois, a citizen of the United States, but for many years a resident of Panama, states that a few days after the riot, he had two clocks offered to him for sale, one by a Policoman and the other by a native of this country; that one of the clocks he identified as his own property, he having left it, as he states, at McAllister's store, and the other he identified as the property of Joseph Lestrade, proprietor of the Ocean House. He knew it to be the property of said Lestrade, as he had sold it to him ; and that these parties have not been arrested by the authorities of Panama Wm. Rohde, a naturalized citizen of the United States, a resident of Panama for the past six years, states that he saw large numbers of natives the morning after the massacre, with stolen property in their possession, consisting of various articles belonging to Americans : and that on the night of the riot he saw a person in charge of the Police Station, giving arms to drunken natives, and after they received them, they repaired to the Cienaga. Isaac Silvena, a British subject, states that he saw in one of the rooms of the Railroad Station, among other dead bodies, one at the sight of which he was struck with horror, as from every appearance, it was that of a woman; her dress had been partly torn off, and she was lying on her face; he also states that he saw the Police plundering. Margaret Emily Luston, a native of Kingston, Jamaica, a subject of Great Britain, says, that on or about 1 o'clock, on the morning of the 16th of April, after the riot had ceased, she went to the Railroad Station, and there, at the office over said Station, she saw the dead body of a woman, that had a cut on the left shoulder, the dress nearly torn off, the right thigh bare and blackened, as if produced by the discharge of fire-arms : the body had corsets on, and she knows it was that of a woman; she afterwards heard that the body was taken to Panama. Charles B. Clare, a native of Spanish Town, Jamaica, a British subject, states that, at about 416 o'clock, on the evening of 16th April last, he went by the Cienaga. through a back street, and found a man dead, who was completely cut up; deceased had his carpet-bag near him, which was cut open and empty; he proceeded a little further and saw another dead body. and from thence he counted nineteen more dead bodies, among which were those of a woman and child. On arriving at the Railroad Dépôt, he saw one end of the freight house, which they (meaning the natives) had been trying to fire; he then remarked to some person with him, that "they had tried to burn this building ;" "Yes," was the reply, " they tried to burn McFarland's also, but this the Governor prevented, saying that if they burnt that, they would burn their own huts." Immediately afterward he denonent) entered a door, which was broken open, and saw therein the body of a person ; he approached it. and found it to be the body of a white woman, which. with the exception of the corsets, was naked: the body had a musket ball in the left groin, the gun haying been placed close thereto, as all around the wound. and the whole of the front part of the thigh, were perfectly black. Afterwards he saw the dead body of a child among some iron gutter or pipe; he examined it. and found it had been cut up by some cutting instrument; it had two or three wounds in the head, and the two hands were entirely cut up. Such is the history of the terrible attrocities committed here on the night of the 15th April, 1856, as detailed by those who were eye witnesses thereto. more revolting picture cannot be presented. The heart sickens at the recital, and I leave it, therefore, to notice what the Governor of this State, the Prefect, and Chief of Police have published in vindication of their action in the premiscs. I have noticed protty fully all the declarations worth noticing that accompanied the Governor's official account of the massacre, with the exception of those of the Prefect and Chief of Police. Sr. Ramon Gamboa, the Prefect, states that when he arrived at the scone of disorder everything was in such a state of excitement that it was almost impossible to find it out; in the midst of the confusion produced by the immense clamor, and the shots and stones and bottles thrown in different directions; that efforts were made to remove from the scene the multitude of individuals who ran to take part in the contention, which was only effected in part, as it was impossible to do so with all; that shortly after the police arrived there, Mr. Theodore Sabla, Chancellor of the American Consulate, presented himself to the citizen Vice-Governor, giving him a message in the name of his Consul, that he should pass to the Company's office with the view of witness who has testified on the subject, but by a seeing if he could put a stop to these disasters; that | corps of British and American Naval officers, who the citizen Vice-Governor, accompanied by the said I carefully surveyed the premises. This, report is al-

afterwards, that some was obtained, and that the muskets, or a portion of them, were loaded

I proposed about this time to Mr. Nelson, that we should endeavor to organize a few of those around to preserve order and be prepared to defend the Station, should the police not arrive soon to prevent an attack upon it. This was found to be utterly impossible. Hardly any one was armed. There was a general feeling of helplessness and consequent ranic among the affrighted passengers.

