

Irish Migration Studies in Latin America

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Eagle-shaped pectoral in gold ca. AD 600-1700,
Ipiates (Nariño), 15.1 x 16.2 cm. The inverted triangle represents positive and negative forces in nature.
Museo del Oro, Bogotá
(Banco de la República, Colombia)

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The Irish in Colombia

By Edmundo Murray

The only South American country with coasts on both the Pacific and the Atlantic oceans, Colombia was part of the Spanish viceroyalty of New Granada. The United States of Colombia, which also included Panama, Venezuela and Ecuador was proclaimed in 1819 by Simón Bolívar when he crossed the Andes and defeated the royalist forces at the battle of Boyacá. In 1822 the four countries were united as Gran Colombia, which collapsed in 1830 with the separation of Venezuela and Ecuador. The republic of Colombia was established in 1886, but Panama separated in 1903, after the US-backed War of the Thousand Days (1899-1902).

Irish soldiers fought in Colombia during the War of Independence with Spain in 1816-1822. They were recruited in Dublin, London and other cities by John Devereux, James T. English, William Walton and others. The Irish Legion sailed from Liverpool in July 1819. Some of the officers were Major L'Estrange, Francis Burdett O'Connor, and William Aylmer. They arrived in the island of Margarita, where they suffered hardships, sickness and loss of life. In March 1820 the Legion sailed to Río Hacha, and after the attack to this city, their standard displaying the harp of Ireland was raised instead of the Spanish royal ensign. Weakened by lack of pay and proper food, and complaining of the native officers, some of the Irish mutinied, got drunk and began to ransack the city for booty. The mutineers were transported to Jamaica and turned over to the British authorities. O'Connor's lancers continued the campaign and reached Cartagena by the end of 1822, and effectively assisted Bolívar at the decisive battle of Boyacá. The chief responsible for the formation of the Irish Legion, John Devereux, did not arrive at South America until 1821. He never took part in a single engagement with the Legion, but he made a pretty profit in organizing it. However, Simón Bolívar absolved Devereux from any blame and in 1822 attached him to the general staff at Bogotá. In 1823 John Devereux was appointed Colombian envoy to the courts of northern Europe.

Some of the soldiers of the Irish Legion remained in Colombia after the War of Independence. After the battle of Boyacá, Daniel Florence O'Leary (1801-1854) was appointed Bolívar's aide-de-camp and served in Venezuela, Panama, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. In 1828 O'Leary married Soledad Soublette in Bogotá and lent valuable services to Colombia and Venezuela. His memoirs, published posthumously by his son Simón Bolívar O'Leary, remain a basic reference for students of the South American Wars of Independence. Beatriz O'Connell, related to the Liberator Daniel O'Connell, married Manuel Pombo in 1795 in Madrid, and in 1819 was living in Bogotá. Other Irish settlers in Colombia related to the Wars of Independence were Thomas Murray (d.1823), who married Estrada Callejas, John Hands, Francis O'Farrell (known as Francisco Puyana), Joseph Boylan, Robert Lee, James Rooke, and the physicians



Palenquera in the Caribbean coast

*Photo Mauricio Zuloaga
(<http://www.uniandes.edu.co/Colombia/Turismo/turismo.html>)*

Dr. Hugh Blair Brown (surgeon of the Arthur Sandes' Rifles in Peru), Dr. Kennedy, Dr. Williamson, and Dr. McEwen.

Almost 150 years later, a new type of legion arrived in Colombia, though this time peacefully. In 1953 the Catholic lay movement Legion of Mary sent Seamus Grace and Alphie Lamb (1932-1959) to Bogotá to expand their mission in Colombia. From the capital, Grace and Lamb established many Legion branches (praesidia) in other parts of the country. They visited bishops and obtained their permission to set up in their dioceses. The Legion flourished around Colombia, especially among the poor, and then expanded to Ecuador, Venezuela and throughout South America.

The most recent chapter in the history of Colombian-Irish relations allegedly connects the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). On 11 August 2001, Jim Monaghan, Niall Connolly, and Martin McCauley were arrested at Bogotá's airport, accused of being IRA members providing explosives training to FARC in the demilitarised zone of San Vicente del Caguán in southern Colombia. Established in 1964 as the military wing of the Colombian Communist Party, FARC is the largest irregular army in Latin America. Washington accuses FARC and other 'narco-terrorists' of profiting from the illegal drug production and distribution business. The three Irishmen were travelling on false passports. At first they said they were bird-watching but later added they were studying the Colombia peace process. Their initial acquittal in April 2004 was overturned by a higher court, which imposed sentences of seventeen years on each of them. They escaped from Colombia and in August 2005 – a week after the IRA proclaimed the end of its military operations – they arrived safely in Ireland. The Colombian authorities have formally required their extradition.

Edmundo Murray

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Crusaders for Liberty or Vile Mercenaries? The Irish Legion in Colombia

By Matthew Brown

The perceived cowardice and dishonourable behaviour of Irishmen on the Colombian Caribbean coast, widely chastised by Colombians at the time and since, caused considerable discomfort for Irishmen who had stayed at home. The Irish rebellion in Colombia undermined comfortable notions of an Irish identity that was supposedly characterised by a natural love of liberty.



Riohacha, Colombia
(Alcaldía de Riohacha)

An under-studied footnote to both Irish and Colombian history, John Devereux's Irish Legion was recruited in Dublin, Cork and Belfast between 1819 and 1821. Several thousand Irish adventurers crossed the Atlantic to join Simón Bolívar's armies in the struggle for independence from Spanish colonial rule. It is unknown exactly how many there were because the 1819 Foreign Enlistment Act made the mercenaries illegal in Britain, and so surviving records are rare. The fate of most of these individuals was early death, disease or desertion, and therefore they left little documentary record of their activities. Some survived and settled in Colombia, on occasion reaching positions of prestige and influence. [1]

This article provides a brief overview of the events and the people involved in the Irish Legion, reproducing and analysing Devereux's first contact with the Colombian rebels. The reception back in Dublin of the Irish Legion's most infamous action - the Riohacha rebellion in 1820 - will be examined. The perceived cowardice and dishonourable behaviour of Irishmen on the Colombian Caribbean coast, widely chastised by Colombians at the time and since, caused considerable discomfort for Irishmen who had stayed at home. The Irish rebellion in Colombia undermined comfortable notions of an Irish identity that was supposedly characterised by a natural love of liberty. [2]

Recruitment

John Devereux was born in Wexford in 1778. [3] He may have been involved in the rebellion of the United Irishmen in 1798. There is no convincing surviving evidence to support his own claims that he had played a part in the rebellion, claims which were frequently cast in doubt by contemporaries. [4] By 1815 he had developed trading relations with family members in Baltimore, Maryland and was therefore well positioned within the Atlantic world to take advantage of the political turmoil in Spanish America. In early 1815 Devereux wrote to the New Granadan government, at that time in the midst of a struggle against the *reconquista* led by the Spanish general Pablo Morillo, to offer his services: [5]

To the Honourable citizen Crisanto Valenzuela, Secretary of State of the United Provinces of New Granada.

A son of Ireland addresses himself to Your Excellency with the utmost respect to make the following request, in order that Your Excellency can then bring it to the knowledge of the General Government.

A member of one of the most noble and ancient Catholic families of the British empire, he was named as their representative by the vote of sixty thousand of his armed countrymen, to serve them as Leader in defence of their liberty and to procure the emancipation of Catholics oppressed by the despotism of Protestants. However, principally because of the perfidy and treachery of the Protestant influence, the generous and magnanimous efforts of the Irish Catholics were frustrated, and ended in ruin.

In consequence of that result the undersigned was forced to seek refuge in North America from the religious persecution that he suffered in his native land. Keeping in mind, nevertheless, the glorious part that he was to play in that most noble of causes, and thinking also of the asylum that by their humanity and magnanimity the South Americans provide to the oppressed and persecuted of the United Provinces of New Granada, the undersigned was, from the commencement of the present battle of the patriots against the bloodthirsty and odious Spanish Government, unable to avoid casting all of his feelings and his reason on the side of American patriotism, against the impious and degrading despotism that sought to reduce this noble country from planetary significance to the low condition of a provincial satellite of old Spain. He is filled with horror at seeing the monster of Spanish despotism, like an immense snake stained with the butchery committed in the New World and trying to satiate its ferocity and quench its thirst with the same entrails and the blood of these people; a people who should have risen once and for all to rank among the highest nations of the Earth, eliciting admiration and envy as did North America.

The feelings of hatred and hostility evoked in the undersigned by a project so perfidious and abominable led him to immediately adopt the best possible plan so that his efforts and services would be most effective and beneficial to the cause of the 'patria'. His heart, wounded by the offences inflicted on a brave and generous people, led the undersigned with the most lively enthusiasm to channel the sacred fervour which animates the South Americans into vindicating and defending their civil rights.

Guided by these sympathies, the undersigned offers his services in convincing the English government and the English people to provide aid for the glorious cause in which such distinguished patriots have nobly and heroically dedicated their fortunes and their lives to their native country; and by the same methods, he hopes to give such proofs of his commitment to, and veneration of, the cause that under the auspices of the government, working in the name of the people, he will be granted the honourable privilege of being admitted into the military service of the United Provinces, in circumstances which will not serve as a lack of consideration to the worthiness of his previous rank.

In consequence of this plan the undersigned has already written to various distinguished people in England, among the Lords and the Commons, with the purpose of eliciting their cordial and fervent sympathies for the patriots of these United Provinces; and because of his special capabilities, the undersigned offers his services in negotiating an alliance with Great Britain, which would aid and assist in removing the relentless oppression of Spain from these colonies, at a great advantage to British interests.

At the same time the undersigned offers his services in putting into effect the above-mentioned project, trusting as he does that great benefits will result for the sacred cause over which Your Excellency presides; and trusting equally in his ability to achieve this. Far from evading the responsibility of leading the said project to realisation, the undersigned offers to execute it in the most effective manner possible; it is necessary to explicitly add that he does not desire any more remuneration than the honour and the glory of participating and of assisting the Granadan Provinces in the

divine task of overthrowing the most oppressive and calamitous despotism that has ever afflicted humanity.

Yet even though the undersigned expressly renounces any concept of private gain, truth and good will oblige him to suggest to Your Excellency the advisability of making some arrangement to provide adequate resources to offset the costs which will necessarily be occasioned by the execution of the said plan.

There is no doubt but that this measure requires Your Excellency's trust; but to justify said trust and to give a guarantee of the loyal conduct of the undersigned in terms and conditions which the said trust demands, the undersigned, without hesitation, appeals to his reputation for honour and integrity; more relevant is the just and severe conduct for which, for all of the years gone by from his virility until the present time, he has won the respect and friendship of many among the most distinguished and illustrious members of the English nation. And so that Your Excellency has the same understanding of such conduct, the undersigned refers Your Excellency to His Excellency Governor Juan de Dios Amador, who has in his power recommendations and proofs that will satisfy Your Excellency as to the competence of the undersigned and his qualifications for the execution of said project.

I have the honour to remain, with the deepest respect, Your Excellency's obedient and humble servant.

