

Terminal, Repair, and Supply Facilities.

The terminal facilities now under construction provide for a system of piers at both entrances of the Canal, with appliances for rapid handling of cargo. It should be remembered that a large amount of the trade by way of the Canal will not be through traffic; that is, ships from New York, New Orleans, Liverpool, and other ports, will touch at Colon, unload part of their cargo, and then sail to other ports on the Atlantic seaboard. Ships for the west coast of the Americas and for the Orient will stop at the docks, pick up this freight, and carry it to its destination.

At the Atlantic entrance a mole has been constructed from the village of Cristobal, at right angles to the Canal channel for a distance of 3,500 feet. Projecting from this mole inland, almost parallel to the Canal, will be the terminal docks. A quay-wall and two piers are under construction; the layout is such that, as soon as the trade demands it, three more piers can be built. The piers are 1,000 feet long and the slips between them 300 feet wide, so that two 1,000 foot ships may dock at one time without entering the Canal itself. The direction of the mole is such, with relation to the Canal entrance and the breakwater which juts out from Toro Point, that it will aid materially in breaking the force of the heavy seas which the violent northers of November, December, and January, pile up in Colon harbor. It is believed that this method of constructing the docks will make unnecessary the construction of the east breakwater, contemplated in the original plans of the Canal.

At the Atlantic entrance in close proximity to the docks will be a coaling plant, from which the Government will supply coal to its own vessels and to such commercial vessels as may require it. It is proposed to maintain the present commissary plant at Cristobal as a base of supplies for the Army and Navy, and it may be necessary even to enlarge this supply depot.

At the Pacific entrance the terminal docks will be at Balboa, about five miles inland from the beginning of the Canal. A quay-wall 2,000 feet long has been constructed along the edge of the ship basin, and it will be supplied with machinery for the rapid handling of lumber and materials of

this class. Here, also, ships will tie up while minor repairs are in progress at the marine shops. North of the quay-wall will be a series of piers, similar to those at the Atlantic entrance, jutting out from the mainland as the fingers stick out from the hand. Each of these will be 1,000 feet long, and the slips between will be 300 feet, thus allowing two 1,000-foot ships to use each dock at one time. The piers will be equipped with cranes especially adapted to the rise and fall of the tide, for the variation between high and low tide at the Pacific entrance is as high as twenty feet. Any ship that can use the Canal can likewise use the docks at the Pacific entrance.

Alongside the terminal quay and piers will be a dry dock capable of taking any ship that can use the Canal. It will be situated behind Sosa Hill in a position where the fire from an enemy's guns can not reach it. Between the dry dock and the wharves will be marine shops in which repairs to Government vessels, and to such commercial ships as may require them, will be made by the Government.

It is the avowed intention of the Government to place its terminal, coaling, and repair facilities at the disposal of commercial vessels, because it is believed that in no other way can a monopoly of the use of the Canal by powerful interests in the United States and elsewhere be prevented. For instance, if any private interest controlled the coaling facilities or the repair shops, commercial vessels competing with the vessels of "the interests" would be under a serious handicap. On the other hand, it is not the policy of the Government to prevent private companies from maintaining coaling places or marine shops at either entrance of the Canal, provided they wish to do so, and there are evidences that such facilities will be maintained by private companies.

The Cost.

It is estimated that the cost of the Canal ready for use will be \$375,200,000. This estimate was made in October, 1908, and is the only one based on actual experience in the developed work. In 1906 the minority of the Board of Consulting Engineers, who advised the construction of a lock canal, placed the cost of construction, engineering, and administration, at \$139,705,200, and the same items

were estimated in 1908 at \$297,766,000. The items of the estimate of 1908 are as follows:

Construction and Engineering.....	\$297,766,000
Sanitation.....	20,053,000
Civil Administration.....	7,382,000
Paid to New French Canal Company.....	40,000,000
Paid to Panama.....	10,000,000
Total.....	\$375,201,000

Reimbursements to Treasury, not including salvage from present plant, \$15,000,000.

It is apparent, therefore, that the estimated cost, less reimbursements and salvage, will be about \$358,000,000.

Since 1908 the force has increased so much in efficiency, that unit costs have decreased, and it now seems probable that the \$358,000,000 will cover not only the items mentioned above, but also the \$12,000,000 estimated for fortifications.

Distances by Way of Panama.

Tables of distances from leading ports to other ports by way of the Panama Canal follow:

PANAMA TO VARIOUS POINTS.

To	Miles.
Liverpool.....	4,270
New York.....	2,017
San Francisco.....	3,245
Valparaiso.....	2,649
Yokohama, via San Francisco.....	7,854
Hong Kng. via San Francisco.....	9,703
Wellington.....	6,512
Melbourne, via Wellington.....	8,000
Sydney, via Tahiti.....	7,830
Manila, via San Francisco and Yokohama.....	9,604
Strait of Magellan, via Valparaiso.....	4,453
Tahiti.....	4,530
Honolulu.....	4,658

NEW YORK TO VARIOUS POINTS.

To	Via Panama.	Via Suez.	Via Cape Town
Yokohama.....	9,966 (a)	13,566	.....
Manila.....	11,548 (a)	11,589	.....
Hong Kong.....	11,691 (a)	11,673	.....
Melbourne.....	10,392	13,385	13,162
Sydney.....	9,811	13,960	13,742
Wellington.....	8,851	14,441 (c)	14,333
Colon.....	1,981	.....	.....
Valparaiso.....	4,630 (b)	.....	.....
San Francisco.....	5,299	.....	.....
Puget Sound.....	6,074	.....	.....

(a) Via San Francisco.

(b) Via Strait of Magellan 8,461.

(c) Via Strait of Magellan, 11,344.

New York to Honolulu 400 miles longer than by San Francisco and Great Circle

LIVERPOOL TO VARIOUS POINTS.

To	Via Panama.	Via Suez.	Via Cape Town
Colon.....	4,720 (a)	.....	.....
Colon.....	5,034 (b)	.....	.....
Valparaiso.....	7,369 (g)	.....	.....
Sydney.....	12,406 (c)	12,036	12,940
Wellington.....	11,261	12,949	13,853
Melbourne.....	12,749 (d)	11,461	12,365
Yokohama.....	12,197 (e)	11,640	.....
Yokohama.....	12,330 (f)	.....	.....
Manila.....	14,300 (e)	9,677	.....
Hong Kong.....	14,483	9,731	.....

(a) Via Jamaica. (b) Via New York. (c) Via Tahiti. (d) Via Wellington.
(e) Via San Francisco. (f) Via Honolulu. (g) Liverpool to Valparaiso
via Strait of Magellan 8, 830.

Fortification and Neutralization.

Little is known on the isthmus about the fortifications which are to guard the entrances to the Canal, because, here where the construction work is in progress, a commendable secrecy is maintained in regard to the forts. The forts at the Atlantic entrance will be at Toro Point and Margarita Island, guarding, respectively, the west and east sides of the Canal. At the Pacific entrance they will be on the islands of Flamenco, Perico, and Naos in Panama Bay; and on the mainland at Balboa, points from which they command the entrance at this end. They have been named as follows:

The Reservations at the Pacific Entrance—Fort Grant and Fort Amador, the first in honor of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, U. S. A., President of the United States from 1869 to 1877, who died on July 23, 1885; and the second in honor of Dr. Manuel Amador Guerrero, first President of the Republic of Panama, who died on May 2, 1909. *The Reservations at the Atlantic terminus*—Fort Sherman, Fort Randolph, and Fort de Lesseps, named in honor of Gen. William T. Sherman, U. S. A., who died February 14, 1891; Maj. Gen. Wallace F. Randolph, U. S. A., who died September 9, 1910; and Count Ferdinand de Lesseps, promoter of the Panama Canal, who died December 7, 1894.

FORT GRANT MILITARY RESERVATION.

Battery Newton, in honor of Maj. Gen. John Newton, U. S. Volunteers (Brigadier General, Chief of Engineers, U. S. A.), who died May 1, 1895.

Battery Merritt, in honor of Maj. Gen. Wesley Merritt, U. S. A., who died December 3, 1910.

Battery Warren, in honor of Maj. Gen. Gouverneur K. Warren, U. S. Volunteers (Lieutenant Colonel, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A.), who died August 8, 1882.

Battery Buell, in honor of Maj. Gen. Don Carlos Buell, U. S. Volunteers (Colonel, Assistant Adjutant General U. S. A.), who died November 19, 1898.

Battery Burnside, in honor of Maj. Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside, U. S. Volunteers (First Lieutenant, Third U. S. Artillery), who died September 13, 1881.

Battery Parke, in honor of Maj. Gen. John G. Parke, U. S. Volunteers (Colonel, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A.), who died December 16, 1900.

FORT AMADOR MILITARY RESERVATION.

Battery Smith, in honor of Maj. Gen. Charles F. Smith, U. S. Volunteers (Colonel, Third U. S. Infantry), who died April 25, 1862.

FORT SHERMAN MILITARY RESERVATION.

Battery Howard, in honor of Maj. Gen. Oliver O. Howard, U. S. A., who died October 26, 1909.

Battery Stanley, in honor of Maj. Gen. David S. Stanley, U. S. Volunteers (Brigadier General, U. S. A.), who died March 13, 1902.

Battery Mower, in honor of Maj. Gen. Joseph A. Mower, U. S. Volunteers (Colonel, Twenty-fifth Infantry), who died January 6, 1870.

Battery Kilpatrick, in honor of Maj. Gen. Judson Kilpatrick, U. S. Volunteers (Captain, First Artillery), who died December 2, 1881.

FORT RANDOLPH MILITARY RESERVATION.

Battery Tidball, in honor of Brig. Gen. John C. Tidball, U. S. A., who died May 15, 1906.

Battery Webb, in honor of Brevet Maj. Gen. Alexander S. Webb, U. S. A. (Lieutenant Colonel, 44th U. S. Infantry), who died February 12, 1911.

Battery Weed, in honor of Brig. Gen. Stephen H. Weed, U. S. Volunteers (Captain, 5th U. S. Artillery), who was killed in action, July 2, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa.

FORT DELESSEPS MILITARY RESERVATION.

Battery Morgan, in honor of Brig. Gen. Charles H. Morgan, U. S. Volunteers (Major, 4th Artillery), who died December 20, 1875.

The right of the United States to fortify the Canal was

seriously questioned at one time by statesmen and publicists because of a clause contained in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of April 19, 1850, providing that neither the United States nor the United Kingdom would fortify the Canal or exercise any dominion over any part of Central America. In the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of November 18, 1901, it is provided that the first Treaty is superseded without impairing the general principles of neutralization as established in Article 8 of that Convention. The Treaty further provides:

"It is agreed that the Canal may be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States, either directly at its own cost, or by gift or loan of money to individuals or corporations, or through subscription to or purchase of stock or shares, and that, subject to the provisions of the present Treaty, the said Government shall have and enjoy all the rights incident to such construction, as well as the exclusive right of providing for the regulation and management of the canal. * * * The canal shall never be blockaded, nor shall any right of war be exercised nor any act of hostility be committed within it. The United States, however, shall be at liberty to maintain such military police along the canal as may be necessary to protect it against lawlessness and disorder."

The question of fortification is no longer an open one because the United Kingdom, the only nation that had a right to object, has acquiesced in the erection of forts. The ground taken by the United States was, that in order to insure the neutrality of the Canal, as it is bound to do by Treaty, it was necessary to have such forts and naval bases at both entrances as would enable it to repel the attack of an enemy, and to insure the use of the Canal by belligerents in accordance with the rules laid down. (See Treaties.)

The forts as planned are in a position to protect not only the entrances of the Canal, but to make it practically impossible for the ships of an enemy to destroy or injure the only vulnerable part of the waterway—that is, the locks. Gatun Locks are seven miles inland from the forts at the Atlantic entrance, and Miraflores Locks nine miles inland from the outermost fortification at the Pacific entrance.

In addition to the forts which will guard either entrance, a system of inland defenses for the locks has been agreed upon. The headquarters for the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps on the isthmus will be at the Pacific entrance of the Canal, but posts will be maintained elsewhere, including the Atlantic entrance, the locks, and probably at a point along Culebra Cut, opposite Culebra.

Panama Railroad

The Panama Railroad is owned by the United States, but the form of a private corporation is maintained because it enables the railway to do business more promptly than if all its acts were scrutinized by the Auditor and the Comptroller of the Treasury. Each of the board of directors holds one share of stock, but this must be turned over at any time on demand of the Secretary of the Treasury. The railroad is conducted by a railroad man of 25 years' experience, Mr. J. A. Smith, the General Superintendent, and the steamship line by Mr. E. A. Drake, first Vice President, whose office is in New York, and who has spent his business life in the service of the company. Col. Geo. W. Goethals is President. This first railroad to be owned by the United States pays dividends, and is run on business principles. Although it has been a Government railroad eight years, under three distinct Canal administrations, it has not yet attracted to itself or had inflicted upon it the "political favorites" that we are commonly told would run the trains on Government railroads.

The first concession for a railroad across the isthmus was granted to a Frenchman in 1847, but he failed to raise the money necessary to build the road. In December, 1848, a concession was granted by Colombia to William H. Aspinwall, Henry Chauncey, and John L. Stephens, Americans, and this was modified to the advantage of the company on April 15, 1850, and again on August 16, 1867. The concessionaires had in view the handling of the immigrant trade bound for California and Oregon, recently opened to settlement, and Aspinwall had already (1848) established a steamship service between San Francisco and Panama. The discovery of gold in California made it possible to raise the money to begin the undertaking.

At that time railroad building was in its infancy, and the project of a line 50 miles long across a notoriously unhealthy country was regarded as a distinct hazard. Money ran low in 1851 and the progress of the work was not encourag-

ing, as the line had been completed only to Gatun, seven miles inland. In November of that year a ship unable to land its passengers at the mouth of the Chagres, as was customary for the transit, landed them at Colon, and at once the railroad came into use. The rates charged were high, but the service, as far as the trains went, was prompt compared with the canoes on the river. From 1852 to the present time the road has paid a dividend of from 3 to 61 per cent annually.

Clearing was begun in May, 1850, and the first train crossed the continent on January 28, 1855. As originally constructed the line was 47 miles, 3,020 feet, and the summit was at 263 feet above mean sea level. From the beginning the passenger and freight trade were heavy, as the road was used by all the west coast of North and South America, and, until an arbitrary decision of the management drove them from the trade (1868), there were several ships carrying European freight from Panama to the Orient. In 1869 the railroad across the United States was completed and thus a considerable amount of freight and almost all the passenger traffic for California and Oregon were diverted. Notwithstanding, the road continued to pay good dividends.

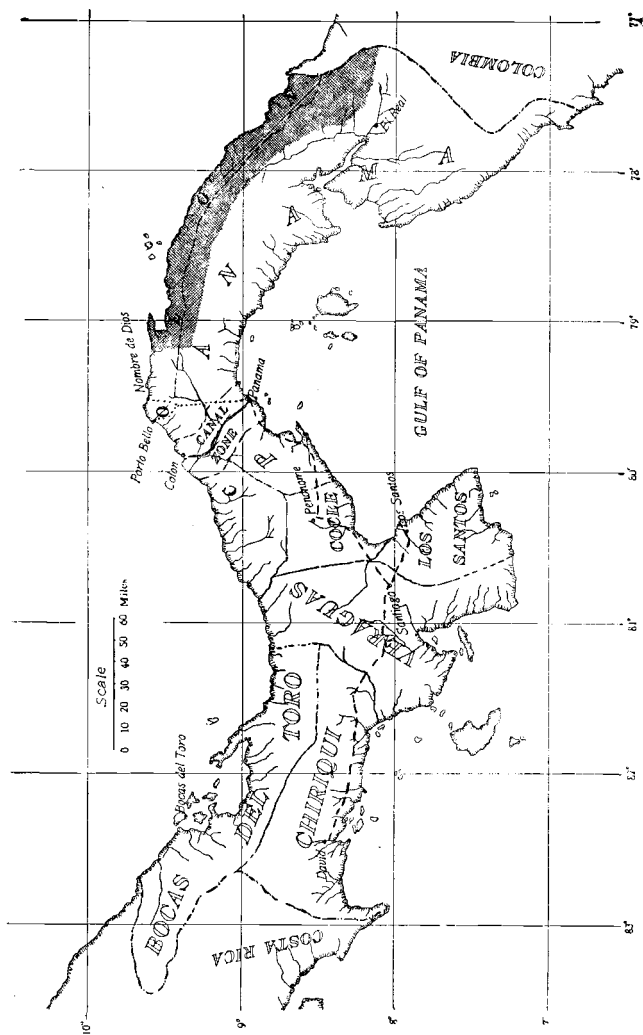
In August, 1881, the French canal company purchased 68,887 of the 70,000 shares at \$291 a share. The railroad was absolutely necessary in the canal construction. When the United States completed its purchase of the French rights (May 4, 1904) it came into possession of the 68,887 shares of railroad stock, and by private purchase acquired the balance.

The heavy equipment purchased for the American Canal work made it necessary to relay the road with 80-pound rail, double track 40 miles of it, and otherwise improve it. Since 1904 the equipment has been renewed and it now has 100-ton oil-burning locomotives, large and comfortable day coaches, parlor cars, and 40-ton freight cars.

Its commercial usefulness has been somewhat handicapped by the Canal work, because all considerations are made secondary to this. At present it cannot handle all the freight between the east and west coasts of the United States that could be procured, but it does transfer an average of 35,000 tons of commercial freight a month. This is about half of the total freight carried, the balance being for the canal and the railroad.

The canal construction made necessary a relocation of the road, in order that it might not cross the canal line, and consequently the new road, constructed since 1907, runs on the east side of the canal from Colon to Panama. Between Mindi and Gorgona, and Pedro Miguel and Panama the old line has been abandoned, but it is still kept in service from Gorgona to Pedro Miguel to accommodate the villages on the west side of Culebra Cut. (See also section Colon to Panama).





MAP OF PANAMA—(SHADED PORTION SHOWS COUNTRY CLOSED TO WHITE MEN).

History of Panama

Leading Dates in History of Panama.

Discovery by Rodrigo de Bastidas.....	1501
Pacific Discovered.....	September 25, 1513
City of Panama founded.....	August 15, 1519
City of Panama destroyed.....	January 28, 1671
New City founded.....	January 21, 1673
Galleons abandon Panama route.....	1739
Freedom from Spain.....	September 26, 1821
Freedom of religious worship.....	1821
Panama Congress.....	June 22-July 15, 1826
First public school.....	July 16, 1836
Slavery abolished.....	1848
Panama Railroad built.....	1850-55
Separation of Church and State.....	1863
Ground broken for Panama Canal.....	January 10, 1880
Independence from Colombia.....	November 3, 1903

There are four great events in the history of Panama—
 (1) The discovery of the Pacific Ocean, 1513. (2) The destruction of Old Panama, 1671. (3) The separation from Spain, 1821. (4) The construction of the Panama Canal, 1881-1914. The first two, and last of these events are geographical, the third is unimportant, except as it forms one of several local events from which schoolboys reckon history. Intrinsically there is just one big fact—Panama has never been an important influence in its own destiny. It has always been ruled from without, and usually misruled, first by Spain, then by Colombia.

In the brief sketch of its history that follows (and the reader should remember that this book is only a guide), Panama is considered in three epochs—the first that of the conquest and exploration (1499-1550), the second that of the great trade (1550-1750), the third the period of decline (1750-1903). The authorities consulted are referred to in the text. There is, however, only one real compiled authority for the local history of Panama, and that the *Compendio de Historia de Panama*, by Juan B. Sosa and Enrique J. Arce, published in Panama in 1911. This work was compiled at the instance of the Government of Panama as a text book for use in the schools. Wherever other authorities are in conflict with this, the book by Sosa and Arce is followed. The most interesting and accurate account yet published

in English on the colonial history of Panama is that by Albert Edwards (MacMillan Co., New York, 1911), in his general work on Panama and the Canal.

Conquest and Settlement.

The old city of Panama (Panama Viejo) was founded in 1519 by Pedro Arias Davila (Pedrarias), and it was the first permanent settlement in the new world. It is said that Alonza de Ojeda was the first European to touch upon the shores of the isthmus, the date given being 1499, and it is known that Columbus anchored in Limon Bay on his fourth voyage in 1502, and named the place Puerto Naos, from which was derived the name by which it was commonly known up to within the past generation, namely, Navy Bay.

The first attempt at colonization was made by Columbus at Santa Maria de Balen in 1503, but failed; and the second, at a point on the Caribbean coast, known as Nombre de Dios, about 20 miles east of Colon, where Nicuesa, having weathered a severe storm on his way from Porto Bello, sailed into calm water, saying "let us rest here in the name of God." This attempt also failed, and it was not until 1510 that a Spanish lawyer named Enciso, who had been one of Ojeda's expedition for the settling of the region south of the Atrato River, made a permanent station at Santa Maria del Antigua, so named in payment of a vow made to his protectress.

This colony, also, was later deserted, and it is chiefly important because it was here that Vasco Nunez de Balboa, first came into importance as a bold leader and consummate politician. He usurped the governorship, and had a precarious rule over a turbulent band of three hundred adventurers for a period of two years, meanwhile subduing the Indians in the neighborhood. The news of his usurpation reaching Spain, he was summoned to return for trial, but, having heard of this in advance, he made his dash across the isthmus, hoping to return with the glory of new discoveries to help him in his cause.

From a mountain top overlooking the Bay of San Miguel in Darien, he first saw the Pacific Ocean on September 25, 1513. He made peace with the Indians, collected some gold and pearls, and returned to Santa Maria, where he was arrested by the new governor, Pedrarias. Balboa was a

schemer, and a leader, and with the glory of the new discovery and the admiration of the common soldiers all his own, he was a much larger figure than the new Governor.

Three years of bickering ensued, during which Balboa bore himself well under the jealous eye of Pedrarias, now made more hostile because the King had honored the discoverer of the Pacific with the title "Adelantado del Mar del Sur y Gobernador de las Provincias de Coiba y Panama," and had directed Pedrarias to consult him in all matters of public policy. Balboa made a second journey to the Pacific, actually transported small ships in pieces across the mountains, and floated them upon the South Sea,

A truce between him and Pedrarias was patched up, on the understanding that Balboa was to marry a daughter of the Governor and be a dutiful son-in-law. An enemy of the Adelantado persuaded Pedrarias that Balboa loved too much his Indian mistress to carry out his part of the agreement, and that he really intended to set up a separate colony on the Pacific. Pedrarias recalled him to Acla, and, after the pretense of trial, had him beheaded in January, 1519, when he was 44 years old.

Immediately after the discovery of the Pacific the work of exploration was begun. Espinoza and Pizarro visited the Gulf of San Miguel and the Pearl Islands (1515), and everywhere met the indians with a cruelty that begot cruelty, where Balboa had made friends. In the same year Bada-joz pushed into the interior of the isthmus farther west, and coasted along the south shore from San Miguel Gulf to Chame. Espinoza (1516) made an incursion into the present provinces of Los Santos and Veraguas.

Soon after the execution of Balboa, Pedrarias crossed the isthmus and explored the coast from the Gulf of San Miguel to the island of Taboga. By accident

Founding of he met with Espinoza at a native fishing vil-
Panama. lage called Panama,* and there on August
15, 1519, he formally declared the site that of
of his future capital.

*The name Panama is derived from one of the primitive languages of the aborigines. Concerning its significance various opinions are held. Some believe it was the name of a cacique who lived in this locality at the time of the arrival of the conquistadores; some that it signifies the "land or place of the mariposas;" still others that it is cognate with the name of a tree abundant on the isthmus and especially so on the site on which was built the old city of Panama. Over all these opinions there has prevailed the one that the name "Panama" belonged to a small village of Indian fishermen on the site later known by the foundation of that city, and that it signified in the Cueva language, the one most extensively used by the

The exploration of the coast by a party in boats and one on land continued, the sea expedition going as far as Nicaragua, while that on land explored Chiriqui, and collected a quantity of gold from the homes of the living and the graves of the dead. In 1520, Nata was established as an outpost. Meanwhile Pedrarias established a new village on the Atlantic side, as nearly opposite Panama as he could, at the old harbor of Nombre de Dios. On September 15, 1521, Panama was made a city by royal decree, and became the seat of a bishop. The inhabitants of Acla were forced to move to the new site, and that village was abandoned and its buildings destroyed.

