CHAPTER X
THE PANAMA REVOLUTION

The Colombian Congress adjourned on October 31. On November 3, occurred the Panama Revolution. It was by no means unexpected. As I have said in the preceding chapter, the menace of it and the preparations for it had been known for months in New York, at Washington, at Panama, and at Bogotá. In order, however, to understand its causes and its justification perfectly, we must turn back to the time of Bolivar himself. Colombia, or New Granada, was one of the first Spanish provinces of South America to establish its independence from Spain, in 1819. At the same time it showed itself one of the least worthy of such a state. In the words of Quijano Otero, a historian of that time, "Colombia had lived so fast in her years of glory and great deeds that, though still a child, she was already entering a premature decrepitude." It was actually proposed to establish a monarchy, and the plans to that end were so strongly pushed that Bolivar was moved to seek for aid in preventing their consummation. With the monarchical scheme and with the general turbulence and lack of progress, the more orderly and enterprising people of Panama were disgusted. While Colombia, or, rather, the provinces of New Granada, Venezuela, and Quito, or Ecuador, became independent in 1819, it was not until November 28, 1821, that the two Isthmian provinces of Panama and Veraguas made their Declaration of Independence. Thereupon they voluntarily allied themselves with New Granada. But in a few years much dissatisfaction arose, and in 1830 many of the foremost Isthmians regarded the union as a grievous mistake and began agitating for its repeal.
It was in 1819 that Bolivar overthrew the Spanish power and, at the Congress of Angostura, established under its first Constitution the Republic of Colombia, consisting of the three provinces of Venezuela, Quito (now Ecuador), and New Granada, the last named corresponding with the Colombia of later years. In 1821, that Constitution, with some changes, was reënacted by the Colombian Constitutional Congress at Cucuta, and it was maintained until 1830. In that year the Republic was broken up into three parts, Venezuela, Ecuador, and New Granada, each becoming an independent state, and a Constitutional convention at Bogotá enacted and proclaimed a "fundamental law" for "the State of New Granada." This instrument was not fully sanctioned until 1832, wherefore it is known historically as the Constitution of 1832. Meantime, as we have said, discontent arose in Panama, and in 1830 a great mass meeting was held, presided over by the Governor of Panama, General J. D. Espinar, a distinguished veteran of the War of Independence, at which resolutions were adopted calling for "separation from the rest of the Republic, and especially from the government of Bogotá." It was proposed to establish an independent republic, and even, according to Otero, to seek the protection of, or annexation to, Great Britain, if freedom from Bogotan oppression and misgovernment could in no other way be assured. In the end, however, as a mark of personal deference to Bolivar, these plans were laid aside and Panama remained a member of the New Granadan federation, though against the better judgment of a large part of the Isthmian people.

Ten years later, the provocation being not alleviated but aggravated, Panama arose in determined revolt. On November 18, 1840, under the leadership of the famous Colonel Tomas Herrera, its independence was proclaimed and actually established, and on March 18, 1841, a fundamental law, preliminary to a Constitution, was adopted, which read in part as follows:
“Article I.—The Cantons of the former provinces of Panama and Veraguas shall compose a sovereign and independent State, which shall be constituted under the title of State of the Isthmus.

“Article II.—Should the government of New Granada be organised according to the federal system and convenient to the interests of the Isthmus, the latter shall form a State of the Confederation.

“Special.—In no case shall the Isthmus be incorporated with the Republic of New Granada under the system of Central Government.”

It is interesting to recall, by the way, that this fundamental law was signed by José de Obaldia, President; by Mariano Arosemena, Vice-President, and by Antonio Amador, a Deputy of the convention—family names which are to-day honourably conspicuous in the public life of Panama. It was also countersigned by the Secretary-General of the provisional government, José Agustin Arango, whose son, José Agustin Arango, Jr., was one of the foremost leaders in establishing the present Republic of Panama in 1903. Tomas Herrera was unanimously chosen “Chief of State.”

Thus Panama became an independent republic in name and in fact. Presently Cartagena followed the example and declared its independence. But the government at Bogotá, alarmed at this result of its own evil doings, and unable by force to undo the revolution, sent General Tomas C. de Mosquera to Panama to negotiate a return of the Isthmian State to the New Granadan federation. He made many promises, which were doubtless sincere so far as he was personally concerned, of decentralisation, reforms, and better times for all members of the federation, with the result that in 1842-3 Panama was induced to rejoin New Granada. Immediately thereafter, however, and unquestionably as a result of the action of Panama, Veraguas, and Cartagena, in 1843, a new Constitution was adopted at Bogotá, practically repudiating the promises which had been made by Mosquera, and making the government even more centralised than before. Under it the country was
called the "Republic of New Granada" instead of "State of New Granada," and was divided into provinces, the provinces into cantons, and the cantons into parishes. Everything was subordinated to centralised power, and the attempt to secede or to withdraw from the union, as Panama had done in 1840, was made a penal offence against the common criminal law.

Against this constitution Panama protested vigorously, amid the various civil wars which followed, with the result that on May 28, 1853, the "Constitution of 1853" was promulgated in place of that of 1843. Under it a federal system was established, giving the various provinces a considerable measure of autonomy. This was not, however, sufficient to satisfy the just demands of the Isthmians, and agitation was accordingly continued until, on February 27, 1855, the Congress at Bogotá enacted an amendment to the Constitution, specifically erecting "the territory which comprises the provinces of the Isthmus of Panama, to wit, Panama, Azuero, Veraguas, and Chiriqui"—the present Republic of Panama—into "a sovereign federal state, integral part of New Granada, under the name of the State of Panama." In addition, power was given to the other provinces to become such states also. This amendment was unanimously adopted. For six years then following peace and prosperity prevailed in Panama, under the presidential administration of Justo Arosemena, Francisco de Fabrega, Bartholome Calvo, Ramon Gamboa, Rafael Nuñez, and José de Obaldia. In 1856 Antioquia also became a state. In 1857 the other provinces were all made states, and in 1858 the federal system was extended throughout the whole of New Granada, which again changed its name and became known as the "Granadine Confederation."

The next year, however, a packed Congress enacted an election law and other measures greatly infringing upon the sovereignty of the states and aiming at the perpetuation of the power of the conservative party under President Ospina. Thereupon the State of Cauca rebelled, under the lead of
General Mosquera, and declared its independence of Bogotá, and was followed by the States of Bolivar, Santander, Boyaca, and Magdalena, and a part of Cundinamarca, which last became known as the State of Tolima. These leagued themselves into "the United States of New Granada." A general civil war ensued, which ended with General Mosquera's triumphal entry into Bogotá. In this war Panama was not involved, but it manifested in the strongest way its disapproval of the unconstitutional legislation of 1859, its opposition to the Bogotá Government, and its sympathy with General Mosquera's revolution. Before the overthrow of the Bogotá Government by General Mosquera, indeed, the President of Panama, José de Obaldia, issued a proclamation advising the final and complete separation of the Isthmus from the Granadine Confederation, on the ground that the latter was hopelessly unworthy of further confidence. This was enthusiastically received by the people, and steps were taken to fulfil the proposition, appealing, if necessary, to the United States of America for protection.