I went from the ticket office to the gate of the Station looking out on the Cienaga. Some twenty were collected there, among whom I noticed Wm. Nelson, A. J. Center and Mr. Johnson, of the Panama Railroad Company, and David Corwine, Daniel Knight and S. K. Holman, of the Panama Mail Steamship Company, together with others All of these mentioned did all they could to restrain som few, who, with pistols, would rush out in front of the gate and fire at random among the huts of the Cienaga. think there were four men about the Station that did th Two, perhaps, were passengers, and two workmen connect ed with the Railroad Company.

Every effort was made by myself and the others men tioned to restrain these people, explaining to them that we were all entirely unarmed and defenceless, while the natives were well armed, and evidently auxious for provocation to commit murder and outrage: that should they advance on us in force, we could not keep them back, and the consequences would probably be the destruction of the Station, and slaughter of many innocent victims: the reasonings restrained some of those to whom they were addressed, though not for some time : a drunken man would occasionally rush forward before he could be seized, and fire his pistol; this was finally put a stop to, and all was uniet on the defensive at the Railroad Station: I think that one musket was discharged from outside, and to the right of the railroad-gate as you face the Cienaga ; I judged so from the report, though I did not see the piece.

I saw while at the gate the iron cannon referred to before in this deposition, it was planted so as to command the street leading from the Cienaga to the Station; it was in charge of an American, Mr. Willis, who had orders not to fire it unless the natives assaulted the Station

During these scenes at the gate, and early in the riot. some passengers came on the ground in great excitement saying that their families were in the upper stories of the hotels attacked by the natives. By direction of A. J. Center, some men advanced to one of these hotels, and breaking in the side door, which was out of range of fire, allowed them to escape : at the same time, a ladder was placed at one of the back and side windows. down which others

During all these circumstances which I have been describing as having occurred about the gate, many shots were fired from the Cienaga to the hotels, and towards the Station

The edge of the Cienaga is lined with trees, behind which many appeared to have taken up stations, and were deliberately firing at the Station and those about it.

At about 6½ o'clock the American Consul, Col. T. W. Ward, in company with his Secretary, Theodore de Sabla, appeared on the ground, and joined the party who had gathered about the R. R. gate, and were endeavoring to suppress the riot, with the only means in their power, the restoration of order, quiet, and the prevention of offensive

Col. Ward, after informing himself of the general condition of affairs, sent his Secretary to the Cienaga to invite the Governor, who was understood to be there, to mee

deliberately planned.

Edward Allen, a naturalized citizon of the United States, and for the last six years a resident of Panama, being interrogated in the manner aforesaid, he saith There being no resistance on the part of any one in, or connected with, the freight-house or station, he considers the attack must have been determined upon by the police and the mob, prior to their coming down. He was inside the railroad inclosure prior and subsequent to the attack, and saw no firing from the passengers or others upon the mob or police, although his position was such as would have enabled him to have noticed if there had been any from that point.

T. B. Williams, a citizen of the United States, employed as a Conductor on the Panama Railroad, being nterrogated, saith: From the readiness with which the natives assembled together, the mode adopted in signalizing each other, and the promptness with which they armed themselves after the signals were given. I am fully satisfied that the disturbance and massacre on the 15th April, at the railroad station was a preconcerted arrangement, and that it would have eventually broken out, if not worse, on some other occasion.

Moses Brinkerhoff, a citizen of the United States. Conductor on the Panama Railroad, being questioned saith: He thinks it was premeditated, judging from what he saw that night, and he had previously heard that an attack would some time be made, for the sake of plunder.