From Panama in the following thirty years went out expeditions that explored the isthmus from the shore to the mountain tops. Thence Pizarro and Almagro set forth on the voyages that ended in the discovery of Peru (1524). From here in 1527 went out the expedition under Serna and Corzo that, before its return, explored the Rio Grande to its source, crossed the divide at Culebra, and sailed down the Chagres to its mouth (April 3-10, 1527), thus traversing the route which the canal now follows.

"As early as 1535 vessels had begun to go westward along the coast from Nombre de Dios to the mouth of the Chagres River, and through that river to the head of navigation at a point, Venta Cruz (Cruces), 34 miles inland, where cargo was transferred by trail to Panama, only 18 miles distant.

"Thus during the first half of the 16th century, two distinct routes were established across the Isthmus, one from Nombre de Dios overland to Panama, and the other a part water and part overland route from the mouth of the Chagres to Panama. Over these highways was carried "the wealth of Peru." Judged in the light of that time, this wealth was great, and moreover it was sudden. Into a world accustomed to steal from itself, to live on the pillage of nearby peoples, there was thrown, within the life of a generation, a quantity of gold greater than all known of theretofore; into its hands were placed opportunities for exploiting an alien people, such as had never been imagined. And for

aborigines of Panama at this time, "abundance of fishes, or place abounding in fish." This derivation conforms with that which Pedro Arias de Avila gives in a letter written in the year 1516 to King Ferdinand and his daughter, Princess Juana: "Your Highnesses should know that Panamá is a fishing place on the coast of the South Sea, for the Indians call fishermen Panamá."—*Sosa and Arce*.

nearly two centuries Panama was the market place of this trade, and the trails of the Isthmus never ceased to hear the tinkle of the pack-train bells.

"These trails are still indicated on the maps as the "Camina Real," or "king's highway" as they would be called in English. At first they were only trochas through the jungle, but before 1550 they had been paved with field rock, gathered along the route. Canal surveyors working in the jungle today occasionally run across these paved roads and find them uniformly about 4 feet in width, with no evidence of drainage, and following the natural lay of the land. Yet one must not forget the roads of England at that time; it was a period in which the art of road-building had fallen into neglect. In Panama the jungle may be driven back, but it can not be conquered; only by continuous occupation can cleared ground be held. The trails of the 16th and 17th centuries have long since reverted to jungle, and great trees have grown up through the pavements."*

In this period, from the year 1534 to 1536, studies were made, under the direction of the Governor of Panama in compliance with a royal decree of February 20, 1534, of a route for a canal across the isthmus by the Rio Grande and Chagres rivers.

The cost was declared prohibitive. Nearly a century later (1616 to 1619) when the plan was again discussed, this time for a canal by the Atrato and Tuyra Rivers, it was deemed bad policy because the way would be equally open to the vessels of Spain and those of its already active enemies. There is a story that the clergy of the court of Philip III discouraged the project as a direct insult to God, who had placed the isthmus where it is. The writer has been unable to trace this story to its origin, but it sounds as though it were manufactured in New England.

The Government of Castilla del Oro (golden Castile), or of Terra Firma, as the Isthmus of Panama was called, was vested during this period in a Governor, Government, or an official who acted in that capacity. Under him were the governors of the various outposts, and the city and village officials. The courts were in the Audience of Panama, which had four judges, one of whom was President. This president acted as governor of Castilla del Oro much of the time.

*Porter's Progress of The Nations.

In the earliest days of the isthmus the governors were the captains of expeditions sent out from Spain or the West Indies. Their rule was over a set of unruly adventurers, largely soldiers of fortune, and they exercised it as a military commander would. From the time of Pedrarias the Governor was supposed to act according to fixed laws, but the local conditions made him in reality a military chieftain, who had either to rule as a dictator or not rule at all. There was justification for the hard rule of Pedrarias in this, although nothing would justify his lack of wisdom in ruling with cruelty.

From the very beginning the local government was beset with internal quarrels, such as that between Pedrarias and Balboa, and with external trouble, such as the revolution in Peru, and the attacks of the Indians and the cimarrones, as the escaped negro slaves were called. Among these was the rebellion against Pedrarias carried on in Nicaragua by Fernandez in 1526, and put down with a stern hand by the Governor. The civil war in Peru was felt in Panama by the taking of that city and further maltreatment of its inhabitants on two distinct occasions, 1545 and 1546. An uprising of Spaniards from Nicaragua under the Contreras brothers in 1550 resulted in the capture of the city and the maltreatment of the inhabitants. It will be seen from this that nothing but a military government would have been possible in a country that, inside of fifty years, had on its hands three well developed revolutions against the royal authority, in addition to the usual troubles with the aborigines.

One of the original ideas of colonization was to divide the conquered country into large estates and assign to each lord of the manor a certain number of slaves.

Indian Slaves This idea was not new, but only an application of the plan of conquest carried out in Europe.
Liberated.

It is probable that the Indians of Panama were in no worse fortune under their Spanish masters than the Saxons in England were during the early years of the Norman occupation. Inevitably the practice led to grave abuses, and at an early date, thanks to the efforts of missionaries, laws were passed forbidding the abuse of slaves. These laws were not obeyed, however, and at the instance of Las Casas (the strongest and noblest figure in American colonial history) the King in 1549 decreed the freedom of the Indian slaves. Those of Panama were set at liberty and given lands for their own cultivation. The slaves from Venezuela were

given the island of Otoque, the Nicaraguans the mainland near Chame, and the remainder the island of Taboga. In each settlement a church was erected and tools were distributed for farming.

One of the means taken to alleviate the condition of the Indian slaves was the importation of negroes from Guinea.

Sosa and Arce say that negroes had been
 Negro Slaves. brought to the isthmus in the earliest days as body servants, and that before the founding of Panama there were a number of them working in the fields and mines. From time to time these slaves would escape into the interior of the country, and by the middle of the 16th century they had formed little bands that way-laid pack-trains, and made incursions into the isolated settlements. They mixed with the Indians, and increased rapidly in numbers. Throughout the subsequent history of the new country they are known as "Cimarrones." By their help pirates and contrabandists harassed the isthmus. They were a large factor in the abandonment of Panama as the great trade route.

In spite of all its trouble the city was growing, because there was wealth in Peru and in Panama, and adventurers or pioneers braved the dangers of the new country, its diseases, and the turbulent semi-camp life for the sake of money. Before 1550 the cathedral in the old city had been built, a wooden structure, and the foundations had been laid of the Church of Our Mother of Mercy. The city had about 3,000 free inhabitants, and there were 2,000 more in Nombre de Dios and the surrounding outposts.

Period of the Great Trade (1550-1750.)

In this period came the rise and decline of Panama's trade. There were three main causes for the decline—Spain's own decadence, the attacks of English and French on the commerce of the Indies, and Panama's inability to turn to internal development, as the trans-isthmian trade decreased.

It was only by chance that Spain became the first great colonizing nation. She was not prepared for the work, and did not learn. The wealth of Peru and Mexico was used in waging wars for the suppression of political and religious independence, wars against France and England, in which she had nothing to gain and in reality did lose

her European possessions, a Quixotic war against the Turks, and finally the foolish wars of succession to determine which of two worthless royal houses would reign in Spain. The Spanish renaissance of 1750-90, short lived and futile, came too late to have any effect on the colonies. They had learned that Spain regarded them purely as a source of revenue, and had also learned the beginnings of the lesson of self-dependence. Yet all these wars in Europe affected Panama, for the continual state of hostility gave rise to the ceaseless attacks on Spain's commerce, and even in the few years of peace that intervened at home, there was no peace in the colonies.

In this period the royal authority was threatened by a revolution in 1563, in which a leader named Mendez and his band took advantage of the absence of the
 Internal Governor at Nombre de Dios to attack and
 Affairs. occupy the city of Panama. Mendez was captured and executed.

The cimarrones began a series of attacks on the Government in 1549, when one of their chieftains established himself on the Gulf of San Miguel, and devastated the country, until defeated by a regular expedition from the city. In 1553 to 1554 a negro named Bayano became so bold in his raids on the pack trains that a regular expedition was sent against him, which he defeated. A second expedition surprised and took him prisoner, but a well-meaning Governor allowed him to go on his promise to be good. He broke his parole and after a hard campaign was captured and sent to Spain. But his companions continued their depredations on the pack-train commerce. The name of this chief is retained in the region where he ruled, for the Chepo River is commonly called the Bayano.

In 1637 the Indians of Darien under an able chieftain rose against the Spaniards and laid waste the towns of that region. A treaty of peace was finally made in which they recognized the King as their suzerain, and in return were let alone by the Spaniards.

In the period 1556 to 1600 the work of colonizing Veraguas was carried on with the loss of many lives, innumerable little quarrels with the Indians, and no great benefits to anyone.

Within the city itself there was a fire in 1563 that destroyed forty buildings; and another in 1644 that burned 83 buildings, among them the new cathedral in process of con-

struction. The city itself was destroyed in January, 1671, when the pirate Morgan captured it. Of this and the founding of the new city more is told elsewhere in this book (pages 117, 151, 179.)

The government of the colonies was vested in a home administration consisting of the Council of the Indies, residing in Spain, and colonial officials with various titles corresponding to the amount of authority vested in them—viceroy, captain general, governor, adelantado, cabildo. Judicial authority in the colonies was vested in Royal Audiences; from whose decisions there was an appeal to the Council of the Indies.

The Council of the Indies had jurisdiction over all matters pertaining to the colonies, was, in short, the King's adviser on colonial affairs. Under it came even the Government. viceroys, and all the colonial officials held office at its pleasure. In the course of the first century it compiled the body of laws known as The Statutes of the Indies, from which much of the information about colonial government and its development is obtained. These laws were carefully compiled to meet every emergency that might arise, and were admirable in many respects, but they were not fitted for the conditions. In consequence the colonial governors were dictators, the courts were maintained to aid the dictators, and, except for the removal now and then of an official for notorious malfeasance, there was no restraint upon the colonial governments so long as they turned into the home treasury an annual tribute deemed worthy of the colonies.

In 1538, the Royal Audience of Panama was established with a President who had the authority of a viceroy, with jurisdiction over all of South America to the boundary of Mexico. In 1543, Panama and Nombre de Dios were made subordinate to the Audience of Guatemala. In 1563, the Royal Audience was again transferred to Panama, where it remained until 1718, when, in an effort to put an end to continual civil war in the colony, Panama was made subordinate to the viceroyalty of Peru. In 1722, the Royal Audience was restored to Panama where it remained until 1739, when Panama became a province in the viceroyalty of Santa Fe de Bogota.

There were three sources of the wealth that formed the home-bound trade of Panama—gold from the slave-worked mines of Darien and Veraguas on the Isthmus, gold and

skins from Peru, and silver from Bolivia, known then as Potosi. In return for these Spain sent to her colonists on the west coast of South America clothing

Sources of the and foodstuffs. All the efforts of the home

Trade. government were to procure as much precious metal and gems as possible from the colonies, and send to them as much as possible of the products of Spain. To this end agriculture in the colonies was discouraged where it could compete with the agriculture of Spain (for instance a flourishing wine industry in Peru was broken up), and all influence was brought to bear to make the colonists work the mines.

The people who came to New Spain were not of the working class, but rather broken-down gentry or middle-class merchants who wished to recuperate their fortunes. They would not work in the mines themselves; so there grew up two distinct classes—masters and slaves. There were, therefore, two great influences interfering with the real development of the colonies,—the hostility of the home government to any but extractive industry, and the unwillingness of the colonists themselves to work.

The monopoly of trade with the colonies was vested in the Casa de Contratacion of Seville, formed in 1503, with the right to regulate trade, hear cases in admiralty,

Casa de and on contracts growing out of the trade.

Contratacion. It prescribed at what ports ships should land their cargo, both in the colonies and in Spain, what class of goods could be carried, with what colonies various ships could trade, and in what fleets they might sail to and from the colonies.

The trade with the Indies and the Spanish Main was restricted to Spanish ships, and to such of these only as had charters from the Casa de Contratacion.

Trade Re- Ships not so chartered were regarded as piratical, and the masters and crews were enslaved or executed upon capture. The effect was to make illegal all trade by vessels of other nations; and the result was that for two centuries the French and English "free traders" harassed the islands and the Spanish Main, capturing treasure galleons, destroying cities, and finally driving the commerce away from the isthmus to the longer but safer route around South America.

PRIVATEERS, BUCCANEERS, PIRATES.

As early as 1525 an English ship beaten out of its course by storm visited the West Indies. Upon its return to England the stories of the wealth to be gained by trade with the Spanish colonies excited the cupidity of seafaring men, and within twenty-five years English and French ships were carrying on a clandestine trade with the islands.

Spain looked upon these "free traders" as pirates, and whenever they were caught they were executed outright or held in servitude. Many of them worked out their lives building the walls of old Panama.

Instead of deterring the "free traders," Spain's drastic policy drove them to self-defense. They were not gentle, kind men, at best; but rough sailors, adventurers, cut-throats, unwashed people generally. Their attitude toward a fight was to go through it, never to avoid it or back out. Men-of-war in those days were merchant vessels with cannon aboard, and a skipper who could mount a few guns was just as well prepared to fight as a ship of the line with an equal number of guns. The English and French ships were smaller, and better-handled than the Spanish.

So it turned out that Spain had her hands full protecting her commerce; and she had no greater enemy in her efforts than her own subjects in the new world, who preferred the illegal trade, with its freedom from taxes, to that upon which the king levied his customs dues. In short, the trade with French and English was as advantageous to the Spanish colonists as it was to the "free traders," and evidence is not wanting that the so-called "pirates" were unofficially welcomed by many a colonial governor.

Officially, however, Spain hunted these "free traders," and forbade them the use of Spanish colonial ports and markets. On this account the ships' crews would go ashore on the mainland or an island to hunt wild cattle and procure other food. In one generation this business of supplying ships of the "free traders" became specialized, and French and English outcasts on various islands became meat-curiers, or boucaniers. They gave their name to the semi-piratical "free traders," who later were known as buccaneers.

The dividing line between the privateers, like Drake, and the buccaneers, like Morgan, was purely legal. Essentially they were both pirates, stealing the property of

others. The Spaniards in turn stole from the Indians and their negro slaves; so it was "dog eat dog;" and the real producers, as usual, got nothing but an existence from their labor.

So what Spain by her foolish policy left undone to kill her colonies, the English and French privateers and pirates did. The two hundred years following the founding of Old Panama were characterized on the Spanish Main by an international effort to get rich without working. The system is still popular in Spanish America and the United States.

French and English privateers and pirates were active in the West Indies as early as 1550, but it was not until Francis Drake attempted to take Nombre de Dios in 1572 that the formal raids against fortified places began. On the night of July 9, 1572, Drake, Oxenham, and others surprised Nombre de Dios and had it at his mercy, but he was wounded and his men, taking fright, carried him to the ship and sailed away without the dear-bought booty. He hung around the coast, however, the scores of islands giving plenty of hiding places; made an unsuccessful foray into the interior, including a fruitless attack on Cruces (January 31, 1573); and, finally (May, 1573), surprised a treasure train from Panama near Nombre de Dios, and got away with considerable booty. In this work Drake was aided by Indians and runaway slaves.

By the aid of cimarrones, John Oxenham crossed through Darien in 1577, and from the Gulf of San Miguel sailed out upon the Pacific, the first Englishman to sail on that sea. He captured some small trading ships and from these captured a treasure galleon. Later he was captured by the Spaniards and his company enslaved or killed. In that same year an English freebooter named Sylvester captured Concepcion, in Veraguas, and robbed the mines.

In 1578, Drake plundered ships in the West Indies, rounded South America, plundered along the Peruvian coast, and sailed around the world without having attacked Panama. In 1585, he invested Nombre de Dios and Fort San Lorenzo at the Chagres mouth, but did not attack either. In 1595, however, with a fleet of 27 ships and 2,500 men he set out to take Panama. He attacked and destroyed Nombre de Dios (January 6, 1596), silenced the guns of San Lorenzo, and sent a force of 700 men in advance toward Panama by way of the Nombre de Dios trail. This force met such stout

resistance that it turned back. Drake returned up the coast from the mouth of the Chagres, and at the entrance to Porto Bello (February 7, 1597) died. The planned attack on Panama was abandoned.

On February 7, 1602, William Parker, English, made a raid on Porto Bello and got away with 10,000 ducats of gold and considerable personal property.

Unsuccessful attempts against Panama were made by the pirate Francis L'Olonnais (French) in 1650, but he was killed while crossing Darien, and by Mansvelt (English), who planned first to reduce Nata. Toward the close of June, 1668, Henry Morgan and a band of English and French pirates, took Porto Bello and carried away considerable treasure. On January 6, 1671 he took Fort San Lorenzo at the mouth of the Chagres, and moved thence up the river to Cruces, whence he went overland to Panama and took that city. His raid is referred to under the respective headings, Porto Bello (page 190), Fort San Lorenzo (page 197), and Old Panama (page 179). In 1675, La Sonda (French) attacked Chepo, but was repulsed. In 1678, Burnano (French) captured and sacked Chepo. In 1679, La Sonda and Coxon (English) raided Porto Bello. In the following year Coxon crossed the Darien and from canoes captured some ships off the Pearl Islands. He cruised about the bay, making reprisals on vessels and isolated settlements; and captured Remedios on March 25, but was too weak to attempt Panama. In 1685 Henry Harris duplicated Coxon's journey, and for several weeks worried commerce in Panama Bay. He destroyed Chepo. In the Pearl Islands, on May 28, 1685, he was defeated by Spanish war ships and driven away. In January, 1686, a band of English and French pirates destroyed Alanje in Chiriqui. In June of the same year, Townley, an English captain, captured Los Santos, and procured a large amount of booty. On November 24, 1686, San Lorenzo (Chiriqui) was captured and burned. In 1703, pirates surprised and captured Porto Bello, robbing the inhabitants. In the same year John Raasch with a band of English and cimarrones made an incursion into the Darien region and captured Santa Cruz de Cana in the midst of the mining region. Pirates all through this period hung about the Caribbean coast of the isthmus and waylaid vessels making for Porto Bello, both from the mouth of the Chagres and in the ocean trade.

Pirates—

Morgan and

Others.

Not properly in the class of privateers or pirates was Edward Vernon, an Admiral in the English Navy, who made attacks upon the Spanish dominions in the West Indies and along the Caribbean during the war between England and Spain (1738-1743). Yet his work contributed to the same end as that of the illegal sea captains; namely, the driving of commerce from Panama.

On November 22, 1739, he appeared off Porto Bello with a strong fleet. During the interval of peace with England the Spanish Governor of Terra Firma had allowed the defenses of the place to become weak, so that Vernon captured the town without much resistance. On March 24, 1740, he took Fort San Lorenzo, and on April 25, 1742, again attacked and took Porto Bello, which he held until June 11. The plan was to join with Admiral Anson, who had sailed around South America, in an attack on Panama from both sides, the latter from the Bay of Panama, and Vernon by land from the rear. The plan miscarried. Vernon's troops sent out towards Panama met everywhere with such stout resistance that they were unable to gain headway. Anson did not arrive to begin the siege; so Vernon evacuated Porto Bello. In 1741, Vernon attacked Cartagena with a powerful fleet and landing force, and met with the most complete repulse ever given an English fleet on the Spanish Main.

It has been said that both the Spanish and their European enemies on the Spanish Main and in the West Indies were essentially pirates, since they were actuated by the same idea, that of becoming rich without working. The broad difference that is supposed to have existed between Drake and Morgan, and Morgan and the contrabandists of the eighteenth century, is almost purely legal. Drake had letters of marque, Morgan had none; yet both were honored by knighthood. The contrabandists who drove a flourishing trade in Panama lacked the strength to take cities, but they were essentially in the same business as Drake and Morgan; namely, that of evading the trade restrictions placed upon commerce by the Spanish crown.

The contraband trade was popular in Panama, where the King's tax on commerce was heavily felt. Indeed there are many evidences that officials as well as the people connived at it. Jamaica was the West Indian depot, and from there ships put out for the north coast of the isthmus, land-

ing their cargo at the mouth of the Cocle, Veraguas, or other rivers, whence it was packed across on mules to Nata, and thence to the Pacific, a total distance of about 45 miles. A determined effort was made in 1743-1749 to put down this trade. In retaliation, William Kinghills sailed into Porto Bello harbor on August 2, 1744, with a fleet of 40 armed merchantmen under guise of friendliness, for the people were just as sorry as he was that the contraband trade was suffering. Once inside, he turned his guns on the city and after doing great damage sailed away.

The war against the contrabandists ended with the taking of their stronghold, Nata, on November 16, 1746, and the hunting down of the chiefs, who were drawn and quartered and their heads exhibited in the plazas of the principal towns in the region. This broke up the illegal trade.

The war on commerce by way of Panama began about 1550, and was waged unceasingly for two hundred years. This

was the principal reason why the route was abandoned. But there had been a general decrease in the trade for a century before the Trade Route. abandonment; it had passed its height before

Morgan captured Panama. The main source of wealth, the gold of the Incas, was soon exhausted, and it was more difficult to mine gold than to steal it. The increase in the power of England made it impossible for the Spaniards to maintain their pretense of trade monopoly in the West Indies. In 1655, the Island of Jamaica became an English colony, right in the heart of the Spanish colonial domain. Real industry had never flourished on the isthmus; there was little agriculture, little manufacture; the people lived by trade. When that trade was ended, the country rapidly diminished in importance. Of the abandonment of the Panama route, and its consequences, Sosa and Arce say:

"Peace with England having been signed, and the route by Cape Horn having become frequented by the seaborne trade of Spain with her colonies, the commerce of the galleons by way of the isthmus ceased. This determined the ruin of Porto Bello; began the decadence of Panama, and of other towns in the territory that had lived the unstable lives of traders at the annual fairs, as carriers of merchandise, and as longshoremen. The last of the galleons that sailed from Callao towards the close of 1739 found upon its arrival at Panama that the fleet of Vernon was besieging Porto Bello. It went back with the treasure to Guayaquil, and carried on its business with the Spanish fleet at Cartagena by way of the long and dangerous route from Quito to Bogotá. Trading after this time was carried on by way

of the Cape, considered more easy and less expensive by the merchants of Perú and the neighboring colonies.

* * * In the six years—1749-1755—was witnessed the visible decadence of the country when, in contrast with the commercial activity of former times, there came a period of business retrenchment, during which there ensued the exodus from the country of many persons who had lived by means of business derived from the carrying of European merchandise and colonial treasure and products between the ports of the isthmus. After the squadrons of galleons adopted the way around Cape Horn, there arrived at the port of Panama from Pacific-Coast ports scarcely ten or twelve ships a year, and at Porto Bello from Spain and the ports of the West Indies, about the same number in the same length of time. Under these conditions the annual royal taxes did not exceed one hundred thousand dollars, a sum insufficient to meet the urgent necessities of the public service. The prostration of business had reached such a state that in the whole country there did not remain a person who had fifty thousand dollars capital, after the great fortunes of the former epoch had left in search of new fields for investment."

From Decadence to Renaissance (1750-1903.)

The milestones in this period are the independence from Spain (1821), the completion of the Panama Railroad, (1855), and the construction of the Panama Canal (1881 to 1914). The first seventy years were quiet ones, in which good officials administered the affairs of the provinces of the Isthmus with forbearance and wisdom, and yet years in which Panama, Porto Bello, and the places nearby were prostrate, because of the abandonment of the trade route. The following ninety years were vexed with internal strife, and Panama garnered in bitterness all of the fruits of its industrial incompetence, its lack of ethnic unity, and its dependence on others for government and protection.