Before the thing could be completed, however, President Obaldia retired from office and was succeeded by Santiago de la Guardia. To him General Mosquera, who had become provisional President of the United States of New Granada, wrote on August 3, 1861, urging him to reconsider the matter and to use his influence to have Panama remain with the confederation, hinting that if it did so, the city of Panama would become probably the political capital and certainly the metropolis of the whole country. After due consideration of the matter, Señor de la Guardia signed an agreement with Dr. Manuel Murillo, the envoy of General Mosquera, making "the sovereign State of Panama" one of the federated members of the United States of New Granada. "But," it was added, "the State, in use of its sovereignty, reserves to itself the right to veto the new agreement and the constitution from which it receives authority, whenever, in its judgment, the principles embodied in the treaty of Carthagena are violated in detriment to the self-government
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of the States.” Other stipulations emphasised the fact that Panama was to remain practically independent. There were to be no public officials in Panama appointed from Bogotá, but only those “created by the laws of the State.” The courts of Panama were to be supreme and not subject to review by the courts of Bogotá. The federal government at Bogotá was not to send troops into Panama without the special permission of the Isthmian Government. This agreement was signed on September 6, 1861, and was ratified by the Panama legislature on October 15 following. On September 20, 1861, the name of the country was changed to “United States of Colombia,” as it has ever since remained. In 1862, Mosquera’s revolution was triumphant throughout every state.

Plenipotentiaries from the various states held a National Convention at Rio Negro, in the State of Antioquia, in 1863, the object of which was the reorganisation of the federal system. It repudiated and ignored the agreement under which Panama had reentered the federation, and adopted a constitution of the United States of Colombia, creating what has been graphically and not inaccurately described as “organised anarchy.” The states were made constitutionally independent, with absolute and unqualified sovereignty. The majority of them could nullify any act of the federal congress, and even defeat the acts of the general government in foreign relationships. Any state was free to indulge in revolutions ad libitum, the general government being forbidden to interfere and obliged to recognise any de facto government that might be established by force or fraud. A worse system was probably never devised. To counteract the powers of the states, the federal government promptly resorted to all sorts of extreme and violent measures. There was a series of insurrections, revolutions, and public scandals, provoked by the action of the Bogotá Government, in trying to control by military force the elections in the various States. Panama would have been justified in withdrawing from the confederation, under the terms of the agreement
of 1861, but did not, hoping that better counsels would in time prevail at Bogotá.

A crisis came in October, 1875. At that time General Sergius Camergo, commander of the Colombian troops which had invaded Panama unconstitutionally, forcibly deposed and imprisoned Dr. Pablo Arosemena, the constitutional President of the State of Panama, for no other reason than that he would not give his support to the electoral plans of the President of the Confederation. Against this act of oppression Dr. Arosemena vigorously protested, and the Panama legislature adopted scathing resolutions of protest and suspended its session to mark its denunciation of Bogotan tyranny. Thereafter Panama, never ceasing to protest, but in vain, was at the mercy of the centralised government at Bogotá, and its interests were sacrificed to those of a sordid coterie of politicians who were practically as alien to the Isthmus as though they were natives of Kamchatka. Panama was made "the milch cow of the confederation," the profits accruing from its fortunate situation being diverted to the treasury at Bogotá. In 1885 conditions became intolerable and a desperate but fruitless insurrection occurred in Panama, Boyaca, Magdalena, Cundinamarca, and Santander. Immediately upon the suppression of these, in September, 1885, came a coup-d'état.

Dr. Rafael Nuñez had been elected President in 1884 for a term of two years. Under the Constitution he would be ineligible for a second term. But what was a little thing like the Constitution between a strenuous statesman and his ambitions? He simply issued a presidential decree, indefinitely suspending the Constitution. Then he appointed a new Governor, of his own arbitrary choice, for each state and instructed them each to appoint two delegates to a national convention "to reform the Constitution." This precious body met at Bogotá on November 11, 1885, to register its creator's will. Dr. Nuñez addressed to it a sententious and dictatorial message, containing many "resounding and glittering generalities" about freedom, justice, and prog-
The gist of it was, however, a denunciation of the federal system as the source of all evils and the sum of all villainies, and a practical command for the establishment of a strongly centralised government. The dictator also suggested the establishment of a large standing army, suggestively saying that "the State of Panama alone requires a numerous and well-paid garrison." The convention obeyed orders promptly. By the end of the month it had completed its task, and on December 1, Dr. Núñez appended his approving signature to the new Constitution. That instrument was, by its own terms, to be ratified by the Colombian people before it should become effective, but the President was empowered to determine the manner of such ratification. He decided to have it done not by popular vote, but by vote of the various municipal Boards of Aldermen! In this way, of course, ratification was promptly secured, and in due time under the new Constitution Dr. Núñez was re-elected President. It was provided, by way of guarding against any undoing of this work, that no amendment could be made to the Constitution unless it was asked for by a majority of the state legislatures and was unanimously voted by them all. Mr. King, the United States Minister to Colombia, appropriately described this Constitution as "an embodiment of precepts enjoining the obedience and submission of the former sovereigns to the will of their central agents, and bestowing all the prerogatives of Government upon an oligarchy of select individuals." This Constitution was ratified in 1886, and is consequently known in history by the name of that year.

The general quality of President Núñez and his government may be appreciated when we remember that one of his first acts as dictator was to repudiate the foreign debt of the country, on the ground, as he himself expressed it, that "any one who pays a debt, unless he is forced to do so under pain of being hanged, is an imbecile." Under the delightful system thus established Panama, instead of enjoying the special favours it had formerly possessed, was made the
object of most invidious discrimination. For the whole country an avowedly and intensely centralised system was adopted in place of federation, but under Article 201 of the Constitution Panama was deprived of even such remnants of local self-government as the other states were permitted to retain, and was “placed under the direct authority of the central government, to be ruled according to special laws.” In brief, the once independent sovereign state was made a crown colony under the autocracy of Bogotá. Nor was this discrimination merely nominal. It was actual. That oppressive provision of the Constitution was enforced to the letter. Practically, the Isthmus had no rights which the politicians at Bogotá were bound to respect.

The two delegates from Panama to the Bogotá Congress were Miguel A. Caro and Felipe F. Paul. They voted for this arbitrary and tainted Constitution, of course, since they had been appointed at the dictation of President Nuñez, for that purpose. More noteworthy was the manner of ratification of the Constitution by the Cabildo or Council of the District of Panama in the “Department” (formerly State) of Panama. The Council met for the purpose on February 20, 1886. The Governor of the District was present, together with seven delegates. Two other delegates, Henry Ehrman and Ignacio Fuerth, were excused on the ground that they were foreigners. The new Constitution was read and a vote was taken upon the question of ratification. According to the Official Gazette, of Panama, there were three votes given for ratification: namely, those of Francisco de la Guardia, Nicanor de Obarrio, and José Maria Vives Leon, the last named being the Secretary of the Council; and three votes against ratification: namely, those of Pablo Arosemena, Mateo Juarraide, and Pedro J. Sosa. Thereupon the deciding vote was cast in favour of ratification by the Chairman, Dr. Manuel Amador Guerrero. The act of ratification, thus adopted by the narrow margin of a single vote, was then signed by the Governor and by all the delegates excepting Dr. Pablo Arosemena. It is to be noted that
Dr. Amador Guerrero, who cast the deciding vote for ratification, and Dr. Pablo Arosemena, who alone refused to sign the act, afterward became respectively the first President and First Designate of the Republic of Panama.