J. D'EVEREUX

General of the Irish Army

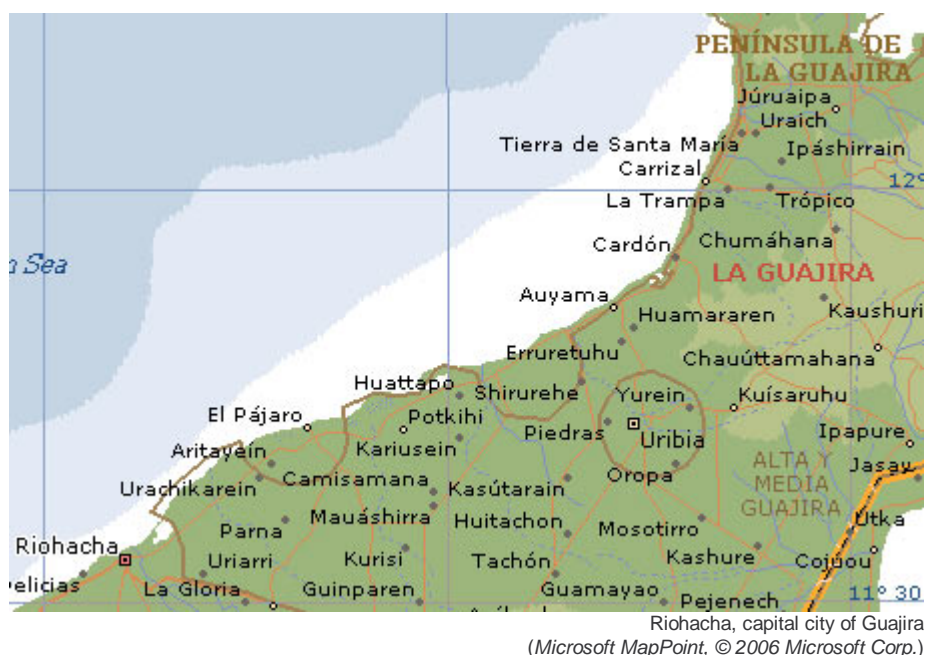
Devereux portrayed himself as an Irish general fleeing religious persecution in Britain and seeking honour and glory fighting against tyranny in the Spanish world. In the opening paragraph of the letter he describes the rebellion of the United Irishmen in 1798 in overtly sectarian terms, emphasising political divisions between Protestants and Catholics. Then he explains his exile in North America by referring to the religious persecution that he had been subject to. He decided to cast 'all of his feelings and his reason' on the side of '[South] American patriotism' against Spain's 'impious and degrading despotism'. Justifying this decision he described himself as a natural lover of liberty who could not stand idly by while a 'brave and generous people' were exploited and oppressed. Turning to practical matters, Devereux offered himself as a mediator between the United Provinces of New Granada and the 'English government and English people'. In return he wished for a 'worthy' rank in the New Granadan military service. After that Devereux explains the motivation behind his offer. He wanted to serve the 'sacred cause' of Independence; he wanted 'honour and glory' rather than payment. Nevertheless he qualified this noble claim with the acknowledgement that he would require 'adequate resources' for the venture. In conclusion, Devereux reminds Valenzuela of his 'reputation for honour and integrity', and claims to have 'won the respect and friendship of many amongst the most distinguished and illustrious members of the English nation'.

In this letter Devereux exaggerates his role in the Irish rebellion of 1798 and his importance in British empire circles in London. At the same time as stressing his Irish love of liberty, he claims to have influence in the British government and on public opinion, and frequently uses the vague term 'inglés' - literally Englishman, but often used in Spanish America to refer to any foreigner - rather than 'irlandés'. The New Granadan government reacted cautiously to Devereux's offers and asked Devereux to come back to them with proof of his experience and a carefully drawn up plan of action.

The emphasis on love of liberty, honour, and the religious undertones of Devereux's 1815 letter remained potent when, in 1819, Devereux began the formal recruitment of the Irish Legion in Dublin. He produced all the paraphernalia of a patriotic recruiting drive. He ordered a ceremonial engraved sword (now held in the Museo Bolivariano in Caracas, Venezuela), a ceremonial Irish Legion Seal (now held in the Museo Nacional in Bogotá, Colombia), and printed up recruiting forms in Spanish.

Campaigning

Over 1,700 Irishmen enlisted in the Irish Legion during the ensuing eighteen months, crossing the Atlantic in two dozen specially contracted ships. [6] These adventurers arrived in Spanish America at the wrong time and in the wrong place. By 1819 the tide of war seemed to be turning in Bolívar's favour, with the Spanish army increasingly demoralised and cut off from reinforcements from Europe. [7] Simón Bolívar and other rebel leaders had already begun to question the wisdom of recruiting large numbers of foreign mercenaries who needed barracks, provisions and payment. There were many who doubted the usefulness of the Irish, arriving as they did over four years after Devereux's original letter was sent.



Upon arrival most soldiers of the Irish Legion were held on the island of Margarita off the Venezuelan coast. There, disease and a lack of drinking water combined to cause the death and desertion of many of the adventurers. Only six hundred survived to join the long planned expedition, in March 1820, to attack the Spanish-controlled port of Riohacha on the New Granadan coast.

The attack on Riohacha did briefly serve, as Bolívar had hoped it would, to distract some Spanish and Royalist forces. In all other respects it was a spectacular failure. Planning, discipline and strategy fell apart in Riohacha. On sight of the expedition's ships massing outside the port, Riohacha's residents fled for the hills. The Irish Legion therefore was able to occupy the port without difficulty, and was then overwhelmed by disciplinary problems on a march into the New Granadan interior. Fear of being ambushed by local indigenous peoples combined with lack of food and drink to create a rebellious atmosphere amongst the men. This erupted upon their return to Riohacha, where some waiting merchant vessels from the British-ruled island of Jamaica offered to transport disgruntled adventurers away from Colombia. After rioting and setting fire to many of the town's buildings, the vast majority of the Irish Legion embarked and left Mariano Montilla, Simón Bolívar and Francisco de Paula Santander to rue their ultimately costly and demoralising decision to recruit Irishmen to their cause.

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Aftermath - Back Home

Some Irishmen remained faithful to the cause of South American Independence after Riohacha. Francisco Burdett O'Connor led the remaining loyal troops, and eventually settled in Bolivia. [8] Daniel Florence O'Leary, Arthur Sandes and John Johnston, all Irishmen, were among Bolívar's most faithful officers during the political and military upheavals of the 1820s in Colombia.

However, back in Ireland these success stories were completely overshadowed by the bad news that trickled home during 1820. Newspapers such as the *Dublin Evening Post* and *Carrick's Morning Post* were full of returning adventurers' testimonies complaining of the terrible conditions to which they had been subjected. Many blamed Spanish American leaders, particularly Luis Brion and Mariano Montilla, for causing the Irish Legion's indiscipline by leaving it 'disarmed, betrayed and plundered'. Others blamed the Irish officers for their poor personnel management. The *Dublin Evening Post*, one of the most strident

supports of the Irish Legion, was able to find succour in reports of the loyalty and bravery of the common Irish soldier, whose only wish was an opportunity to serve nobly in return for fair remuneration. [9]

At issue was the reputation of Irishmen as brave defenders of liberty. Colonel Sampson described the Irish Legion as 'a glorious crusade in the cause of liberty, with the liveliest hopes', inspired by 'the noble spirit of the Irish youth'. [10] In 1819 the Irish Legion was sent on its way to liberate 'the innocent children of the Sun'. [11] By deserting the flag of freedom at Riohacha, the Irish had put their masculine honour and nascent national identity in question. In 1820, a Public Inquiry was set up in Dublin to investigate accusations of 'unmanly and dishonourable' behaviour against John Devereux and his associates. Some of the deserting adventurers were accused of being 'too fond of good living, with no stomach for the fight'. [12]

Aftermath - in Colombia

The dream of Irish courage contributing to the liberation of Spanish America lived on in the hearts of some of the surviving adventurers. In September 1822 Arthur Sandes wrote to Daniel O'Connell, informing the leader of the struggle for Catholic Emancipation of the death of his nephew Maurice O'Connell. Maurice died of a fever in the Ecuadorian highlands after more than two years' service in the Colombian army. Sandes emphasised that Maurice had been 'brave, generous, sincere,



Cathedral of Riohacha

and [had] possess[ed] qualities which raise the esteem and talents which arrest the attention of mankind'. His character was thus 'truly Irish, uniting in it all those virtues for which the sons of our country are so justly celebrated, being always worthy of his ancient and honourable name and of that love of liberty which had engaged him in the defence of an oppressed people'. [13]

Yet during the early 1820s Irishness had become a dirty word in Colombia. The rebellion at Riohacha meant that those Irishmen who did not leave Colombia during this period had to struggle to re-imagine and re-affirm their own identities. Being Irish had become synonymous with mutiny and indiscipline. As part of his submission to the Colombian government in 1823, Colonel John Johnston claimed that 'being from a country like Ireland, that has always been struggling to be free, I acquired at birth the most liberal sentiments that could possibly fill a man's heart [...] so that when [...] I heard favourable talk of a Heroic Bolivar and his glorious struggle [...] against the tyranny and despotism of Spain [...] at that moment my heart inflamed with the ardent desire to join such a noble cause'. [14]

Conclusion

The attempt to forge an Irish national identity through adventure in Spanish America was thwarted in 1820 by the practical difficulties of a military campaign in an unknown environment, by the Irish adventurers' constant fear of being attacked by indigenous people, and by the logistical obstacles to keeping them fed and watered to their satisfaction. The Irish rebellion at Riohacha in 1820 occurred in a year when leaders like Bolívar were looking for a convenient scapegoat against which to affirm the virtues of 'true' Colombians, as the threat from Spain diminished after the Santa Ana armistice in November 1820. The timing and the manner of the Irish Legion's rebellion and disintegration meant

that for several years Irishness was an unattractive identity for the Irish adventurers who remained in Colombia - they described themselves as *ingleses* or *colombianos* instead. The Irish Legion became fixed in Colombian *historia patria* as the very epitome of the 'vile mercenaries' whose depredations Bolívar lamented as the bane of his struggle for independence.

The person who originally dreamed up the idea of an Irish crusade for liberty in Catholic Spanish America, John Devereux, did indeed profit considerably from the expeditions. This was despite the rebellion at Riohacha at which Devereux was not present, since he was still leading the recruitment drive in Europe, and the ridicule to which he was subjected in Colombia throughout the early 1820s. Devereux returned to Bogotá in 1840 after an absence of almost two decades and, perhaps surprisingly, was welcomed with open arms by other veterans of the Wars of Independence. [15]

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Note of the Editor

Matthew Brown's *Adventuring through Spanish Colonies: Simón Bolívar, Foreign Mercenaries and the Birth of New Nations in Gran Colombia* will be published by Liverpool University Press later this year. In 2005 the Museo Nacional de Colombia published *Militares extranjeros en la independencia de Colombia: Nuevas perspectivas*, co-edited with Martín Alonso Roa Celis.

Notes

[1] It should be noted that between 1819 and 1830 'Colombia' consisted of the former colonial territories of Ecuador, Panama and Venezuela as well as New Granada (now Colombia). This short-lived country is often called Gran or Greater Colombia by historians, and sometimes simply Bolívar's Colombia, since it disintegrated not long after Bolívar's death in December 1830. The principal focus of this article is on the Irish in the New Granadan section of Gran Colombia.

[2] I explore the local and international consequences of this event in Colombia in Brown, Matthew, *Rebellion at Riohacha, 1820: Local and International Networks of Revolution, Cowardice and Masculinity*, *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas - Anuario de Historia de América Latina* 42 (2005) pp. 77-98. Abstract available online (<http://www-gewi.uni-graz.at/jbla/jahr05.htm>), accessed 16 February 2006.

[3] There is a good sketch of the events of Devereux's career in Lambert, Eric T.D., *Voluntarios británicos e irlandeses en la gesta bolivariana* (Caracas, 1990), Vol.2, particularly pp. 400-470. In his three-volume history of the British and Irish volunteers in Bolívar's armies Lambert provided a wealth of detail and analysis of the Irish Legion.

[4] Some of Devereux's correspondence relating to the Irish Legion is reproduced in Brown, Matthew and Martín Alonso Roa Celis (eds.), *Militares extranjeros en la independencia de Colombia: Nuevas perspectivas* (Bogotá: Museo Nacional de Colombia, 2005).

[5] John Devereux to Secretary of State Crisanto Valenzuela, noted as received in Bogotá on 16 June 1815, reproduced in O'Leary, Simón Bolívar (ed.), *Memorias de Daniel Florencio O'Leary* (Caracas 1952) Vol.14, pp. 257-259 (English translation by Claire Healy):

Al Honorable ciudadano Crisanto Valenzuela, Secretario de Estado de las Provincias Unidas de la Nueva Granada

Un hijo de Irlanda presenta a V.E. con el mayor respeto la solicitud siguiente, para que se sirva V.E. ponerla en conocimiento del Gobierno general.