Edward MacKenzie, a British subject, being interrogated, saith: He thinks it was unpremeditated, because, had they resolved on any definite time for an attack, they either would have made it on the freighthouse, when full of merchandise, or passengers and specie, from California, but that this opportunity for plunder was availed of.

Frederick Anzoutique, a native-born citizen of Panama, a merchant, being interrogated, saith: He thinks it was not premeditated, but that the negroes, being always armed and prepared to make an attack upon the whites, availed themselves of that opportunity of committing the outrage.

Thus it appears that all these witnesses, with the exception of Mr. MacKenzie and Mr. Anzoutigue, declare that the assault upon the railroad station and citizens of the United States, and the robbery and destruction of their property, was premeditated, and made in pursuance of a previous arrangement. And even Mr. MacKenzie and Mr. Anzoutigue, although they think it was not premeditated, agree in saying that the natives availed themselves of the opportunity to plunder and commit other outrages. The latter states that they are always armed and prepared to make an attack.

This brings us to the third question, as to whether there was any hostile feelings, on the part of the na tives or residents of Panama, against citizens of the United States: whether occasioned by improper conduct of persons passing through Panama, to and from the steamer, on any occasion anterior to that of 15th

The steamer Taboga was lying at the end of the pier. The tide was out, and was not expected to be in suffi**ciently to float said steamer** before half-past ten or eleven o'clock the same night.

The Illinois had arrived at Aspinwall during the mornng with about 940 passengers, among whom was a large number of women and children

The trains had arrived at the station. containing all of these parseugers, with their luggage, the United States mails, and a portion of freight. A fourth train, containing ayuantity of through baggage, and about 500 packages Express goods, was looked for about nine o'clock.

The mails had been placed in the launch, in which they were to go alongside the steamer when the tide would admit of it, so also were the through baggage and a portion of freight; a large quantity of baggage, checked at Aspin-wall to Panama, but belonging to the through passen-gers, had all been delivered to said passengers, who had it in charge, intending to carry it with them on board the California steamer.

In the railroad ticket office, the employes of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company were engaged registering the the tickets of the Illinois passengers. Many of these tickets, about five or six hundred, had been registered, and the passengers holding them had been sent on board of the Taboga; most of the women and children were among them, orders having been given to register their

tickets first. About three or four hundred passengers were in and

him, that they might exert themselves in union to suppress the riot.

The Consul then called on those around, who were disturbing the peace by shooting off their pistols and shouting, to desist, and keep within the R. R. inclosure. Soon afterwards he rode forward towards the Cienaga I suppose, to meet the Governor: about the same time Wm. Nelson, Esq., advanced along the same road on foot. After the Consul had ridden forward toward the Cienega, a drunken man, probably a passenger, rushed out in the same direction, and fired a pistol down the street: soon after, the Consul returned, as did also Mr. Nelson. The fire of the natives on the Station now increased considerably, and, for the first time, I thought an assault would be made: I have orders to the Captain of the Taboga, and specie launch, and also to Mr. Chief Engineer. Color-all of whom were with me at the gate, to return to their commands along the pier-to have the hot water hose screwed on, and ready for use-to get everybody from the pier on board the steamer, but not to fire a shot, or in any manner to act on the offensive, unless they were actually attacked, and were compelled to do so.

repel their assailants. Some time before this, I had invited on board of the Taboga two native ladies-Senores Ansoatigue and Feraud, (who had come from the city to witness the embarkation), who were in an exposed position on the balcony of the R. R. Co.'s Mess House; their presence subsequently. probably saved a heavily charged cannon from being fired into the crowd of some six hundred defenceless and unarmed men, women, and children, who had been placed on board of her for safety and protection.