This ratification did not mean that Panama was satisfied with the new system, but merely that it considered itself unable at that time to offer effective resistance. Protest against discrimination and demands for at least equal rights with the other departments were vigorously continued, with the result that at length, on September 3, 1892, the Bogotá Government enacted a law nominally amending the Constitution by the elimination of the objectionable Article 201, and ordering Panama to be comprehended in the general legislation of the Republic. At the same time, however, it practically confirmed the offensive system by providing that "in fiscal matters, special legislative and executive ordinances may be enacted for the Department of Panama." Thus the discriminations against Panama were to be removed, excepting in respect to the most important of all matters, and in that respect they were to be retained. To what a deplorable condition the policies and practices of the Bogotá Government reduced Panama, and indeed the whole country, may be estimated from the official declaration of Dr. José Marroquin, in his inaugural address on becoming Vice-President at Bogotá, in August, 1898. He said:

"Hatred, envy, and ambition are elements of discord; in the political arena the battle rages fiercely, not so much with the idea of securing the triumph of principles as with that of humbling and elevating persons and parties; public tranquillity, indispensable to every citizen for the free enjoyment of what he possesses either by luck or as the fruit of his labour, is gradually getting unknown; we live in a sickly atmosphere; crisis is our normal state; commerce and all other industries are in urgent need of perfect calmness for their development and progress; poverty invades every home. The notion of mother country is mistaken or obliterated, owing to our political disturbances. The conception of mother country is so intimately associated with that of
political disorders and with the afflictions and distrust which they engender that it is not unusual to hear from one of our countrymen what could not be heard from a native of any other country: 'I wish I had been born somewhere else.' Could many be found among us who would feel proud when exclaiming, 'I am a Colombian,' in the same way as a Frenchman does when exclaiming, 'I am a Frenchman'?"

It thus came naturally to pass that while the Colombian Government at Bogotá chose to play fast and loose with the American Canal proposition, and was willing to delay it indefinitely and even to threaten it with ultimate defeat, the people of Panama felt an intense interest in it and much eagerness to have the great work begun. The prosperity of the Isthmus, and its peace and order, depended upon it. The contemplation of the possibility of an abandonment of the Panama route and of the building of the canal at Nicaragua was regarded with consternation and dismay, for such a turn of affairs would be an irremediable catastrophe. It would mean utter ruin. When, therefore, the Panamans saw the dilatory conduct of the Bogotá Government, and understood its purport and its possible if not its probable result, they became desperate, and the resolution began to arise among the foremost men to take things into their own hands for the promotion of their own welfare. Too long already the independence of Panama had been subverted and the state had been misgoverned and spoliated for the sordid gain of Bogotá. For Colombia now to deny Panama the opportunity of securing the long desired canal under the best possible auspices, would be more than the Isthmians could endure.

They gave Colombia fair warning. Early in 1903 they explicitly told the authorities at Bogotá that failure to ratify the canal treaty with the United States would be followed on the Isthmus by the most serious consequence. The Colombian Congress, which would pass upon the Hay-Herran treaty and either ratify or reject it, was to meet at Bogotá on June 20. Long before that date, indeed before the mem-
bers of that Congress were elected or even nominated, a significant step was taken. Dr. Manuel Amador Guerrero had been, as already noted, chairman of the Council which ratified the Constitution of 1885, and had himself cast a deciding vote in favour of that instrument. He was therefore loyally affected toward the Colombian Government. He was at the same time one of the most eminent citizens of Panama, a physician of distinguished repute, a veteran statesman, a man of unblemished character, of large property interests, and of social leadership. There was probably no one on the Isthmus who could with better grace or with more authority have taken the step which he took. He wrote to the acting President of Colombia, Dr. Marroquin, who was his personal friend and former political associate and colleague, urging him for the sake of their common country to use his best efforts to secure the ratification of the treaty, and warning him that the consequence of failure to ratify it would be most serious.

To the surprise and consternation not only of Dr. Amador, but of all Panamans, the reply came in the form of a Congressional nomination. F. Mutis Duran, who was then Governor of Panama, under appointment of the Bogotá Government, nominated, as the government candidate for member of Congress from Panama, Señor Perez y Soto, one of the most implacable and outspoken opponents of the canal scheme, and a bitter enemy of the United States. There was only too good reason to suspect that this nomination was made in fulfilment of Dr. Marroquin's orders, and was practically his reply to the representations of Panama. It was obvious what the election of this candidate would mean. If this representative of Panama in Congress should lead—as he doubtless would—the opposition to the Hay-Herran treaty, that convention would have no chance of ratification. There was an outburst of indignation, remonstrance, and protest, which availed nothing. Señor Perez y Soto was declared elected. J. Domingo de Obaldía, a distinguished citizen of Panama, of eminent public service, and unques-
tioned loyalty to Colombia, hastened to Bogotá to remonstrate in person and to plead with Congress in favour of the treaty. He was received with so little courtesy, and the intent of Congress to disregard the sentiment and interests of Panama, and to kill the treaty, was so evident, that he soon left Bogotá in disgust, not pacified nor mollified, even by the appointment as Governor of Panama which Dr. Marroquin bestowed upon him—in September, to succeed F. Mutis Duran—in hope of placating him and confirming his allegiance.

One of the foremost leaders, if not indeed the foremost, in the practical organisation of the separatist movement in Panama was José Agustín Arango, son of the distinguished patriot of the same name who has already been mentioned as Secretary of the Provisional Government of 1841. He was in 1903 a Senator from Panama to the Colombian Congress at Bogotá, and was strongly in favour of ratification of the Hay-Herran canal treaty. When he perceived that the Colombian Government intended to defeat that measure, he revolted against what he justly deemed a sacrifice of Isthmian interests, and began to plot some means of averting the ruin which seemed to threaten Panama. While meditating upon this subject, he chanced to come into conference with Captain J. R. Beers, the freight agent of the Panama Railroad Company, and in the course of their conversation the suggestion arose that Panama might become independent of Colombia again, and then make for itself a treaty with the United States. Señor Arango became convinced that this was the only hope of Panama, and he requested Captain Beers, during a visit to the United States which he was about to make, to ascertain the sentiment of various representative men in this country upon the subject and to ascertain how such a movement would be regarded here. Meantime he proceeded with the enlistment of a working force of revolutionary propagandists. First of all he took into his confidence his own sons, Ricardo Manuel, Belisario, and José Agustín, and his sons-in-law, Samuel Lewis,
Raoul Orillac, and Ernest T. Lefevre, and his close friend, Carlos Constantino Arosemena.

The next man to enter the conspiracy was the one destined to become the leader of it. This was Dr. Manuel Amador Guerrero, of whom I have already spoken, and who had already taken strong ground against the Colombian design to burke the canal treaty. He and Señor Arango, who were old and confidential friends, chanced to meet one day at the office of the Panama Railroad, and the conversation naturally turned upon the subject which was then heaviest upon their hearts and upon the hearts of the people of Panama. Señor Arango expressed to Dr. Amador his gloomy forebodings of the action of the Bogotá Government and its effect upon Panama, and his patriotic resentment thereat, and finally revealed to him the separatist plan which he had been cherishing and the mission to the United States which Captain Beers had undertaken. To his profound gratification, Dr. Amador not only sympathised with him in every detail, but also approved heartily the separatist plan and committed himself to it with enthusiasm. Captain Beers soon returned from the United States and made on the whole an encouraging report. It does not appear that he even attempted any negotiations with the United States Government, or any “sounding” of it, and he certainly made to the Panama revolutionists no promises in its behalf. But he reported truly, what every observant man in America knew at that time, that both popular and official sentiment in America was overwhelmingly in favour of the canal, was outraged at the tactics of Colombia, and would be inclined toward close relations with Panama if the latter should secure its independence.