The Audience of Panama was abolished by decree of June 20, 1751, and Terra Firma, as the Isthmus was still called, was made a Captaincy General under the supervision of the Viceroy of Bogota. The captains general governed without internal opposition from this time until 1821, the only political event of importance during that time being the transfer of the viceregency to Panama in 1812 for a year, while the revolutionists in Bogota made residence in that city impossible for the Spanish viceroy. The social movement, in Europe epitomized by the French Revolution, made headway on the Isthmus, although slowly, where "the rights of man" made a varied appeal to the people of four distinct classes. The revolution in Spain, mixed as it was with the claims of

Charles IV and his worthless son Fernando VII to the throne, the interference of Napoleon, and the rise of Republicanism, affected the colonies vitally, because it made the mother country unable to check the revolutionary propaganda in Latin America. Yet Panama remained loyal to Spain, and was the last of the South American colonies to declare independence.

This loyalty was based largely upon incompetence. The lack of ethnic unity* on the Isthmus, of economic independence, distrust of Bogota with whom her revolutionary destinies must be placed, and the presence of strong garrisons, all had an influence on that loyalty, which caused the home government, in 1814, to confer upon the Isthmian cities the title of "Faithful."

Panama
Fiel.

It was a dispute between two men of the two first classes, Spaniard and creole, in Bogota on July 20, 1810, that precipitated the first open revolutionary movement in Colombia, although the seed had been sown thirty years before.

The junta that took charge of the Bogota government "in the name of the king" asked from Panama to join in a movement for home rule, but the authorities of Panama refused, declaring their allegiance to Spain, and raising

two battalions for the purpose of repelling any attack that the revolutionists might make upon the Isthmus. One of these was sent to Quito and assisted the Government forces in the war against the revolutionists. In January, 1814, an unsuccessful attack was made by the Colombian revolutionists on Porto Bello, and in April, 1819, Gregory MacGregor took

*The passing of the eighteenth century marked at each step a further decadence of the Isthmus, whose ruin was almost total, and the apathy of whose sons was pitiful, incapable as they were of stemming the tide of economic and social disaster. The chief element in this incapacity was the heterogeneous character of the population, and the distinctions and privileges that arose therefrom. Four distinct social groups existed in the colony: European Spaniards; the creoles, sons of the Spaniards but native born; the Indians; and the negroes, both free and slave. For the first were reserved the high political positions, and they also held the better classes of business and certain offices. Public positions of minor importance were held in the cities by the creoles, and later they were able to enter the church, the army, and the law professions, which opened to them other public positions. The population of the interior was composed largely of the poorer creoles who followed agriculture and cattle-raising. The mechanical trades, considered degrading, were carried on by the lower classes, which were the product of the crossing of white, Indian, and negro blood. The mestizos, for instance, were the whites with the negroes, and the zambos of the mulattos with the Indians. The Indians were engaged especially in farming and small stock-raising, and to the negroes was left the work of mechanics, mine laborers, porters, and domestic servants.—*Sosa and Arce*.

the place for the revolutionists, but was afterwards defeated and made prisoner. In April, 1819, John Illingworth, an Englishman in the service of Chile, took the island of Taboga, and tried unsuccessfully to exchange, with the authorities at Panama, his prisoners for those taken by the Spaniards at Porto Bello. Bolivar started in the summer of 1821 to make a campaign on the Isthmus, but was deterred, and meanwhile the Isthmian independence was declared.

During the time of Panama's favoritism in Spain, 1814 to 1816, the Government at Madrid made plans to open trade by the isthmian route, and to restore to Panama some of its old wealth, by making it a free port. But the Government of Spain was not sure of itself for a day at a time, and the plans were not put into execution.

On all sides the revolutionary movement was in progress, and towards the end of 1820 its success became assured. Naturally the foment was working in Panama. In August, 1821, there arrived on the Isthmus Field Marshal Juan de la Cruz Murgeon, with the commission of viceroy, charged with the task of crushing the revolution in Colombia and Ecuador. He reinforced his command with the greater part of the garrisons of Porto Bello, San Lorenzo, and Panama, and set sail for Guayaquil, leaving in charge of the Isthmian government, Col. Jose de Fabrega, Governor of the province of Veraguas. The revolutionary committee, by means of bribes, persuaded most of the soldiers remaining in the garrison to desert, so that there was no force on the Isthmus to help the Governor to maintain the royal authority even if he wanted to do so.

The first open movement was in the village of Los Santos where on November 13, 1821, a declaration of independence was made. Other interior villages followed this lead.

On the night of November 27, sixty soldiers November 28, deserted from the garrison in the city of Panama, and on the following day at a meeting of the officials, church dignitaries, and the revolutionary committee, held in the city hall on the central plaza, independence was declared. Fabrega was continued in charge of the provisional government, and the soldiers that remained in the garrisons on the isthmus were given passage to Habana. By executive decree of February 9, 1822, Panama became the Department of the Isthmus in the new republic of Colombia.

The period from the declaration of independence from Spain to that of the declaration of independence from Colombia (1821-1903) was fretted with internal strife; for Panama reflected all the civil wars of Colombia, and had a few of her own. This may well be called the period of political infancy for the isthmus showed in all its political life the need of a protector. The first taste of republican government was a bitter one for Panama. From the time of his arrival in 1822, the military governor of the new Department, Jose Maria Carreno, treated the people as though they were soldiers, enforcing camp discipline among them. They soon became dissatisfied, and in 1826 the civil government was vested in Juan Jose Argote, leaving Carreno in command only of the garrisons. But the isthmian people knew from that time forth that their new liberty did not of necessity mean greater peace and comfort than they had known under Spanish rule.

Bolivar was a dreamer, and one of his fancies was of a strong defensive union of all Latin-American republics.

After the decisive victory at Ayacucho (December 19, 1824) he called the Latin-American Congress of Panama, which met in Panama (June 22-July 15, 1826), with delegates present from

Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and Guatemala. Many plans were discussed and some agreements made, but there were no direct results, because the nations represented were not capable of keeping internal order, much less of keeping agreements with one another.

The civil war in Colombia in 1828, and the war with Peru in 1829, both affected the quiet of the isthmus, where large garrisons were stationed, and in the latter war an attack on shipping in the harbor was made by Peruvian frigates. On September 26, 1830, only eight years after independence from Spain, the isthmian people

declared their independence from New Granada (as Colombia was called after the defection of Ecuador and Venezuela from Grand Colombia in 1830), and for two months maintained an independent state in Panama under the dictatorship of Jose Domingo Espinar. On December 11, of the same year the isthmus was reincorporated in the federation of New Granada, a loose union formed after the reaction against the centralization policy of Bolivar and his followers had proved a

failure. This movement is interesting chiefly because it was the first revolution, and because it was the avowed intention of the new Panama government to seek the protection of some European nation.

On July 9, 1831, the Governor, Juan Eligio Alzuru, assisted by minor officials, declared Panama independent of New Granada, and made himself dictator.

Second Revolution. A force sent out from Cartagena, to assist the Panama Governor in maintaining order, found upon reaching the mouth of the Chagres that he had started a revolution. This force was strengthened by recruits from Colombia and Veraguas, and under the leadership of Tomas Herrera, assisted by Colonel Fabrega, defeated the Dictator near Chorrera and entered Panama, August 25, 1831. Alzuru was shot in the Plaza Central on August 29. The authority of New Granada was reestablished by Herrera in a wise and peaceful manner; but in the middle of his labors, March, 1832, he had to put down a conspiracy for uniting the isthmus to Ecuador. In the confederacy of New Granada, Panama and Veraguas were made separate provinces each with its own Governor.

The effort made in New Granada in 1837-1841 to expel the Minimite monks and expropriate their property, resulted in a civil war in which the administration was successful. Taking advantage of the war to show disapproval of the neglect which Panama had experienced at the hands of the government in Bogota, Panama declared its independence on November 18, 1840. A convention in June, 1841, ratified the act of separation and named as governor and vice-governor the leaders of the revolution, Tomas Herrera and Carlos de Icaza. The revolution in New Granada having been put down, an army was despatched to Panama, but peace commissioners preceded it, and a treaty was made on December 31, 1841, by the terms of which the isthmus was re-incorporated in the New Granada confederation.

The California pioneers numbered some men of the rowdy class, just as the present American population on the Canal work does. In the days of waiting in Panama for ships to California, these rowdies made considerable trouble for the police. On April 15, 1856, one of them tried to cheat a fruit-stand man out of the price of a peice of watermelon. A row ensued which resulted in a riot,

The Water-melon Mas-sacre.

and a mob pursued the American and his friends to the railroad station. There was a pitched battle in which the station was wrecked; 16 Americans were killed and 15 wounded. An international conflict was averted by the payment by Colombia of \$400,000 indemnity.

From 1842 until the final separation from Colombia in 1903, there were 22 political uprisings in Panama that could

be counted as revolutions, since their object,

Sixty Years of and in some cases the result, was the over-

Revolution. turn of the existing government. This was

an average of one revolution every three years.

It is so much the habit of American newspapers to make fun of the Latin-American revolutions that space is taken here to point out the chief influences that make them possible. The first influence in the revolution, as a characteristic method of expressing discontent, is climate. It could not be used in any country where it is necessary to buy food and clothing for the army. In the tropics a popular leader can talk to a few friends and they to a few hundred people of the laborer or farmer class, and by promising relief from real oppression, can start a movement to wrest the control of government. The man who works in Panama is usually one without schooling, one who lives from hand to mouth, and his condition can not be worse. In a dull way he knows it should be better. He is always ready for a change. He is very like an American in that he attributes his economic troubles to the government entirely. He has a real cause for dissatisfaction; he does the work and gets a bare living, while his superiors get a fat living and merely order him in the work. Another basic cause is the lack of ethnic unity, the strong class feeling along racial lines. The "morenos" or brown people outnumber the whites 20 to 1 in Panama, yet they have but small influence in the government. There is reason, too, for the belief that the local administration on the isthmus under Colombian rule was usually unwise, often bad, invariably weak. All the conditions, therefore, were right for revolutions of a riotous nature in place of the election held in the United States every four years. The independent American voter, who blames the government for a financial panic, shows less political sense than the Panamanian who blames his government for patent abuses.

Many of the revolutions were confined to one battle and only three of them lasted for more than a few months. They were bitterly fought (the Panamanian is brave, and a

hard fighter), and they helped to widen the breaches between various families and classes, so that each war was the seed for another. The revolutions in which blood was shed occurred in 1862, '64, '65, '66, '68, '71, '73, '75, '76, '79, '84, '85, '86, '95, '99, and 1903. Only four of these were national in the sense of being Colombian, the balance being entirely local to Panama, and settled one way or the other without interference from Bogota. On the other hand some of the revolutions in Colombia did not cause any outbreak in Panama.

In 1855 by act of the New Granada legislature, Panama was made a State with absolute control of its domestic affairs. This was a wise move because it lessened discontent on the isthmus, and freed the

Home Rule for Panama. Bogota government from any obligation to assist in keeping order in Panama. This status was not changed in 1861 when the central government readopted the name, United States of Colombia.

The Liberals came into power at Bogota in 1861, and contrary to the constitutional guarantees of the isthmus, placed garrisons there to maintain the Liberal Government. Panama had taken little part in the civil war that ended with the triumph of the Liberals, and this was resented by the new Government. Innumerable affronts to the Panaman's right of local self government were offered, and the ten years that followed were constantly disturbed by small outbreaks. In 1873, the Conservatives started a formidable revolt in Chiriqui and Veraguas, which, although subdued in a month, resulted in the loss of hundreds of lives, and the widening of the breach between the two parties.

The annual reports of the Isthmian Canal Commission contain complete records of earthquakes in Panama for the current years. The severest of authentic

Earthquake record that has occurred up to this time was of 1882 that of September 7 to 11, 1882, when the seismic disturbances lasted over a period of four

days. Three severe shocks were felt, in consequence of which part of the facade of the Cathedral fell into the street, the apse arch of the ruins of the Church of Santo Domingo collapsed, the old cabildo or town hall was badly broken, tracks of the Panama railroad were thrown out of alignment, houses were shaken down in Colon, a fault appeared in the earth in Colon, and there was a tidal wave in the Caribbean off Darien.

A general revolution broke out in Colombia in 1885, due to the efforts of the President, Rafael Nunez, to introduce measures for conciliating all parties. He was a Liberal but the Radicals of his party objected to his methods, and State after State rose in revolt. On the Isthmus the Liberals were in control, also; but General Aizpuru, former President of Panama, seized the opportunity to start a revolution. He was obliged to retire from the city after an attempt to stampede the garrison, and reinforcements were hurried to Panama from Colon. This left Colon without Government troops, and there Pedro Prestan raised the standard of revolt. He tried to seize a shipment of arms on an American vessel in the harbor, but was prevented from doing this by the *U. S. S. Galena*, whose commander took possession of the ship. Meanwhile a battalion of 160 men was hurried to Colon from Panama, and at Mount Hope met and defeated the poorly armed revolutionists on the following day, May 18, 1885. The troops after a little more fighting entered Colon, and order was being established there when fire broke out and destroyed all but seven buildings in the town. Ten thousand people were made homeless, and the loss was six million dollars. The fire was attributed to Prestan and his followers. He fled to Cartagena, but the revolutionists would have nothing to do with him, and falling into the hands of the Government he was sent back to Colon, tried by court martial, and hanged, August 18.

While the troops were absent in Colon, Gen. Aizpuru entered Panama and after a brisk skirmish took the city.

An armistice of a month was declared, and at the instance of the Colombian Minister in Washington, the United States Government, acting under the treaty of 1848, landed a thousand marines to protect the Isthmian transit.

Meanwhile a force of Colombian troops was sent to the Isthmus, and pending their arrival the American marines took charge of the city, arresting the revolutionary chiefs, who were soon set at liberty, however, on promise not to fight within the city. The Colombian force entered the city without resistance on April 29. As a result of this war the constitution of 1863 was amended, and a more centralized national state was erected, known as the Republic of Colom-

bia, in which Panama and other former States were merely provinces, but with a large measure of local self-government.

A result of the effort of a coalition of Conservatives and Liberals in Colombia, calling themselves Nationalists, to form a strong central government, was that

The Three from 1885 to 1900 Colombia, and consequently
Years' War. Panama, was ruled by military dictators.

The rule was arbitrary, and the very strength it evidenced in putting down revolt from time to time, was one of the causes of the Liberal Revolution of 1899-1902, known as the three years' war. Belisario Porras, with a force recruited in Costa Rica, set up in Chiriqui on March 29, 1900, at Burica, a provisional government, and with recruits from all parts of the Isthmus joined a force under Emiliano J. Herrera, the military chief of the new government, at Aguadulce in Veraguas. The revolutionary army gradually approached the capital, defeating the Government troops at Bejuco and Corozal. On July 24 and 25, the Liberals, 1000 strong, were victorious at Calidonia, a suburb of the city, and could have entered Panama. By advice of the American consul in Panama, H. A. Gudger however, and because a Colombian force of a thousand men had arrived at Colon, they agreed to withdraw, the Colombian Governor, Charles Alban, agreeing that they would not be prosecuted for their part in the insurrection.

The insurgents retired from the line of the railroad, but kept up a harassing guerrilla warfare in all parts of the country. In September, 1901, Domingo Diaz landed a force recruited in Nicaragua on the Isthmus, and there ensued a series of bloody skirmishes at Empire, San Pablo, and Buenavista (Bohio). The revolutionists were driven back from the railroad line, and were forced to yield Colon, which had been taken by surprise on September 19. In all this warfare the revolutionists had the sympathy of the mass of the people, because they were fighting against a government that was at once alien and oppressive.

Meanwhile Gen. Herrera had been recruiting a force along the west coast of Colombia, and in December he landed on the Isthmus with 1,300 men, and at Anton incorporated in his command the guerrilla band under Porras. Throughout the interior the revolution was successful, until the middle of 1902, when a government force of 2,000 men made some gains in Coclé. Negotiations were opened for peace, and this was accomplished on November 21, 1902, on board

the *U. S. S. Wisconsin*, when concessions were made to the revolutionists, and a general amnesty was declared.

The peace lasted until the fall of 1903, when it became evident that the government at Bogota would not ratify the treaty allowing the United States to construct a canal across the Isthmus. Then ensued the bloodless revolution of 1903, when by the aid of the United States, Panama became independent of Colombia, and a protectorate of the United States.

It is not the intention here to discuss the right of this revolutionary movement, nor to add a word to the debated question of who got the money paid by the United States for the French canal rights. The facts are as follows:

The Isthmian Canal Commission of 1899-1901 advised the Government to construct its isthmian canal across Panama along the line of the partially completed French canal, provided the French company's rights and property could be purchased for \$40,000,000. To the end of consummating the purchase, a law was passed by the United States Congress on June 28, 1902, providing for the purchase, in case an agreement could be made with Colombia for the perpetual lease of a canal zone with rights of sovereignty therein for \$10,000,000 and an annual rental of \$250,000. John Hay for the United States and Tomas Herran for Colombia prepared a treaty which, to become effective, must be ratified by the United States Senate and the Colombian Congress within eight months after January 20, 1903. Colombia's Congress passed the treaty in the lower house, but the Senate hesitated.

The alienation of national territory was declared unconstitutional by some Senators, and the price to be paid was declared insufficient by others. The

Hay-Herran concession of the French company was about Treaty. to expire, and it was openly argued that the matter should be held up until the canal rights reverted, when Colombia would get five times ten millions. The Panama representative in the Senate returned home with the information that the treaty could not be ratified at Bogota unless the United States was willing to pay more than ten millions. Finally, on August 12, 1903, it was definitely rejected.

The law authorizing the purchase of the French canal rights stated explicitly that if the purchase could not

Panama's be made, the canal should be constructed
 Dilemma. across Nicaragua. The alternative meant
 ruin to Panama. It would be worse than
 if no canal had been constructed at all to
 have one across Nicaragua, in competition with the Panama
 Railroad transit. It never did take much to start a revolution
 in Panama, and the Isthmian leaders, financed by
 French canal stockholders, went frankly to work to declare
 independence. By September, representatives of the revolutionary
 junta had gone to the United States and sounded the Government
 at Washington as to its attitude in case of a revolution.
 Whatever the answer was, the movement persisted. Meanwhile
 the Colombian government knew all about this, but took no
 measures to meet the crisis. President Sanclemente hoped
 up to the last to force the treaty through the Senate, although
 the eight months' limit had expired, and he depended moreover
 on the terms of the treaty of 1848, which stipulated that the
 United States would maintain the sovereignty of Colombia on
 the Isthmus.

November 4 was fixed for the declaration of independence,
 but on November 3 a Colombian battalion of 500 men
 landed at Colon to prevent the separatist movement. The
 commanding officers hurried to Panama to take command of
 the garrison, but the chief of the garrison, Esteban Huertas,
 had been won over to the revolution, together with the officers.
 The Colombian officers were made prisoners; and at 4 o'clock
 the following afternoon, the formal declaration of independence
 was made in Cathedral Plaza. The only fatality was that of
 a Chinese citizen killed by a shell fired from the Colombian
 gunboat *Bogotá*, which had begun to shell the city, because
 of the refusal to release the Colombian generals, but which
 was driven away by some shots from rapid-fire guns mounted
 on the sea-wall.

In Colon, the Colombian troops were refused carriage
 across the Isthmus on the morning of November 4. The
 news of the *coup d'état* in Panama reached the ears of the
 Colombian colonel, and he threatened reprisals on the city
 of Colon. It was probably only an idle threat, but some
 marines, landed from the *U. S. S. Nashville*, placed the
 old masonry freight building in condition to protect the
 American residents, and this prompt action decided the

day for peace. On the following day the Colombian troops were sent back to Cartagena.

On November 6, the United States recognized the independence of Panama. From November 4, 1903, until February 26, 1904, Panama was a sovereign state; and on the latter date, when the treaty with the United States was signed, it became a protectorate of the United States, occupying a position similar to that of Cuba.

Events of importance within this period that are not mentioned in this chapter will be found elsewhere in this book under the headings, "Panama Railroad," "French Attempt," "The Church in Panama," "Indians," "The People," etc, etc.



The Presidents of Panama.

The method prescribed by the constitution of Panama for the election of a President is much the same as that in use in the United States. A popular election is held at which electors are chosen, and these meet during the first week in August and name the President. The first and second vice-presidents are chosen by the National Assembly.

There have been three elections in Panama. The first was an acclamation at which Manuel Amador Guerrero was chosen for the term, February 20, 1904, to September 30, 1908. In the second election there was danger of rioting, and the United States sent supervisors to the polls to exert moral influence for peace. The municipal elections are held the last Sunday in June, and the Presidential, two weeks later. At the suggestion of the United States Government one of the candidates, Ricardo Arias, withdrew, after his party had been defeated in the municipal elections; and the other candidate, Jose Domingo de Obaldia was chosen. Obaldia died in office, March 1, 1910, and that day the second vice-president, (the first vice-president had died a short time before) Carlos A. Mendoza, became President until the National Assembly met and chose Pablo Arosemena to fill out the unexpired term, October 1, 1910 to September 30, 1912.

In the election of 1912, the United States Government again supervised to prevent rioting. After the municipal election of June 30th, the candidate of the Patriotic Union, Pedro A. Diaz, withdrew, and Belisario Porras was chosen without opposition. Rodolfo Chiari was acting President during a vacation taken by Dr. Arosemena, in January, 1912.

Panama Today.

The position of Panama is that of a semi-sovereign state, full sovereignty having been renounced in the treaty of February 26, 1904, when Panama agreed that the

Political	United States would guarantee and main-
Status.	tain the independence of the isthmian state.

This status is very advantageous to Panama. because it enjoys all the measure of free government it wishes, and at the same time is free from the primal duty of a sovereign state, that of self-protection. There is no military budget each year to eat up half the revenue of the Government, no temptation to some adventurer to involve the nation in war, no chance at all of Panama's being victimized by some foreign nation. After 1913, the Government of the United States will pay to Panama an annual rental of \$250,000 for the Canal Zone, and this in perpetuity. Of the ten million dollars received for the sovereignty of the Canal Zone, Panama still has six millions on mortgage drawing an average of 5 per cent. So it is that the annual income of the new government from outside sources is actually about \$550,000 a year, almost \$2 for every person in the nation. To this may be added the regular governmental income from import and export duties, and other taxation. Panama is distinctly solvent, although her government has not been carefully administered since 1904. Up to the present time the only interference by the American Government in the internal affairs of Panama has been to insist, in the election of 1908, that the reference to the voters be as nearly as possible a true plebiscite. The idea is more or less ridiculous because there are not 3,000 men in the whole Republic capable of holding an independent idea of who should be elected. In general there are two theories on which the parties split. The Liberals are strong (in their platforms) for public education and the rights of the common man; the Conservatives are inclined to the aristocratic idea that government should be by the few who know how to govern. One of the traditional rocks upon which the

parties split was the preference of the Conservatives for the established church, and leaving education in its hands. There is now no danger of establishing a church or throwing the school system into the hands of any sect.

In form the Government is much like that of the United States. There are three branches, executive, legislative, and judicial. The President is chosen for Government. four years and may not be reelected for the succeeding term. The national assembly is chosen for two years, and members may be reelected. The supreme court hears certain cases on appeal, and has jurisdiction over constitutional questions. The executive is divided into five departments—Foreign Affairs, Internal Affairs (Fomento), Education, Law, Finance.

There are seven provinces, each with a governor who has the appointment of the alcades or mayors of the cities and towns in his province. The provinces are Panama, Colon, Veraguas, Los Santos, Cocolé, Chiriqui, and Bocas del Toro. The extent and larger towns of each are shown in the map of Panama, in this book.

