

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.

SIR: After a careful, thorough, and impartial investigation into the facts and circumstances 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, unprompted? 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 FISHER, and JAMES McALUR, all citizens of the United States. They were in the employ of the Panama 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 6½ 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 Americans, 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 dime 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 language, 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 it; 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 of 15th April, addressed to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Bogota, it is fair to infer that it is all this Government has to offer in palliation or justification of 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 was in 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 care, that here we are not in the United States—pay me 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 HABRAHAN; 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 became general."

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 HABRAHAN struggling with the American, who fired directly at said HABRAHAN," should be received with caution, if not discredited; 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 his evidence proves anything, it goes to corroborate the statement of ROBERT LAKE, DENNIS SHANNON, DAVID FISHER and JAS. McALUR, that HABRAHAN fired the shot, as he evidently is the native referred to in their affidavits, who wrested the pistol from the American for LUNA distinctly says that HABRAHAN had the 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 pretences, 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 pineapple, and for which he learned the American refused to pay; and that the woman called to her assistance a certain man named MIGUEL HABRAHAN; 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 HABRAHAN.

This is the substance of all SABASTIAN 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 were 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. He 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 dine 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 LAKE, FISHER, SHANNON and McALUR before me, that this man HABRAHAN, 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 SHANNON, 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 HABRAHAN's testimony, it is the universal opinion of respectable foreigners 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. PACICO, a highly respectable native citizen of the country, and who is a lawyer by profession, as well as practice, showing what HABRAHAN admitted to others, it will be seen that he played the very part in the commencement of the disturbance, as described by LAKE, FISHER, 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 Ana, 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 even 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 OBAMO 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 generally skilled in the use of firearms, would have fired in such force as he alleges, with such little effect. The official reports 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 countrymen," as he is pleased to call them.

The shot of which he, OBAMO Y PEREZ, speaks of having received in the region of the groin, 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 gone 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 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. THEODORE SAMBLA, 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

ready on file in the Department, and I therefore need make no further reference to it.

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 Mr. 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 embarkation 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 and ships of Great Britain are, I believe, exempt from paying the tax, by reason of some pre-existing 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 operation, 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 necessary 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 has just made its appearance here, doubtless to the astonishment of its author, who intended it as a *private* vindication of his acts, and who probably never thought it would see the light of day.

I refer to a lengthy communication addressed by Sr. Francisco de Fabriga, the Governor of this State, under date of May 3, 1856, to His Excellency Francisco Canulcunh a Albuquerqui, Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Brazil, near the Government 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., 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 *Taboga*." And this he declares on his word as a man of honor! Now, it is a notorious fact, nobody here pretends to deny it—all the witnesses, without an exception, concur in saying that the Pacific House, Ocean House and McAllister's store, were all forcibly entered and rifled 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 dépot 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, *deliberately planned* by the police and mob, who *conjointly* made the assault. This is proven by the admission of PEDRO OUBRECO B 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 massacring 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 and 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 houses 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 *Taboga* 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 riot, 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 *Taboga*, 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 con-

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 GORRHOA, the Prefect, by Mr. FREDERICK ANSOATIGUO, 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 \$17,499,493 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 suggested 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 ship-of-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.