Upon the strength of this, Señor Arango and Dr. Amador proceeded with the organisation of the revolution. They two and C. C. Arosemena constituted themselves into a Junta, which should assume both direction of and responsibility for the movement. Señor Arango's sons and sons-in-law remained loyal to and active in the cause, but were left
a little in the background in order that the revolution might not look too much like a family affair, and a goodly company of influential and representative Panamans were discreetly introduced into the conspiracy. Among these were Nicanor A. de Obarrio, who had been born in New York City but was the head of an old Panaman family and was prominently identified with the Isthmus; Federico Boyd, a Panaman banker, son of that American of Irish parentage, James Boyd, who was the founder of the Panama Star and Herald; Tomas Arias, formerly Minister of Finance, and his brother Ricardo Arias, members of a family that had been settled in Panama since Balboa's time; and Manuel Espinosa B., a brother-in-law of Dr. Amador and one of the foremost men of the city of Panama. These men met occasionally at Señor Boyd's house, but oftener at the electric lighting works of the city of Panama, the latter place—and the hour of midnight—being chosen for the sake of secrecy and security.

Other additions were rapidly made to the company, through the discreet invitation of trustworthy friends. Carlos A. Mendoza and Juan Antonio Henriquez joined the conspiracy, and undertook the task of preparing a formal declaration of independence and other documents which might be needed at a fitting time, in which work they were aided by Eusebio A. Morales. Gerardo Ortega, living on the Island of Taboga, was an enthusiastic and valuable recruit, as was Carlos Clement. Eduardo Ycaza not only joined the company but also undertook to bring into it General Domingo Diaz and Pedro A. Diaz. Ramon Valdez Lopez was commissioned to proceed to the interior of the country and organise the revolution there. Pastor Jimenez and Carlos R. Zachrisson V. undertook successfully to bring into line their friend General Esteban Huertas. Fernando Arango, nephew of J. A. Arango, was Chief of Police, but for sufficient reasons did not join the conspiracy and so, on the initiative of Tomas Arias, the manipulation of the police force in harmony with the revolution was intrusted to the deputy

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chief, Captain Felix Alvarez. Others who entered the movement and did important work for it, at Colon and elsewhere, were Hector Valdez, General H. O. Jeffries, Porfirio Mendoza, the Alcalde of Colon; General Ortiz, Chief of Police at Colon; Captain Achurra, Orondaste Martinez, and J. E. Lefevre. I recall all these names, partly in order to give them the historical credit due to them for their part in the revolution, and partly in order to show how largely—almost exclusively—the revolution was a native Panaman movement in inception, development, and execution, and how baseless is the imputation that it was an American conspiracy.

The sentiment of these men was practically unanimous in favour of a revolution which should restore Panama to its rightful place as an independent sovereign state—in case Colombia should fulfil its purpose of killing the canal treaty. To insure the success of such a revolution, however, two things were necessary. One was some fuller assurance concerning the attitude of the United States and its subsequent policy toward the new Republic, and the other, a certain amount of cash to serve as the "sinews of war." It was presently agreed that Dr. Amador and Ricardo Arias should visit the United States to secure, if possible, those ends. Domestic reasons at the last moment prevented Señor Arias from undertaking this mission, and Dr. Amador accordingly set out upon it alone. He sailed directly for New York. His only concealment of purpose was at the moment of leaving Panama. Knowing that he was watched by Government agents, and would probably be stopped if he attempted to leave the Isthmus without some urgent but non-political pretext, he caused the impression to be created that his son was seriously ill in New York and that he had been hastily summoned to see him. By that means he got away from Panama without interference. He was suspected, however, of having some revolutionary business in mind, and was therefore closely followed and watched by agents of the Colombian administration. At the same time, in view of
his absence, the Junta was reorganised so as to consist of Federico Boyd, Nicanor A. de Obarrio, Ricardo Arias, Tomas Arias, and Manuel Espinosa B.

On reaching New York, Dr. Amador first called upon William Nelson Cromwell, the Counsel for the Panama Railroad Company, and for the French Panama Canal Company, who, of course, was deeply interested in securing the ratification of the treaty. To him he broached the plans of the revolutionists, and of him solicited aid. Mr. Cromwell, despite his earnest desire to see the United States secure the canal route and enter upon the undertaking, was strongly disinclined toward anything like a forcible revolution. He told Dr. Amador frankly that he could not and would not have anything to do with the scheme, and warned him that, in his opinion, the United States would not countenance anything of the sort. Nor was that the only discouragement with which Dr. Amador met. A zealous Panaman friend of the Bogotá Government had followed him from the Isthmus to America, to see what he was doing here, and, seeing him enter Mr. Cromwell's office, concluded that some revolutionary conspiracy was afoot, and hastened to Washington, to tell the Secretary of State what was going on, or what he imagined was going on. Mr. Hay properly replied that the United States Government was not concerned in it, that it could not deal with private conferences but only with overt acts against the neutrality laws, that it had no information of any such acts, and that he could not regard it as profitable to hear anything on the strength of mere hearsay and conjecture.

Then this Panaman went to Dr. Herran, the Colombian chargé d'affaires, and had a protracted conference with him, the character of which must be left to imagination. The quick sequel, however, was the sending of a long cable despatch from Dr. Herran to President Marroquin, and the engagement of a detective by Dr. Herran to observe and report upon all Dr. Amador's doings. When, soon after, it was reported that Dr. Amador had again visited Mr. Crom-
well, another despatch was sent to President Marroquin, and immediately thereafter a despatch came from the Colombian President to Mr. Cromwell, warning him that if he engaged in any conspiracy against the Colombian Government, or maintained any relations with revolutionists, the property of the railroad and canal companies, for which he was counsel, would under the law be subject to forfeiture. The result was a discontinuance of Dr. Amador's visits to his office, while Mr. Cromwell went to Paris, to look after the interests of the French Canal Company there, and did not return to America until the middle of November, some time after the Panama revolution had become an accomplished fact.

Thus disappointed, Dr. Amador was upon the verge of despair, and he cabled to his friends in Panama the one word "Desanimado"—"disappointed." He was still intent upon organising a revolution, but to his mind a revolution, of the old-fashioned kind, was impossible without material aid. It would be necessary not only to organise an army, but also to create a Panaman navy, by the purchase of several vessels capable of service as gunboats, and to such ends it would be necessary to secure funds. More for the sake of consolation in sympathetic talk than in the hope of material advantage, he went, immediately after his last call at Mr. Cromwell's, to the office of a Panaman friend and sympathiser,—Joshua Lindo, of the firm of Piza, Nephews & Co., in New York. To him he related the failure of his errand and bewailed the apparent hopelessness of the Panaman cause.

"There is one man would help us, I am sure," he said, "and that is Bunau-Varilla. But he is in Paris, and I cannot go thither and see him in time to do anything. It would then be too late."

His reference was to Philippe Bunau-Varilla, the distinguished French engineer who had long been identified with the canal scheme, who had been chief engineer for the French Canal Company, who was a capitalist as well as an engineer,
and who was devoted, with all the strength of his ardent nature, to the promotion of the enterprise. (It is of agreeable interest to recall, also, though it is not pertinent to the present subject, that M. Bunau-Varilla had been in youth a fellow-student with Alfred Dreyfus, and had later played a leading part in securing justice for that much-wronged man. It was he, more, perhaps, than any other one man, who fixed responsibility for the forgery of the "bordereau" upon the infamous Esterhazy, and thus led the way to the vindication of Captain Dreyfus.) While the two were speaking of him and deploiring his absence from America at that critical time, the telephone in the office rang. Señor Lindo answered the call; and then uttered an ejaculation of amazement and delight.