The passengers about the gate now had mostly retired to the Taboga, though many had, as it afterward appeared secreted themselves in the upper rooms of the R. R. houses while some had gone into the freight room below; the fir ing from the Cienaga at this period was severe, though irregular: several of those standing about the gate among those who had been striving to preserve order, had fallen the rest had retired to other posts of duty, excepting the Consul; Wm. Nelson, D. M. Corwine, and myself and Mr. Willis, who still stood at the breach of his small cannon.

This gives very minutely and correctly, as corroborated by the statements of other witnesses, the successive steps in the riot-from the commencement, growing out of the diffculty between the intoxicated American and Miguel Habrahan, followed by the assault on the Pacific House, Ocean Hotel and McAllister's store-the pillaging thereof, the attack on its inmates, and the occasional firing upon the Railroad station-house by the mob. It is shown that the passengers had all retired within the railroad inclosure, having sought refuge on board the steamer Tabona He believes, however, that in past years, the passenand upper and lower rooms of the Railroad station. about the station house, waiting to have their tickets re- fenceless, having no arms with which to defend them- did exist on the part of the natives of Panama, it cer. They could have saved the baggage of passengers,

Mr. William Nelson, the first witness examined by me on this head, states that there has, in his opinion existed an ill feeling for some time past on the part of the boatmen and former muleteers, against the railroad and steamship companies, which feeling doubtless arose partly from the fact that their services were no longer required by passengers; the steamer Taboga rendering the service of boats formerly used unnecessary, and the Railroad doing away with transportation across the Isthmus by mules; he has seen passengers drunk and behaving improperly, but he has never observed anything occur to justify or give rise to such a massacre as that of the 15th April last.

Captain Allen McLean, the next witness interroga ted by me, deposes and saith: He thinks there was a bad feeling existing, on the part of the natives or residents of Panama, against citizens of the United States, previous to the 15th April last ; he thinks this feeling has grown up from some if not all the following causes: The Tax Commissioners between the Governments of the United States and New-Granada in which the latter was defeated, the effect of the completion of Railroad, throwing out of employment inules, muleteers, cargadores, laborers, &c., &c., and on the Railroad Company receiving and forwarding merchandise, passengers, &c., which before had been done by other parties—some of whom were natives: also by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company using the steamer Toboga and lighters in transporting passengers and merchandise to and from their steamers, thereby greatly imparing the business of the native boatmen and shippers of cargo. He does not think that during the past year, which embraces his period of service and residence in Panama, the passengers to and from California, crossing the Railroad, have given any cause of offence to the natives of the Isthmus. Their stay on shore at this terminus has rare exceeded a few hours. Occasionally there have been drunken men amongst them, who have doubtless been offensive, but so far as his observation has gone, it has al ways been to the employes of the steamship and Railroad Companies, or to each other.

David M. Corwine next appeared and stated that a feeling of jealousy may have existed on the part of some of the white natives towards Americans, and in former years ; prior to the 15th April last, the conduct of a few passengers towards the lower class of natives may have provoked a bitter feeling against our people. gers have had more cause of complaint for bad treat-

made by the authorities or Police to quell the mob, so far as he could see, although he was on the spot at the time the riot commenced, registrating the tickets of the passengers, and remained there until half past eight o'clock, and was not able to distinguish between the mob and the authorities during the sattack There were two attacks, one at the hotels and the

other about an hour after at the Station-house. Edward Allen states that the authorities did fail to suppress the riot, because they took part with the natives in attacking the Freight and Station-houses. The Police broke open the door of the store adjoining the station, and ransacked it, as he has been credibly informed by persons who saw the occurrence; and one of them, in forcing open the door, threat ened to shoot the boy left in charge of the establishment, but desisted, on learning that he was a Chinaman. This occurred after the sacking of the station. about eleven o'clock, and when the Police were in full charge of the premises. The store of the deponent was completely rifled of everything it contained. He says there were two attacks. One on the passengers at the hotels and the other on the Station. The first was made by the mob, before the arrival of the police, and the second from an hour to an hour and a half afterwards, was made by the police and mob together, immediately upon the arrival of the police on the spot. An order was given by Mr. Garrido, the Chief of Police, and immediately a vollev was fired by that body on the Station-followed by cheers from the mob: this was succeeded by two other volleys from the same body, and simultaneously with the firing of the third volley the police and mob together rushed into the Station and the murder and robbing of the passengers commenced then. After the sacking of the freight house he saw the police robbing the bodies of dead and wounded passengers. T. B. Williams states that to his knowledge, the authorities made no attempts whatever to suppress the rioters, but could have prevented it if they wished to have done so. He says there were two assaults. There was a cessation for some time between the first and second attacks when the whole body of the police of Panama made their appearance, which was soon after the alarm was given. From the position occupied by the Governor, the Chief of Police and other officers with the police under their control, they could have prevented any loss of life among the passengers and saved all the property of the Company, but this they positively refused to do. although requested to do so by the United States Consul and