The greatest length of the country is east and west, a distance of 340 miles from the Atrato River to the range of mountains that separates it from Costa Rica.

Area and Natural Features. Its greatest width is north and south through Veraguas, 120 miles. The area is approximately 30,000 square miles. No accurate map of Panama has ever been made. The best so far published is that issued by the United States Government, corrected by the Panama Government. This map with its chief features shown and with some late corrections is published in this book. Reference to this will show that the streams run in general north and south, indicating the presence of the mountain range that runs the length of the country, paralleling the seacoasts. The range has peaks 7,000 feet high in Darien, and as much as 11,000 feet in Chiriqui, but there are several passes less than 1,000 feet, the lowest of these being that used by the Canal and railroad, 312 feet above mean tide. In effect the country is a mountain range with a base sloping to the sea, and this base varies in width from a few hundred yards to 40 miles. On this plain or mountain slope are the centers of population, and the agricultural districts. The climatic changes, rainfall, and similar features are referred to on page under Weather and Meteorology.

The plains referred to are cut by numerous mountain streams running at steep grade to sea level, and then becoming in general deep and sometimes broad estuaries. In this way were formed the Bay of San Miguel in which a navy could anchor, Montijo Bay, Almirante Bay, Uraba Gulf, and the estuary at the mouth of the Bayano River.

The great number of streams with tidal mouths afford a cheap method of transportation. Ships drawing ten feet of water can enter a dozen bays on the Pacific side at high tide, but it is usually necessary to leave at once or wait for another high tide, because at each river mouth are sand bars that can not be crossed except at high tide. On the Atlantic coast the tide has a maximum difference of only 2 feet, and the bays or river mouths are less dependent upon it. Almirante, Limon, Porto Bello, San Cristobal, Mandinga, and Calidonia Bays can be entered at all times by light draft vessels. Many of the rivers on both sides are navigable for coasting steamers for several miles inland, and the Tuyra takes 8-foot vessels inland a distance of 60 miles or more.

The National Transportation Company of Panama runs light draft vessels along the Pacific coast of the Republic making weekly calls at important ports between David and Panama, and Panama and the Gulf of San Miguel. The more important plantation companies and pearl fishers own their own sloops or launches.

On the Atlantic side one must charter a launch, or take his chances on one of the sloops or launches that are run by private traders. Tugs of the Canal Commission make daily trips to Porto Bello, and the United Fruit ships run weekly to Bocas del Toro.

Population.

The population by provinces in 1911, not including the Canal Zone, was as follows:

Provinces.	MEN.				WOMEN.				TOTAL BY PROVINCES.		
	White (a)	Mestizo (b)	Negro	Mongol	Indian	White	Mestiza	Negro	Mongol	Indian	Total by Census
Bocas del Toro.	592	2,218	4,737	248	5,155	391	2,069	2,443	45	4,906	22,732
Coclé.	1,117	14,797	1,374	20	2	1,332	14,924	1,443	2	35,011	35,011
Colón.	1,725	3,284	7,807	560	114	1,184	3,751	6,307	97	7,255	32,092
Chiriquí.	2,254	19,680	383	21	39	2,588	20,521	338	8	17,530	63,364
Los Santos.	6,535	19,148	1,286	38	.....	6,784	18,277	1,013	1	53,082	53,082
Panamá.	4,061	17,589	12,005	1,224	410	3,793	19,045	9,262	30	3,123	70,847
Veraguas.	7,219	19,094	331	19	50	6,820	17,536	238	.....	8,270	59,614
Total.	23,503	95,810	27,923	2,130	5,770	22,820	96,123	21,044	183	5,258	300,564
(a) This classification probably includes some of mixed blood. (b) Cross between white and Indian. (c) Estimated.											36,178
Total.											336,742

The twelve cities and towns having greatest population in 1911 were the following:

Cities or Towns.	MALE.				FEMALE.				Total.
	White	Mestizo	Negro	Mongol	Indian	White	Mestiza	Negro	Mongol
Panamá.	3,637	7,841	6,766	1,131	.....	3,408	9,478	5,216	28
Colón.	1,543	1,805	5,529	533	100	1,108	2,485	4,452	92
David.	853	6,088	88	1	1	1,027	6,919	82	.....
Santiago.	3,569	3,139	67	14	.....	3,208	3,032	52	.....
Bocas del Toro.	468	1,251	3,975	223	204	240	1,230	1,995	38
Las Palmas.	244	2,228	.....	1	.....	293	2,043	.....	.....
Santa Isabel.	45	279	825	8	.....	11	269	722	.....
Tolé.	391	1,804	10	6	.....	433	1,534	3	.....
San Lorenzo.	219	1,313	33	.....	.....	238	1,339	28	.....
Las Tablas.	678	3,594	189	4	.....	741	3,253	150	.....
Soná.	667	2,962	18	.....	.....	668	2,911	12	.....
Cañas.	464	2,575	.....	1	.....	2,148	.....	.....	.....
Total.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Panamá.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colón.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
David.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Santiago.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bocas del Toro.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Las Palmas.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Santa Isabel.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tolé.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
San Lorenzo.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Las Tablas.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Soná.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cañas.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

*Indians, estimated, both sexes under column for females.

In discussing the population the author of the book on Panama in "Porter's Progress of the Nations" series, writes the following, to which should be added the analysis by Sosa and Arce, to be found on page 121:

The white population is composed of two elements—caucasians and semites forming one, and morenos forming the other. The morenos predominate at least 20 to 1. Yet the statement that there are no absolutely white native people—that is, caucasian or semite unmixed with negro or Indians, in Panama, is erroneous. There are at least a hundred families, not alien to the country, that are white. The morenos are a mixture of white and black, white and Indian, or white and black and Indian. They are among the leading people in education, heredity, physical, and financial fitness.

* * * * *

The white population also includes a foreign colony of about a thousand people all told, including men on ranches and in business in various parts of the Republic. These isolated white men often marry native women and thus help to perpetuate the moreno element in the population.

The blacks or negroes are of two classes—the descendants of the native slaves, who probably have some white and Indian blood; and the blacks brought to the isthmus by the construction of the Panama Railroad in 1850 and the canal work. Considering their background they compare very favorably with the whites. In general, their status is still that of the laborer, but some of them have emerged into the artisan and professional classes.

Strongly influencing the lives of the whites and blacks in Panama are the climate and the economic inheritances from Spain and from the trading life of the isthmus. The climate is distinctly enervating. This is true, notwithstanding that the terrors of plague, yellow fever, and malaria are no longer felt on the isthmus. The days are hot and the nights cool, and they are much alike the year around, no great variations occurring as they do in the temperate zones, or in countries where one may go to the mountains for cold weather. Life slips along quietly and without much effort for existence. As a result, one becomes listless. Americans on the canal work are not worth more than half as much as workers after two years on the isthmus as they were upon their arrival.

The economic inheritance from Spain is the attitude that manual work is degrading. This is still the attitude of the young men of the ruling class in Panama, and of course it is not confined to Panama. But it is all right to engage in trade. The isthmian people are traders, and have always been. This penchant for trade only adds to the inherited disgust for actual work, and here alone is sufficient answer to the often-asked question, "Why is Panama still a virgin field for development after four hundred years of caucasian rule?"

For a brief account in English of the Indians of Panama, the reader is referred to the report of the Smithsonian Institution of 1909, in which Eleanor Yorke Indians in Bell has a five-thousand-word monograph Tribal State. on this subject, together with a bibliography.

The census of 1911 estimates the number of those living in tribal government at 36,178, divided as follows:

Colon	7,255
Chiriqui	17,530
Panama	3,123
Veraguas	8,270
Total	36,178

The Indians of Colon and Panama (the Darien Section) are supposed to be of one family (Cuna), although divided into a half dozen tribes, the most powerful, because most united, being the San Blas of the Caribbean coast. The tribes along the Tuyra and Chucunaque Rivers are less consolidated but share with the San Blas their habit of exclusiveness. On the map of Panama on page 104, the region held by the Indians from which they exclude white men and negroes is indicated.

They inhabit the Caribbean coast from Mandinga Bay to the Gulf of Uraba and from the coast to the headwaters of the streams that flow into the Atlantic. Nominally they are subject to Panama, but like the Indians in tribal state in the United States they pay no taxes, and have their own form of government. They know that the white man would come into their country only to exploit them, and they therefore keep him out. It is not probable that they could or would offer much resistance to an armed force of a thousand men, but they are able to scare away prospectors and the like, and thus, by preventing the white men from making claims on them or their land, they avoid any excuse for trouble. From early days they have been able to keep their women free from contamination by contact with white men, and to-day they will not permit a white man to sleep in their country if they can readily get him out of it by sunset. Yet these are not hostile Indians. They trade with the whites (practically all the coconuts of Panama are from their groves), sail their canoes down to Colon, where they sell and buy, and are on friendly terms in general with white men. Only they just won't mix up with them beyond a certain point, just as one might be glad to trade with a fellow white

man and yet not care to eat with him. In their tribal state they live in towns of well-built bamboo and thatched houses; raise corn, yams, oranges, and other vegetables and fruits; make articles of wicker ware; and weave a cloth of coarse grass.

These were the first Indians the Europeans met in Panama. Balboa got along very well with them, but his brutal followers alienated their support. They resisted all efforts of the Spainards to colonize in their country until 1637, when their principal chiefs entered into a treaty of peace with the authorities in Panama, as a result of which the outposts of Pincgana on the Tuyra, Yaviza on the Chucunaque, and Tacarcuna at the headwaters of the Pucro, were founded. No substantial progress has ever been made in colonizing between the Chucunaque River and the Caribbean coast, however. The white men held the country on the south side of the divide with little difficulty, working the mines at Cana by negro slaves, until 1728, when a mestizo, Luis Garcia, led them in a revolt that was not crushed until after they had sacked all the towns of the Darien and massacred the inhabitants. Until 1741 the Indians of Darien were at war with the Spaniards, and then they made peace, the Spaniards returning to the mines and the fields. This peace was only with the tribes south of the mountains, however, and even among them there were many hostile families. A few years after peace was made the Jesuits attempted to evangelize in the Darien, but few Indians would listen to them. One kind or another of missionary has been at them ever since, but they'd rather not, thank you, save their souls at the cost of their lands.

The Indians of Chiriqui and Veraguas are said to be of two distinct families,—Doracho-Changuina, and Guaymi. The former inhabit the mountains near the Costa Rica border, and have little power. The latter make their homes in the mountains of Veraguas and eastern Chiriqui, and, although they trade with the whites, exclude them from their territory. Bell quotes Valdes as saying:

"The Guaymies live in groups for the most part in the high Valle de Miranda in the Cordillera of Veraguas, cut off from communication with the plains by defiles difficult of access. They have retained their independence, having warded off invasions of both blacks and whites; who can not penetrate their land without permission of the powerful chief. Some families seem to be descended from those

who, before the arrival of the Spaniards, carved symbolic figures on the rocks of the mountains and placed gold ornaments in their graves. In former times they were, without doubt, more civilized; but modern progress has destroyed their industries, as they now provide themselves with arms, tools, utensils, clothes, etc., from their neighbors, which formerly they made themselves."

A custom of these Indians was to bury with a prominent warrior his ornaments, cooking utensils, weapons, wives, and slaves, and to this custom is due the preservation until this day of many of the ornaments and utensils, known commonly as the gold figures and pottery of Chiriqui. The grave was built with a large space in which the corpse and its attendants and utensils were placed; over this was laid a slab of stone, and this in turn was covered with rock. The burials were made in definite sections, and the method of detecting a grave today is to go over one of these sections prodding into the ground until the iron rod, with which one explores, strikes a stone slab. Excavation at this spot usually reveals an old grave with its pottery utensils, and frequently with gold ornaments. The pottery is unglazed, but some pieces are decorated and curiously molded in crude imitation of familiar animals. A good collection of this pottery is in possession of Mr. Paul S. Wilson of Ancon, while John Ehrman, the Panama banker, owns the best collection of gold images.

The public-school system has been improved every year since the formation of the Republic, and it is a distinct credit to Panamans in general that no government could maintain itself in power if it did not continue in this course of improving and expanding the system of public education. At present the schools are in two classes, primary schools maintained in all the villages, and secondary schools in the chief city of each province. The census of 1911 shows that out of 240,609 persons (uncivilized Indians not included) over six years of age in the Republic, 68,019 know how to read and write, 170,792 are illiterate, and the balance know how to read but not to write. If the present interest in education keeps up the figures quoted will be reversed within ten years.

The number of children of school age (7 to 15 years) in 1911 was 60,491 and the school statistics were as follows:

Class of School.	Number of Schools.			Number of Pupils.	Number of Teachers.
	City.	Rural.	Other.		
Public primary.....	120	52	69	16,104	450
Public secondary.....	20	.....	.....	1,263	85
Private primary.....	2	.....	.....	868	54
Private secondary.....	3	.....	.....	372	36
Total.....	145	52	69	18,607	625

A normal school in which girls are prepared for teaching had 116 students in 1911 over 14 years of age. A national institute erected in Panama City in 1911 has been opened. It has seven large buildings providing for dormitories, eating-rooms, class-rooms, and laboratories. It is proposed to make this the head of the national system, the idea being that any pupil in the Republic who qualifies for the higher courses may have four years of instruction here at the expense of the Government. A faculty is being assembled under the direction of an American of university training. At present the best schools are private institutions in the cities of Panama and Colon, two Catholic secondary schools, one Methodist, and two for the children of wealthy parents.

A Government trades school, where in a 3 years course boys are taught the elements of machinist's, carpenter's, and other trades, is conducted in the city of Panama with over 100 pupils.

As part of the system of public education there is maintained a good school of music in the city of Panama, a national band in the same city, and a National Theater, likewise, in Panama, where good plays and operas are staged by professional players, and public meetings of a nonpolitical nature are held.

There is nothing more tragic in the history of Panama than the part the church has played, because it has done so much good and yet by an unnecessary

The Church, mixing in finance and politics has cut itself off from doing as much as it is capable of. In the beginning, the Spaniards sent to America thousands of soldiers of fortune, gold hunters, criminals, broken-down courtiers—everything but honest working men; but the church sent its best. Las Casas—idealist, dialectician, poli-

tician, kindly man,—was only one of a class of strong, noble missionaries who came to America to convert the heathen, neither asking for nor receiving money reward. (Most of these men were of the regular clergy who are not allowed to hold property). From the beginning they were the friends of the Indians, worked hard to have the laws against slavery of Indians enforced, and even yielded to the expedient of introducing negro slaves for the purpose of saving the Indians. In a lawless, ungodly, uncultured community, the church stood for order, respect for authority, and the obligation of those in authority, and for whatever refinement there was. The Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans were all teachers, and for three centuries their schools were the only ones. To be sure, the church had a monopoly of education; but, on the other hand, it alone seemed to care for the monopoly.

Titles were never secure in the colonial days, nor have they been since, for that matter; but the church property was never forfeit, nor could it escheat. So the church as a property-holder became irresistibly strong. By the end of the period of the Royal Audience in Panama, the church owned most of what was worth holding. It paid no taxes yet it levied taxes for all the ministrations without which Roman Catholics can not live or die. As a property-holder it naturally identified itself with the established order, and therefore became identified with conservatism. When the revolutionary movement came, the church as a holder of property and a conservative force was one of the principal objects of attack. Between 1821 and the present time, over half of the church property in Panama has been confiscated. It is a comment on the futility of the system of changing title from one private person to another, that the church property has fallen into the hands of people who are holding it for exorbitant prices, not even improving it, for the lack of a land tax in Panama permits this.

Notwithstanding that it has compromised with property, the church must be credited with having been the seed-bed for education and culture in Panama. It maintains churches in all the large villages, has missionaries among the Indians, conducts schools for boys and girls, and runs the orphan asylums. It has failed of realizing the best that is in it, but it has come far from absolute failure. See also page 164.

Resources of Panama.

Panama holds out bright prospects of large returns for intelligent investors. It would appear, however, that there are very few of this species coming to the Isthmus, because most of the people who talk of development expect to get fifty per cent returns in a few years. Of course such ideas are wild. For men who are willing to invest their capital in conservative enterprises, however, and wait for good returns for several years there is an attractive field.

The first obstacle to be overcome is the perfecting of title. Government grants are always good, but the best lands are held by private persons, whose title in turn is usually clouded. The method employed by a local business man in a recent purchase of a large tract was to buy the property from the supposed owner, then to go over the land and buy up from the squatters upon it their rights. In this way he has a title that is good against anyone but the Government. Having procured the land to be developed one must find means of making it accessible. Trails must be built, and this work is expensive in a country where the heavy rains wash out the roads and the rank vegetation rapidly closes trails. Land near water is always desirable, but in Panama it is necessary because there are no railways into the interior and the main highways are usually poor, in general they are merely pack trails. Fortunately navigable bayous penetrate the Isthmus on both sides. The labor market, which was very high during the height of construction on the Canal, is becoming normal again, and it will soon be possible to employ West Indian negroes at rates only a little in advance of those paid in the West Indies. Native labor is no good for steady work, except in clearing. The natives are good bushmen, but they will not pin themselves down to farming; and even if they were willing their number is exceedingly limited. For development on a large scale imported labor is necessary. There are good banks in Panama capable of handling any class or amount of business.

The greatest single industry in Panama at present is the banana growing on the plantation of the United Fruit Company at Bocas del Toro on Almirante Bay. Over four million bunches of bananas were exported from this plantation in 1911,

Land Titles,
Transporta-
tion, Labor,
Banks.

Bananas.

35,000 acres of land are under cultivation, and the Company maintains a narrow gage railway system, docks, stores, and steamships in its Bocas del Toro business. Prior to the war of 1898-1903 bananas were grown quite extensively at points along the Panama railway, and throughout the interior, but the fighting took the men from the fields, the weeds grew up, and when peace came again the Canal work drew upon the country people for labor. Bananas can be grown in any part of Panama. There have been projects within the past few years for opening banana plantations for the purpose of supplying the Pacific coast markets, where the United Fruit and other large fruit companies have not made much effort; but they all appear to have lacked backing. It requires a lot of money to develop banana growing to such a point as to justify the maintenance of ships for handling the product. Besides the United Fruit Company the only other banana enterprise under way just now is that of the Boston-Panama Company on its big plantation on Montijo Bay.

Panama coconuts are the best on the market, that is, they command the most ready sale, bring the best prices, and are highest in oil content. Most of those Coconuts. exported at the present time come from the San Blas coast where they are raised by the Indians, although a few are exported from the shores of Chiriqui Lagoon. Panama is fortunate in being outside the hurricane belt so that trees once come to maturity are in no danger of blowing down, as those in the West Indies and along the coast of Central America are. The development of this industry is under way in a number of localities, among them Nombre de Dios, where a Colon merchant is setting out fifty thousand trees; Almirante Bay, where a grove of a hundred thousand trees is being planted; Venado on Panama Bay, where a grove of fifty thousand trees is being set out; Montijo Bay where a grove is being planted, and at Remedios where trees are growing. There is much available coconut land along both coasts, but one must buy it, there is no Government land worth while within sight of the water, and coconuts need the salt breezes. A coconut grove will come into bearing five years after the sprouts are planted, and after that each tree should be good for a clear profit of one dollar a year. The cost of planting a grove of ten thousand trees and bringing it into bearing is estimated at about three dollars a tree.

Ivory nuts grow wild in sufficient number to pay for gathering them all the way from the Cocole River to the Atrato. The chief export at present is from the Ivory Nuts. San Blas coast where they are gathered by the Indians, and from the Garachiné region near San Miguel Bay. Throughout the Darien ivory nuts are collected by the natives. The Panama nuts are not the highest grade, but in 1912 those gathered on the Duque estate on the upper Bayano River were so large that they commanded the top price. No attempt has been made to systematize the growing of the trees, and most of the nuts are collected without special system, although trails have been made at Garachiné and on the upper Bayano. The exports amounts to about two million kilograms a year.

The native rubber of Panama (*Castilloa Elasticus*) is gathered in practically every part of the country, the majority of it at present coming from Darien. The

Rubber. Boston-Panama Company has been tapping a hundred thousand trees on its large estate on Montijo Bay for the past four years, and turning the revenue therefrom into the development of the plantation, which comprises 400 square miles and will be set out in bananas, pineapples, coconuts, and other tropical fruits and plants. An experiment in the growing of Para rubber is being carried on at this place, and the indications are that it will succeed, although it is too early to say this with surety.

Coffee grown on the tablelands of Chiriqui is as good as the best Costa Rican, and it is probable that it could be grown with considerable profit in view of the present high prices for coffee. Not enough is grown at present, however, to supply even the local market, although there is a good demand for the native product.

There is only one large cacao plantation in Panama, the Preciado estate near David, in Chiriqui, where 55,000 trees are bearing. This is the only scientific attempt that has been made to raise cacao and it has been so successful that trees are added every year. For several years past this cacao brought the best price on the London market.

There is no part of the Republic in which sugar cane can-

not be found growing to great height. Tests show that this cane is high in sugar matter. Two plantations are being set out along the north coast of the isthmus, one near Chiriqui Lagoon, and the other near Porto Bello. By 1915 these experiments will have been carried far enough to afford reliable information as to the possibilities of sugar raising in Panama. This industry requires a large capital and extensive operations.

Oranges, limes, sweet lemons, pineapples, mangoes, papaya, mamei, nispero, sapodilla, Panama cantaloupes, guava, and other tropical fruits grow pro-

Fruits. fusely, but no effort has yet been made to cultivate them extensively. In its report on agriculture in the Canal Zone (1911), the Department of Agriculture says that the steep side hills of Panama are well adapted to the growing of citrus fruits, in connection with other farming; that is, that the hills which are too steep for ploughing could be utilized in this way. The pineapples of Taboga Island have a good local reputation. They are large and delicious and command a ready sale.

Garden products, such as beans, radishes, lettuce, and the like are grown chiefly by the Chinese in and around the larger settlements. A model garden of this kind is that situated alongside the Sabanas road in the Calidonia section of Panama city. The supply is not sufficient for the local market. Intensive methods and cheap labor are used by the Chinese. It is not believed that truck gardening as an independent industry would pay in Panama.

The cutting of hardwoods and other timber in Panama is in its infancy. There is no hardwood along the line of the Canal and railway, except a stick here and there.

In developing the hardwood resources of the country only experts in this line should be depended upon. No money should be invested before the investor has gone over the land to be developed, and determined how much timber there is, and what the facilities for moving it to a navigable stream are. The hardwoods of Panama are many and good, but the trees grow in isolated places and not many in an acre, so that the felling and carrying to market are expensive. The beautiful native mahogany, so much used in the city as flooring and in cabinet work, costs from \$80 to \$100 a thousand and board feet, and the amount available at this price is

Cabinet
Woods.

small. A small quantity of this mahogany is exported. The best timber is reputed as being along the Bayano, Chucunaque, and Tuyra rivers and their branches, and most of this land is already held by development companies. Saw-mills have been erected in various parts of the Republic, but the companies seem to be waiting for the opening of the Canal before placing their product on the market, the prices for freight over the Panama Railroad being very high. Elsewhere in this book reference is made to the door of the Municipal Building in Panama as affording a good illustration of the various native cabinet woods. There are a number of small cabinet shops throughout the city where these woods may also be seen.

The local demand for meat is supplied almost entirely from cattle raised in the country. This does not take account of the cold storage meats imported for the Canal workers. The cattle are allowed to fatten on the grass grown in cleared places, no grain being fed to them. The meat is good. The project of erecting an abattoir near one of the entrances of the Canal, and operating a cold storage plant for the supplying of meat to passing vessels has been broached, but no steps in this direction have yet been taken.