"Santa Maria! Amador!" he cried, turning to his guest, "it's Bunau-Varilla, now!"

It was quite true. The French engineer had just arrived in New York from Paris, and had telephoned down to the office from his hotel to ask what had been happening at Panama and at Washington while he was on shipboard. Dr. Amador sprang to the telephone:

"Is that really you, Bunau-Varilla? For Heaven's sake, wait right there until I come up!"

Within half an hour they were closeted together, and M. Bunau-Varilla was committing himself to the revolutionary cause—should such a step be made necessary by the Colombian Government's rejection of the canal treaty—and was pledging to it the financial support which it might need. The Frenchman—he was a French citizen and not a Panaman or Colombian—gave himself zealously to the enterprise, asking in return for whatever he might do only one thing by way of recompense: namely, that as soon as the independence of Panama was established, he should be appointed its Minister to the United States just long enough to negotiate with this country a treaty for the construction of the canal. This was promised him by Dr. Amador, and, as we shall see, the promise was fulfilled.
Raised from despair to exultant confidence by his interview with M. Bunau-Varilla, Dr. Amador cabled to the Junta at Panama the one word “Esperanzas”—“hopes.” He then presently revisited Washington, and sought a conference with the Secretary of State, which had been suggested by his fellow conspirators at the electric light works. His aim was to learn what the United States Government would do, in case of a revolution on the Isthmus. Would it give the new Republic aid? Would it recognise its independence? Would it make with it a treaty for the construction of the canal? This last point was perhaps the most important of all, for the whole matter hinged upon it. There would be no use in a revolution, unless the United States would then proceed with the canal enterprise. There was, however, really no need of asking these questions, for the policy of the United States was already well established and known to the world, and from its record it was quite easy to forecast the action of this Government in any given circumstances. The replies given by Mr. Hay were diplomatically discreet and guarded. He told Dr. Amador that, however much the United States might sympathise with Panaman aspirations for liberty and independence, and however much it might regret or even resent Colombia’s rejection of the canal treaty, it would be manifestly impossible for this Government to give any aid to a revolutionary enterprise, or to commit itself with any promises in advance. It would scrupulously fulfil its duties as a neutral, and would inflexibly maintain its rights and privileges under the Treaty of 1846 with New Granada. Those rights and privileges included the protection of free neutral transit across the Isthmus, and the guarantee of the sovereignty of land against alien aggression, though, of course, it did not guarantee Colombian possession of the Isthmus against local and domestic revolution. But the United States could give no promises to, and make no treaties with, a government which was not yet in existence.

Dr. Amador made only a few calls at the State Department. He was then told, kindly but firmly and plainly, that
as he was confessedly and notoriously the would-be organiser of a revolution against a power with which the United States was at peace, any further visits to that office would not be proper. At that, he gracefully took his leave, with the proverbial "mingled emotions." He had received no direct encouragement or promise of aid, but on the other hand he had been assured of the benevolent neutrality of the United States, and that, he thought, would be sufficient for the purpose. It also dawned upon him that, as the United States was bound by the Treaty of 1846 to guarantee the Isthmus against alien attack, and as the United States was concerned only with the existing local government and not with any domestic revolutions or rivalries in Colombia, if Panama should actually win its independence, Colombia would ipso facto become an alien power, and the United States might, therefore, feel itself called upon to guarantee and maintain Panaman independence against Colombian attack. He also felt assured that the United States would negotiate a canal treaty with Panama, should the latter's independence be achieved. He further realised that two things were eminently desirable, if not absolutely necessary, for the success of the revolution. One was, that the revolution should be effected quickly and, if possible, without bloodshed or violence, since fighting would excite unpleasant and unfavourable sentiments in America. The other was, that a provisional government should be fully organised in advance, so as to become the de facto government and begin the discharge of its administrative duties the moment the Colombian Government on the Isthmus was overthrown.

He at once returned to Panama, to complete preparations for the revolution, and to report to his associates the result of his mission. (He had not been able to communicate with them while in America beyond those two messages of one word each, because of the strict censorship and surveillance which the Colombian Government maintained over the mails and telegraphs.) The other revolutionists were at first inclined to be skeptical, doubting the intentions of the
United States, and fearing this country would use them merely as tools, with which to force Colombia to revivify and ratify the treaty. It was not until the United States gun-boat Nashville appeared off Colon, on November 2, that they were sufficiently reassured to proceed with the revolution. The reason for the Nashville's arrival at that time was simple and sufficient. Talk of revolution was in the air. It was common talk, at Panama and elsewhere, that a revolution had been planned and would be put into effect as soon as all hope of Colombian ratification of the treaty was dead. November 4 had been openly proclaimed as the day on which the blow would be struck. The general public knew these things, and of course the Washington Government was not ignorant of them.

Moreover, experience had taught the United States that an Isthmian revolution or insurrection was practically certain to imperil American lives and property, and also to menace that free transit across the Isthmus which the United States, under the Treaty of 1846, was bound to maintain. On more than one former occasion, the latest just a year before, United States vessels had been sent to Colon or Panama, and United States troops had been landed, to protect the railroad line and the lives and property of Americans, and this had been done sometimes at the request of, and sometimes against the protest of, the Colombian authorities. The principle had been established that the United States might thus intervene at its own discretion. As soon, therefore, as it became evident that another revolt was impending, the Nashville was ordered to the scene so that intervention could be promptly effected if it should appear necessary. Indeed, in view of the warnings of impending revolt which it had received, the United States Government would have been neglectful of its obligations under the Treaty of 1846 and of its duties to its own citizens, if it had not taken precisely such a precaution.

November 4 had been appointed by the revolutionists for the uprising and the expulsion of the Colombian Govern-
ment from the Isthmus. General Huertas was to command the Panaman troops, and the signal for action was to be the blowing of bugles by the firemen. But the crisis was precipitated a day sooner than had been expected, by the Colombians themselves. Alarmed by reports of what the Panamanos were doing, the Bogotá Government, after extraordinary delay, sent an "army" of about 450 men to Colon. This force, under command of General Tovar, reached Colon on the steamer Carthagena, on the morning of November 3, and was promptly landed, without any interference on the part of the Nashville. General Tovar, accompanied by Generals Castro, Alban, and Amaya, at once took train for Panama, leaving word for the soldiers to follow as soon as a special train could be prepared for them, Colonel Torres remaining in charge of them, and the soldiers, many of them accompanied by their wives, "camping out" on the street corners of Colon. Colonel J. R. Shaler, the General Manager of the Panama Railroad, and his deputy, H. G. Prescott, immediately telephoned to Panama the news of the arrival and landing of the troops and the coming of the officers to Panama, and this quickly convinced Dr. Amador and his associates that the blow for independence must be struck at once, without waiting for the time appointed.

It was nearly ten o'clock when Dr. Amador received the news, and the Colombian officers would reach Panama by eleven o'clock. If they were permitted to enter the city and visit the barracks, they might secure the support of some of the troops, and then some fighting might be necessary. This prospect struck Dr. Amador and the others with consternation. Some of the leaders are said to have hidden themselves in fear, and to have renounced the whole project. Even Dr. Amador and the most resolute of his comrades were much perplexed. It was not that they doubted the outcome, in case of a trial of strength. General Huertas had enough loyal Panamans at his command to deal with all the recreant ones and with the soldiers at Colon to boot. The commanders of the three Colombian gunboats in the
harbour of Panama were also supposed to have been won over to the revolution, or at least to non-resistance—though that supposition was ill-founded, as soon appeared. But what Dr. Amador had learned in the United States had convinced him that any fighting and bloodshed would seriously alienate the sympathies of Americans.