Miembro de una de las familias católicas más nobles y antiguas del imperio británico, fue llamado el exponente por los votos de sesenta mil de sus conciudadanos armados, para servirles de Jefe en la defensa de su libertad, y para alcanzar la emancipación de los católicos sometidos al despotismo de los protestantes. Pero los acontecimientos, principalmente originados por la perfidia y la traición del influjo protestante, fueron causa de que se frustrasen, terminando en ruina, los generosos y magnánimos esfuerzos de los católicos irlandeses.

A consecuencia de ese resultado se vio forzado el exponente a buscar en la América del Norte refugio contra la persecución religiosa que sufría en su país natal. Pensando, sin embargo, en la gloriosa parte que le cupo en la mas noble de las causas, y pensando esto mismo en el asilo que la humanidad y magnanimidad de los americanos del Sur brindan a los oprimidos y perseguidos en las Provincias Unidas de la Nueva Granada, no pudo prescindir el exponente, desde el principio de la lucha actual de los patriotas contra el sanguinario y odioso Gobierno de España, de poner todos los sentimientos de su corazón y todos los cálculos de su raciocinio, del lado del patriotismo americano contra el impío y degradante despotismo que quiso rebajar a este noble país del rango de planeta a la baja condición de un provincial satélite de la vieja España.

Lleno de horror al ver el monstruo del despotismo español, como una inmensa serpiente manchada con la carnicería hecha en el Nuevo Mundo, y tratando de saciar su ferocidad y aplacar su sed, con las entrañas mismas y con la sangre de este pueblo; pueblo que debiera levantarse de una vez entre las naciones mas altas de la tierra, excitando la admiración y la envidia de ésta, al igual de la América del Norte.

Penetrado así de todos los sentimientos de odio y hostilidad contra un proyecto tan pérfido y abominable, el exponente adoptó inmediatamente el mejor plan posible para que sus esfuerzos y servicios fuesen los más eficaces y benéficos para la causa de la patria.

Su corazón que estaba herido por las ofensas infligidas a un pueblo valiente y generoso, no pudo menos que decidir al exponente a aprovechar con el más vivo entusiasmo, el fervor sagrado que animaba a los Sur-americanos para vindicar y defender sus derechos civiles.

Guiado por estas simpatías, el exponente ofrece sus servicios para lograr que el gobierno inglés y el pueblo inglés, ayuden la gloriosa causa en que tan distinguidos patriotas han comprometido, noble y heroicamente, sus fortunas y sus vidas por su país natal; y por los mismos medios espera, dar tales pruebas de su adhesión y veneración por la causa, que bajo los auspicios del gobierno, obrando en nombre del pueblo, se le conceda en honroso privilegio de admitírsele al servicio militar de las Provincias Unidas, en circunstancias que no sirvan de desdoro a su antiguo rango.

A consecuencia de este plan, ya ha escrito el exponente a varias personas elevadas de Inglaterra, así entre los Lores como entre los Comunes, a fin de excitar sus cordiales y fervorosas simpatías por los patriotas de estas Provincias Unidas; y debido a sus facilidades especiales, ofrece el exponente sus servicios para lograr una alianza con la Gran Bretaña, que ayude y coopere a separar la implacable opresión de España estas colonias, con gran ventaja para los intereses británicos.

Al mismo tiempo ofrece el exponente sus servicios para llevar a efecto el mencionado proyecto, confiando como confía en que resultarán grandes beneficios para la causa sagrada que V.E. preside; y confiando igualmente en su facilidad para lograrlo, lejos de evadir el exponente la responsabilidad de conducir dicho proyecto a su realización, se ofrece con la eficacia posible a ejecutarlo; debiendo añadir explícitamente que no desea mas remuneración que la que consiste en la honra y gloria de participar y ayudar a las Provincias granadinas en la divina tarea de derrocar el despotismo más opresor y calamitoso que jamás ha afligido a la humanidad.

Pero al mismo tiempo que el exponente declina expresamente toda idea de ganancia privada, la verdad y la buena fe le obligan a sugerir a V.E. la conveniencia de hacer algún arreglo que produzca recursos adecuados para afrontar los gastos que necesariamente ocasionará la ejecución del plan expresado.

No hay duda que esta medida requiere la confianza de V.E.; pero para justificar dicha confianza y dar una garantía de la conducta fiel del exponente en los términos y condiciones que dicha confianza exija, apela el exponente sin vacilar a su reputación de honra e integridad; mas aún a la conducta justa y severa que durante todos los años transcurridos desde su virilidad hasta la época actual, le han granjeado el aprecio y amistad de muchos personajes entre los más distinguidos e ilustres de la nación inglesa. Y para que V.E. tenga el mismo concepto, apela el exponente a S.E. el Gobernador Juan de Dios Amador, que tiene en su poder recomendaciones y comprobantes que satisfarán a V.E. de la idoneidad del exponente y de sus cualidades para la ejecución de dicho proyecto.

Tengo el honor de ser, con el más profundo respeto, de V.E. obediente y humilde servidor.

J. D'EVEREUX
General del ejército irlandés

[6] Irishmen also formed a considerable part of the British Legion, raised at the same time in London. I explore foreign involvement in warfare and peacetime in Gran Colombia in Brown, Matthew, *Adventuring through Spanish Colonies: Simón Bolívar, Foreign Mercenaries and the Birth of New Nations in Gran Colombia* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, forthcoming 2006).

[7] Earle, Rebecca, *Spain and the Independence of Gran Colombia* (Exeter, 2000).

[8] Dunkerley, James, *The Third Man: Francisco Burdett O'Connor and the Emancipation of the Americas* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1999).

[9] *Dublin Evening Post*, 27 July 1820; *Carrick's Morning Post*, 22 August 1820.

[10] *Dublin Evening Post*, 3 February 1820.

[11] Phillips, Charles, *Fairburn's edition of the speech of Chas. Phillips* (Dublin, 1819), p. 4.

[12] See for example *Dublin Evening Post*, 29 January 1820, *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 7 December 1820.

[13] Sandes to Daniel O'Connell, 10 September 1822, Quito, Daniel O'Connell Papers, University College Dublin, P12/3/110.

[14] John Johnson to Secretary of War and Marine, Bogotá, 11 November 1822, in AGNC (Colombian National Archives) R GYM, Vol.35, f.884.

[15] Restrepo, José Manuel, *Autobiografía* (Bogotá, 1985), p. 41.

Rum, Recruitment and Revolution: Alcohol and the British and Irish Legions in Colombia's War for Independence, 1817-1823

By Karen Racine

Spirits lubricated every social function, from meals in hotel taverns when the lucky recruits were billeted in Colombian towns to the momentous diplomatic summits where the fates of nations were signed with a pen and a toast. In all these ways, alcohol use among the Irish and British recruits in the service of Colombian independence reflected broader trends on both sides of the Atlantic.

*Moderation in temper is always a virtue,
But moderation in principle is always a vice.*
Thomas Paine, *The Rights of Man* (1792)

Colombian independence was not borne of moderation. Its battles were not led by modest men with moderate goals. Its constitutions were not drafted by modest minds with moderate visions. Its citizens did not make modest sacrifices for moderate gains. Rather, Colombian independence was a long, passionate night of revolution during which all participants drank deeply of the spirit of the times and awoke to find themselves confused, forgetful and living among strangers. Alcohol was closely entwined with the rhetoric of revolution and was an ever-present feature of daily life for soldiers and citizens alike. High-minded ideals intoxicated South American patriots and their foreign supporters, all of whom viewed themselves as attending a global party, advancing the cause of liberty, freedom and justice on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. After all, the words 'liberty' and '*libertad*', as well as 'libation' and '*libación*', all derive from the same Latin root *liber*, meaning 'free'. [1] On a more mundane level, homesick soldiers who suffered the unimaginably difficult conditions in the Colombian Andes and the Venezuelan plains took refuge in the bottle when they needed to dull their pain, strengthen their resolve or take their payment in whatever form they could get it. Rum and recruitment were essential and ever-present features of military life in the early nineteenth century. The Irish and English recruits who fought in the patriot armies for Colombian independence reflected the typical drinking habits of military men of their generation. Rum, recruitment and revolution marched together toward the goal of an independent Colombian nation.

At an etymological level, both the English and Spanish languages reveal a close connection between patriotism, the social compact and altered states of consciousness. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word 'spirits', entered the language as a theological concept related to the Holy Trinity but eventually mutated to include both alchemical and metaphysical descriptions of a higher intangible essence separate from one's corporeal existence. In this way, the word 'spirit' came to mean any sort of divine animating passion and thus found its way into eighteenth-century Enlightenment discourse about the life-giving nature of the patriotic impulse. In a parallel evolution, by 1610 'spirit' had also come to mean a distilled alcohol, revealing a subconscious linguistic awareness that the altered state of consciousness induced by excessive drinking and that induced by idealised thinking were very similar. By the early nineteenth century, there were dual rhetorical motifs which harnessed the word spirit/*espíritu* to opposing purposes. Colombian patriots and loyalists alike decried their opponents for being blinded by 'partisan spirit' and lamented 'the sunken spirits' of the weary population. [2] Detractors warned Colombian President Francisco de Paula Santander that he had 'drunk many a bitter draught,' which would cause him to fall victim to 'some party zeal or factious spirit' (O'Leary 1969: 11). Throughout Colombia, rebels suffered from 'restless and turbulent spirits', while great figures like Simón Bolívar remained 'in good spirits'. Each day nameless heroic soldiers pressed onward 'cadaverous, scrawny in body but strong in spirit' (O'Leary 1969: 11). In fact, revolutionaries posited that in some mystical, quasi-religious way,

'the constitutional government excited a national spirit and produced union' (Ducoudray-Holstein 1829: 264).

Similarly, in both English and Spanish, the word 'cordial' also has connotations that are related both to genteel behaviour and to the use of alcohol. Etymologically, the word 'cordial' is related to matters of the heart [cardiac, *corazón*], and is used to denote respect and sincerity; it also describes a medicalised, comforting beverage that is typically a sweetened aromatic form of alcohol. The term found its way into common parlance and by the early nineteenth century its usage revealed the complex cultural interconnectedness between alcohol and gentlemanly agreement. For example, Spanish royalist general Rafael Sevilla recalled that he was greeted with 'extreme cordiality' by an English veteran at Margarita; another time, an indigenous *cacique* [chieftain] 'greeted me and showed me cordial affection' during their transactions (Sevilla 1916: 194, 232). Patriot general Manuel Piar was well-liked for 'his cordial attention to everyone' and Bolívar showed his respect by expressing his 'cordial wishes' to his subordinates in his correspondence with them (Ducoudray-Holstein 1829 I: 243-244). When Richard Bache visited a monastery near Tunja, he recorded that its twenty-eight-year-old principal José Antonio Chávez greeted him 'cordially' before offering him a cigar 'and a liquor made from coffee, a cordial which was new to me' (Bache 1823: 219). On both sides of the political gulf and on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, patriotism and partisanship produced a state of mind that was linguistically and sensually related to intoxication.