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The preventing the attack on the Taboga, and disarming of that vessel occurred vbefore, and not after, the rescue of the passengers.

Finally, Mr. Garrido and his Lieutenant, Cerraleon Nunez, positively assured me they had fired on and atacked the depôt by order of the Governor.

For the truth of all I state I appeal to the testimony of A. G. Center, Esq., Captain Allan McLane, and D. M. Corwine, Esq.

So much for Mr. Garrido's statement. And as to the Governor's order to fire on, or occupy, the Station-Messrs. Theo. de Sabla, Ran Runnels, Wm. Nelson, citizens of the United States, and Pedro Pablo Pacheco, a native-born citizen of New-Granada, all testified before the United States Consul at this place that they were present at a conversation that took place between Thos. W. Ward, Esq., the said Consul, and Schor M. Maria Garrido, Chief of Polico of the City of Panama, at which conversation one of the deponets, Wm. Nelson, acted as interpreter, when the said Garrido, upon being questioned by the said Consul with regard to the firing on the Railroad Station on the 15th of April last, he repiled that he had fired by order of the Governor; that the exact words employed by said Governor in giving the order were : "Advance and take the Station"-" Vaya, or avanza i ocupi o' time la estacion !"

There is no denying that the Governor gave the order which caused such a fearful destruction of human life. The Prefect admits the fact in his declaration, and the Governor admits it himself, with a slight qualification, in his dispatch to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Bogota. He says he gave the order to take or occupy the Station, and when asked by the Chief of Police, "And if they fire on me," he replied, "Do you likewise." This appears to me to be a distinction without a difference, for I believe it is pretty generally understood in military parlance that whon an order is given to take or occupy a fort, or any par. ticular place, it implies that force is to be used, and firing is generally, if not invariably, a necessay consequence.

The Governor and Chief of Police justify their cruck and barbarous conduct in firing on the Station-houses which contained so many innocent and defenceless beings, by saying that shots were fired from thence. This is not only confuted by nearly every creditable

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I have myself visited the Railroad Station, and the Cienaga several times since my arrival here, and have most thoroughly and carefully examined every part of ground where the massacre took place, and the result is that not a single evidence exists, going to show that there was any shots fired from the Station-houses. Every shot or ball hole in these buildings, was made from the outside, and from the direction of the Cienaga; and must necessarily have been made by the natives and Police. This is perfectly obvious to every one who has been upon the premises. The same is the case as respects the American houses in the Cienaga. Had there been shots fired from the Station, the two houses in front, situate about two hundred yards therefrom: The Triangle, owned by Mr. Ansoatigue, a native of Panama, and the Ocean House, occupied by Hr. Lestrade, would have shown some evidences of the fact. But it is a singular fact, that not a solitary shot or bullet hole can be seen in either on the side fronting the Station, whilst the other angles of the Ocean House, (the Triangle was not touched because it belonged to a native,) fronting the Cienaga, where the natives were in force, were literally perforated with musket balls, so with the Pacific House, and Mr. McAllister's store. In his dispatch No. 101, to Commander T. Bailey, of the United states Sloop-of-war St. Mary's, the Governor expresses great horror at the crimes committed, and yet he gave the very order which led to the commission of the most fearful of these crimes, for, before he gave the order to advance and take the Station, scarcely any lives had been destroyed; he then fled to the city, and it was with difficulty that he could be prevailed on to accompany Capt. McLane and Mr. William Nelson to the scene of the disturbance, with a view to stay the rapacity and bloodthirstiness of his hired Police. And the very next day, when the negro populace became clamorous for arms, he issued an order granting their request. This order was wrested from the negro in whose possession it was, by Manuel M. Diaz, former Governor of the Province of Panama, and the supposed Governor elect of the State of Panama, in the presence of Mr. Nelson, to which fact he has also sworn, as is shown in the preceding part of the report. Mr. Diaz has also stated to me in the presence of several gentlemen. that the Governor did issue such an order and that he required the negro who possessed it to deliver it up to him.