Every stream in Panama shows colorings of gold, yet few of them are worth working by the ordinary panning method, the long rainy season interfering seriously with this class of operation. In every province of the Republic there are sections where gold was mined with profit by the Spaniards, but they used slave labor, and the methods by which they worked the diggings were not profitable when slavery was abolished. Various prospecting companies have sent engineers into various sections of the country, and in almost every case the report was to the effect that the ore was good, in some instances even excellent, but the cost of development, including transportation inland of machinery, was too great to warrant operations at the present time. In the Darien region, where formerly the Spaniards worked extensively at Santo Domingo, Cana, and other points, only the Cana mines are now operated. They pay a good interest on a small investment. The closed country for the Indians in Chiriqui, Veraguas, and the San Blas region of Colon is said to be rich in gold but your guide ventures the opinion that this is because no one knows, and every one likes to

place in the "closed country" great riches. Copper is found in Los Santos, and both copper and nickle in Darien. Inquiries with regard to denouncing claims should be made at the office of the Secretary of Fomento in the National Palace.

Pearl Islands and Fisheries.

The Pearl Islands, an archipelago of 60 islets, lie in the Gulf of Panama about 60 miles south of Panama city. It was these islands that Balboa saw from the Pacific shore of Darien, and Rey Island, the king of the group, he named Isla Rica. From here Pizarro took back to Acla the basket of pearls, later he outfitted here for one of his voyages in search of Peru. Except as a stopping place for ships enroute from Peru to Panama in the old days, the islands have little historical interest. Today they are inhabited by negroes and morenos, and a few Chinese who run the stores. San Miguel, the largest village, is situated on the side of a hill on Rey Island overlooking a pretty bay, which becomes a mud flat when the tide is out. It has a church, a school house, half a dozen small general stores, and a few saloons. The population is 700, and the village is the seat of an alcaldia. It is a stopping place for the steamers that run to Darien. Saboga, on the island of that name, is a clean little village situated on a bluff overlooking a bay that can be entered at all stages of the tide. It has a church, school, stores, saloon, and 300 inhabitants.

The pearl fisheries are the principal industry. Schooners outfitted in Panama carry on this work, and the oysters are taken by men who work in diving suits. No value can be assigned for the pearls because they are carried out in small parcels. The pearls are of two kinds, white, and black, and here as elsewhere they are valued according to their perfectness of shape and coloring. Some of the natives dive naked for the pearls, but their product forms a small part of the total. For information on the pearl fisheries the reader is referred to an article by C. M. Brown in *The Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*.

A trip to these islands may be made by launch in six hours, eight hours to San Miguel, from Panama city. One who is in search of natural beauty cannot spend two days better than in a cruise about the archipelago.

Cocos Island Treasure.

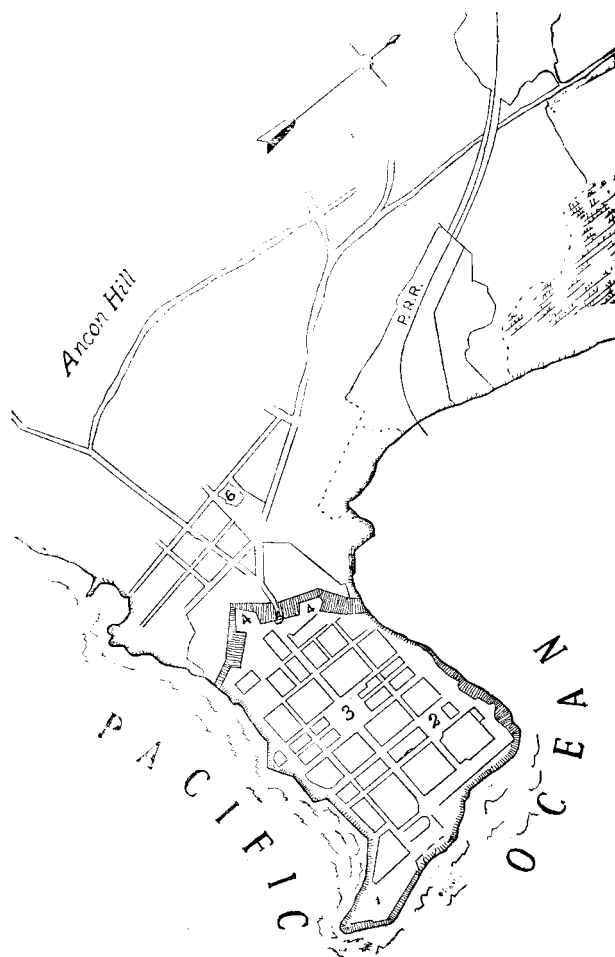
Cocos Island lies at the entrance to the Gulf of Panama 300 miles south of the city. It is the place where \$7,000,000 worth of treasure stolen from Callao, and \$3,000,000 worth stolen from Mexico between 1820 and 1830 are said to be hidden. Many expeditions have searched for this treasure, and two men are said to have found some of it. The whole story is told in the book, "On The Track of a Treasure", by Harvy Montmorency. Since that book was written four expeditions have made the attempt, two of them by Lord Fitzwilliam, whose second ship is now the *Chame* of the Canal service at the Pacific entrance. A hydraulic mining company of Seattle is now preparing to wash the treasure out of its hiding place.

Taboga Island.

Of the dozen islands in the Bay of Panama only Taboga is inhabited. It was set aside as the dwelling place of liberated Indian slaves in 1549, and its people, 850 in all, are chiefly the descendants of these Indians mixed with negroes. The island is an extinct volcano whose steep sides come down to the water's edge, leaving only a little shelf or terrace on which the village stands. The houses are for the great part substantial stone and adobe buildings. There is a church with a bone of a real saint, a school, half a dozen saloons, and half a dozen Chinese shops. Raising pineapples, fishing, and dealing with the convalescents from the sanatorium are the chief sources of livelihood.

The sanatorium is a large frame building erected by the French as a convalescent hospital, and maintained as such by the Americans. There is little rain in Taboga, even in the rainy season, and the cool dry air is very tonic for people from the mainland.





PANAMA CITY IN 1857.—Hatched lines show old wall.

(1) South bastion, Barracks and Prison. (2) Plaza San Francisco (Bolívar). (3) Plaza Independencia (Cathedral). (4) Bastions of Old Wall (5) Gate and Drawbridge. (6) Santa Ana Church.

The City of Panama.

The new city of Panama dates from Saturday, January 21, 1673, when, in the presence of all the dignitaries of Terra Firma, the Bishop marked the site of the cathedral with a cross, and blessed the place where the new city was to be built. The following year the plans for the walls were completed. Along the sea was built a wall, still standing, from 20 to 30 feet high; across the peninsula, as shown on the map, page 150, another was built to guard the land side. A drawbridge was thrown over a deep moat that was filled with sea water. It was planned to make the city proof against such raids as Morgan's, and this was accomplished. Two bastions commanded the land side, and one the sea approach. It was cheaper to carry rock from the ruins of Old Panama than to quarry it on the tidal flat, and much of the stone in the walls and older churches was brought from the old site. Private residences were built of wood.

Unchecked fires swept over the city in February 2, 1737; March 21, 1756; April 26, 1781; March 7, 1878; and June 13, 1894. These burned everything in their

Fires. path; that of 1737 consumed two thirds of the 911 buildings inside the walls; that of 1756 burned the convents of Santo Domingo, San Francisco, and the church of San Felipe Neri; that of 1781 the Jesuit convent and 56 houses; that of 1878 half of the city within the walls, and that of 1894 the whole north side of the walled town, consuming 125 buildings. So it is that there are few old buildings in the city. The masonry buildings that have replaced those of wood are of such style, their walls weather so quickly, and they fit in so well with the really old buildings, that one gets an impression of age, which is in fact one of quaintness.

In 1793, the total population of the isthmus was 71,000, not including uncivilized Indians. Of these 7,857 were inhabitants of Panama. In 1870, the census

Population. gave Panama 16,106 inhabitants. The directory estimate of 1896 placed the number at 24,159. The census of 1911 gave 37,505.

Electric lights were installed in Panama in 1891. As early as 1890 the plan to bring water to the city from the Juan Dias River, about eight miles outside Water Sewers, the city was approved, and there was confident expectation that this would be done. Pavements, Lights. But the unsettled political conditions, and the almost total suspension of the Canal work made the undertaking too expensive. The old method of catching water in cisterns during the rainy season, and using it, eked out by water peddled from door to door by the water vendors who caught it in nearby brooks or took it from wells, was continued until July 4, 1906, when the present system first delivered water. This water is carried from Rio Grande Reservoir near Culebra, on the top of the divide, to Panama in a 20-inch main (until 1912 an 8-inch main), and the same supply suffices for the Canal Zone villages between Culebra and Panama. Every street in the city has a sewer connected with trunk sewers which empty into the bay beyond low-tide mark. Every street is paved with brick or macadam, and all are well drained. The dirtiest slum in Panama is much cleaner than some middle-class streets in large American cities. All the street, sewer, and water improvements are being paid for by Panama from its water rates. The money for the installation represents a loan from the United States on which interest is paid. There is a well organized fire department equipped with automobile fire engine and hose truck.

Most visitors enter Panama city from the north—that is, by way of the railroad, and the guide assumes that their acquaintance with the place will begin at that New Section end. By reference to the maps showing the of the City. city in 1854 and again at the present time, one can see which is the old and which the new sections, and it is evident that the northern part is very new. In fact, is it a creation of the canal-building days. There was no room for much expansion within the walls of the old city, so the new buildings necessary for the larger population were erected outside the walls. To the French period belong the cafes around Plaza Santa Ana, with their boulevard drinking places; and to that period and the American belong all the other buildings, except the church of Santa Ana itself, to which reference will be found on page 170.

In front of the railway station, which is soon to be replaced with a concrete building in Spanish mission style,

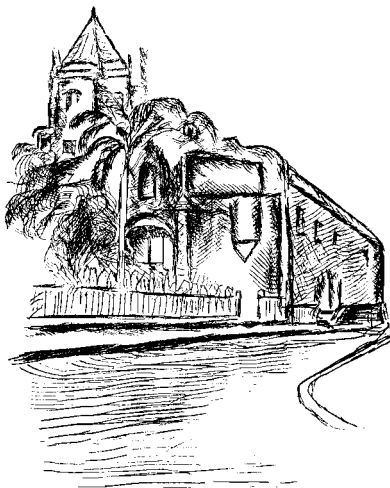
is a triangular plat of ground used as a playground. It is called Railway Plaza at present. On the city side of this plaza is a large three story, fireproof building completed in 1912. It is the International Hotel, and is fitted up with all modern conveniences.

Between the railway station and the Hotel Tivoli is an open square called the Plaza de Lesseps. It is laid off prettily in walks converging at the center, where there is a tool house, evidence that the work of improvement, begun in 1909, is still in progress. The rather ragged condition of the grass plats is due to the fact that grass grows very rank during the rainy season, and it would take a dozen men under the direction of an expert gardener to keep this one plaza in condition. Some day there will be erected in the center of this public park a statue to Ferdinand de Lesseps, a power lawn-mower will be continually at work, and the quick-growing palm and royal poincianas will shed a generous shade.

Northward from the park, across the bridge that spans the railway tracks, are the suburbs of Santa Cruz, San Miguel, Pueblo Nuevo, Calidonia, El Trujillo, Guachacalidonia and pali, Maranon—all tiny settlements that Other Suburbs. gradually expanded until they merged into one. Recently this section of the city was paved with macadam, sewers laid, and water mains put in; so that it needs now to make it a desirable place of residence 's a brisk fire, a strong wind, and some good neighbors. The tourist will pass through a part of this section on his way for a drive out the Sabanas Road, or going to Old Panama.

The general direction of Central Avenue is north and south until it reaches Plaza Santa Ana, when it turns almost east and west, its direction through the old city. On the way to this plaza, half the distance between there and the railway station, you pass on the right side of the street a three-story concrete building painted white, and with a broad concrete portico extending out upon the sidewalk. This very ornate structure, said to be of the late renaissance period in northern Italy, is the clubhouse of the Spanish Benevolent Society. Right next door to it is the American consulate. Two blocks farther is Plaza Santa Ana, so named from the old church that faces upon it, the most interesting place outside the limits of the old city.

Here up to the middle of the old French times was a wide open field, around which seats were built on the occasions of great festivals, like independence day, when bull baiting and other popular games were played to make the people glad that they were free. Twenty years ago the square was improved, trees and plants were set out, the walks made formal, and benches placed. The more recent improvements, such as paving with tile, tearing down the iron fence that surrounded the park, and building the pretty concrete benches along the margin have been made since the American occupation. On Thursday nights there is a band concert in this plaza, and then hundreds of people, mostly brown Panamans, with a few Americans, promenade. It is a pretty sight.



CHURCH OF SANTA ANA—City of Panama.

On the east side of the plaza is the Hotel Metropole, with a balcony from which one may watch the motley crowd in the park. On the north side is the Panazone, a saloon whose name is its chief novelty, composed as it is of the first two syllables of Panama, and the last word of Canal Zone. On the south side are two saloons and restaurants, hold-overs from the French days, and the Theatre Variedades erected in 1911-1912. Church of Santa Ana page 170.

On either side of Central Avenue outside the limits of the old city are residences and small shop buildings. On the road that extends from one block south of the Plaza Santa Ana westward to Balboa are the Santo Tomas Hospital, rejuvenated since 1904, and the cemeteries. The hospital has 350 beds, is under the direction of an American doctor, and has a good staff both of physicians and nurses. It is maintained by the Government of Panama, but the United States Government has representatives on its board of directors. Americans injured in Panama are taken direct to Ancon Hospital.

There are three cemeteries—one for Chinese, one for Hebrews, and one for Christians. The Christian burying ground is held on concession from the Government, and space for burial is leased on time leases. There are interesting monuments here telling a story of the mixture of many races, and giving some insight into the tragedy of the first canal builders who succumbed to fever in the early French days.

Between the hospital and the cemeteries is the restricted section of the city in which, under surveillance of the authorities, live 130 women engaged in the profession of public prostitution.

Going down Central Avenue from Plaza Santa Ana, three blocks below the latter place, one comes to the Church of La Merced, dedicated to "Our Lady of Mercy." This church is used here only for a landmark; it is referred to on page 169. Diagonally across from La Merced, alongside

the drug store, is a piece of the old wall that ran across the back of the city, from tidewater on one side to tidewater on the other. It is worth going over and climbing up the steps, for in this way one gains an idea of the size of the walls whose great price caused even a King of Spain to wonder. This piece of wall was one of the two bastions that commanded the drawbridge across the old moat, and likewise the sabanas on the north of the city. By reference to the map of the city in 1857, one can see how entirely these two salient points commanded every part of the plains outside. The youth of Panama play tennis on the old bastion, and there once a year a traveling circus, with its clowns and other glories, makes a one-week stand.



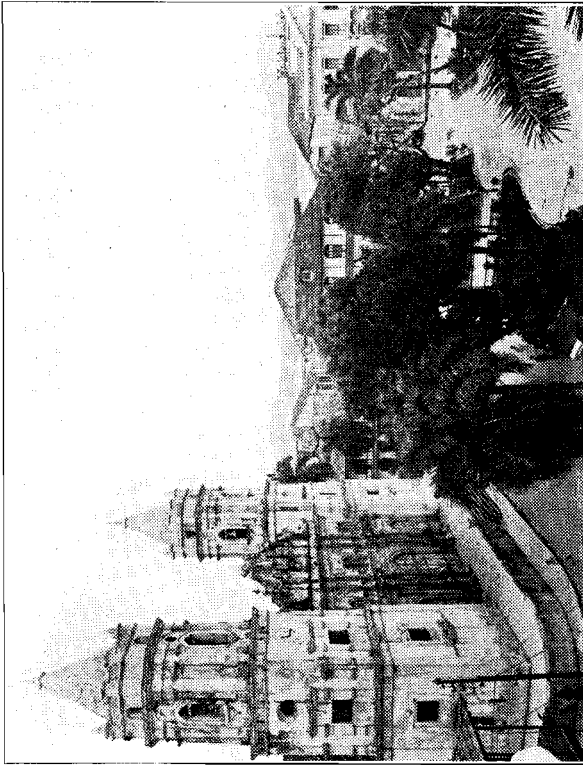
LA MERCED—PANAMA CITY.—(Church of Our Lady of Mercy.)

It has an area of at least 15,000 square feet, and from the top there is a sheer drop to the level of the country outside the walls of from 30 to 35 feet. A parapet three feet high still stands there, in places showing the embrasures for the brass cannon that were mounted on the top of the castle. There remains enough of the old wall running from the castle to the sea on the south side, to show that it was formed of two rock walls filled in between with earth, and that there was room on top for a cart to pass.

Within the old wall is really Panama. Outside are some Panamans, but mostly aliens; within are a few hundred aliens among the many Panamans, but the spirit of the old place is also there,—in the narrow streets, the old plazas, in the churches, on the sea-wall, in the homes,—an indescribable something that one must not let lay hold of him, because it will never let go. "They always come back," is said of people who leave here for a while; and this is the verbal expression of the spirit's power. Three blocks from the old city gate one comes to the point from which the city was laid out, the central square.

The Plaza Independencia (Cathedral Plaza, or Central Park) is the heart of Panama City, and has been for nearly two centuries and a half. On that morning Central Plaza. in 1673, when the Bishop of Panama knelt and drew on the ground a cross that must mark

the corner of the new cathedral, the life of the plaza began. Quite likely the men who watched the ceremony walked aside to the shade of some friendly tree when it all was over, lighted their cigarettes, and talked about the chances of the new city in the place where now the men of Panama congregate to discuss the politics of the day. From this



CATHEDRAL AND CENTRAL PLAZA—PANAMA.

center run out the main streets of the old city—Avenida Central north and south; and 5th, 6th, and 7th Streets east and west. On the north side is the cathedral to which reference is made on page 166; on the south the Hotel Central; on the west the new municipal building, and the old Canal administration building; and on the east the Bishop's palace and the office of the lottery.

The Administration Building of the French Canal days was built in 1875 as a hotel, in the style most common in Panama—in fact, the Spanish style, a rectangular building four stories high, around a patio or court. After a few years as a hotel it was leased by the French Canal Company and was used as the main administrative building, and from this office, as now from Culebra, the Director governed his construction community. The Americans came into possession of it on May 4, 1904, when they took over the effects of the French Canal Company, and immediately it was made the administrative headquarters. During the yellow fever epidemic of 1905 the building was found to be infested with *Stegomyia* mosquitoes, and fully half the cases contracted among American employees could be traced to this building. It was abandoned as headquarters in 1906, when the Chief Engineer moved his office to Culebra. At present it is occupied by the health and municipal offices of Panama, and by the Panama government printing office.

The municipal building, the handsomest in the city, was completed in 1910, and occupies the site of the old "cabildo" or town hall in which independence was declared in 1821. It contains the municipal council chamber, and other offices, and the Columbus Library, a collection of over 2,500 books. Here can be found works in Spanish that throw light on the history of Panama. The front door is made up of a dozen different native hardwoods carefully joined and polished. This is worth a study on the part of anyone interested in cabinet woods. In the corridor is a marble statue of a bacchante. Highbrow people look at this intently and say—"Ah, very good, very good," so it is probably a good piece of work. There is nothing suggestive about the bacchante being in the corridor of the municipal building, because the police court is held several blocks away.

The Hotel Central is another example of the Spanish type of building around a large central court. It is four stories high and was built in 1880, but has been renewed during the past few years. The rooms are airy and clean. To the tourist it is most interesting as a coign of vantage from which to view the varied life of the city. Instead of the summer resort crowd that one finds at the Hotel Tivoli he sees here

Latin-Americans, in its cafe political partisans always discussing what may happen, and in the patio on Sunday night, while an orchestra plays, the most vivacious scene to be found in Panama, for here people of half a dozen nations congregate to gossip and sip their drinks and watch one another. From the balcony one may look on at the life of the Plaza, whose most characteristic scene is that of the sunset hour when the men of the city make little groups upon the park benches while they gossip and smoke a friendly cigarette. At night it is more quiet, but not less interesting, for there are always people sitting about until as late as 11 o'clock, and that is very late in Panama, except for dances, and they last until daylight.

On Sunday night the Republican Band plays in the Plaza, and people of all races and a score of nations promenade.

By consent of all, because it is an old custom, the outside walk is used by the brown and black people and the walk running east and west through the center of the plaza, by the whites. Of late years the inner walk is overcrowded by Americans, some of whom have the unfortunate attitude of appearing to want to push their hosts off the earth. Yet one sees a score of prominent Panamans in the plaza every Sunday night, and as many more girls and young women, the latter often lavishly dressed and distinctly pretty. The variety of Americans alone would make this promenade interesting, and one realizes by watching it how many generations away the American "type" must be. The excuse for the Sunday evening promenade and its opportunity to show and see pretty dresses, astonishing hats, and charming women, is the band concert. It is always good. The band practices constantly; it was organized by a high-grade musician, Santos Jorge, composer of the National Hymn of Panama, and is carried on under an able conductor.

The Bishop's palace is a square building, three stories high, built in 1880, and like the others constructed around a patio. Here the late Bishop lived a quiet but busy life, and from this place the affairs of the oldest dioceses in America are administered. The palace contains, in addition to the Bishop's plain rooms, the offices and rooms of his assistants, and a boy's school.

In one corner of the Bishop's palace is the office of the Panama Lottery, almost as incongruous a combination as

the old death trap tenements in New York Lottery. City owned by Trinity Church. Yet the lottery is a national institution, and although its effect is unquestionably bad on public morals, it has the overpowering prestige of custom. Gambling is prohibited in the constitution of Panama, but in the treaty of 1904 with the United States all vested rights under the Colombian Government were preserved under the new government. On this account the lottery will be allowed to run its legal life, which expires in 1918. Drawings are made every Sunday morning at 10 o'clock for prizes ranging in value from \$3,500 to \$1.00. Ten thousand tickets are issued each time. Most of the money that goes to make up the dividends of the lottery is paid by Canal workers.

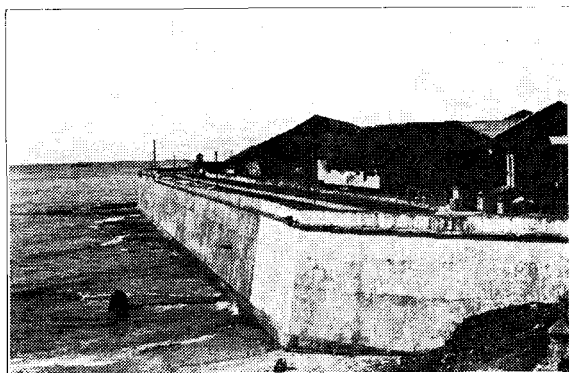
Leaving the Plaza Independencia and continuing down Avenida Central, one passes on his right the French consulate, then the American legation (formerly Government a residence of the French Director General Building and part of the purchase of 1904), and two Theater blocks from the plaza, comes upon the Panama Government Building. This is a masonry edifice in four rectangular sections surrounding an inner court. It is 180 feet long and 150 feet wide. In the south section is the meeting place of the National Assembly together with offices, in the north the National Theatre, and in the east and west wings, Government offices. The construction was begun in 1905 and finished in 1908, the material being rubble masonry with cement plaster, and the style a modified Italian renaissance of the middle period. It is said to be fire-proof. The theater is a handsome one capable of seating a thousand people. It is built with a pit, a mezzanine floor, a tier of boxes, and a gallery. A metal curtain guards the opening between the stage and the amphitheater. Electric lights controlled by a stage switch are the means of illumination. The design, masonry, and the paintings in the foyer and on the ceiling are all by native Panamans. Here are held such public meetings of a nonpolitical nature as the Government sees fit to permit; and it is very generous in allowing all kinds of entertainments by Americans to be held here. Once a year a Spanish opera company and a Spanish comedy company make one or two week stands in Panama, and then there is a good crowd every night to hear and see. Popular operas, such as Lucia, Aida, Rigoletto, and more modern ones,

such as the Merry Widow, are sung. The comedy company plays largely the works of Spanish dramatists. But the best part is between the acts when one leaves the warm amphitheater and goes out upon the balcony that overlooks the sea, gets the refreshing breeze, sees the stars, and smokes a cigarette.