Alcohol has a deep and meaningful place in human cultures. One scholar notes that it 'has accrued over the millennia a rich and almost infinitely diverse set of symbolic contexts' which can be celebratory, consolatory, medicinal, scholastic, gastronomic and sacramental in nature (Walton 2002: 5). Alcohol and other drugs have been used to achieve higher consciousness, to blunt feelings of despair, to enhance sociability, and to perform important religious rituals. Drinking has been viewed as a communal activity that releases tension and binds people together, and decried as a demon of social corrosion and agent of individual ruin. It is possible that both views are true. The ancient Greeks worshipped Dionysus, the god of wine, and the Romans had their counterpart in the figure of Bacchus, also known as 'Liber'. Both cultures recognised the centrality of alcohol to their daily lives, but did not stigmatise drunkenness as worse or different to excessive indulgence in any other type of luxury (Austin 1985: xvii). With the advent of Christianity, however, a bifurcated attitude toward alcohol started to emerge. On the one hand, the Old Testament clearly holds out wine as a comfort to the sick and Church fathers incorporated it into their central liturgy, the Eucharist; on the other hand, Saint Paul praises voluntary temperance and warns that habitual drunkards would be denied a place in Heaven. [3]

The two attitudes co-existed comfortably over many centuries. Beer and wine were the predominant forms of alcoholic beverages and functioned as important sources of nutrition and medical treatment. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, distilled liquor with much higher alcohol content had become cheaper and more accessible through improvements in technological capabilities. Cheaper, faster and more frequent states of public inebriation among the common folk caused the more genteel classes to express their concern that spirits led to a breakdown in social order and a threat to personal salvation (Schivelbusch 1992: 153). In England, critics of the seventeenth century gin craze pointed to what one historian has called 'the dangers of plebeian sociability', and considered taverns to be 'nurseries of vice' (Warner 2002: 56). Furthermore, the discourse of the English elite increasingly associated uncouth and disruptive behaviour with both the lower classes and with potentially subversive foreign elements like the Irish (Wilson 1991: 386). [4] Samuel Crumpe made the stereotype explicit in 1795 when he wrote that drunkenness is a vice 'to which the lower Irish are particularly addicted', reducing their industry, and leading to the 'riotous feuds so remarkable among the Irish' (Austin 1985: 371). These ethnic stereotypes followed the Irish Legion to Colombia where they received similar criticism for their insubordination, feuding and riotousness, all of which were code words for drunkenness in that era.

By the time the wars for Colombian independence commenced in the 1810s and 1820s, scientific opinion had started to pathologise alcohol use and eliminate moral implications and the element of free will in chronic alcohol abuse. Physicians such as the American Benjamin Rush and Briton Thomas Trotter clearly described drunkenness as, 'a disease, produced by a remote cause, and giving birth to

actions and movements in the living body, that disorder the functions of health' (Trotter 1804: 8). Alcohol use was widespread and beer, wine and spirits were consumed in quantities far exceeding those of the present day. Potable water was scarce, and difficult to transport over long distances. Furthermore, alcohol reflected important gender expectations in Anglo-American culture. Hard-drinking men who could hold their liquor and still function were seen as praiseworthy and masculine, while alcohol itself was feminised as Mother Gin or Madame Geneva and treated as an item to be conquered and consumed. [5] Indeed, one historian highlighted the masculine status conferred by alcohol consumption when he repeated Dr. Johnson's observation that 'claret is the liquor for boys, port for men, but he who aspires to be a hero [...] must drink brandy' (Kopperman 1996: 460).

Rifles and Bottles

Irish, Scottish and English recruits played a significant role in the independence wars of northern South America, and they fought with a rifle in one hand and a bottle in the other. Living in exile in London, Venezuelan envoy Luis López Méndez and Colombian minister plenipotentiary José María del Real actively recruited soldiers and sailors who were out of service after the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars. [6] Both diplomats served time in the debtors' prison for contracts undertaken on their countries' behalf, and both offered promises to starry-eyed young men that their patriot governments were subsequently unable to keep. Nevertheless, recruitment mania was palpable on the streets of London, Edinburgh, Liverpool and Dublin in the years 1817, 1818 and 1819. Thousands of young men set sail for South American shores, hoping to strike a blow against tyranny, and perhaps find their fortune along the way. Based in London in June 1817, Gustavus Hippisley outfitted the First Venezuelan Hussars, Colonel Wilson took the Second Venezuelan Hussars, Lt. Col. James Gilmour headed an artillery brigade, and two regiments of Venezuelan Lancers also signed up with enthusiasm. The following year, several more expeditions departed, followed by General John Devereux's ten ships filled with the future Irish Legion in 1819. It was common practice at the time to recruit soldiers and sailors in taverns; unscrupulous recruiters often cruelly took advantage of a man's inebriated state to enlist him or even to force him onboard a soon-to-depart ship. Not surprisingly then, many of the recruits who went to Colombia were as fond of alcohol as they were patriotic. Indeed, Colonel Francis Hall blamed three-quarters of deaths among foreigners in Colombia's wars of independence to excessive alcohol consumption and the various evils that arose from it (Hall 1827: 99).

As Spanish Ambassador to the Court of King James, the Duke of San Carlos vigorously protested against the active recruitment that was proceeding openly and unchecked while Great Britain and Spain purported to be allies. In November 1817, he succeeded in convincing the Prince Regent to issue a proclamation that banned British subjects from joining the Spanish American patriots; anyone who contravened the order would be divested of his rank and pension. The order was widely and publicly ignored however, and two years later, Parliament finally passed a more stringent Foreign Enlistment Act that again prohibited British soldiers from accepting commissions in a foreign service; before the bill took effect in September, thousands of recruits rushed to depart from Liverpool, Dublin, and other ports (Hasbrouck 1969: 56, 111). In Colombia, Simón Bolívar strategised with Luis Brión, sharing bottles of wine and awaiting their foreign recruits before undertaking any major new offensives. The Irish Legion participated in battles at Pantano de Vargas, Boyacá, and Ayacucho, among many others (Echeverri 1972: 32). Although they fought valiantly on most occasions, their reputation remained forever stained by the behaviour of a few dozen angry, hungry, bored and unpaid Irish soldiers who rampaged in frustration at Riohacha in 1820. The Legion was disbanded and absorbed into other units around at the same time, but the charges of dissipation, depredation and disobedience took longer to overcome. [7]

The Irish Legion's involvement in South American independence was commemorated, fittingly enough, with a toast at a Dublin hotel in 1819. At a meeting to celebrate the cause of South American freedom, Charles Phillips raised his glass to praise his countrymen's efforts on behalf of their Colombian brothers. Fully sated after a sumptuous dinner and drunk on porter, wine and lofty ideals, Phillips praised John Devereux's and the Irish troops' commitment to the noble cause:

To unmanacle the slave, to erect an altar on the Inquisition's grave, to raise a people to the attitude of freedom, to found the temples of science and commerce to create a constitution, beneath whose ample arch every human creature, no matter what his sect, his colour, or his clime, may stand sublime in the dignity of manhood.

He railed against the tyranny of Ferdinand VII who kept an entire continent in chains, denying them their freedoms and perverting their Catholic faith with brutal inquisitorial techniques. Phillips turned to Devereux, and closed his speech with a dramatic flourish, saying 'Go, then, soldier of Ireland, Go where glory awaits thee'. [8] Devereux's critics, however, interpreted that same glory as a dangerous revolutionary tendency that threatened monarchy not just in South America, but also at home in Great Britain. An Irishman named George Flinter who fought against Devereux on the royalist side in Gran Colombia, mentioned a rumour that the mercenary general could be linked to the 1798 Irish rebellion and pro-claimed that

by suppressing the spark of rebellion in the Spanish colonies, I was indirectly rendering an important service to my King and country [...] I foresaw that these unauthorised military associations, headed by a certain class of men, would be a prelude to something of a serious nature in Ireland (Flinter 1829: 9).

Irish partisans fought for (and against) Colombian independence on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

Alcohol pervaded all aspects of the soldiers' lives. They drank while they were being recruited. They drank while they waited at port for their ship to be ready. They drank while the departure was delayed and they drank while they sailed. Contemporary memoirs are filled with anecdotes of duels, pranks and drinking games on board the ships that sailed for Colombia. Dr Thomas Trotter counted over 200 gin shops lining the harbour front at Plymouth Dock alone which he believed was 'destroying the very vitals of our naval service' (Trotter 1804: 48). Crossing the Tropic of Cancer on his journey to America, Captain Adam mentioned the tradition of 'levying contributions of grog in favour of the sailors'. Another officer was appalled to discover that the crew of his ship was always too intoxicated to carry out their duties properly (Adam 1824: 35-36).

A soldier's provisions typically included generous rations of alcohol. The ship *Two Friends*, for example, was delayed until a sufficient cargo of wine could be loaded. Each soldier-passenger paid £40 for his passage, which included one pint of wine, half a pint of spirits and one bottle of porter per day. [9] They stopped at Madeira to replenish their supplies; six officers purchased 180 gallons of spirits for themselves, and then 'in order to reduce it, they were daily, nay, hourly, drinking'. On board the *Emerald* in 1817, £41 bought the recruit his passage and a pint of wine at dinner, a gill of spirits at supper, and a bottle of porter per day (Hippisley 1819: 40-41). Once on land and in the service of the Colombian army, recruits continued to drink regularly as part of their rations. One officer recalled that their meals consisted of 'dried beef, plantain, biscuits, wine and London bottled porter, of which last Bolívar is remarkably fond, and had a good store with him' (*Recollections* 1828 II: 5).

At the same time, officers were nervous about the toll that heavy drinking was taking on the regular troops and more than once issued orders to curtail its worst excesses. Gustavus Hippisley spoke contemptuously of the grog provided to enlisted men, saying 'the rum I could not drink, that is the ration rum; and I would willingly have debarred my companions from the use of it, as it was killing them all' (Hippisley 1819: 276). [10] In May 1818 he issued a regimental order that barred the Venezuelan Hussars from going to grog-shops or becoming intoxicated at the risk of the most severe punishments that could be meted out; he reminded his men that Bolívar had an abhorrence to drunken soldiers who gave a bad name to the patriot cause, rendered themselves unfit for duty and drew shame and opprobrium upon the entire nation. This attitude was becoming increasingly common among the British officer corps during the Napoleonic period who wanted to prevent unsanctioned and possibly adulterated liquor from poisoning their men; their policies were given additional weight by a growing body of medical opinion that charged that one of the greatest evils of modern warfare was the 'vast consumption of spirituous liquors'. [11]

It was not uncommon for great leaders of the era to be heavy drinkers. Lord Cochrane, the British founder of the Chilean navy, once commented contemptuously that the Argentine patriot leader José de San Martín was 'ambitious beyond all bounds' but 'his physical prowess [was] prostrated by opium and brandy, to which he was a slave whilst his mental faculties day by day became more torpid from the same debilitating influence' (Dundonald 1859 I: 222). Patriot general José Francisco Bermúdez reputedly 'drinks hard', while Irish Colonel Aylmer could be found 'in a permanent state of drunkenness'. [12] According to his Irish aide-de-camp and close friend Daniel Florencio O'Leary, Simón Bolívar was 'sober. The wines he liked best were grave and champaign [*sic*]. When he drank most, which was in [18]22 and [18]23, he never took at dinner a pint of the former or more than two glasses of the latter' (O'Leary 1969: 30). An anonymous British soldier who served in the Colombian campaigns also noted that the Liberator was 'uninfluenced by wine, which he used sparingly' (*Recollections* 1828 II: 31). Even Bolívar's harsh critic Louis Perú de Lacroix agreed that the Liberator 'never used Aguardiente or other strong liquors. He never drank wine with lunch, nor did he put it on his dinner table except for special occasions' (Peru de la Croix 1935: 336).

Other patriot generals were less restrained and often traded insults that centred on each other's masculinity and sobriety. For example, Gustavus Hhipisley complained that his patriot rival Mariano Montilla was neat and tidy in appearance, but was 'so addicted to drinking, that he is scarcely known to go to his hammock sober at night and too frequently commences his potations soon after mid-day' (Hhipisley 1819: 249). For his part, Montilla regularly wrote to his superiors complaining that the Irish recruits under his command were drunken, disorderly, and behaved in a manner contrary to all military discipline; despite his clear orders, they pillaged and sacked the very same villages that they were supposed to be liberating. [13] Alcohol use became an observable component of leadership abilities and therefore a signifier not only of a one's class status, but the degree to which one exhibited self-control, patriotism and dedication to the greater cause.