The Governor, in the same communication to commander Bailey, tells that gallant officer, who had very properly inquired to know if the Government had the inclination or ability to prevent the recurrence of similar outrages to those perpetrated on 15th April, that he (commander Bailey) "should not have doubted for a moment of his constant disposition to prevent them;" and then, as an evidence of the power and ability of the Government to protect the transit, refers to the guard he caused to be furnished to the agent of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, on two several occasions immediately succeeding the massacre of 15th April, to protect the debarkation of passengers, treasure and merchandise. This guard was composed in part, of several who took part in the riot of 15th April, as testified to by Captain McLane, the agent of said steamship company; this is the protection that "vultures give to lambs-covering and devouring them." And, viewed in connection with the admission of every official who has made a written statement of the affair of 15th April, declaring that the mob could not be controlled, must convince the United States, whose citizens have such immense interest at stake here-amounting to upwards of \$12,-000,000 in the railroad and steamship property alone-that New-Granada is utterly unable to protect the transit. Recently, the Federal Government at Bogota has ordered a detachment of colored troops to this place, numbering some sixty; and it is said some hundred and eighty more are to be sent here also. But, as both State and Federal Government are impoverished, it is a question how these troops are to be supported. I think there is no doubt but that the intention of the Government is to make the citizens of the United States resorting to this Isthmus, and our Government, support them. In proof of which I need only refer to the recent enactment of a law, imposing a tax on mails crossing the Isthmus; and the still more recent passage of the law at Bogota, exacting tonnage dues from vessels arriving at both ends of the transit. These enactments will affect our mails and our ships almost exclusively, as both the mails ships of Great Britain are, I believe, and exempt from paying the tax, by reason of some preexisting arrangement; and Great Britain and the United States are the only nations that have steamships trading at this Isthmus. And, again, the State of Panama imposes upon merchants a monthly tax for the privilege of doing business within its limits, which is styled a contribution or commercial tax. Were it equal in its operations, no complaint would be urged against it. But such is not the case; for instance, the monthly assessment of Panama, just published, shows that 43 foreign merchants, mostly Americans, are taxed in the monthly sum of \$1,223, whilst 49 native Panameños are only taxed \$515 50, showing that the foreigners are forced to pay towards the support of the State Government considerably more than two-thirds of the taxes levied, whilst property-owners who are in the receipt of large incomes from rents are not, I believe, taxed at all. This, of itself, as far as our countrymen are concerned, is an infraction of the existing treaty between the United States and the Republic of New-Granada, which provides that the citizens of the former shall be taxed the same as the citizens of the latter. I believe I have as fully and fairly noticed all the important testimony that has been taken, relative to the lamentable affair of the 15th of April last, as was neceseary to a proper understanding of all the facts and circumstances connected therewith. I have now to call your attention to a very extraordinary document which nas just made its appearance here, doubtless to the astonishment of its author, who intended it as a prirate vindication of his acts, and who probably never thought it would see the light of day. I refer to a lenghthy communication addressed by Sr. Erancisco de Fabriga, the Governor of this State, under date of May 3, 1856, to His Excellency Francisco Canulcunh a Albuoguergui, Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Brazil, near the Govermment of the United States. This remarkable document is published at length in the Official Gazette of Bogota, Jan. 15, 1856, No. 1,990, by order of the Government. His