For an hour there was some quick thinking done, and various plans of action were proposed. One scheme, which seems to have been suggested in all seriousness, though it was not carried out, was to receive the officers with all possible honour, and entertain them at luncheon. There their wine was to be drugged with "knockout drops" so as to render them insensible, when they could be locked up without resistance! Waiving this and other more fantastic schemes, Dr. Amador finally went to the military headquarters, on the Plaza Chiriqui, to confer with General Huertas. That officer had just started, with his staff, resplendent in full-dress uniform, to the railroad station, to meet the coming Generals, and Dr. Amador had no opportunity for a word with him. There was nothing to do, apparently, but to await the progress of events.

The train arrived at eleven o'clock, bearing the four Generals and their staffs, fifteen men in all, glittering in elaborate uniforms and bristling with all the arms it was permissible for officers to bear. General Huertas greeted them with courtesy, and escorted them to the headquarters, while the leaders of the revolutionary conspiracy looked on from a distance, wondering what would happen next. Arrived at headquarters, General Tovar asked General Huertas to conduct him and the other Colombians to the fortifications of the city, and especially to the sea wall. Now from the sea wall it would be easy to signal to the Colombian gunboats in the harbour. Moreover, there were mounted upon that wall several modern rapid-fire guns, commanding the whole city. A small body of resolute men, even these fifteen, armed to the teeth, might make much trouble if they got possession of those guns. So the wily General Huertas determined not
to gratify their desire. He put them off in characteristic Spanish-American fashion. He reminded them that it was already the hour of the siesta, when men should rest and not exert themselves. Moreover, he and they were dressed in their most elaborate uniforms, hot, closely buttoned, and blazing with medals. Surely, it would be wise to wait until the hour of the siesta was past and the day was a little cooler, and they had all had time to exchange full dress for more comfortable fatigue uniforms. Then he would with extreme pleasure conduct them to the sea wall, and facilitate any disposition they might desire to make of their gallant soldiers, who would doubtless by that time have arrived from Colon.

Thus entreated, the Colombians yielded. They were entertained at lunch, and in one way or another their suspicions were lulled and inaction was maintained until late in the afternoon. Then the non-arrival of their troops alarmed them, and it is said that in some way an intimation was imparted to them that the troops were being detained at Colon and that they themselves were in danger of falling victims to a revolutionary plot. At any rate they suddenly demanded that without further delay the local troops be mustered and placed at their disposal, and that they be conducted to the batteries on the sea wall.

To this General Huertas assented. On some plausible pretext, however, he slipped from the room for a moment, and found Dr. Amador waiting, just outside the door, all anxiety and impatience. The contrast between these two men was most striking. The one was advanced in years, venerable and stately in aspect, and yet impetuous as youth. The other was only a boy in stature and scarcely more than a boy in years, yet at the time deliberate and dilatory. The latter, however, quickly responded to the zealous initiative of the former.

"Do it!" exhorted Dr. Amador, in an impassioned whisper. "Do it now!"

The little General needed no further incitement. He
ordered out his faithful soldiers, under arms and with rifles loaded, as if to escort the Colombian officers and man for them the fortifications of Panama. Then, as the Colombians approached, he ordered the troops to level their rifles upon them, and announced to the astounded officers that they were his prisoners! Appeal and protest and menace were all in vain. At the muzzles of a hundred rifles the Colombians yielded, and were promptly disarmed and marched off to police headquarters and locked up for safe-keeping! At the same moment, Commandant Antonio A. Valdez and Colonel J. A. Arango J. arrested Señor Obaldia, the Governor of Panama, and conducted him to prison. He was immediately released, in their nominal custody, but was in fact set at entire liberty. His arrest was a mere matter of form, in which he acquiesced, for he was, and was well known to be, in full sympathy with the revolution; but it was deemed desirable to go through the form of deposing him as an appointee of the Bogotá Government.

A prearranged signal was now given to the three gunboats, that the revolution was effected, the expectation being that they would at once give their allegiance to the new government. That expectation was disappointed. Two of the vessels, the Padilla and Chucuito, remained silent and impassive. As for the third, the Bogotá, her commander, Manuel Martínez, at eight o'clock sent word to the city that if the Colombian Generals were not released by ten o'clock he would bombard the city. To this threat no answer was made, and of course the Generals were not released. Accordingly, at about ten o'clock, the Bogotá fired three shells into the city. One of them hit and killed a Chinese coolie near the military barracks, and that was the only blood shed in the revolution. The Bogotá then steamed away toward Buenaventura.

The next morning, November 4, the gunboat Padilla, also known as the Twenty-First of December, steamed in to a station under the guns of the sea wall, anchored, and raised the Panaman flag in place of the Colombian. A report
became current that the Bogotá was returning, whereupon the consular corps of the city, representing America, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Holland, Ecuador, Guatemala, Salvador, Denmark, Belgium, Cuba, Mexico, Brazil, Honduras, and Peru, under the lead of the American Vice-Consul-General, united in a letter to her commander, protesting that the bombardment of a defenceless city, without notice to the consular corps, was contrary to the rights and practices of civilised nations. This letter was not delivered, however, as the Bogotá did not return to the harbour.

Dr. Amador had been strongly urged, when in the United States, to have the Provisional Government of the revolutionists so completely organised that it would be ready to take charge of the actual work of Government and be a de facto government without a moment's delay after the expulsion or deposition of the Colombian officers. This was done. The Municipal Council of the City of Panama met, of its own right, on November 4. There were present the President of the Council, Demetrio H. Brid, and Rafael Aizpuru, Ricardo M. Arango, F. Agustín Arias, Fabio Arosemena, R. José Maria Chiari, P. Cucalon, J. Manuel, Alcides Domínguez, Samuel Lewis, Enrique Linares, Oscar M. McKay, Manuel Maria Mendez, and Dario Vallarino. There was a free discussion of the existing crisis and of the train of historic incidents and circumstances which had led to it, after which it was unanimously voted that Panama should be declared a free and independent Republic, and that pending the organisation of a permanent government, all affairs should be placed in the hands of an Executive Board of three, consisting of José Agustín Arango, Federico Boyd, and Tomas Arias, together with the following Ministers: Eusebio A. Morales, Secretary of State; Manuel Amador, Secretary of the Treasury; C. A. Mendoza, Minister of Justice; F. V. de la Espriella, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; and Nicanor A. de Obarrio, Secretary of War and the Navy. This resolution was signed by the members of the Municipal Council, and
then, at the call of the Council, it was ratified by a mass meeting of the people of Panama, held that afternoon in the Cathedral Plaza. The Junta at the same time issued a formal manifesto, constituting a declaration of independence and a vindication of the revolution. (See Appendix V.)