The theater wing of the building is on the northwest corner of Plaza Bolivar, formerly Plaza San Francisco, a little park with tile walks, stiff benches, and a number of trees, among them the royal poinciana. Plaza Bolivar. On the east side are the church of San Francisco and the walls of its ruined cloister; and diagonally across from this the oldest church in the city, San Felipe Neri (see pages 167 and 168).

Returning to Avenida Central and walking along the waterfront, one passes a concrete block building erected in 1908, the Methodist Episcopal Church and Sea Wall, parsonage, and the home of a missionary Las Bóvedas. school called Panama College. A few hundred yards farther along the sea front, is the south bastion of the city, the fort that commands the approach by sea. This is commonly called The Sea Wall, or Las Bovedas (the arches or vaults) from the arch construction underneath in which are the dungeons formerly used as a prison. In these vaults, damp and filthy, thousands of criminals, political offenders, and mere suspects, spent days of slow death, poisoned by filth, and weakened by want of good food.

The dungeons have been abandoned, and here is now the Chiriqui Prison, a clean and well provided jail. The large building looking out upon the courtyard is the cuartel or barracks, in which the garrison formerly lived, since 1903 a part of the prison. The triangular space on the north side of the courtyard is known as the Plaza d'Armes, here the garrison used to be mustered, and against the wall, near the steps leading down to the water's edge, prisoners stood to receive the bullets of the execution squad. Inside the courtyard in front of the dungeons, so that the prisoners could see, there were held some years ago the bull teasings of the fiesta times, such as were held at an earlier date in Santa Ana Plaza. All these things one can see from the Sea Wall where the children roll about on their skates, and the boys and girls of various ages stroll or sit from sunset until late at night. The bright light on the water and concrete



SEA WALL—LAS BOVEDAS—PANAMA.

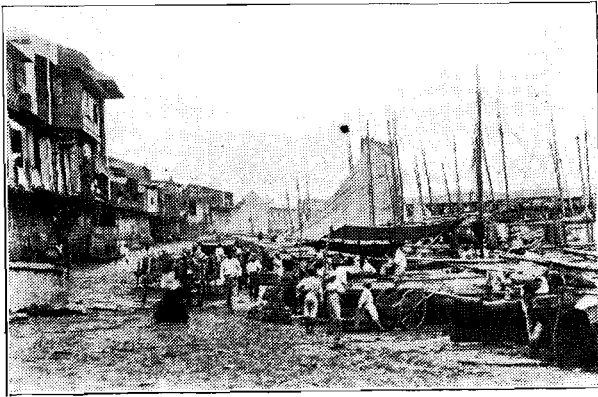
walk, and the intense heat make this an unpleasant place during the afternoon, but about 5 o'clock, when the sun has dropped behind Ancon Hill, leaving the wall in shadow and the islands still in bright light; or a few minutes later when the sunset glow is in the sky and on the water; or at night when all the stars are bright, then go to the Sea Wall and be quiet a few minutes while the spirit of Panama comes up to woo you.

Right here in the heart of this place of romance, its front balcony looking out upon the entrance to the Canal and the side of Ancon Hill, is the new home of the University Club. Here are served the best meals in Panama, and here is the best collection of English books, and current pe-

riodicals. The building is of rubble and the style a modified Spanish mission. On the ground floor are the men's dining-room, game-rooms, kitchen, and office; on the second floor the library and reading-room, and the women's dining-room. The library and reading-room has a polished hardwood floor and when cleared of tables gives a dancing space of 2,800 square feet. The club was organized in 1906 and its membership of 200 consists of about 125 Americans employed on the Canal or railroad and 75 residents of Panama. It was started as a club to which only college or university graduates could be admitted, but inasmuch as this rule barred the most desirable men it was soon amended.

Keeping to the seafront and walking back again past the Government Palace, and the Plaza Bolivar, at a distance of two blocks from the latter, one comes upon a large white building of rubble masonry, the home of the Union Club. This is the best club building on the isthmus, and from its roof one may obtain the best view of Panama Bay that can be had, barring only that from the top of Ancon Hill. A large ballroom, a pleasant patio, and a swimming tank, filled anew each time the tide comes in, are among the attractive features of this club.

The Marina building is on the waterfront, near the Union Club and at the foot of 5th Street. It was formerly a hotel, now used variously for offices and family quarters. But its true interest lies in the fact that here is the water gate of the city, where passengers for ports along the coast take their ships after a long row in an open boat. The experience of going aboard one of these ships is exciting and always more or less wetting.



BEACH MARKET AT PANAMA.

Diagonally across the street from the Marina is the Presidencia, a rubble building, two stories high, built around a patio, a true example of Spanish mission architecture. Here lives the President, and here are the executive offices. On the walls

of the public reception-room are pictures of the Presidents and Governors of Panama.

Still following the waterfront, two blocks beyond the Presidencia, the street dips down a steep incline, at the foot of which the old wall used to abut upon

Market. the sea. When the pretense of a walled city was dropped a breach was made at this point, and a road built, giving means of egress from the town to the beach. Here (1877) was established the market. It is now a large open building in which all sorts of merchandise are displayed—laces, vegetables, meats, fish, fruits—a great array of familiar and strange looking things. On the beach the ships from along the coast and the boats from nearby places unload, running in at high tide and waiting until the tide runs out when they can unload upon the beach without the expense and trouble of lightering. About 7 o'clock in the morning is the best time to visit the market, because then one sees how the purchases are made, a little of this and less of that, just enough for the day's needs. This is the most picturesque place in Panama from the point of view of those who are interested in people, for here all the races, and half the nations meet.

The Churches.

All the churches of Panama, from the cathedral in the city to the village churches of the interior, are built on the common plan of a long plain building with an ornate front.

The masonry is a rubble laid in cement, the class being called *mamposteria*. In this method of building the masons erect wooden forms as they would for concrete molds, and in these lay rock and brick of all kinds with cement joints. When the wall thus made is completed there is applied a plaster of cement and usually this is painted. The plaster gives a finished effect, and likewise keeps the soft rock from decomposing. In the churches the facade is sometimes made of dimension stone, smooth dressed. All of the more substantial buildings are erected in this manner, and they are good buildings, as 200 years of wear attest. The old walls are also of this class of masonry. Stone is procured from the fields or the beach at low tide, and the older churches in Panama were built of rock taken from the old city.

The architecture is that type of Moorish modified in Spain by the Christians of the 15th and 16th centuries, and still further modified in the new world, according as local

conditions demanded. It consists essentially of two towers, between which is built the front wall with the main entrance surmounted by windows or by niches for statues. Sometimes one of the towers only is carried above the level of the roof and again there will be no distinct tower, but only a steeple rising from the main building. Always, however, the effect is the same. They have also in common paved floors, for there are no cellars under the buildings of Panama, and wood altars carved, or painted in imitation of marble or other stone. There are no decorations except those on the altar, and usually these seem gaudy to the American. In short the buildings themselves are plain and strong, with decorative fronts, the whole making a handsome appearance, but the interior decorations are not in keeping.

For the quality of such decoration as there is one must simply admit that tastes differ. The clothing of the Virgin in some churches is gaudy, in others tawdry, in some few ordinary French dolls are made to do duty as statues. The lack of value in the altar decorations is due to vandalism and sacrifice. At the time Spain made her effort to regain Quito by way of Panama, the available funds of the churches in the city were taken by Murgeon to help pay for transporting his army. It was in the nature of a loan, but it was a dead loss. In the revolutionary movement that freed the isthmus from Spain, the church provided the revolutionary government liberally from what treasure it had left. In the Liberal revolutions between 1850 and 1900, when friends of the church were not in power, much of the available gold and silver in the churches was confiscated by legal and illegal means. Add to these facts and to the devastating fires, the great fact that from 1750 to 1850, Panama was very poor, and you have the reasons why the churches of the city are not rich in altar decorations, as one would expect the churches of a Latin community to be.

One other thing they have in common that will be new to the untraveled tourist, and that is the custom of placing memorial tablets in the floor and on the pillars that support the roof. These tablets usually cover a bone from the person of the dead to whom the tablet is dedicated, the custom being to bury the dead but later to take one of the bones and place it in the church, in some instances the whole body of a distinguished person. An interesting indication of the cosmopolitan nature of the isthmian population for a century or more, is found in many of these tablets

Here one sees the names of Spanish, French, Irish, English, and Germans mixed, as though one would read--To the sacred memory of Isabella Davila de la Guzman, beloved wife of Thomas O'Hara Lopez.

Permit your guide to say that in the ardor of sight-seeing many strangers (not of your kind, of course, yet well dressed people) seem to forget that

These are to the Roman Catholic his church is a holy Holy Places. place, for in it there is always in bodily presence Jesus Christ. You will see the children playing about the doors, perhaps, but it is not in irreverence; it is their Father's house, and they are familiar without being disrespectful. Yet when a stranger enters with his hat on, and walks about as he would in a hotel, the people resent it. They are his host and the feelings of the host should be respected. Much of the hatred of Latin Americans for Americans is due to the bad manners of the latter.

Although it was the first church in the new city to be located, the cathedral was one of the last to be completed.

The work dragged on for many years until Cathedral. 1751 when Luna Victoria became Bishop of Panama. This man was a negro, the son of a freed slave who had made some money for himself in the business of burning charcoal along the banks of the Rio Grande. The charcoal burner gave his son the chance for an education, and the son developed so well that he was taken into the priesthood. There he distinguished himself as a student and by his rectitude. He was the first native Panaman to become bishop of the diocese. Although he remained here only eight years, he plied the work on the cathedral with such zeal, and contributed so liberally to the fund for building, that it was completed on December 3, 1760. It was consecrated on April 4, 1796, by Bishop Gonzales de Acuna, to whose liberality it owes the high altar and many ornaments of the sanctuary.

The cathedral is a basilica of one main and four side naves. Two Moorish towers with high steeples rise up from either side in front, and recessed back from the line of the towers is the facade of dressed stone with niches for statues of the twelve apostles. There are three doors in front, and two at the sides; the aisles from the front and side entrances cut the church up into four quadrangles. The church proper is about 200 feet long. Essentially it con-

sists of four walls of rubble masonry within which are four rows of masonry pillars connected by arches upon which rests a roof of finished native cedar. Outside, the roof is covered with pantile. The arches of the main nave span a space 36 feet wide, and spring from their columns at a height of 30 feet above the floor, the crown of the arch being 50 feet above the floor. The arches of the side naves span a space 21 feet wide, and those over the small naves, between the side walls and the secondary naves, a space 15 feet wide. The apse is formed by two arches, 40 feet to crown, supported on two rows of pillars. Within it is the high altar, made of wood and very ornate, two side altars, and the episcopal throne. Outside of the apse, but within the sanctuary, are two large side altars. Two more side altars are outside the sanctuary. A moulded and begrimed painting, said to represent the miracle of the Rosary, is pointed out as a Murillo. There is no documentary evidence to establish the authorship. In the earthquake of 1882 part of the facade was jarred out and fell upon the steps. This was at once repaired, and in accordance with the original plan.

On the east side of the Plaza Bolivar is the church of San Francisco, and adjoining it the ruins of the old Franciscan convent, burned in the great fire of 1756.

Church of San Francisco and Ruins of Convent. Upon the foundation of the new city the site for the Franciscan monastery was allotted, and the plaza now called Bolivar was named after the church and convent.

The church was burned also in 1756, but it was rebuilt in 1785-1790, in its present form. It is 90 feet wide across the front and extends from the plaza to the sea, a distance of about 180 feet.

It is a basilica with nave, two aisles, transept, and apse. The nave is built of ten 6-foot-square masonry pillars in parallel rows of five each. Supporting arches which spring from them at 20 feet above the floor, are 25 feet above the floor at the center, and span a 35-foot opening. The choir over the entrance is supported by a flat arch. The side aisles are 20 feet wide and the choir above them is supported on groined arches. The transept is formed by two big arches 45 feet above the floor at the center, 25 feet above at the spring, and spanning a space 35 feet wide. Back of the transept, in the center, is a shallow apse in which the high altar is built. It is of wood, painted to imitate marble, and is surmounted by the all-seeing eye in a triangle that Americans

are accustomed to associate with Freemasonry. There are two side altars, built out into the transept, and not occupying apses. Along the side aisles are shrines, built up of wood and resembling altars, but not actually used as such. On the left of the entrance is one of these shrines containing a remarkable picture of some merit, although the light does not permit its being seen to full advantage. The subject is one that will immediately arrest the eye of a Roman Catholic because it is such a naive and compact representation of the doctrine of purgatory. The upper half of the picture represents heaven, where are some well-contented-looking people, while the lower half shows a number of people upon whose faces are written much pain, despondency, horror, fear. Through an opening in the cloud-made floor of heaven, angels are coming down to those in torture, carrying them indulgences in the shape of scapulars, rosaries, and other prayers. Some of the occupants of this pictured purgatory are in a large cage upon the top of which, in a region supposedly typifying earth, can be distinguished a priest with acolyte celebrating mass. The democracy of the artist, so often commented upon, is here shown by the people he has placed in purgatory. There are a king, a bishop, a priest, and ten lay members; and out of the thirteen thus condemned only three are women. Of the ten people shown in heaven three are women, but all the angels look like girls. Knowing the real proportion of females to males on earth, one can gain a pretty fair idea of where the artist thought the majority of women belong.

The ruin of the old convent contains the most beautiful cloister or row of arches to be found in the city. It extends along the street 255 feet and reaches back to the sea 180 feet. The building was two stories high. The windows have been filled with various kinds of masonry, and against the walls inside have been erected wooden buildings used now as schools. The old courtyard has been divided into two parts, one being used by the Christian Brothers in their Collegio de la Salle, and the other by the Government in its school of San Felipe for boys.

The church of San Felipe Neri at the corner of Avenue B and 4th Streets is the oldest in the city. In a cement tablet above its entrance are the words "Neri San Felipe Ao 1688." It is said that it was constructed entirely of rock brought from the old city of Panama. Formerly there was a little yard

in front and the church had an outlook on Plaza Bolivar, but within recent years a house has been built in the yard closing the front door, and necessitating the opening of an entrance on Avenue B. The door has been closed only so far as the public is concerned, however, because it is still the opening by which the Sisters of Charity and their pupils enter the old church. The fire of 1756, which swept over all that part of the city, burned the woodwork out of the church and it was not until 1800 that it was reconstructed in its present form.

The building is about 100 feet long and 60 feet wide, and is constructed of rubble masonry with heavy walls which bear directly the thrust of the gable roof, there being no supporting columns within. A little Moorish tower decorated with mother of pearl shells rises up from the gospel side of the front, and is balanced on the other side by a tiny turret. Between these the roof points up, and in the center is an oval window bordered with pearl shell. Above the side entrance, the one in public use, is a little wooden statue of San Felipe bearing a chalice in one hand and a child on the other arm. The worms have eaten the statue away as to its nether parts but it still remains a good piece of wood carving.

Within the walls is the prettiest church in Panama, the only one that shows good taste in adornment. The chancel is at the end opposite the door, and extends from the floor to the gabled roof, whereas the balance of the interior is covered by a board ceiling, as though to make a choir or second floor where worshippers may be unobserved by the public below. The result is that, while the seating part of the church is in a soothing gloom, the altar stands out brightly, making a pretty contrast. On both sides the heavy walls are built in several feet so as to make large masonry niches in which are two shrines or side altars. There is a calm, soothing atmosphere about this church that is quite lacking in the others. Leaving it through the old entrance (strangers are forbidden to do this), one enters a courtyard around which are the houses of the sisterhood. A little garden fills the yard, some trees grow there, and butterflies and birds fly about the trees and bushes. It is cut off from the street by the houses, the church, and a high wall. And it is very quiet.

The church of Our Lady of Mercy (La Merced) is on Avenida Central at the corner of Tenth Street. It is the second

oldest church in the city, and was constructed La Merced. partly of stone from old Panama. Near it ran the old wall and a few feet away was the drawbridge. Two Moorish towers rise up from either side of the facade, which, like that of the cathedral, is made of dimension stone. Above the door is a niche for the statue of Our Lady of Mercy. The church is 80 feet wide, and 120 feet long on the Central Avenue side. Within, two rows of four wooden pillars each covered with decorated sheet iron of the year 1890 support the roof and give the effect of a central and two side naves. At the rear an arch, spanning a space 40 feet across, springs from the sides at 30 feet above the floor, and is 50 feet high at the crown. This forms the chancel in which is situated the high altar. Outside this imitation apse are two side altars, while along the left side wall are four shrines, and along the right three. In the right side there is also a large door opening upon a terrace that parallels Central Avenue. This church is a disappointment in every way—architecturally because it is an imitation, spiritually because the interior decorations are so tawdry as to be almost mirth-provoking. All the statues are very bad, and one of them, representing the Blessed Virgin, is a doll. Not a part of the building, and yet of the church, are two chapels built in front of the towers, one a mortuary chapel, and the other an ex-voto offering. This latter is near Central Avenue, and every evening there can be seen in it some of the faithful at their prayers.

The Church of Santa Ana was originally a wooden structure built for the poorer classes in the suburb of Santa Ana which was inhabited largely by negro servants.

Santa Ana. About 1760 Mateo de Izaguirre e Ibarzabal furnished money for the reconstruction of the church in masonry, and it was dedicated on January 20, 1764. The Spanish crown conferred knighthood on the man who gave the money, and he was afterwards known as the Count of Santa Ana.

This building is of rubble covered with cement mortar, but with a front of dimension stone. A moorish tower rises from one side of the facade, but the other side is merely the end of the gable roof, which has been covered with the false wall done in scroll, characteristic of most of the church buildings in Panama. The dimensions are 70 feet long by 160 feet wide. A front and two side doors give entrance, and the aisles running from them cut the interior into four

equal quadrangles. Parallel rows of wooden pillars and the side walls support the roof. The sanctuary is formed by a large central masonry arch spanning a space 36 feet across, springing at 20 feet from the floor and 40 feet above the floor at its crown, and two smaller arches with crown 25 feet above the floor. The center arch spans the high altar, and the side arches the altars of the Virgin and the Sacred Heart. Outside the sanctuary, on the Sacred Heart side, is an effigy in a glass case of the Count of Santa Ana. Glass eyes are turned skyward, and a heavy black mustache carefully brushed adorns a face so fair that it is quite pink. On the screen at the entrance to the church is a portrait in oil of the Count. Along the wall on the epistle side of the church are three shrines, one framing an interesting picture of the crucifixion, and on the gospel side are two shrines. The interior of this church is cold and cheerless, and what color there is seems very tawdry to one not accustomed to such things.

The church of San Jose stands at the corner of Avenue A and 8th street, and is the church of the Augustinian friars. It has a front of 40 feet on Avenue A,

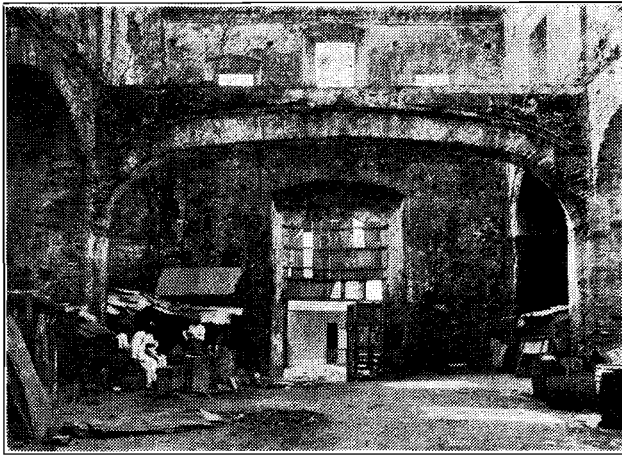
San José and is 80 feet deep along 8th street. It has a gable roof, but inside is finished with a barrel arch nave 40 feet high, apparently supported on two rows of six wooden posts. The apse is framed by the three arches at the termination of the main and side naves, and a skylight above it allows the daylight to illuminate the chancel effectively. The altar is decorated in good taste, the five side shrines are modest, and the whole interior has an air of quiet.

The Dominican friars began to build their church and convent in new Panama immediately after the founding of the city. In Old Panama they had a substantial building of stone, and some of this

Ruins of San Domingo entered into the edifice in the new city. In

Church. the fire of 1756 all the woodwork was burned, and the church was not rebuilt. It is a typical piece of the architecture of the period, the facade still showing where the towers rose, and the little statue of Saint Dominic still standing above the broad front entrance. The church is situated on the corner of Avenue A and 3d Street. It is built of rubble masonry, with dimension stone in the facade, and was erected by the lay brothers of the order. It is 75 feet wide and 120 feet long. The nave is 70 feet deep. Instead of having side naves the church has three arches or

vaults for shrines on each side, and one arch on each side for entrances, that on the street side for the people and on the side opposite as a means of entrance from the courtyard of the old monastery. The apse is 50 feet deep and is formed by three grand arches (one was shattered in the earthquake of 1882) and two side arches. Near the main entrance, forming one of the supports for the choir, is a brick arch, spanning a space of 50 feet, 35 feet high at the crown and 25 feet at the spring. So flat an arch is said to be an engineering "sport," and it is pointed out as one of the sights of the city. Arches almost as flat will be found under the choir of the church of San Francisco, and in the ruins of the old Jesuit church. Alongside the ruins is a chapel of modern construction and still in use. The old church is now private property and a modern apartment house is now projected for the site.



FLAT ARCH IN CHURCH OF SANTO DOMINGO—PANAMA.

In the first years of the decline in Panama, before it was fully realized just what the abandonment of the trade route across the isthmus meant, the Society of Jesus began to build a college and convent in Panama. The first work was done in 1749 and the building was completed in 1751. It consisted of a church on the corner of the pres-

ent Avenue A and 7th Street (extending back along 7th street to the edge of Cathedral Plaza), and a long rectangular building joined to the church, which was to serve as dormitories and school for the students of the University of the Holy Savior. The political activity of the order in Latin Europe about this time led to the movement for its suppression in Spain, France, and Portugal, and the decree of 1767 driving the Jesuits out of Spain was made effective in Spanish America. On August 28, 1767, the priests of the University of San Javier in Panama were put upon ship at Porto Bello and sent to Europe, and thus within 20 years after the opening of their university, the magnificent building was vacant. In 1781 the fire that burned out all that section of the city consumed every bit of wood in the Jesuit church and college. The property was confiscated by the State during one of the Liberal governments of the Colombian period, and was purchased by a Panaman family. In 1909 the walls were still standing gaunt and empty, when a cheap wooden frame was built up inside of them and the old college was turned into a tenement house. But the church is still much as it was after the fire, except that some sheds have been built within it, and horses and cows are stabled in the sanctuary of the apse. Notwithstanding the vandalism, the ruin is one of the most interesting to be found on the isthmus. Apropos of the ban on the Jesuits, it is of interest that the late Javier Jungito, Bishop of Panama, was of the Society of Jesus.

Newspapers.

The first newspaper published in Panama was a revolutionary sheet issued in March, 1820. A newspaper in English—*The Panama Star and Herald*—was first published in February, 1849. It was printed then, as now, half in English and half in Spanish, and during the French period there was a section in French. In 1911, *The Panama Journal*, a daily in English, began to issue. There are several periodicals in Spanish, each representing the fortunes of some editor-for-politics only. *The Canal Record*, published in Ancon, is the official bulletin of the Isthmian Canal Commission. It was first issued on September 4, 1907.

National Institute.

On the borderline between the Canal Zone and Panama city, with its broad bare back facing towards Ancon, is the new home of the Panama National Institute.

National Institute. opened in 1911. It consists of seven buildings of rubble masonry, Spanish mission type, surrounding a large courtyard, in the center of which is a gymnasium. This is the largest building in the Republic. It is planned to make it the head of Panama's educational system, but at present the pupils are mostly children in primary and secondary work. No tuition is charged, and nonresidents of Panama are supplied with room and board while in attendance at the school. (See page 149.)