Dinners and balls were common among the elite and urban residents throughout Gran Colombia during the wars for independence and were an important vehicle for expressing one's patriotic sentiments and national allegiances. When Gustavus Hhipisley dined with General Bermúdez at Angostura in 1818, both men drank to the health of the King of England and success to the South American patriots (Hhipisley 1819: 248). Visiting Colombia in November 1822, Richard Bache recorded a dinner given in his honour at which he was served twelve or fourteen courses of food, exquisite wines, and had to sit through long toasts or 'short patriotic speeches most in vogue'. Everywhere he went during his journey, however, he was pleased to note that Colombians exhibited an impressively sober character that was in marked contrast to that of his fellow citizens back home:

The wines were excellent, rich cordials, Madeira, muscadell, and the inspiring champaign [*sic*] flowed in abundance, yet our English vice of excess on these occasions is never indulged in by the Colombians (Bache 1823: 52).

If Colombians were considered to be a sober people, British observers considered *caraqueños* [residents of Caracas] to be more riotous and prone to violent outbreaks. Similarly, the Irish and the English were understood to be habitual drunks. Mariano Montilla reported to the Governor of Jamaica that the Irish soldiers had united dishonour with barbarism at Riohacha and complained to anyone who would listen about their rebellion, insolence and insubordination. [14] Significantly, these are identical to the terms that English critics applied to Irish rebels and Catholic agitators in their domestic rhetoric.

Although there were regular and severe shortages of most consumer goods and foodstuffs, it seems that alcohol continued to flow freely. Colonel Adam fondly remembered a dance at Angostura where he enjoyed fruits, sweetmeats, fine wines and plenty of *sangaree* [*sangría*], with the town's patriotic young ladies (Adam 1824: 130). Gustavus Hhipisley dined with the Governor of St. Bartholomew and enjoyed meat, preserves, fruits, confections and 'every sort of European wines, porter, cyder [*sic*] and perry' (Hhipisley 1819: 125). These elaborate meals, however, were a dramatic exception to the life of privation faced by average recruits. Soldiers regularly complained about their constant hunger and recounted

the horror of being reduced to eating cats, rats and dogs. Alcohol was an important source of nutrition and calories for the recruits, and helped to distract them from the miseries of their current condition. Daniel Florencio O'Leary noted that Colonel Gregor MacGregor 'considered his loss and his fatigue and dangers to be rewarded by the capture of the tobacco and rum found at Chaguaramas' in 1816 (O'Leary 1969: 44). Captain Adam faced heavy rains on his trek to Angostura in December 1819 'aided by a glass or two of rum' and found that liberal use of spirits distracted him from the bad food and biting insects (Adam 1824: 57, 94).

When the battles died down and former enemies sat down to negotiate their peace treaties, alcohol figured prominently at the events. Sometimes the drinking was joyful and celebratory; other times, excessive indulgence resulted in insults being added to injuries. For example, when Spanish royalist general Rafael Sevilla agreed to capitulate to British and Irish generals at Margarita Island in 1820, he was already disgusted by the liberal Riego revolt back in Spain that had ended support for his regiment in America, but he became even more offended by the pressure to toast his victorious hosts with rum and beer into the early hours of the morning. At another meeting with the British generals, Sevilla recalled the exuberant toasts 'repeated an infinite number of times, [with] the best Spanish wines, until we had emptied many, many bottles [...] until we were all drunk, we [Spaniards] more than the English' (Sevilla 1916: 194, 257). That same year, Simón Bolívar recognised the great contribution that foreign recruits had made to his Colombian campaign by frequently making toasts to the health and continued success of the sons of 'the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland' (*Recollections* 1828 I: 246). He wrote to Francisco de Paula Santander that his summit meeting with Spanish General Pablo Morillo had gone well and had been punctuated by 'many courteous and clever toasts.[...] Indeed it would take a volume to record the toasts that were offered.' [15]

Rum, recruitment and revolution flowed in tandem during the wars for Colombian independence. A soldier's life was hard and often short, and he took meaning wherever he found it, whether it was the lofty rhetoric of liberty and patriotism, or the dizzying depths of a glass of grog. In differing circumstances, alcohol could be used to motivate the troops, or to keep them sedated; it could be used to fire them up for battle or to diffuse their energies after it was over. Spirits lubricated every social function, from meals in hotel taverns when the lucky recruits were billeted in Colombian towns to the momentous diplomatic summits where the fates of nations were signed with a pen and a toast. In all these ways, alcohol use among the Irish and British recruits in the service of Colombian independence reflected broader trends on both sides of the Atlantic. Class status, masculine identity and leadership qualities increasingly came to be identified with a man's approach to liquor. Similarly, drunkenness and sobriety were behavioural traits that became associated with particular nationalities or ethnicities. Colombians condemned the lawless and dissolute Venezuelans much in the same way that English politicians and pundits targeted the rowdy and rebellious Irish. Thomas Paine, known to be a heavy drinker himself, was widely read throughout Spanish America during the independence era, and correctly gauged that those were, indeed, times that tried men's souls. Liquor, like liberty, could not be consumed in moderation.

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Notes

[1] See the extended discussion of the notional connection between liberty in thought and libertinism in behaviour found in Robert Darnton, *Forbidden Bestsellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (London: Fontana Press, 1996).

- [2] Mariano Montilla to D.F. O'Leary (Cartagena, 25 March 1828) in Montilla 1982: 161 II: 657; Ducoudray-Holstein 1829: 178.
- [3] Austin 1985: xviii; Walton 2002: 47.
- [4] Porter, a heavily fermented, strong, dark beer, originated in London in the 1720s but was perfected by Arthur Guinness in Ireland and reinforced the English tendency to link drunkenness with the Irish people.
- [5] Kopperman 1996: 460; Warner 2002: 63. See also: W.J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic, An American Tradition*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse, A Social History 1200-1830*, (London: Longman, 1983); William F. Bynum, 'Chronic Alcoholism in the First Half of the 19th Century', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 42 (1968): 160-185; Joseph Hirsh, 'Enlightened Eighteenth-Century Views of the Alcohol Problem', *Journal of the History of Medicine* 4 (1949): 230-236.
- [6] A good overview of events can be found in Alfred Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries in the Liberation of Spanish America* (New York: Octagon Books, 1969) and Carlos García Arrieche, 'La Legión Británica en la emancipación de Venezuela y Colombia' in *Boletín Histórico* 27 (September 1971): 346-395.
- [7] The *Morning Chronicle* reported on the Irish soldiers' and patriots' burning of Riohacha around the same time as the events of Peterloo revealed the intensity of lower-class discontent in Great Britain, *Morning Chronicle* (Tuesday, 25 July 1820).
- [8] Charles Phillips, *Phillip's Speech on South American Liberty. The Speech of C. Phillips, Esq., as Delivered... at Morrison's Hotel, Dublin, August 1819* (London: George Hebert, 1819).
- [9] *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the Ship 'Two Friends'* (London: 1819), pp.9-11, 36-37; *Recollections of a Service of Three Years during the War-of-Extermination in the Republics of Venezuela and Colombia* (London: Hunt and Clarke, 1828), p.72
- [10] Regimental Order dated (San Fernando, 2 May 1818) and reprinted on p.585.
- [11] Kopperman 1996: 455; Trotter 1804: 5-6.
- [12] Ducoudray-Holstein 1829: 214; Cuervo Márquez 1938 I:190.
- [13] Montilla to Diego Urbaneja (Riohacha, 20 March 1820), *Homenaje*, II: 1002.
- [14] Montilla to the Duke of Manchester (April 1820) quoted in Cuervo Márquez 1938 I: 396; Montilla to Santander (Barranquilla, 30 July 1820) in *Homenaje*, II:690. John DeCourcy Ireland notes that the Irish Legion was disbanded for 'indiscipline' in 1819, 'Soldiers and Seamen', p.299.
- [15] Bolívar to Santander (Trujillo, 29 November 1820), in Simón Bolívar, *Selected Writings of Simón Bolívar* (New York: Colonial Press, 1951), I: 245. The meeting is also described in Ernesto Castellero, 'Los libertadores de Colombia y Venezuela vistos por un oficial de la Legión Británica' in *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* 46 (October-1946): pp.22-23.

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William Duane and his 'Visit to Colombia' of 1823

By David Barnwell

The neatness of their silk shoes, and the saucy breeze ascending from the adjacent river displaying more of their silk stockings than they seemed to intend, could not but attract the eye of the traveller sauntering along, and he must be a stoic who could not afford a smile on passing the pleasant disorder of the pretty señoritas.

A Brief Biography

William Duane was born in 1760. According to his own account, the birth occurred in New York State, though there is evidence that he was in fact born in Newfoundland, a region which was in regular contact with Southeast Ireland during the eighteenth century (Little 2003). [1] Born to Irish Catholic parents, Duane left North America before the Revolution. He was to spend almost three decades outside of North America; first in Ireland, followed by a brief residence in England, and a spell in India. When he returned to the United States, approaching middle age, he faced continual questioning from his political opponents of his right to reside in the country.

Duane's family returned to Ireland when he was aged about eleven, and settled in Clonmel in County Tipperary. His family appear to have been quite prosperous, but as a young man Duane

was disinherited because he married an Anglican woman in Tipperary. Faced with the need to earn a living, he entered the printing trade. Some time later he left Ireland, first for England and thence in 1785 to Calcutta, India. Initially a member of the East India Company's paramilitary force, he became disenchanted with this employ by the cruelties he witnessed in England's colonial regime. His opposition to the Raj government led to his deportation back to England. Duane then renounced all ties to the British Empire, and in 1795 returned to the US.

Once in America he quickly became part of the radical political scene in Philadelphia, a setting in which Irishmen were very prominent. Benjamin Franklin Bache, grandson of Ben Franklin, owned the radical newspaper *Aurora*, the organ of the Democratic Party, and Bache gave Duane his start in newspaper publishing in the US. Bache died in September 1798, in the great yellow fever epidemic which swept the city in that summer, leaving a wife and four children. Duane, whose own wife Catherine Duane had died in the same Philadelphia epidemic, married Bache's widow. He took full control of the *Aurora* and was to be associated with the newspaper for decades afterwards (Rosenfeld 1997).

Under Duane's guidance the *Aurora* took part in the fierce polemic between Jeffersonians and conservatives that characterised the turn of the eighteenth century. Indeed Thomas Jefferson attributed his



William Duane (1760 - 1835)
by Charles Balthazar Julien Févret de Saint-Mémin, 1802
(National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution)

election to the presidency in 1800 to Duane's vigorous support. Duane had been arrested under the Sedition Act for taking part in a violent affray outside Philadelphia's St. Mary's Church, but was spared any unpleasant consequences when charges against him were dismissed upon Jefferson's accession to office. He remained a hate figure to many, and was satirised as a cross between a prototypical Irish-American corrupt politician and an Irish Sancho Panza-type figure, Teague O'Regan, in the serialised novel *Modern Chivalry* written by Hugh Henry Brackenbridge in the early 1800s. [2] Aside from the newspaper business, Duane derived income from book-selling and publishing. He served for a number of years in the United States Army, attaining promotion to the rank of Adjutant-General during the War of 1812. Afterwards, with the centre of gravity of US politics moving ever more decisively to Washington rather than Philadelphia, and with the decline in the influence of the radical wing of the Democratic party, Duane left the main stage of public life.

Duane and Latin America

Duane spoke what he described as 'rather imperfect Castilian'. It is probable that he was taught by one of the many Latin Americans living in Philadelphia at this time, perhaps by someone like Manuel Torres, who represented the state of Colombia in Philadelphia for many years. An intriguing possibility is that he learnt Spanish from a fellow Irishman, Matthias O'Conway, who was an eminent language teacher in Philadelphia for many years, as well as being Official Interpreter in French and Spanish for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. O'Conway wrote the first Spanish grammar published in the United States (O'Conway 1810) and one of his sons had died fighting for the Republican forces in Venezuela. There is much evidence to suggest that Duane had been acquainted with O'Conway for several decades, therefore it is not entirely speculative to presume that Duane may have sought his help in learning Spanish. It is perhaps worth remarking that Duane, like several Irish-Americans of the time, had an interest in languages, for example in India he had designed different printing types to print the languages of the subcontinent. Apart from Spanish he had a certain command of French, which he utilised to translate documents concerning the Napoleonic Army.