Excellency the Minister, &c., &c., Ac., is requested by Sr. Fabriga to lay it before the Cabinet at Washington. Lest, however, His Excellency should omit to do so, I have taken the precaution to have the same translated for the use of the Department, and inclose it herewith marked -----. The Governor makes a very lame defence of himself in the document. His whole defence consists in making assertions unsupported by the testimony of a solitary reliable witness, or by a solitary fact. For example, he says: "The robberies that took place on the night of April 15 were not the motive to, but the effect of the disorder; and that he did not see or had any information of any robbery until after the removal of the passengers to the steamer Taboya." And this he declares on his word as a man of honor! Now, it is a notorious fact, nobody here pretends to deny itall the witnesses, without an exception, concur in saying that the Pacific House, Ocean House and McAllister's store, were all forcibly entered and rified of every solitary article they contained, long anterior to the removal of the passengers to the steamer Taboga. And it was long before this, too, when a native broke open a trunk on the beach, in his presence and that of Capt. McLane and Mr. William Nelson. Yet Governor Fabriga says he did not! It were a waste of words and time to notice such palpable prevarications on the part of the Governor; and as the rest of his assertions are of the same character as the foregoing, I deem it superfluous to pay any further attention to it. From the evidence elicited I deduce the following conclusions: First—That the affair of the 15th April was begun by the colored man, MIGUEL HABRAHAN, firing a pistol at the intoxicated passenger. Second—That the assault upon the passengers and railroad dépôt was made in pursuance of a previous arrangement; that the dispute and affray relative to the slice of watermelon was seized on as a pretext by the colored population of Panama to assault the persons of Americans in transitu, and plunder their property, and that of all other Americans with which they came in contact; but that the assault on the railroad station was, in the language of one of the witnesses, deliberatein Flanned by the police and mob. who conjointly made the assault. This is proven by the admission of PEDRO OBURRCO E PERCY, Who states in his affidavit that he saw in the plaza of Santa Ana a portion of the police organizing with several citizens, under the order of the authorities; and JAMES CLARE also states that he saw them march thence together to the Cienaga. Here, no doubt, the plan of attack was agreed upon; for, no sooner had the police arrived on the ground, than they commenced a destructive fire on the railroad station; and, simultaneously with the rioters, they rushed on and took possession of the premises, destroying everything that they could lay their hands upon, and massacred in the most brutal manner the defenceless passengers who had sought refuge therein. All the witnesses who have deposed in my presence, unite in saying that there were two attacks-the first by the mob on the American houses in the Cienaga, and the passengers who were in and about the same; and the second, after the lapse of some considerable time, was made on the station bouses by the police and mob united. Third-That there was, anterior to the 15th April, considerable ill-feeling cherished by the colored natives of Panama towards citizens of the United States; and that this ill-feeling was engendered by various causes, such as the completion of the railroad, and the employment by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company of the small steamship Toboga to convey passengers to and from the landing and ocean steamers, by which most of the blacks were thrown out of employment. Fourth—That the authorities of Panama did most signally fail in their duty to suppress the riot; that it could not have been by the confusion of the scene, because when they arrived on the ground the riot, which was confined to the Cienaga, had, in a measure, ceased; and the passengers had, with perhaps a few exceptions, sought refuge on board the steamship Toboga, lying alongside the railroad wharf, and in the railroad station houses. And the attack by the police and mob on these buildings was the result of conni-