Meantime, what was happening at Colon, and where were the 450 Colombian soldiers who had come to prevent the revolution, and whom we left camping out upon the streets? Left in charge of the troops on the morning of November 3, Colonel Torres demanded that a special train should immediately be provided, to convey them to Panama. Certainly, replied the Superintendent of the railroad; a train would be provided as soon as possible. In the meantime, he respectfully called attention to the invariable rule of the company, which he had no authority to waive, that all transportation of passengers must be paid for in advance. He assumed that the Colonel in command would attend to that? The Colonel was nonplussed. The railroad fare for 450 men would amount to nearly $2,000 in gold, and to twice as much in Colombian silver—depreciated stuff called in derision “monkey money” and “tin money.” He had no such amount at command, nor any means of getting it. He at first tried to insist that the soldiers must be carried free, on government business, or at least on credit. But the railroad officials were resolute and inflexible. No money, no transportation; and that was all there was about it. In which unhappy circumstances, Colonel Torres and his warriors had no recourse but to remain bivouacked on the hospitable streets of Colon. Efforts to communicate with the officers who had gone on before to Panama were vain. Telegraph and telephone wires refused to serve them, for reasons understood by the revolutionists.

The next day, November 4, announcement was made that the revolution had occurred at Panama, and was successful, and that General Tovar and his comrades were in jail! At this some of the Colombian troops began to grow ugly and threatened to begin fighting and to seize the railroad by
force and go to Panama. Colonel Torres was also said to have threatened to kill every American in Colon unless the Generals were promptly released. It has since been denied that such a threat was made. The Colombian General Ospina, who afterwards accompanied General Rafael Reyes to Panama on a futile mission of reunion, declared in a letter to the New York Evening Post (January 6, 1904) that he had heard a prominent Panaman statesman confess that the story of that threat was invented by the Prefect of Colon, and was reported to the Commander of the Nashville in order to move him to intervene in aid of the revolutionists. However that may be, there is no question that the Americans in Colon believed the threat had been made, and it is indisputable that the Colombians did threaten to seize the railroad. Thereupon the railroad officers made appeal to the captain of the Nashville, Commander John Hubbard, for protection, and he promptly landed fifty bluejackets, to serve as guardians of the peace. Their presence on shore effectually restrained the martial ardour of the Colombians, and no disturbance occurred. At the same time Commander Hubbard wrote to the Alcalde of Colon and to the Chief of Police the substance of an official order which he had received from Washington, to this effect: that affairs at Colon were in such a condition that the movement of the Colombian troops from Colon to Panama would precipitate a conflict which would interfere with that free and uninterrupted transit of the Isthmus which the United States was pledged to maintain, and that, therefore, he had directed the Superintendent of the Railroad not to transport the troops of either party. This was in exact accord with and continuation of the order already quoted, as given by the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Moody, in September, 1902, forbidding “any transportation of troops which might contravene provisions of treaty.”

So Colonel Torres and his men remained stranded on the streets of Colon. It was impossible to march across the Isthmus, the railroad would not carry them, and the ship
which had brought them thither, the *Cartagena*, steamed away at full speed that very day, for home!

That same day the British consul at Colon suggested that if there were need of a stronger police force, British blue-jackets might be landed from the cruiser *Amphion*, which lay at Panama. The suggestion was well meant, but was not accepted. The United States saw no need of any other intervention than its own, and was determined there should be none. Already, on November 3, the troop-ship *Dixie* had been ordered to join the *Nashville* at Colon, and the cruiser *Boston* had been ordered to Panama, and they arrived at those ports on November 5 and 7 respectively. Other vessels were promptly despatched to join them, and within ten days the cruiser *Atlanta*, the battleship *Caine*, and the yacht *Mayflower* were at Colon, and the cruiser *Marblehead*, the gunboat *Concord*, and the monitor *Wyoming* were by the side of the *Boston* at Panama. Thus the United States had the whole situation perfectly in hand.

It was announced on November 4 that the United States would allow no forces hostile to Panama to land within fifty miles of Panama, or anywhere on the Caribbean coast of the Isthmus, and on November 6 the *Nashville* set out from Colon for a cruise to Porto Bello and along the coast to prevent any such landing.

It was also desirable to get the 450 Colombian soldiers out of Colon and out of the Republic of Panama, as well as to keep others from getting in, and this consummation was expedited and facilitated by the commander of those troops. He offered to take the men away, by the first available ship, and in peace, if the Panama Government would "make it an object to him." Now there was at that time about $140,000 in debased Colombian currency in the Panama treasury, worth about $56,000 in gold. The Panamans concluded that it would be a cheap and easy way of getting rid of the Colombians, to accept his offer. So they gave him $8,000 in gold, and he loyally kept his word. On November 5, the men and their wives were hurried aboard the Royal Mail steam-
ship Orinoco, and Colon knew them no more. The officer did not, of course, mean to go back to Colombia with them. That would have been inconvenient and probably dangerous for him, seeing the compact he had made with the Panamans. His scheme was to go to Jamaica, and enjoy his $8,000 in that loveliest of the Antilles. But, alas for him! His precious soldiers found out what a bargain he had made, and came to the conclusion that the money belonged to them as much as to him, seeing that it was the price of their departure from the Isthmus. So they rose against him and took it from him, to the uttermost peso; and what became of him thereafter, deponent saith not!

Just as the Orinoco left Colon, the Dixie steamed into the roadstead. At the same time there arrived at the Colon station a special train from Panama, bearing General Tovar and his comrades, who had been released on condition that they would immediately leave the country, a condition they were glad enough to fulfil. They were too late to go on the Orinoco, so they had to wait at Colon until November 12, when they got away on the Spanish steamer Leon XIII.

Thereafter there were no military operations of significance. The United States authorities on November 9 formally announced that no landing of Colombian or any other alien troops would be permitted in any part of the territory of Panama. Three days later Esteban Huertas was made Commander in Chief of the Panaman army, but the functions of himself and his miniature army were chiefly ornamental.

There arose some rumors that a naval expedition was approaching Panama from Buenaventura, and the American ships in the Pacific were instructed to look out for it, but the rumors were baseless. Also there were tales of a great Colombian army being marched to Panama by land, which provoked only derision from those acquainted with the character of the country which such an army would have to traverse—the land of the San Blas Indians, which consists, as is supposed, chiefly of alternating mountains and moorasses, but which in fact has never yet been fully surveyed.
or explored by white men. The object of such reports was, however, obvious. It was to create the impression that Colombia was sincerely and energetically striving to reduce the seceding State to subjection again, and was prevented from so doing only by the superior force of the United States. The truth was that Colombia made no serious effort in that direction, and was in no condition to make one, and that she would, in all probability, have failed to reconquer Panama even had the United States refrained from giving the latter any protection.

In the absence of military operations, political activities were abundant. The Provisional Government of Panama assumed the work of actual administration so promptly, energetically, and efficiently, that on November 7 it secured official recognition from the United States as the *de facto* government of the Isthmus. This recognition was conveyed to the Junta by Felix Ehrman, the American Vice-Consul-General at Panama. The Junta had informed him on November 4 of the act of secession and the formation of the Provisional Government, and he had replied on November 5 simply acknowledging receipt of their communication. He, of course, made full reports to the government at Washington and in consequence presently received this note of instructions:

"The people of Panama have, by apparently unanimous movement, dissolved their political connection with the Republic of Colombia and resumed their independence. When you are satisfied that a *de facto* government, republican in form and without substantial opposition from its own people, has been established in the State of Panama, you will enter into relations with it as the responsible government of the territory, and look to it for all due action to protect the persons and property of citizens of the United States, and to keep open the Isthmian transit, in accordance with the obligations of existing treaties governing the relations of the United States to that territory."

In accordance with these instructions on November 7, Mr. Ehrman wrote to the Junta as follows:
"As it appears that the people of Panama have, by unanimous movement, dissolved their political connection with the Republic of Colombia and resumed their independence, and as there is no opposition to the Provisional Government in the State of Panama, I have to inform you that the Provisional Government will be held responsible for the protection of the persons and property of citizens of the United States, as well as to keep the Isthmian transit free, in accordance with obligations of existing treaties relative to the Isthmian territory."