The *Aurora* had provided unflinching support to the campaigns of South American nations for independence from Spain. As Duane puts it:

Thirty years ago I became acquainted with some of the men of virtue and intellect who were preparing the way for that revolution in South America which is now realized. Those intimacies had, by exciting my sympathies, led me to bestow more earnest attention on the history, geography, and the eventual destiny of those countries.

Duane applied for the position of United States ambassador to the new Colombian republic, but his application was unsuccessful. There is no doubt that radical circles in South America were conscious of the debt they owed to him for his support. Indeed the Congreso General de la Gran Colombia held in 1821 expressed gratitude to William Duane.

The Trip To Colombia

In 1822 Duane closed down the *Aurora* and embarked on a journey through what is now Colombia and Venezuela. In the company of his daughter Elizabeth and stepson Richard Bache, he set sail from Philadelphia on 2 October 1822 and arrived in Venezuela sixteen days later. He was to remain in South America until late May 1823.

The product of the trip was *A Visit to Colombia*. [3] The book details Duane's rather leisurely trip from Caracas to Cartagena de Indias, via Bogotá. It appears that he had been sent to South America to recoup a business debt, 'on behalf of persons in the United States having claims against the government, of which other agents had not procured the liquidation.' He managed to conclude the business successfully, but on his return to Philadelphia those who had employed him 'contrived to cheat me out of my commissions, a transaction of transcendent knavery, meanness and ingratitude.' The business purpose of the trip is never alluded to in the body of Duane's book, instead *A Visit to Colombia* concentrates on observations on the places Duane passed through and the people he encountered. The book also contains

verbose descriptions of the flora of Colombia, though rarely of the fauna except the mules. Duane provides some interesting observations about contemporary social conditions and politics in Gran Colombia. Comprising a number of extended digressions such as a disquisition on trees, or a quite prolix examination of the Colombian economy and constitution, this quite weighty tome clocks in at some 600 pages in all.

The book does require some editing, at least for the modern taste, but even as it stands it offers a variety of interesting aspects to the patient reader.

By the time of writing, the 1820s, knowledge of Latin America was still quite sketchy among its northern neighbours, and Duane saw one of his tasks as drawing up descriptions and taxonomies of what he had seen. Hence for example a long description of the banana, a fruit hitherto rarely encountered North America:

The banana is a sweet luscious fruit, and when ripe is superior in richness to the fig. It is of the consistency of a soft butter pear, but without acid. The fruit is not produced single like the apple, flowering on detached branches or single stalks, but in bunches, side by side.

A striking aspect to Duane's journey is the relatively comfortable conditions he enjoyed while undertaking it. Generally he followed the *Camino Reales* road system that had been developed by the Spaniards centuries earlier. He had prepared well for the trip, and brought with him a large number of letters of introduction to people he was to meet along the route. His record of support for the independence struggle opened many doors and ensured that his venture went off without the major disasters one might have feared in such an arduous undertaking in South America during the 1820s. He encounters no major difficulties until page 240 of the book, and even then it is not a critical problem, merely an uncooperative *alcalde* (mayor) who had to be coaxed into providing food and shelter for the Duane party. On the matter of food, on no occasion during his trip did Duane go hungry, as he tells it, and very often he was provided with lavish cuisine:

A spacious table was soon covered with a fine damask cloth, and salvers of the most delicious fruit, light wines and a service of chocolate with hot rolls of as good a quality and as well made and baked as we could have had in Philadelphia. Eggs and butter and sweetmeats and a handsome case of liqueurs covered the board [...] our appetites were good, and our host and hostess perfectly delightful, and appeared to enjoy our familiarity without reserve.

Similarly sumptuous preparations were made for the following day's trek:

We took the opportunity to lay up in some baskets, arepa bread, rice, sweet bananas, some raspadura or cakes of sugar, bottles of fresh milk, a small basket of limes, plenty of young onions, a dozen live fowls, and closing our evening with chocolate and arepas we were in our hammocks before nine o'clock.

In Bogotá Duane met John Devereux, the organiser and rear commander of the Irish Legion that fought with Bolívar. Devereux introduced Duane to one of the monks in Bogotá's Franciscan monastery. Duane was 'not a little surprised to be accosted in the English language, ornamented with a very genteel brogue.' He met with this 'Irish friar' on a number of occasions; a somewhat unlikely pair. The principal topic of their conversations appears to have been the monk's lamenting of the bad effects on society and morals of the recent revolution.

In Valencia, Venezuela Duane fell down a staircase and was attended to by an Irish doctor, William Murphy of Sligo, a Surgeon in the Republican Army. In Duane's words: 'as a Catholic and a man of talents, his own country was the last in which he could expect to prosper. Colombia presented to him a field where his qualifications and virtues promised to place him on equal terms with other men of virtue and worth.' Dr. Murphy is mentioned in the work of Eric Lambert, notwithstanding that he gives his first name as Richard. According to Lambert, Murphy stayed on in Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, where he

offered his services to the city's poor and had a statue erected in his honour at the Hospital de la Caridad. [4] Incidentally, Murphy was not the only Irish doctor whom Duane encountered; he mentions another Sligo native, Dr. Mullery.

At a place called Serinza Duane came across Colonel Lyster, who, like John Devereux, was from County Wexford:

We had not advanced quite to the town when we recognized some officers in the Colombian uniform, dashing towards us in the desperate style of riding so common in Colombia. It was Colonel Lyster and five other officers of the Irish Legion, on their way to join the army under Urdaneta [...Lyster] had served in the British Army in Spain, and with the experience of that war had acquired the fluent use of the Castilian language. [...] I was gratified at meeting him in the bosom of the Andes, as if we had both been on the banks of the Barrow.

Duane was not a particularly astute or subtle student of human nature, but there are occasional fine descriptive vignettes, such as his portrait of an old man selling milk in the mountains, or an extended depiction of the tragic figure of a widow whose husband had died in the Revolution. As has been noted in the case of his enjoyment of fine food, Duane was something of a *bon viveur*. At the time of his journey he was approaching his mid-sixties, yet he maintained an eye for the many good-looking women he encountered along his route. For example at Santa Rosa, a place of 'industry, activity and opulence', he came across a group of young women by a stream:

The neatness of their silk shoes, and the saucy breeze ascending from the adjacent river displaying more of their silk stockings than they seemed to intend, could not but attract the eye of the traveller sauntering along, and he must be a stoic who could not afford a smile on passing the pleasant disorder of the pretty señoritas. And it would be a miracle if the young ladies did not laugh too on seeing, by the stranger's significant leer, that their confusion was understood and noted.

There are few records of Duane after his return to the United States, though we know that he was appointed prothonotary (First Officer) of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania for the eastern district, an office which he retained until his death in 1835. He remained loyal to the country of his youth and family. In 1827, he was involved in collecting money for a Robert Emmet memorial in New York City and delivered the eulogy of the patriot. It is worth mentioning that his stepson, Richard Bache, also seized the opportunity to write about the trip, publishing his account in 1827 (Bache 1827).

Conclusion

Despite the fact that Irish people travelled and emigrated to the Americas in their millions, travel writing by the Irish in the Western Hemisphere is scanty. Travellers such as Theobald Wolfe Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald left some - often acerbic - observations on what they saw, while in the Irish language there is Mici MacGabhann's *Rotha Mór an tSaoil*, (The Big Wheel of Life) set in the Western States and the Klondyke. In Hispanic America, Pedro Alonso O'Crowley's *Idea compendiosa del Reyno de Nueva España*, published in the 1770s, is a fascinating if fanciful description of Mexico, while one could perhaps list William Bulfin's *Tales of the Pampas* as possessing elements of the travel literature genre. There are undoubtedly a number of others, but to this small canon should definitely be added William Duane's *Visit to Colombia*.

Notes

[1] In addition to Nigel Little's dissertation, see below the standard biography of Duane by Kim Tousley Phillips.

[2] I am grateful to Prof. Kevin Whelan for this information.

[3] See the full title below.

[4] The late Brian McGinn shared my interest in Duane and provided me with these details on Dr. Murphy. *Que Descanse en Paz*.

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Glimpses of the Irish in Nineteenth-Century Bogotá

By Edward Walsh

National Museum of Colombia in Bogotá

Among the many fascinating museums dotted around Bogotá, the capital city of Colombia, is the Museo Nacional [1] located in the international centre on Carrera 7^a. This institution was founded in 1823 and is one of the oldest of its kind in America. The museum now occupies a unique building often referred to as *El Panóptico*. [2] For over seventy-two years this building served as the principal penitentiary in Colombia.

The prison was designed by the Danish architect Tomás Reed, [3] who arrived in Bogotá from Caracas, Venezuela, in 1847 at the behest of the Colombian president Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera. [4] Reed was invited to occupy the chair of architecture at the Universidad Central and offered instruction in building design and construction techniques. Entrusted with drawing up a design for a new prison in Bogotá as well as the design for the Capitolio parliament building, Reed submitted his plans by 1852 but had left the country before actual construction commenced in 1874. Almost thirty years later, the construction of the prison was completed. Such was the excellence and flexibility of Reed's design that it elicited the admiration and approval of Le Corbusier when the French architect visited Bogotá in 1947. Reed's original plans and drawings are preserved in the Colombian National Archives.



Museo Nacional of Colombia
(Ediciones Consuelo Mendoza
<http://www.bogota-dc.com/>)

Reed's contract was renewed in 1848 and included the design of the Capitolio. He presented his design to Congress and from the tone of his presentation it was obvious that he considered this to be his most significant project. He was to be greatly disappointed when construction ceased shortly after the foundations had been laid. Reed was an urbane, freethinking and cultured individual who combined his architectural activities with other cultural interests. He was joint founder of the Philharmonic Society where he played the violin. Construction began on his neo-classical designs for the Philharmonic Society building, but was never completed. Like those of the Capitolio, its partially built walls remained in ruins for many years.

Reed's design for the Panóptico was based on the layout of a structure in Philadelphia. It remained in planning stages and only came to fruition between 1874 and 1881, incorporating changes made by the contractor Francisco Olaya. In Colombia, Reed built two bridges over Bogotá's streets, reconstructed another over the River Apulo, built several houses and remodelled the cloister of Santo Domingo to adapt it for use as public offices, converting 'the aged and austere colonial construction into an elegant palace to modern tastes. [5]

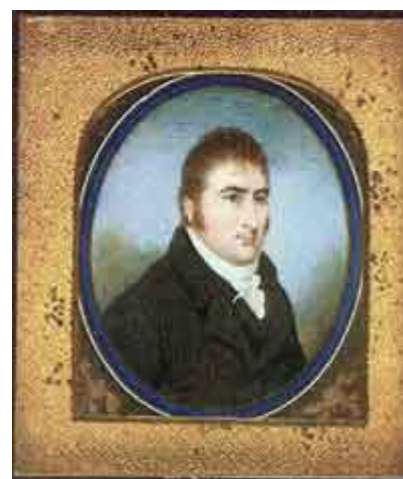
Frustrated, impatient and convinced that his greatest work would never be built, Reed decided to move to Quito in 1855 on receipt of an invitation from the president of Ecuador. He married and continued his architectural pursuits with major projects such as another penitentiary, the cathedral and the Governor's Palace. He spent his final years on a private estate and died in Guayaquil in south-west Ecuador.

Reed would have been amazed to see the transformation of this structure from penitentiary to museum. Prisoners were transferred to the new Cárcel de la Picota in 1946. Following two years of refurbishment, the museum opened at its new home in 1948.

The museum holds over 20,000 individual artefacts including art collections, paintings, portraits, furniture, busts, statues, military regalia, as well as items of historical, ethnographic and archaeological interest. In this collection there are some items of Irish interest, nearly all of them relating to the Colombian War of Independence. [6] Some of these items have been reproduced in Matthew Brown and Martín Alonso Roa's lavishly illustrated new book. [7] The exhibits of Irish interest in the museum are detailed in what follows.