vance on the part of the authorities, and they thus acted as assailants without the slightest provocation; for it is proven by eye-witnesses to the transaction that there was no firing from the station houses; but that the police had been sent for expressly to defend the station against the threatened assault from the mob; that the message was delivered to Senor RAMON GORMBOA, the Prefect, by Mr. FREDERICK ANBOA-TIQUO, a highly respectable native of Panama, who volunteered his services for the occasion; and that, therefore, the police, instead of affording protection to the station and the passengers, assaulted them and united with the mob in murdering and plundering.

Fifth—That the Government of New-Granada is unable to maintain law and enforce order on this Isthmus, and afford adequate protection to the transit.

This is shown by the repeated outbreaks at this place during the past six years, and by the admission of the Governor, Prefect and others, that the mob could not be restrained or controlled on the night of 15th April last.

In view, therefore, of this state of things, and of the repeated outrages committed upon our countrymen and their property, as well as the immense amount of American capital invested in the Panama Railroad, the steamships employed in connection therewith, the great amount of travel and treasure constantly going by this route to and from our Atlantic and Pacific possessions, I feel it a duty incumbent on me to recommend the immediate occupancy of the Isthmus, from Ocean to Ocean, by the United States, as the best practicable mode to insure safety and tranquillity to the transit; unless New-Granada, after the proper representations shall have been made, and the necessary demand made upon her, in pursuance of treaty stipulations, can satisfy us as to her ability and inclination to afford the proper protection and make speedy and ample atonement for the wrongs inflicted upon our countrymen by the people and officials of the State of Panama.

The amount of capital invested in the Railroad is \$7,500,000, and in the steamships nearly the same amount, approaching the enormous sum of \$15,000,000. By the accompanying statement, furnished me by the Agent of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company at this place, it will be seen that the total amount of treasure brought to this place by the steamships of that Company during the months of January, February, March, April, May and June, of this year, foot up \$21,333,604 46. Of this sum \$17,489,493 83 belonged to citizens of the United States, the balance to British subjects and to parties in Panama. During the same period the total number of passengers from the Atlantic States, and conveyed by the same line of steamers to California, was 10,774; and from California to the United States, on the Atlantic, 6,745, making in all, 17,519. Thus is shown the immense interest citizens of the United States have at stake on this Isthmus, and of the absolute necessity of protecting them therein. Either the plan I have suggusted will have to be adopted, or else our Government will be compelled to keep constantly in this harbor, as well as that of Aspinwall, the Atlantic terminus of the railroad, a shipof-war, with an extra marine force, to be landed in case of an emergency. The interests our countrymen have here are too great to be neglected, and left at the mercy of an ignorant, brutal race, such as infest the Isthmus, and who can neither be restrained nor subdued by the authorities of the country. Nor are they to be driven hence by the enactment of oppressive, arbitrary laws, in violation of their rights, guaranteed by treaty. They need the protecting arm of our own Government, and I feel a confident assurance that it will be extended to them. Accompanying you will find a list of killed and wounded, as officially reported. It is believed here that a great many bodies of Americans who were murdered have been made way with, or secretly buried by the natives, as we have proof of several who were killed in the massacre whose bodies were never recovered or identified afterwards. I also transmit a statement showing the amount of damages claimed for injuries inflicted on the persons of our countrymen, and losses sustained in the plundering and destruction of their property on the night aforesaid. I particularly call your attention to the petition of a number of respectable American citizens residing in Panama, respecting the case of ROBERT MARKS, who was shot while in the discharge of his duty at the railroad station, and commend it to the favorable consideration of the Department. I cannot close this communication without bearing testimony to the well-directed efforts of THOMAS WM. WARD, Esq., U. S. Consul at this place, on the night of the massacre, to restore quiet and prevent the effusion of blood. And in the same connection it affords me pleasure to mention Capt. ALLEN MCLANE, Agent of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company; Mr. A. J. CENTER, Superintendent Panama Railroad : Mr. WM. NELSON, Commercial Agent of the same, and Mr. D. M. CORWINE. All these gentlemen exerted themselves to suppress the disturbances and alleviate the sufferings of the wounded. I have the honor to be, Sir, Most respectfully, your obt. svt., (Signed) AMOS B. CORWINE. To honorable WM. L. MARCY, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

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