Amusements.

The amusements of a formal kind offered by Panama are few. Twice a year there are traveling troupes at the National Theater; twice a year a circus pitches its tents for a week's stay in Herrera Plaza; every Sunday there is a cock fight in the main back of the old drawbridge bastion; and every night there are moving-picture shows along Central Avenue. A favorite drive is that out the Sabanas Road toward Old Panama, or starting in that direction making a detour toward Corozal. Every year before Ash Wednesday there is a carnival in which the people elect a queen, and around her and the God Momus, make a play at the old game of sovereign and people. Then there are parades, masked balls, and a coronation ceremony in the National Theater. Native dances are done in the plazas, and four days are given over to masking, serenading, and dancing. About a mile beyond the city, well removed from the outfall of the sewers, there is a crescent-shaped beach where one may go sea bathing. The dressing rooms are poor, however, and the place is difficult of access. The best day's trip for a tourist to take is the ride across the bay to the island of Taboga. A steamer makes this trip daily.

Coach Tariff.

Coach Rates. The fare for a single ride for one person in Panama city is ten cents, United States currency, represented by a Panaman coin commonly known as "twenty cents silver."

The coach tariff follows:

<i>Hourly Rates.</i>	One.	PERSONS.		
		Two.	Three.	Four.
Between 6 a. m. and 11 p. m., Coach per hour.....	1.00	1.25	1.50	1.75
Between 11 p. m. and 6 a. m., Coach per hour.....	1.25	1.50	1.75	2.00

		PERSONS.			
		One.	Two.	Three.	Four.
<i>Ancon and City of Panama.</i>					
Between the Episcopal chapel (hospital grounds) and any point in Panama, or any point in Ancon east of Episcopal chapel.....	One way...	.10	.20	.30	.40
	Round trip	.20	.40	.60	.80
Between Hotel Tivoli or its environs and any point in Ancon east of Episcopal chapel.....	One way...	.10	.20	.30	.40
	Round trip	.20	.40	.60	.80
Between any point in Ancon on the Zone line road as far south as House No. 115, and any other point in Ancon east of Episcopal chapel, or any point in Panama.....	One way...	.10	.20	.30	.40
	Round trip	.20	.40	.60	.80
Between kitchen building of Ancon Hospital and any point in the hospital grounds.....	One way...	.10	.20	.30	.40
	Round trip	.20	.40	.60	.80
Between kitchen building of Ancon Hospital and any other point in Ancon east of Episcopal chapel, or any point in Panama.....	One way...	.25	.50	.60	.70
	Round trip	.50	.75	.90	1.00
Between Administration building in Ancon and any point in Ancon north of postoffice or any point in Panama.....	One way...	.20	.40	.55	.65
	Round trip	.40	.60	.75	.85
Between the fire station in Ancon Hospital grounds and any point in Ancon east of Episcopal chapel.....	One way...	.35	.70	1.00	1.25
	Round trip	.70	.95	1.20	1.40
Between Ancon Hospital cemetery and any point in Ancon east of Episcopal chapel.....	One way...	.50	.75	1.00	1.25
	Round trip	.75	1.00	1.25	1.50
Between any points in Ancon embraced in the boundary enclosed by street running from Administration building to Roman Catholic chapel thence to postoffice; thence southwesterly on Zone line road; thence to Administration building.....	One way...	.10	.20	.30	.40
	Round trip	.20	.40	.60	.80
Between any point in Ancon east of Episcopal chapel and any other point in Ancon or any point in Panama.....	One way...	.10	.20	.30	.40
	Round trip	.20	.40	.60	.80
Between intersection of Bishop's Hollow and Ancon Hospital roads (east of new corral) and any point in Panama or Hotel Tivoli and its environs or any point in Ancon east of Episcopal chapel.....	One way...	.20	.40	.55	.65
	Round trip	.40	.60	.70	.85
Between Ancon Insane Asylum (Bishop's Hollow road) and any point in Panama or Hotel Tivoli and its environs or any other point in Ancon east of Episcopal chapel.....	One way...	.30	.60	.75	.90
	Round trip	.60	.90	1.10	1.25
Between I. C. C. labor camps (Bishop's Hollow road) and any point in Panama or Hotel Tivoli and its environs, or any point in Ancon east of Episcopal chapel.....	One way...	.35	.70	1.00	1.25
	Round trip	.70	.95	1.20	1.40
Between any point in Ancon east of Episcopal chapel or any point in Panama, and the old ice factory (out Sabanas road).....	One way...	.20	.30	.40	.50
	Round trip	.30	.60	.75	.90

<i>Balboa.</i>		One.	PERSONS.		
			Two.	Three.	Four.
Between El Chorrillo (junction of Zone line road and Panama-Balboa road) and any point in the city of Panama, or the Hotel Tivoli and environs, or any other point in Ancon east of Episcopal chapel.	One way...	.20	.40	.55	.65
	Round trip	.40	.60	.75	.85
Between Balboa docks and any point in Panama or the Hotel Tivoli and environs or any point east of Episcopal chapel.	One way...	.50	1.00	1.25	1.50
	Round trip	1.00	1.50	1.75	2.00
Between East Balboa commissary and any point in Panama or the Hotel Tivoli and environs or any point east of Episcopal chapel.	One way...	.35	.70	1.00	1.25
	Round trip	.70	.95	1.20	1.40
<i>Las Sabanas Road.</i>					
Between the old rock quarry (near the boundary line between the Canal Zone and the city of Panama) and the Hotel Tivoli and environs, or any point in Ancon east of Episcopal chapel, or any point in Panama.	One way...	.30	.60	.75	.90
	Round trip	.60	.90	1.10	1.25
Between Tumba Muerto road and any point in Ancon east of Episcopal chapel, or any point in Panama.	One way...	.50	1.00	1.25	1.50
	Round trip	1.00	1.50	1.75	2.00
Between the Sabanas Police Station and any point in Ancon or Panama.	One way...	.75	1.50	2.00	2.25
	Round trip	1.50	2.00	2.25	2.50
Between Zone line beyond or east of Sabanas Police Station and any point in Ancon or Panama.	One way...	1.00	1.75	2.25	2.75
	Round trip	1.75	2.50	3.00	3.25
Between Rio Abajo (beyond Zone boundary line) and any point in Ancon or Panama.	One way...	1.25	2.00	2.50	3.00
	Round trip	2.00	3.00	3.50	4.00
Between Juan Diaz River and any point in Ancon or Panama.	One way...	2.50	4.00	5.25	6.25
	Round trip	3.75	5.00	6.25	7.00

Shoppers' Guide.

The American shopper will find that all woolens, silks of foreign make, linens, laces, and lingerie, are cheaper in

Panama than in the United States. Every

Shoppers' shop has some curious bit of lace or other

Guide. fabric to show, such as one is not likely to

find in the United States. The Chinese shops

show many curious bits of china, silk, Canton linen, and brass. The residents of the city can buy goods much cheaper

than visitors can, because they know the method of shopping, which is to bargain. This bargaining applies chiefly,

however, to the Chinese shops, as several of the better class shops run by natives and by English and French citizens have

adopted the one-price standard. Panama hats may be purchased at a dozen different stores. In the low grades

there is little advantage in buying them in Panama, but in

the hats that one pays from eight to fifteen dollars for the values are from fifty to two hundred per cent greater than at the same price in the United States. A shoppers' guide follows:

<i>Automobiles.</i>		
Morrice's Garage.....	Cathedral Plaza.....	260
Pan-American Automobile Co.....	16th near Central Ave.....	252
<i>Bakeries.</i>		
Arroyo & Co.....	225 Central Ave.....	232
La Bola de Oro.....	East 13th St.....	230
<i>Banks.</i>		
Ehrman & Co.....	Cathedral Plaza.....	244
International Banking Corporation.....	Cathedral Plaza.....	224
Panama Banking Co.....	8th rear Cathedral.....	219
<i>Books, Periodicals, Souvenirs.</i>		
Benedetti Bros.....	Central Ave. near Plaza.....	
Colombia Store.....	Central Ave. near 11th.....	
Lindo, Albert.....	{ Central Ave. opp. P. R. Station } { Central Ave. near 11th..... }	258
Maduro, I. L.....	Cathedral Plaza.....	236
Panama Guide.....	All Stands.....	298
Vibert & Dixon.....	Central Avenue opp. Cathedral.....	250
Waterman (L. E.) Pens.....		287
<i>Clubs.</i>		
International.....	Cathedral Plaza.....	
Union.....	North Ave. and 4th.....	
University.....	2nd St., near Sea Wall.....	
<i>Correspondence Schools.</i>		
International.....	Central Ave. opp. R. R. Station.....	263
<i>Dentists.</i>		
Garcia, J. J.....	Central Ave. near 8th.....	240
<i>Drugs, Perfumes, etc.</i>		
Central Drug Store.....	Central Ave. near 10th.....	212
Colgate & Co.....	All Stores.....	208
International Pharmacy.....	12 W 12th St.....	211
<i>Dry Goods, Notions</i>		
B. V. D. Company.....	All Stores.....	296
French Bazaar.....	8th rear Cathedral.....	254
La Caraquena.....	Central near F St.....	214
La Ultima Moda.....	8th and Ave. B.....	222
Müller Co.....	{ Cathedral Plaza..... } { Central near 11th..... }	302
Piza, Piza & Co.....	Central Ave. and 8th.....	210
<i>Hardware.</i>		
Lyons, Emanuel.....	Central Ave. near 8th.....	228
Panama Hardware Co.....	Cathedral Plaza.....	234

Hotels.

Central.....	Cathedral Plaza	244
International.....	Railway Plaza.....	256
Tivoli.....	Ancon.....	

Jewelry, Watches, Souvenirs.

Lacroisade, E.....	Central Ave. and 8th St.....	217
Misteli.....	Central Ave. near 8th St.....	226
Müller Co.....	Central, rear Cathedral.....	302

Lawyers.

Porter, F. E.....	Imperial Hotel.....	245
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Oriental Goods.

Po Yuen & Co.....	208 E 13th St.....	246
Three Stars.....	Santa Ana Plaza.....	242

Panama Hats.

Lince & Co.....	Central Ave. opp. R. R. Station	238
Lindo, Albert.....	} Central Ave. opp. R. R. Station }	258
	{ Central Ave. near 11th }	
Maduro, J. L.....	Cathedral Plaza.....	236
Montecristi.....	Central Ave. near Santa Anna	
	Plaza.....	231
Vibert & Dixon.....	Central Ave. Opp. Cathedral....	250

Photographs.

A Trip—Panama Canal.....	All Book Stores.....	213
Endara.....	Cross near Central Ave.....	
Kodaks.....	All Stores.....	289
Marine's Studio.....	Central Ave.....	

Plumbers.

Central American Plumbing and Supply Co.....	Santa Ana Plaza.....	216
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Provisions, Wines, Etc.

Brandon & Bros.....	8th St. near Cathedral.....	220
Bertoli Bros.....	5th St. near Cathedral Plaza....	233
Ullrich & Co., F.....	Cathedral Plaza.....	218

Sewing Machines.

Singer Sewing Machine Co.....	8th St., rear Cathedral.....	248
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Steamship Companies.

California-Atlantic.....	Balboa.....	
French Line.....	Cathedral Plaza.....	278
Hamburg-American.....	5th St., near Cathedral Plaza....	274
National Navigation.....	North Ave. and 7th.....	270
Pacific Mail.....	Balboa.....	
Pacific Steam Navigation.....	Cathedral Plaza.....	276
Panama R. R.....	Railroad Station.....	280
Peruvian Line.....	11th near Central Ave.....	269
Royal Mail.....	Cathedral Plaza.....	272
United Fruit Co.....	Cathedral Plaza.....	

Vacations in the States.

Illinois Central Railroad.....		282
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Old Panama.

During 1911, the Government of Panama built a road to Old Panama from the highway that runs eastward from the present city through the rolling country that skirts the bay, known as Las Sabanas (the plains). It is possible, therefore, for the tourist to visit the site of the old city in a coach, or automobile. Soon the street cars will be running there.

The weeds have been cut down and paths lead to the points of interest—the old bridges across the estuary that bounded the city on two sides, the tower and church of St. Anastasius, the wells, and the foundations and walls of public buildings. But there are two other ways of reaching the site.

One is by sea in a launch, and its chief disadvantage is that the landing is made through the surf, and one is sure to be wet. It is more interesting, however, than the coach method; because one can imagine the old traders approaching the water-gate in this way; and there was a water-gate, for the hole in the wall is still the easiest method of entering the enclosure on the sea side, and you can see the old paved road leading into the water. But the best way of all is by horseback.

Start about 6 o'clock in the morning, and while the sun is yet low you will have left the highway, and be going across the sabanas toward the old city. You can skirt the hills that lie in your path and save half an hour's time. It is time ill-saved, however, because from the top of the highest of these little eminences, you get a view of hill, plain, and sea, the sun rising over the new city, and touching the lone tower of the old.

The horseback route is the one by which the pirates approached Panama. It leads along a trail right up to the old bridge. If the tide is low it is better to leave this trail in the open plain where the hills are, and pick your way along the beach. Your horse knows how. It adds variety to the expedition, because you get a nearer view of the sea.

From the point of view of being easily defended, the site of the old city was not bad. In front was a broad tidal flat over which only the lightest-draft boats could

The Site. come at low tide, and then could not get within a hundred yards of the walls, while at high tide ships could come up to the city gate, and when the tide went out, could be unloaded without the trouble of lightering. This method may be watched daily on the beach at the present city of Panama, where the market boats discharge. Behind was a broad sabana or open plain stretching away for a mile in some parts, and at every point open for hundreds of yards. No enemy could approach unnoticed across this space. A tidal estuary also ran around the site of the town providing a natural moat which could be easily defended. Two bridges crossing this moat gave access to the city, otherwise one must go through a swamp. Panama was captured five times, but never by surprise.

The plan of the city in 1609, made by an Italian engineer, Roda, (see page 182) shows the lay-out of the town. Mr. W.

Map of the City. Caley Johnston, of the Panama Government engineer service, at whose suggestion and under whose direction the old site was cleared, says that this map is very accurate, for although the city was burned in 1644, it was rebuilt on the old lines. There were two entrances one by the Royal Bridge, which was the beginning of the trail to the Atlantic, and one near the beach, at the west end of the city, which was the road to the slaughter houses. On the map I have indicated in a line of dashes the present entrance to the site, and it corresponds generally with the old main entrance. The locations of the chief buildings are accurate. The wall shown around the "casa real" was recommended but never built. The area shown by dotted lines was occupied by houses of wood and thatch. In fact, only the public buildings were of stone.

Among the local matters dictated by the Council for the Indies was the laying out of a city. It was provided that it be laid out from a central plaza as a reference point. On the east side of this plaza was set aside a large space of ground for the church, and alongside of it was built the house of the parish priest. On the west side of the plaza was erected the city hall or administration building. Four streets ran through the sides of the plaza, and along these, each in a prescribed place, were arranged the other buildings.

On account of the heat the houses were built close together, to give shade to one another, and for the same reason narrow streets were insisted upon. How closely the rules thus laid down were followed in the case of Old Panama may be seen from the map of the old city.

Practically all the buildings during the first hundred years were of wood, and this made it impossible to prevent the spread of fire in buildings set close together. In 1539, a fire destroyed a large part of the city; and in March, 1563, there occurred a fire that destroyed forty buildings. The first stone work to be attempted in the city was the cathedral, the foundations of which were laid in stone in 1577.

Baptista Antonio writing in 1578, says:

"Panama is the principal citie of this dioces. It lieth 18 degrees from Nombre de Dios on the south sea, and standeth in 9 degrees. There are three monasteries in this said city of fryers, the one is Dominicks, the other is of Augustines, and the third is of S. Francis fryers; also there is a college of Jesuits, and the royall audience or chancery is kept in this citie. This citie hath three hundred and fiftie houses, all built of timber, and there are six hundred dwellers and eight hundred souldiers with the townsmen, and foure hundred negroes of Guyney."

Of the city in 1610, Sosa and Arce say:

"With a heterogenous population of 5000 souls, Panama possessed the convents of La Merced, St. Francis, St. Dominick, St. Augustine, that of the Jesuits, and of the monks
Panama of the Conception; also the hospital of St. Sebastian
in 1610. for the care of private persons, later in the hands of the brotherhood of St. John the Divine; and in process of construction for Catholic worship the Cathedral, dedicated to the Virgin of the Assumption, and two chapels, those of St. Anne and St. Christopher. Panama had 500 houses of all kinds distributed among three plazas and eleven streets, making it beyond question one of the most important cities in Spanish America at this time."

Thomas Gage was in Panama in 1637, and Albert Edwards quotes him as saying:—

"It is governed by a president and six judges and a court of chancery, and is a bishop's sea. It hath more strength towards the South Sea than any other port which on that side I hath seen, and some ordinances planted for defence of it; but the houses are of the least strength of any place that I had entered in; for lime and stone is hard to come by, and therefore for that reason, and for the great heat there, most of the houses are built of timber and bords; the President's house, nay the best church walls are but bords, which serve for stones and brick, and for tiles to cover the roof. It consisteth of some five thousand inhabitants, and maintaineth at least eight cloisters of nuns and friars."

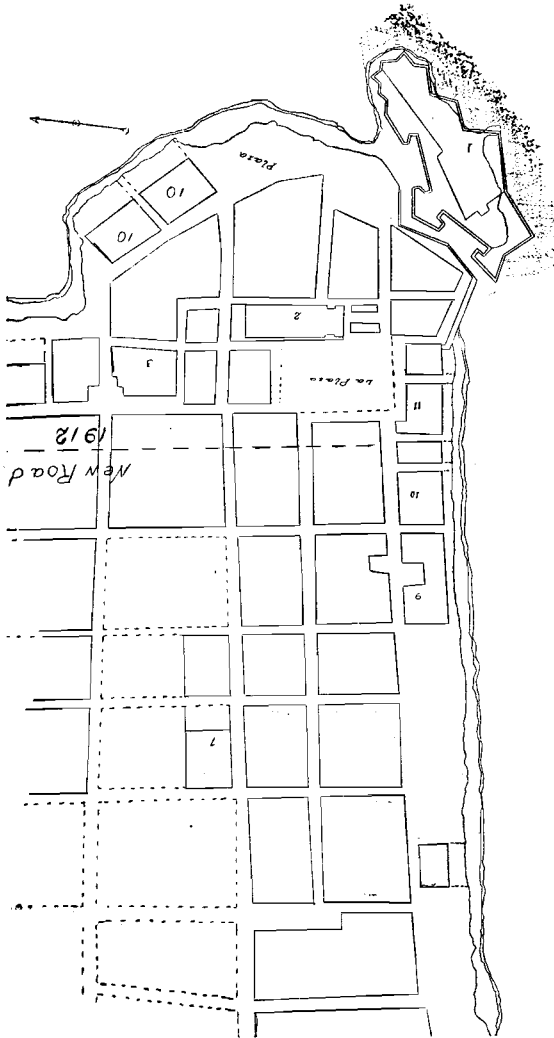
On February 21, 1644, a fire of incendiary origin destroyed 83 buildings, including the seminary and the bishop's house, and seriously damaged the cathedral. The

Fire of 1644. rebuilding of the cathedral was begun immediately, and the walls were made entirely of rubble masonry, the plan being that of a basilica with one main and two side naves, and in front a side tower that raised its cupola high above the surrounding buildings. This cathedral was dedicated in 1655, and the records show that its high altar was richly adorned. It is probable that after this fire other buildings of a public nature were constructed of stone, because it is certain, both from the records and from the ruins extant, that there were many masonry buildings in the city at the time it was taken by Morgan and his pirates.

In reading the following description by Esquemeling it must be remembered that he was comparing old Panama with the squalid cities of Europe and the West Indies, with which he was acquainted; that Panama in 1671. he was quoting the perfervid stories that had been told the pirates in order to urge them on their hazardous enterprise; that he had no opportunity to judge of these things himself, because the fire that destroyed the city was started immediately after the pirates entered; and, finally, that he was representing the place to be as large as possible in order to show how brave the pirates were, and likewise to reinforce his argument that Morgan had not distributed all the booty. Of the city in 1671 Esquemeling says:—

"All the houses of this city were built with cedar, very curious and magnificent, and richly adorned, especially with hangings and paintings, whereof part were before removed, and another great part were consumed by fire. There were in this city (which is the see of a bishop) eight monasteries, seven for men, and one for women; two stately churches, and one hospital. The churches and monasteries were all richly adorned with altar-pieces and paintings, much gold and silver, with other precious things, all of which the ecclesiastics had hidden. Besides which, here were two thousand houses of magnificent building, the greatest part inhabited by merchants vastly rich. For the rest of less quality, and tradesmen, this city contained five thousand more. Here were also many stables for the horses and mules that carry the plate of the king of Spain, as well as private men, towards the North Sea. The neighboring fields are full of fertile plantations and pleasant gardens, affording delicious prospects to the inhabitants all the year. The Genoese had in this city a stately house for their trade of negroes."

It is evident that Old Panama was not a grand city from the viewpoint of today, but it was the most important place



OLD PANAMA IN 1600.—From a plan in the State archives, Panama. (Scale approximately 600 feet to 1 inch.)
 (1) Casa Real or Government Building. (2) Iglesia Mayor or Cathedral; building south of this fronting the plaza was the cabildo or town hall. (3) Convent of Santo Domingo. (4) Convent of the Jesuits. (5) Hospital of St. John the Divine. (6) Convent of the Minimite Monks. (7) Bishop's House. (8) Convent of San Francisco. Near the stone arch bridge, 1,500 feet west of the Franciscan convent was "La Merced," the convent of the nuns. (9) Meat shop. (10) Kitchens. (11) Prison. (12) Rocks covered by water at high tide.

Life in Old Panama. in America for a hundred years after Pizarro discovered Peru. And life could not have been dull there. Ships were constantly arriving from the north and south coasts of America, and from the Orient; the semiannual exodus of merchants to the fair at Porto Bello was an event of importance, not less interesting because each time some of the traders were sure to die there, so unhealthful was that place; the officials were always quarreling with one another; the slaves were running away and preying upon the pack-trains; there were many periods of want for food, because the colony was not self-sustaining, and depended upon Peru for foodstuffs. There were constantly recurring civil wars; the city was partially destroyed by revolutionists four times during its first century. Finally there was a flourishing illicit trade, and that is always exciting, as the tourist will find, when he tries to smuggle Panama hats through the United States custom house. Indeed the destruction of the old city was a result of this trade.

A Dutch apothecary named Esquemeling accompanied Henry Morgan on his expeditions from Jamaica during 1668-71, and going home to Holland wrote his story, which was published under the title, "Buccaniers of America." This book is interesting here principally because it tells of the taking of Porto Bello in 1668, of Fort San Lorenzo at the mouth of the Chagres River in 1670, and Old Panama in 1671.

After the fall of Fort San Lorenzo, Morgan and 1400 followers set out for Panama on January 9, 1671, taking the river route to Cruces. In circumstantial manner the druggist-author tells of the advance up the river, how the Spanish outposts were deserted, all the food was destroyed or hidden, and the pirates were reduced to such hunger that they ate leather. All this in a journey through a forest that must have been alive with monkeys and birds, if not with wild hogs and other animals. After six days they arrived at Cruces, where they left the canoes. After one day's rest they marched toward Panama and appeared before that city at sunset of the ninth day. The narrative continues:

"On the tenth day (January 19, 1671), betimes in the morning, they put all their men to convenient order, and with drums and trumpets sounding, continued their march directly towards the city. But one of the guides desired
Attack Begun. Captain Morgan not to take the common highway that led thither fearing lest they should find in it much resistance and many ambuscades. He presently took his

advice, and chose another way that went through the wood, although very irksome and difficult. Thus the Spaniards, perceiving the Pirates had taken another way, which they scarce had thought on or believed, were compelled to leave their stops and batteries, and come out to meet them. The Governor of Panama put his forces in order consisting of two squadrons, four regiments of foot, and a huge number of wild bulls, which were driven by a great number of Indians, with some negroes and others, to help them.