- (a) Daniel Florence O'Leary [8]
A Davenport mahogany writing desk [9] made in England by James Winter. [10] c.1835. Reg. No. 2710. 90.5 x 59 x 60 cm. Acquired by the Beatriz Osorio Foundation [11] from the Cantillo O'Learys, great granddaughters of Daniel Florence O'Leary, in 1971 for the Museo Nacional (Brown and Alonso Roa reproduction p. 255). [12]
- (b) Daniel Florence O'Leary
A cut away 'superfin riche' [*sic*] [13] military jacket made from carded wool, using metal thread, sequins, silk, leather and velvet materials. Metal buttons. C.1835. Casa Museo collection. [14] Reg. No. 3454. (Brown and Alonso Roa reproduction p. 251).
- (c) Jeremías O'Leary

Anonymous portrait. [15] Miniature on ivory. c.1835. English school. Reg. No. 2712. 7.5 x 6 cm. Acquisition in 1971 as per (a) above.
- (d) Jeremías O'Leary Burke [?]
Brother of Florence O'Leary Burke. [16] Anonymous portrait. Miniature. c.1835. Reg. No. 2713. 6 x 5 cm; oval. Acquisition in 1971 as per (a) above.
- (e) Daniel Florence O'Leary
Anonymous portrait. Miniature on ivory. c.1835. English school. Reg. No. 2714. 7 x 5.8 cm; oval. (Brown and Alonso Roa reproduction p. 233). [17]
- (f) Daniel Florence O'Leary
Anonymous portrait. c.1840. Reg. No. 2715. 66 x 55 cm; oval. Acquisition in 1971 as per (a) above. [18]
- (g) Daniel Florence O'Leary
English-made collapsible bed and associated wooden carrying case. [19] c.1825. Casa Museo Collection. [20] Reg. No. 4108 (Brown and Alonso Roa reproduction p.240).



Jeremías O'Leary, ca. 1835
(*Catálogo de Miniaturas*, 1993)

- (h) Elvira Tanco de Malo O'Leary [21]
Oil on cloth portrait by Epifanio Garay Caicedo. [22]
c.1900. Reg. No. 2765. 125 x 98 cm. Wife of Arturo
Malo O'Leary, Daniel Florence O'Leary's nephew.
Acquired for the Museo Nacional between 1972 and
1976 by the Beatriz Osorio Foundation.
- (i) Joseph Boylan [23]
Portrait of a man/Joseph Boylan by José María
Espinosa. [24] c.1831. Miniature. Reg. No. 4560.
Acquired in Caracas in 1978 by Carlos Duarte from
the widow of Edbert E. Boylan on behalf of the
Beatriz Osorio Foundation for the Museo Nacional,
15 November 2001.
- (j) Robert Lee
Oil on cloth portrait by José Eugenio Montoya. [25]
c.1890. Reg. No. 225. Legend on the painting states 'Robert Lee, Irlandés prócer de la In-
dependencia. Murió 20 Febrero 1854' (Robert Lee, Irish man, leader of Independence.
Died 20 February 1854). Donated to the Museo Nacional by Robert Lee Franco, 3 July
1891 (Brown and Alonso Roa reproduction p. 248).
- (k) James Rooke [26]
Wooden bench. Maker anonymous. c.1819. Reg. No. 2559. This was the bench on which
Rooke was attended to by Surgeon Thomas Foley and died, after the battle at Pantano de
Vargas (Brown and Alonso Roa reproduction p. 234). Mentioned in the *Nueva Guía des-
criptiva del Museo de Bogotá (1886)*.
- (l) Irish Legion Commemorative Medal
Sello Conmemorativo de la Legión Irlandesa. Nineteenth-century bronze medal made in
England. c.1819. Reg. No. 700. Inscription: 'Dios y Nuestra Cause [sic] La Legión Irlan-
desa' (God and Our Cause The Irish Legion). (Brown and Alonso Roa reproduction p.
229). Mentioned in the *Nueva Guía descriptiva del Museo de Bogotá (1886)*.
- (m) Tomás Carlos Wright [27]
Oil on cloth portrait by Antonio Salas. [28] c.1824. Copy from the Juan José Flores Ar-
chive, Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador [29]
- (n) Tomás Murray [30]
Oil on cloth portrait by Constancio Franco Vargas, José Eugenio Montoya and Julián Rubi-
ano. [31] c.1880. Reg. No. 268. (Brown and Alonso Roa reproduction p. 238). Mentioned
in the *Nueva Guía descriptiva del Museo Nacional de Bogotá (1886)*.



Daniel Florencio O'Leary Burke, ca. 1835
(*Catálogo de Miniaturas, 1993*)

The miniatures of Jeremias and Daniel O'Leary are of more than passing interest. [32] They are described as being of the 'English school' and while that may be so, it is this writer's belief that they are the work of the prolific Cork miniaturist Frederick Buck. [33] Buck was renowned for 'the famous pink complexion [...] in its worst manifestation, this is an overall pinkness, not merely rosy cheeks, and can be bestowed on man or woman.' He was a 'man of habit. Having found his ideal background, he stuck to it. He also stuck to his favourite pose, which was three-quarter face, with the sitter looking to the right. He used this position whenever possible, sometimes even when painting husband and wife as a pair [...] He eschewed profiles, in contrast to his brother Adam who specialised in them...' [34] All of these characteristics are clearly evident in these three O'Leary miniatures. Buck may well have painted Daniel Florence O'Leary when the latter visited Cork in 1834.



Jeremias O'Leary Burke [?], ca. 1835
(*Catálogo de Miniaturas*, 1993)

The O'Leary family is an interesting one. Daniel Florence married Soledad Soublette, the sister of Bolívar's Chief of Staff, and the future president of Venezuela, General Soublette. They had a large family of five sons and four daughters. Four of the children were educated in Europe and a grandson, also named Daniel Florence O'Leary, settled in Great Britain and established a branch of the family there. [35] Some of O'Leary's letters were at one time on display at the Museo Nacional in Bogotá. On returning to Colombia after living for a time in Jamaica and at Puerto Cabello in Venezuela, O'Leary lived quietly with his wife and children at his estate 'El Chocho' near Fusagasuga on the savannah of Bogotá. [36] In March 2005, Michael O'Leary of Cork, his cousin Peter O'Leary, a great grandson of Daniel Florence O'Leary, accompanied by a five-member group from Cork, gathered at the Panteón de los Heroes in Caracas to lay a wreath in honour of the memory of a revered hero. [37]

Richard Vawell, [38] a Cambridge graduate from Cork, is a chronicler who did not possess O'Leary's talent. O'Leary's memoirs are the best contemporary account of the South American revolutions by Latin American or European authors such as O'Connor, Millar or Cochrane. Vawell has however left one marvellous description of an unexpected encounter with a compatriot. 'El propietario de la plantación era un irlandés de nacimiento, llamado FitzPatrick, establecido desde hacía mucho tiempo en el país; estaba casado con una criolla que le había dado numerosa descendencia. Era la primera visita que hubiese recibido de compatriotas, en aquel país, y pareció muy asombrado del singular azar que se le procuraba. [...] y era ostensible su mucha satisfacción al conversar con nosotros en su lengua materna, que no hablaba hacía años. (The owner of the plantation was an Irish-born man named FitzPatrick who had been settled in the country for a long time; he was married to a Creole woman with whom he had many children. It was the first visit of compatriots that he had received in that country, and he seemed quite astonished by the singular chance which had resulted in the meeting. [...] and his deep satisfaction was evident in conversing with us in his native tongue which he had not spoken for years.)' [39]

The British Cemetery, Bogotá

The British Cemetery in Bogotá [40] is located on Calle 26, next to the sprawling central cemetery. [41] In 1825 the British community was given a burial plot on the road to Zipaquirá. Two years later this plot was exchanged for another at San Victorino and finally the existing property located in the suburb of San Diego was obtained in 1829. In 1835 this land was surrounded by a wall. The first burial registered at the British Embassy is dated 1830. Some soldiers of the British Legion and their descendants are buried in the cemetery. The British Consul was responsible for burials and for maintaining the relevant registers. In 1994 responsibility for the operation and maintenance of the cemetery was passed from the British Consulate to the resident British community. [42]



Central archway at the British Cemetery of Bogotá
(Photo: Edward Walsh 2005)

Just inside the gate from the street and close to the main entrance there is a bungalow-style gate lodge with listed building status which has been declared national patrimony. A resident caretaker lives in this house. The gate from the street is kept locked and access is restricted to prevent theft, vandalism and desecration of graves. The front garden section is separated from the inner burial area by metal railings made from canons and bayonets from the Colombian War of Independence. [43] A tree-lined avenue leads to a formal gateway and the actual burial area. [44] There are identical engraved stone plaques on both pillars and among the three inscriptions there is one which reads 'Captain Charles Smith of Ireland, who died at Bogotá on 3rd April 1853 aged 63 years.' Among the tombs and gravestones, some with faded and illegible inscriptions, there are two further inscriptions of Irish interest: 'Agnes Conley, Lissnafillan, [45] Ireland 1868 - Bogotá 1945' and 'Marie Carrick O'Connor, 26 March 1912 - 10 March 2003.'

Little is known concerning Irishman Thomas Fallon, [46] medical doctor and naturalist. He was called by the government to work at the silver mines of Santa Ana, near Mariquita. Here he met Marcela Carrión y León by whom he had three children - Diego [47] the celebrated poet, Tomasa and Cornelia.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to María Cristina Cortés Sierra and Cathy Wilson of the Royal Institute of British Architects Information Centre, London; Edmundo Murray, Geneva; Flemming Skude, Copenhagen; Edgar Arrevalo, Peter Simon, Luis Enrique Velásquez, Don Jorge Guillermo Cortés Cuéllar, Doctor Felipe Zapata of the Fundación Beatriz Osorio and Magda Martínez Roberto, Casa Museo Mercedes Sierra de Pérez 'El Chico', all of Bogotá, for their assistance with precise details. The writer would particularly like to thank Cristina Lleras, curator of the art and history collections at the Museo Nacional, Bogotá, for permission to reproduce illustrations of the three miniatures pertaining to Daniel Florence O'Leary which appear in the *Catálogo de las Fundaciones de Beatriz Osorio*.



A la memoria ... del capitán Charles Smith, natural de Irlanda, muerto a los 63 años en Bogotá, el 3 de Abril de 1853'
(Photo: Edward Walsh 2005)

Notice

Since writing this article I have been advised by Cristina Lleras that a new and exhaustive study about Danish architect Thomas Reed [48] has been published which changes much of what was written about him by Silvia Arango. [49] The new study is: Saldarriaga Roa, Alberto, Alfonso Ortíz Crespo and José Alexander Pinzón Rivera, *En Busca de Thomas Reed, Arquitectura y Política en el Siglo XIX* (Bogotá: Panamericana Formas e Impresos, 2005).

Note of the Editor

We are grateful to Daniel Pedrazzoli for his permission to publish the illustration 'British Legion Private, 1821' in the last page of this article.



British Legion Private, 1821
(*Regimientos de América*
© Daniel Pedrazzoli)
[http://www.geocities.com/
regimientosdeamerica/
ArtLegionBritanica.html](http://www.geocities.com/regimientosdeamerica/ArtLegionBritanica.html)

Notes

[1] See "Nuestro Patrimonio 100 Tesoros De Colombia; El Tiempo," Bogotá, 2001, Ch.60, "Museo Nacional," pp.210-213.

[2] *Panóptico*: a building designed so that all areas can be seen from one central point.

[3] Tomás Reed (1810?-1878): Little is known about this Danish architect, a native of the Danish island colony of Saint Croix in the Caribbean, who was educated in England. The surname Reed suggests British rather than Danish nationality. See Silvia Arango, *Historia de la Arquitectura en Colombia* (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1989), p. 110.

[4] Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera (1798-1878): Soldier, politician and president of Colombia from 1845 to 1849. Silvia Arango is of the opinion that Reed was contacted by Manuel Ancízar, the Colombian minister to Venezuela, who invited him to Colombia.