To this the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Señor de la Espriella, replied cordially on November 8, declaring that the Republic of Panama accepted fully the responsibility imposed upon it, and would regard it as a sacred and pleasant duty to fulfill all the duties required by the existing treaties which had been made by Colombia relative to the Isthmian territory. Meantime, on November 7, M. Bunau-Varilla was appointed Minister of Panama to the United States, in accordance with his request and the promise of Dr. Amador, and a Commission, consisting of Dr. Amador and Señors Boyd and C. C. Arosemena, was constituted to cooperate with him in framing and negotiating a canal treaty with the United States. The Commissioners set out on November 10 for the United States, the Minister being already here. Three days later M. Bunau-Varilla was formally received by President Roosevelt, and thus the new Republic was diplomatically recognised and received into the community of nations. The canal treaty was speedily negotiated, and on November 18 was signed at Washington by Secretary Hay and M. Bunau-Varilla. (See Appendix VI.)

Colombia also was busy with politics and diplomacy. The Bogotá Government was promptly informed of the attitude and intentions of the United States through the following despatch from our Government to Mr. Beaupré, who still remained at the Colombian capital:

"The people of Panama having, by an apparently unanimous movement dissolved their political connection with
the Republic of Colombia and resumed their independence, and having adopted a government of their own, republican in form, with which the Government of the United States of America has entered into relations, the President of the United States, in accordance with the ties of friendship which have so long and so happily existed between the respective nations, most earnestly commends to the governments of Colombia and of Panama the peaceful and equitable settlement of all questions at issue between them. He holds that he is bound not merely by treaty obligations, but by the interests of civilisation, to see that the peaceful traffic of the world across the Isthmus of Panama shall not longer be disturbed by a constant succession of unnecessary and wasteful civil wars."

In reply the Bogotá Government on November 8 formally but vainly protested against American recognition of Panaman independence, and appointed General Rafael Reyes—one of the ablest and highest-minded statesmen in that Republic—a special commissioner to proceed to Panama and negotiate a return of that State to its former union with Colombia. Before he could get to the Isthmus, however, a company of five self-appointed commissioners from the Colombian state of Bolivar arrived at Colon on the Hamburg-American steamer Scotia, on a similar errand. They were not permitted to land, but were met on shipboard by a Panaman commission composed of Señors Arias, Espinosa, Morales, and Arosemena. A temperate and amicable interview ensued, but was entirely fruitless. That was on November 16. On the same day President Marroquin, of Colombia, took the extraordinary and most irregular step of cabling directly to the Senate of the United States an elaborate and vehement protest against American recognition of Panama. Both the Senate and the President and his Secretary of State would have been justified in resenting this performance, which can hardly have been inadvertent but must surely have been intended by Dr. Marroquin as a deliberate slight to the American Executive, but it was generously and good-naturedly decided to overlook it. Of
course the protest had no effect whatever at Washington, though it is possible it had and was intended to have some effect at home in Colombia, where the Government was in desperate straits to keep the states of Cauca and Antioquia from following the example of Panama and seceding.

General Reyes, accompanied by Generals Ospina, Holguin, and others, arrived at Colon on November 19, on the French steamer Canada. Like their predecessors from Bolivar, they were not permitted to go ashore, but they had a conference with the Panaman commissioners on shipboard. It, too, was without practical result, unless to demonstrate further the irrevocable nature of the step which Panama had taken. At its termination, General Reyes came on to the United States, having been commissioned to do so as a special envoy with extraordinary powers. He reached Washington on November 28, and was received with the courtesy and consideration to which his character and attainments, as well as the nature of his errand, entitled him. He pleaded, or argued, the cause of Colombia with consummate ability, and with frank integrity; and with the zeal of a double interest, for he was not only a loyal and patriotic representative of President Marroquin, but also, as he and all men then realised, he was practically designated to be President Marroquin’s successor as the Chief of the Colombian State. He went so far as substantially to offer, if the United States would only compel the return of Panama to Colombian allegiance, to have the defunct Hay-Herran treaty resurrected, revivified, and ratified, with an amendment waiving the $10,000,000 bonus and giving the United States the right of way across the Isthmus gratis. It does not appear to have occurred to him, though it should have done so, as it did to others, that this offer was a practical confirmation of the charges that the Marroquin government could have had the treaty ratified if it had wished, and that it deliberately strangled and killed that thing of its own creation.

This extraordinary proposition appears to have originated at Bogotá and to have been considered and approved by Dr.
AN AMAZING PROPOSITION

Marroquin, according to an authentic despatch from that capital quoted as follows by President Roosevelt in his annual message of December 7, 1903:

“Knowing that revolution has already commenced in Panama (an eminent Colombian) says that if the government of the United States will land troops to preserve Colombian sovereignty, and the transit, if requested by Colombian chargé d'affaires, this government will declare martial law; and, by virtue of vested constitutional authority, when public order is disturbed, will approve by decree the ratification of the canal treaty as signed; or, if the government of the United States prefers, will call extra session of the Congress—with new and friendly members—next May to approve the treaty. (An eminent Colombian) has the perfect confidence of Vice-President, he says, and if it became necessary will go to the isthmus or send representative there to adjust matters along above lines to the satisfaction of the people there.”

“This despatch,” said President Roosevelt in that message, “is noteworthy from two standpoints. Its offer of immediately guaranteeing the treaty to us is in sharp contrast with the positive and contemptuous refusal of the Congress which had just closed its sessions to consider favourably such a treaty; it shows that the government which made the treaty really had absolute control over the situation, but did not choose to exercise this control. The despatch further calls on us to restore order and secure Colombian supremacy in the Isthmus, from which the Colombian Government has just by its action decided to bar us by preventing the construction of the canal.”

The identity of “an eminent Colombian” will, of course, be obvious to the reader of the narrative. President Roosevelt was by official propriety and courtesy constrained thus to designate him with the bracketed phrase, but there was no secret and no doubt as to who he was.

The mission of General Reyes thus came to naught, and the American recognition and protection of Panama were properly maintained. In rapid succession many other gov-
ernments also recognised the new Republic, until all had done so save Colombia itself. The dates of official recognition—which in most cases were delayed long after practical but informal recognition—were as follows: United States, November 7; France, November 16; China, November 22; Austria-Hungary, November 27; Germany, November 30; Russia, December 7; Denmark, December 8; Belgium, December 9; Peru, December 21; Sweden and Norway, December 22; Cuba, December 23; Great Britain, December 26; Switzerland, Japan, and Italy, December 28; Costa Rica, December 29; Nicaragua, January 1, 1904; Persia, January 11; Portugal, February 16; Corea, February 23; Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina, March 3; Siam, March 4; Ecuador, September 21. The long delay of Ecuador was doubtless due to the close and sympathetic relations between that country and Colombia. For a time Colombia refused to recognise Panama in any way, even to the extent of honouring Panaman postage stamps in the mails. After the accession of President Reyes at Bogotá, however, a more reasonable spirit began to be developed, in 1905 actual recognition of postal service between the two countries was effected, and the way to an ultimate establishment of amicable relations was opened.

Meantime the Provisional Government took prompt steps toward placing the Republic upon a permanent constitutional basis, and on December 13 it issued a call for a general election, to be held on January 15, 1904, for members of a National Constitutional Convention, by which the organic and fundamental law of the Republic would be formulated and decreed.