The Pirates, being now upon their march, came to the top of a little hill, whence they had a large prospect of the city and campaign (champaign) country underneath. Here they discovered the forces of the people of Panama, extended in battle array and when they perceived them to be so numerous, they were suddenly surprized with great fear, much doubting the fortune of the day. Yea, few or none there were but wished themselves at home, or at least free from the obligation of that engagement, wherein they perceived their lives must be so narrowly concerned.

Having been some time at a stand, in a wavering condition of mind, they at last reflected upon the straits they had brought themselves into, and that now they ought of necessity either to fight resolutely or die, for no quarter could be expected from an enemy against whom they had committed so many cruelties on all occasions. Hereupon they encouraged one another, and resolved either to conquer, or spend the very last drop of blood in their bodies. Afterwards they divided themselves into three battalions, or troops, sending before them one or two hundred buccaneers, which sort of people are infinitely dextrous at shooting with guns. Thus the Pirates left the hill and descended marching directly towards the Spaniards, who were posted in a spacious field, waiting for their coming.

As soon as they drew near them, the Spaniards began to shout, and cry, *Viva el Rey!* God save the King! and immediately their horse began to move against the Pirates. But the **Battle Before the City.** field being full of quags and very soft under foot, they could not ply to and fro and wheel about, as they desired. The two hundred buccaneers who went before, every one putting one knee to the ground, gave them a full volley of shot, wherewith the battle was instantly kindled very hot.

The Spaniards defended themselves very courageously, acting all they could possibly perform, to disorder the Pirates. Their foot, in like manner, endeavoured to second the horse, but were constrained by the Pirates to separate from them. Thus finding themselves frustrated of their designs, they attempted to drive the bulls against them at their backs, and by this means put them into disorder, but the greatest part of the wild cattle ran away, being frightened with the noise of the battle, and some few that broke through the English companies did no other harm than to tear the colours in pieces whereas the buccaneers shooting them dead, left not one to trouble them thereabouts.

The battle having now continued for the space of two hours, at the end thereof the greatest part of the Spanish horse was ruined and almost all killed. The rest fled away, which being perceived by the foot, and that they could not possibly prevail, they discharged the shot they had in their muskets, and throwing them on the ground, betook themselves to flight, every one which way he could run. The **Prisoners Killed.**

Pirates could not possibly follow them, as being too much harrassed and wearied with the long journey they had lately made. Many of them, not being able to fly whither they desired, hid themselves for that present among the shrubs of the sea-side. But very unfortunately, for most of them being found out by the Pirates, were instantly killed, without giving quarter to any. Some religious men were brought prisoners before Captain Morgan, but he being deaf to their cries and lamentations, commanded them all to be immediately pistoled, which was immediately done.

Soon after they brought a captain to his presence, whom he examined very strictly about several things, particularly wherein consisted the forces of those of Panama. To which he answered: Their whole strength did consist in four hundred horse, twenty-four companies of foot, each being of one hundred men complete, sixty Indians and some negroes, who were to drive two thousand wild bulls and cause them to run over the English camp, and thus by breaking their files put them into a total disorder and confusion. He discovered more, that in the city they had made trenches, and raised batteries in several places, in which they had placed many guns, and that at the entry of the highway which led to the city they had built a fort, which was mounted with eight great guns of brass, and defended by fifty men.

Captain Morgan, having heard this information, gave orders instantly they should march another way. But before setting forth, he made a review of all his men, whereof he found both killed and wounded a considerable number, and much greater than had been believed. Of the Spaniards were found six hundred dead upon the place, besides the wounded and prisoners. The Pirates were nothing discouraged, seeing their number so much diminished, but rather filled with greater pride than before, perceiving what huge advantage they had obtained against their enemies. Thus having rested themselves some while, they prepared to march courageously towards the city, plighting their oaths to one another in general they would fight till never a man was left alive. With this courage they recommenced their march, either to conquer or be conquered, carrying with them all the prisoners.

They found much difficulty in their approach to the city. For within the town the Spaniards had placed many great guns, at several quarters thereof, some of which were charged

Defense of the City. with small pieces of iron, and others with musket-bullets. With all these they saluted the Pirates at their drawing nigh to the place, and gave them full and frequent broadsides, firing at them incessantly. Whence it came to pass that unavoidably they lost, at every step they advanced, great numbers of men. But neither these manifest dangers to their lives, nor the sight of so many of their own men dropping down continually at their sides, could deter them from advancing farther and gaining ground every moment upon the enemy. Thus, although the Spaniards never ceased to fire and act the best they could for their defence, yet notwithstanding they were forced to deliver the city after the space of three hours' combat.

The Pirates having now possessed themselves thereof, killed and destroyed as many as attempted to make the least opposition against them. The inhabitants had caused the best of their goods to be transported to more remote places.

As soon as the first fury of their entrance into the city was over, Capt. Morgan assembled all his men at a certain place which he assigned, and there commanded them under very great penalties that none of them should dare to drink or taste any wine. The reason he gave for this injunction was, because he had received private intelligence that it had been all poisoned by the Spainards. Howbeit it was the opinion of many that he gave these prudent orders to prevent the debauchery of his people, which he foresaw would be very great at the beginning, after so much hunger sustained by the way, fearing withal lest the Spainards, seeing them in wine, should rally their forces and fall upon the city, and use them as inhumanly as they had used the inhabitants before.

**Burning
of the
City.**

Capt. Morgan, as soon as he had placed guards at the several quarters where he thought necessary, both within and without the city of Panama, immediately commanded twenty-five men to seize a great boat, which had stuck in the port for want of water at a low tide, so that she could not put out to sea. The same day, about noon, he caused certain men privately to set fire to several great edifices of the city, nobody knowing whence the fire proceeded nor who were the authors thereof, much less what motives persuaded Capt. Morgan thereto, which are as yet unknown to this day. The fire increased so fast that before night the greatest part of the city was in flame.

Capt. Morgan endeavored to make the public believe the Spaniards had been the cause thereof, which suspicions he surmised among his own people, preceiving they reflected upon him for that action. Many of the Spaniards, as also some of the pirates, used all the means possible either to extinguish the flame, or by blowing up houses with gunpowder, and pulling down others, to stop the progress. But all was in vain for in less than an hour it consumed a whole street.

The fire of all the houses and buildings was seen to continue four days after the day it began. The Pirates in the meanwhile, at least the greatest part of them, camped for some time without the city, fearing and expecting that the Spaniards would come and fight them anew. For it was known that they had an incomparable number of men more than the Parties had. This occasioned them to keep the field, thereby to preserve their forces united, which now were very much diminished by the losses of the preceding battles, as also because they had a great many wounded, all of which they had put into one of the churches which alone remained standing, the rest being consumed by the fire. Moreover, besides these decreases of their men Captain Morgan had sent a convoy of 150 men to the Castle of Chagre, to carry the news of his victory obtained against Panama.

They saw many times whole troops of Spaniards cruize to and fro in the campaign fields which gave them the occasion to suspect their rallying anew. Yet they never had the courage to attempt anything against the Pirates. In the afternoon of this fatal day, Captain Morgan re-entered again the city with his troops, to the intent that every one might take up his lodgings, which now they could hardly find, very few houses having escaped the desolation of the fire. Soon after they fell to seeking very carefully among the ruins and ashes for utensils of plate or gold which peradventure

were not quite wasted by the flames. And of such things they found no small number in several places, especially in wells and cisterns where the Spaniards had hid them from the covetous search of the Pirates.

The next day Capt. Morgan despatched away two troops of Pirates, of one hundred and fifty men each, being all very stout soldiers and well armed, with orders to seek the inhabitants of Panama who were escaped from the hand of their enemies. These men, having made several excursions up and down the campaign (champaign) fields, woods and mountains, adjoining to Panama, returned after two days' time, bringing with them above two hundred prisoners, between men, women, and slaves.

**The
Galleon.**

The same day returned also the boat above mentioned, which Capt. Morgan had sent to the South Sea, bringing with it two other boats which they had taken in a little while. But all these prizes they could willingly have given, yea, although they had employed greater labour into the bargain for one certain galleon which miraculously escaped their industry, being very richly laden with all the King's plate and a great quantity of riches of gold, pearls, jewels, and other most precious goods of all the best and richest merchants of Panama. On board of this galleon were also the religious women, belonging to the nunnery of the said city, who had embarked with them all the ornaments of the church consisting of a large quantity of gold plate, and other things of great value.

The strength of this galleon was nothing considerable as having only seven guns and ten or twelve muskets for the whole defence, being on the other side very ill-provided of victuals and other necessaries, with great want for fresh water, and having no more sails than the uppermost sails of the main mast. This description of the said ship, the Pirates received from certain persons who had spoken with several mariners belonging to the galleon, at such time as they came ashore in the cock-boat to take in fresh water. Hence they concluded for certain they might easily have taken the said vessel had they given her chase and pursued her, as they ought to have done especially considering the said galleon could not long subsist at sea.

But they were impeded from following this vastly rich prize by gluttony and drunkenness, having plentifully debauched themselves with several sorts of rich wines they found there ready to their hands. So that they chose rather to satiate their appetite with the things above-mentioned, than to lay hold on the occasion of such a huge advantage, although this sole prize would certainly have been of far greater value and consequence to them than all they secured at Panama, and other places thereabout.

The next day, repenting of their negligence, and being totally wearied of the vices and debaucheries aforesaid, they set forth to sea another boat well armed, to pursue with all speed imaginable the said galleon. But their present care and diligence was in vain, the Spaniards who were on board the said ship having received intelligence of the danger they were in one or two days before, while the Pirates were cruising so near them, whereupon they fled to places more remote and unknown to their enemies.

Notwithstanding, the Pirates found in the ports of the islands of Tavoga and Tavogilla (Taboga and Taboguilla), several boats that were laden with many sorts of very good merchandise all of which they took and brought to Panama where, being arrived, they made an exact relation of all that had passed while they were abroad to Capt. Morgan. The prisoners confirmed what the Pirates had said adding thereto, that they undoubtedly knew whereabouts the said galleon might be at that present, but that it was very probable they had been relieved before now from other places.

These relations stirred up Capt. Morgan anew to set forth all the boats that were in the port of Panama, with design to seek and pursue the said galleon till they could find her. The boats aforesaid, being in all four, set sail from Panama and having spent eight days in cruising to and fro and searching several ports and creeks, they lost all their hopes of finding what they so earnestly sought for.

* * * * *

Captain Morgan used to send forth daily parties of two hundred men to make inroads into all the fields and country thereabouts, and when one party came back, another consisting of two hundred more was ready to go forth. By this means they gathered in a short time a huge quantity of riches and a no lesser number of prisoners. These, being brought into the city, were presently put to the most exquisite tortures imaginable to make them confess both other people's goods and their own.

They spared in these their cruelties, no sex or condition whatever. For as to religious persons and priests, they granted them less quarter than to others, unless they could produce a considerable sum of money, capable of being a sufficient ransom. Women themselves were no better used, and Captain Morgan their leader and commander, gave them no good example on this point.

* * * * *

On the 24th of February of the year 1671, Captain Morgan departed from the city of Panama, or rather from the place where the said city of Panama did stand; of the spoils whereof he carried with him one hundred and seventy-five beasts of carriage laden with silver, gold and other precious things, besides six hundred prisoners, more or less, between men, women, children, and slaves.

Pirates Departure. There was a quarrel over the division of spoil, the men claiming that Morgan cheated them, and the Captain with a few followers sailed from Fort San Lorenzo about the end of March for Jamaica. Panama had been destroyed in time of peace between Spain and England, but this did not prevent the knighting soon after of Henry Morgan, who was made governor of Jamaica, and spent some of his later days in waging war against pirates. Old Panama was not rebuilt, and on January 21, 1673, the site of the present city was blessed in solemn manner, and the building of the walls was begun.

Sosa and Arce say that there is no doubt that the city

was burned at the direction of the Governor who had various deposits of powder exploded for this purpose. By the end of the night on which the Origin of the fire. fire began, only some public buildings, a single chapel, and some of the outlying barracks for slaves remained safe from the flames. The public buildings referred to were doubtless built, at least in part, of stone, and the foundations of many of them may be seen today. They were not razed by the pirates, but were torn down by the Spaniards and the stone carried to new Panama, where they were used in building churches and the walls of the new city.

In addition to the treasure of romance that is hidden in the story of Old Panama, it is believed that there is buried there in some of the old wells and in cubby-holes in the walls, some of the wealth that Buried Treasure. escaped the pirates. Well, there may be.

It is well to remember, however, that upon the approach of the pirates the king's treasure, and the ornaments from the churches were piled upon ships and sent to Peru. It is well also to remember that the pirates took away much booty (175 mule-loads it is said), and that after they left, the inhabitants of the place came back to the town and probably recovered what the pirates had not carried away. Notwithstanding this, many treasure hunts have taken place on the site of Old Panama, and if the tourist has time to do so he is advised to join in one. He will find nothing, but it will be worth his while to have it to "tell the folks at home" that he dug for treasure in Old Panama.

A monograph on Old Panama from the local viewpoint is in course of preparation by Samuel Lewis, a prominent citizen of Panama.

Porto Bello.

There is only one way to get to Porto Bello, and that by boat from Colon. A tug leaves the wharf at Cristobal every morning, and returns that night. In the two hours or more that one has at Porto Bello, between the arrival and departure of the tug, he can cross the bay from the American settlement and quarries to the old "city," as every fortified place was called.

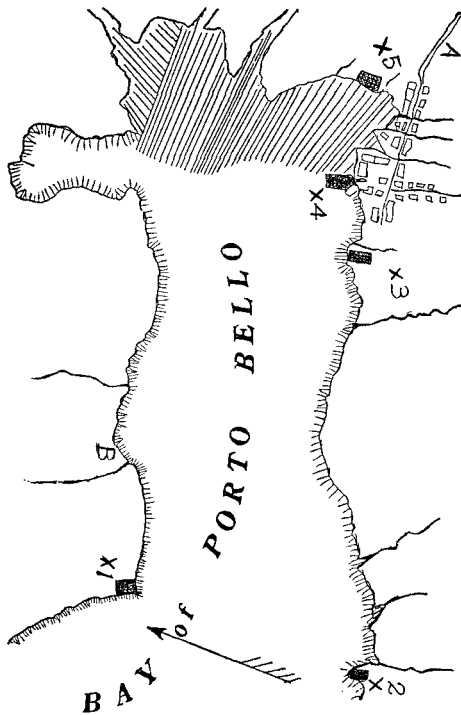
Here he will find the best ruins in Panama, for Porto Bello has existed continuously as a Spanish town since 1597, and until 1820 it was a garrison for troops.

Ruins. Its forts were destroyed and rebuilt many times. The present decay of its old build-

ings is indicative more of the decay of trade than of the assaults of English and French privateers. Especially worthy of note will be found the beautiful remains of the old customs house, that guards one side of the plaza, the old bridges, the ruins of Fort San Jerome, and the pigs that keep guard in the old plaza.

In the present native village there are a church, several stores, and a hundred houses of a better type than are commonly found in native settlements. The population was 2,285 in 1911, in addition to about 1,000 in the American village at the stone quarries.

The site seems ideal both for habitation and defense. It was one of the two safe anchorages on the northeast coast of Panama found by the early Spaniards, the other being Nombre de Dios. At Porto Bello there is a break in the



PORTO BELLO IN 1736.

(From a chart in D'Exiles "Voyages.")

Hatched lines show shoals. "X" indicates forts named, (1) Fort Terrible, (2) Fort Lookout, (3) Fort Glory, (4) Fort St. Christopher, (5) Fort St. Jerome, (A) Road to Panama, (B) San Fernando Castle, not on D'Exile's Map.

coast that looks like the mouth of a tidal river, and here is a bay $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and 2,500 feet wide. A dozen little streams pour their water into this bay, and cut the surrounding hillsides with ravines. On the part farthest inland the old "city" was built, with outpost forts guarding either side of the entrance to the bay.

Old Porto Bello had a fearful name for unhealthfulness. This is probably due to the fact that the rainfall there is heavy (it amounted to 237 inches in 1909), and thus malaria-bearing mosquitoes breed rapidly; and to the other fact that the people who lived there (mostly negro slaves) were dirty. The site is really ideal, because plenty of fresh water flows down from the hills, and the gulleys which these streams have cut through the townsite are natural sewers that are flushed every day by water from one of the constantly recurring showers.

A map is printed herewith showing Porto Bello in 1736, as it was at the time that D'Exiles wrote his "Voyages." It will be noticed that the site marked "B" is referred to as an old fort. This fort does not appear on D'Exiles' map, but its ruins, still extant, show that it was a defense of some importance. The American quarries are between the sites of the forts XI and "B," and Fort Terrible (XI), after having withstood the assaults of English sailors, and at least two hundred years of constant rains, was dug up by a steam-shovel in 1909. Part of it is now in the concrete of Gatun Locks.

Coasting along the north shore of the isthmus in the late fall of 1502, Columbus entered a well protected bay, on one shore of which was an Indian village of a score of palm-thatch houses arranged in regular order, while nearby were fruit trees and garden patches. It was a welcome sight, and he called it Portobelo (fair port), because that was the way it looked to him. In later years when Indian and negro met in the jungle, the village became a cimarrone stronghold, and trails went out from it to the king's highway between Nombre de Dios and Panama. When the mortality at Nombre de Dios became so high as constantly to attract notice, the King decreed (1584) that the royal port be changed to Porto Bello, where the harbor is better. It was not until 1597, however, after Drake had destroyed Nombre de Dios, that the change was actually made. On February 20 of that year, the town of San Felipe de Porto

Bello was laid out, and the fortifications were planned, the construction of Fort St. Philip being the first begun. As the port at which the King's treasure was stored, Porto Bello was naturally the object of frequent attack, and as naturally it was well fortified to resist attack. Many an English and French pirate sailed past the harbor and feared to attack the city; many a "free trader" anchored in the cove nearby, and notified the officials within the walls, and through them the merchants at Panama, that he was there to sell goods that would not be burdened with the King's tax.

Fort St. Philip had just been completed, and work was in progress on the second fort, St. James the Glorious (La Gloria), when the city sustained its first attack. On February 7, 1602, the buccaneer William Parker surprised the place and, breaking into the king's warehouse, stole gold valued at 10,000 ducats. The fort of St. Jerome was built in 1660. In April, 1663, a fire burned 43 houses.

In June, 1668, Morgan and his band of cutthroats took the place, burned such buildings as would burn, pillaged the storehouses, and put many of the people to death. The story of this attack, and of the carnage that followed, is told by Esquemeling, and is entertaining in its way. But it is so much a duplication of what is told of the taking of Old Panama, that it is not worth while to repeat it here. In 1681, the work of rebuilding the forts, battered in the assault and subsequent occupation by the pirates, was begun.

On November 22, 1739, the expedition under Vernon, sent out from England during war with Spain to harry the trade of the Spanish Main, took the city with little resistance. Almost as easily on April 25, 1742, Vernon took it again, and held it two months as a base for his intended expedition against Panama. These attacks by Vernon were so faintly resisted that the forts and buildings suffered little. They were badly battered, however, on August 2, 1744, when an English pirate, William Kinghills, in retaliation for attacks on contraband trade, entered the bay under guise of friendship with 40 vessels, and turned 500 guns broadside on the city. The galleons had not called at Porto Bello since 1739, and the city walls and buildings were never fully restored after Kinghills' vandal attack.

During the wars for independence from Spain, Porto Bello was unsuccessfully attacked by the Colombian revolutionists in January, 1814. On April 9, 1818, Gregory Mac

Gregor, a soldier of fortune commanding two ships and 417 men recruited in England, took Porto Bello; but on the 28th of that month the place was retaken by the Spanish, and 340 English prisoners were set to work in repairing the forts.

Porto Bello ceased to be important as an entrepot with the end of the galleon trade. When steamship traffic was begun with the isthmus (1839) the ships unloaded at the mouth of the Chagres, whence the river route was followed to Cruces. This also was the place of disembarkation for immigrants to California and Oregon, and a few years later for the gold-seekers of the "fifties." The completion of the Panama Railroad killed what little chance Porto Bello had of resuscitation as a trade center. The trail to Panama is still open, but it is used only by the country people in their local communication.

In the section of this book given to a summary of the Privateers and Buccaneers attention is called to the fact that they had begun their assaults on Spain's commerce, as early as 1550. By 1565 these inroads had become so grave that a royal decree was issued forbidding Spanish merchantment to sail alone. They were forced to set out twice a year in fleets from Spain, rendezvous at a central point in the West Indies, and from there depart in smaller squadrons to the fairs at Vera Cruz, Habana, Cartagena, Porto Bello, and other points. Having made their trade they must return to the rendezvous in order to set out for Spain in large fleets.

Therefore it was only twice a year that the fleets of Spain called at Porto Bello to take away "the king's treasure," and to trade with the merchants of Panama. The town was large enough to accommodate only its normal population, composed of negro slaves and the garrison, with a few officials to represent the government. It was the custom in Europe to do trade at annual or semiannual fairs, and this custom was continued at Porto Bello. Treasure was stored there the year around, and there were warehouses; but generally the procedure was for the merchants at Panama to go to Porto Bello at the times the fleet might be expected. After its arrival the trade was done in a fortnight, everyone hurrying as much as possible, because the town was overcrowded, and the mortality was high. Writing

of it as it was in 1637 (only 40 years after it was made the king's port), Thomas Gage says:

"For the town being little and the soldiers that come with the galleons for their defense at least four or five thousand, besides merchants from Peru, from Spain, and many other places, to buy and sell, is cause that every room, though never so small, be dear; and sometimes all the lodgings in the town are few enough for so many people, which at that time do meet at Porto Bello. I knew a merchant who gave a thousand crowns for a shop of reasonable bigness, to sell his wares and commodities that year I was there, for fifteen days only, while the fleet continued to be in that haven. I visited the castles which indeed seemed unto me to be very strong; but what most I wondered at was to see the requas of mules which came thither from Panama, laden with wedges of silver; in one day I told two hundred mules laden with nothing else, which were unladed in the public market place so that there the heaps of silver wedges lay like heaps of stones in the street, without any fear or suspicion of being lost. Within ten days the fleet came, consisting of eight galleons and ten merchant ships, which forced me to run to my hole (lodging). It was a wonder then to see the multitude of people in those streets which the week before had been empty. Merchants sold their commodities not by the ell or yard, but by piece and weight, not paying in coined pieces of money, but in wedges which were weighed and taken for commodities. This lasted but fifteen days while the galleons were lading with wedges of silver and nothing else, so that for those fifteen days I dare boldly say and avouch that in the world there is no greater fair than that of Porto Bello between the Spanish merchants and those of Peru, Panama, and other places thereabout.

Esquemeling writes of Porto Bello as it was when the pirates under Morgan took it in June, 1668:

"It is judged the strongest place the king of Spain possesses in all the West Indies, except Havanna and Carthagena. Here are two castles almost impregnable, that defend the city, situate at the entry of the port, so that no ship or boat can pass without permission. The garrison consists of three hundred soldiers, and the town is inhabited by about four hundred families. The merchants dwell not here but only reside awhile, when the galleons come from or go for Spain, by reason of the unhealthiness of the air, occasioned by vapours from the mountains; so that though their chief warehouses are at Puerto Bello, their habitations are at Panamá, whence they bring the plate upon mules, when the fair begins, and when the ships belonging to the company of negroes arrive to sell slaves."

During the first, second, and third fifty years of its life, then, Porto Bello did not change greatly. It was a fortified harbor where the isthmian traders met twice a year to buy and sell with Spanish merchants, although its trade decreased constantly from the first half of the 17th century. It was a garrisoned place in 1740 when the English under Admiral Vernon silenced its guns. in