[5] Arango, *Historia de la Arquitectura*, p. 110.

[6] The notes which follow were made during two visits to the Museo Nacional on 25 October and 1 November 2005 and are based on the texts on the legend cards.

[7] See Matthew Brown and Martín Alonso Roa, *Militares Extranjeros en la Independencia de Colombia, Nuevas Perspectivas* (Bogotá: Museo Nacional de Colombia, 2005).

[8] Daniel Florence O'Leary: Born 1801 at 89/90 Barrack Street, Cork; died 1854 in Bogotá, buried in Caracas. Grandnephew of Capuchin priest Arthur O'Leary (1729-1802) a celebrated wit, famous preacher and polemical writer.

[9] A Davenport writing desk was a small, free-standing writing desk produced in large numbers in England between 1795 and 1885. The name derives from an entry in the 1790s account books of Gillow of Lancaster: 'for Captain Davenport a desk,' alongside a design for a box-like desk with drawers opening to one side and a sloped writing surface. Available online (www.ci/ss.org/antique-desks/desks-davenport.html), accessed 30 January 2006.

[10] James Winter, 101 Wardour Street, Soho, London, 'furniture broker and appraiser and undertaker' between 1823 and 1840. The firm continued trading until 1870. Winter's trade card stated that he charged 'a liberal price for furniture in large or small quantities.' Later the business was styled as James Winter & Son, and the address was changed to 151/153/155 Wardour Street. See Geoffrey Beard & Christopher Gilbert, *Dictionary of English Furniture Makers* (The Furniture History Society, 1986); Christopher Gilbert, *The Pictorial Dictionary of Marked London Furniture, 1700-1840* (London: Maney Publishing and the Furniture History Society, 1996), pp. 57, 494-7, 498.

[11] The Beatriz Osorio Sierra Foundation is named after Beatriz Osorio Sierra, born in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1912 and died 31 July 1947. Beatriz, the daughter of Roberto Osorio and Isabel Sierra,

was a granddaughter of the legendary José María Sierra (b. Girardota 1848 - d. Medellín 1921). Sierra was a larger than life, rags to riches cattle drover and became a uniquely successful financier and entrepreneur, better known as Don Pepe Sierra. Beatriz Osorio Sierra was educated in Switzerland and England, and in Paris where she studied history and art at the Louvre. In her last will and testament Beatriz indicated that she wished to have a foundation set up in her name, dedicated to assisting educational programmes and providing finance for museum acquisitions. This philanthropic non-profit making foundation is based at Transversal 23, No. 100-12, Bogotá. There is a commemorative plaque in honour of Beatriz Osorio Sierra located on the main staircase of the Museo Nacional.

[12] There is another reproduction of this desk in the *Catálogo de las Fundaciones de Beatriz Osorio* (Bogotá, 1996), p. 37.

[13] The 'Superfin Riche' inscription on the legend card may mean either (a) very thin or (b) high quality; 'riche/richelement' as per the English 'richly'. These kind of uniforms were made in Britain and Ireland and together with other supplies and ammunition were the subject of complex contracts between Bolívar, Devereux and others. See Alfred Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionnaires in the Liberation of Spanish South America* (New York: Columbia, 1928).

[14] Casa Museo Quinta de Bolívar, Calle 20, No.2-91 Este, Bogotá. The details are as per those given by Brown and Roa p. 251.

[15] When visiting the museum this item was in storage and not on display. The details have been taken from the *Catálogo de las Fundaciones de Beatriz Osorio* p. 38, where this portrait is reproduced. This miniature as well as items (d) and (e) were acquired by the Foundation from the Cantillo O'Learys, great granddaughters of Daniel Florence O'Leary, for the Museo Nacional in 1971.

[16] This portrait is reproduced in the *Catálogo de las Fundaciones de Beatriz Osorio*, p. 38.

[17] This portrait is also reproduced in the *Catálogo de las Fundaciones de Beatriz Osorio*, p. 38.

[18] This portrait belonged to Catalina Cantillo O'Leary Márquez and is also reproduced in the *Catálogo de las Fundaciones de Beatriz Osorio*, p. 39.

[19] When visiting the museum this item was in storage and not on public display. The details are as per those given by Brown and Alonso Roa, *Militares Extranjeros*, p. 240.

[20] See note 14.

[21] This portrait is reproduced in the *Catálogo de las Fundaciones de Beatriz Osorio*, p. 43.

[22] Epifanio Garay Caicedo (b. 1849 Bogotá - d. Villeta 1903). Colombian painter.

[23] Joseph Boylan, probably from Ireland, was a sergeant in the British Legion.

[24] José María Espinosa Prieto (b. Bogotá 1796 - d. Bogotá 1883). Colombian painter. See *Caricatura y Costumbrismo, José María Espinosa y Ramón Torres Mendez: Dos Colombianos del Siglo XIX* (Exhibition catalogue, Museo de América, Madrid, 16 March - 15 April 1999, Bogotá: Litografía Arco, 1999).

[25] José Eugenio Montoya Antioquia (c.1860-1922). Colombian painter.

[26] James Rooke (b. Ireland 1770 - d. Tunja 1819). Rooke fought at the Battle of Waterloo, retired from the British Army in 1816 and went to live on the island of St Kitts in the West Indies. He joined the British Legion in 1818, lost an arm at the Battle of Pantano de Vargas and was taken to the Convent of Belencito where he died and was buried. There is a bronze bust of Rooke in Paipa, Boyacá, Colombia.

[27] Tomás Carlos Wright (b. Drogheda, County Louth, Ireland, 1799 - d. Ecuador 1868). An officer in Sandes Rifles commended for bravery at the Battle of Bomboná. Later settled in Ecuador where he is regarded as the founder of that country's navy. See César Cabezas y Cabezas, *Biografía del General Almirante Tomás Carlos Wright Montgomery, 1799-1868* (Guayaquil: IHME, 1944); Eduardo Wright, 'El General de División Tomás Carlos Wright' *Boletín del Centro de Investigaciones Históricas, Quito*; 5:7 (1937), pp. 412-414.

[28] Antonio Salas (b. Quito 1795 - d. Quito 1860). Ecuadorian painter. Educated in the workshops of Bernardo Rodríguez and Manuel Samaniego. Examples of his work in Ecuador are to be found in the church of Santo Domingo, Guayaquil as well as in other churches in Quito. From 1824 onwards began painting a series of portraits of generals.

[29] Pontificia Universidad Católica de Ecuador, 12 October, between Patria and Ventimilla, Quito, Ecuador.

[30] Tomás Murray (b. [?] - d. Bogotá 1853): There is some doubt as to where and when Murray was born. In 1818 he joined the British Legion. Murray was Director of the Military School founded by Mosquera and subsequently Minister of War. See *Reminiscencias* (Bogotá: Imprenta de Echeverri, (without date), 31 pages. See 'Diarios, Memorias y Autobiografías en Colombia. La Biblioteca Sumergida,' Biblioteca Virtual, Banco de la República, Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango, *Boletín Cultural y Biográfico*, No. 40, Vol. XXXII (1997).. www.banrep.gov.co/blaavirtual/boleti1/bol40/b4on.htm. There is another portrait of Tomás Murray by José María Espinosa referred to by Espinosa see (No.64) 'Abandono del Arte en el Siglo XIX. Beatriz González. Capítulo 4: Mi Profesión de Pintor y Retratista. La Creación de una Iconografía Procer,' Biblioteca Virtual, Banco de la República, Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango. Available online (www.banrep.gov.co/blaavirtual/letra-e/espinosa/cap4.htm), accessed 30 January 2006.

[31] The legend card refers to this trio as 'artistas asociados.'

[32] See items (c), (d) and (e).

[33] Frederick Buck (1771-c.1840) was the younger brother of Adam Buck (1759-1833). Frederick lived all his life in Cork, while Adam was a successful artist who worked first in Dublin and then enjoyed a distinguished career in London. See Rosemary ffolliott, 'The Unmistakeable Hand of Frederick Buck,' *Irish Arts Review*, Vol. 1, No. 22, Summer 1984, pp. 46-50 and 'The Swift Rise and Slow Decline of Frederick Buck,' in *The Irish Ancestor*, No. 1, 1975, pp. 15-23.

[34] ffolliott, 'The Unmistakeable Hand,' p. 50.

[35] The late Elsa Ortiz Hernández Walsh (1942-2000) had an unexpected encounter in the 1980s with a member of the O'Leary family, a doctor based in Bogotá. On remarking to this individual that he looked quite Irish, the doctor replied that this was so as he was a direct descendant of Daniel Florence O'Leary.

[36] See Edward Walsh, 'From Cork to Caracas,' *Latin American Chasqui*, London, Vol. 1, No. 2, (February 1991).

[37] See Pat Brosnan, 'Michael, 82, to realise lifelong ambition in Venezuela' in *The Irish Examiner*, 17 March 2005. See also Con O'Connell, 'General Daniel Florence O'Leary' in *The Cork Examiner*, 12 April 2001.

[38] Richard Vawell (1795-1837), *Memorias de un Oficial de la Legion Británica. Campañas y Cruceros durante la Guerra de Emancipación Hispanoamericana* (Bogotá: Biblioteca Banco Popular, Vol.56, 1974;

this is a reprint of the Spanish language edition of 1916. Varwell was also the author of *Las Sabanas de Barinas* (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia de la Defensa, 1973).

[39] Vawell, *Memorias de un Oficial*, p. 16.

[40] See Stephen Gaselle, 'The British Cemetery at Bogotá, Notes and Queries,' *Oxford Journals*, (Oxford UP, 1936), Vol. CLXXI, 221-223 and 'The British Cemetery at Bogotá, Notes and Queries' *Oxford Journals*, (Oxford UP, 1938), 175-348. Sir Stephen Gaselle (1882-1943) was the renowned erudite, scholarly librarian and archivist at the Foreign Office, London, 1920-1943.

[41] These notes were made after visiting the cemetery on 29 October 2005.

[42] The burial registers are now kept by Peter Simon for and on behalf of the British community at the offices of John Simon & Co. Ltda., Avenida Suba 108 - 58, Trr.B, Of. 210, Bogotá, Colombia.

[43] For another perspective on the War of Independence see Mathew Brown, 'Adventurers, Foreign Women and Masculinity in the Colombian Wars of Independence,' *Feminist Review*, 79, (2005), 36-51.

[44] A photograph of this gateway entrance to the main burial area has been reproduced by Brown and Alonso Rua, *Militares Extranjeros*, see p. 258.

[45] Lissnafillan: this is probably Lisnafillan near Ballymena, Country Antrim.

[46] Doctor Thomas Fallon 1800?-1864.

[47] Diego Fallon, born in Santa Ana (today Falán) Tolima, 10 March 1834, died 1905. See *Diego de J. Fallon*, Biblioteca Banco Popular, Vol.22, Bogotá, 1971. For an assessment of Fallon's poetry and bibliography see Natalia M. Ramírez, Universidad de Pittsburgh, *Diego Fallon (Colombia 1834-1905): vida y obra crítica sobre el autor (Apartes de 'Diego Fallon: lecturay reinterpretación de su obra poética')*. Available online (bama.ua.edu/~tatuana/numero2/criticos2.html). Accessed on 30 January 2006.

[48] See note No.3.

[49] Silvia Arango, *Historia de la Arquitectura en Colombia* (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1989).

Explosive Journey Perceptions of Latin America in the FARC-IRA Affair, 2001-2005

By Edmundo Murray



Free the Colombia 3. Tried by the media. No possible chance of a fair trial. Tabhair abhaile iad! Their lives are in mortal danger. Bring Them Home.

Mural at A1/Clontarf Road, south of Newry, South Armagh (Northern Ireland)

(Artist unknown, May 2003, © Dr. Jonathan McCormick
<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/mccormick>)

The IRA's alleged connections with FARC, which surfaced in 2001 and continue to appear in the Irish and Colombian media, are an ideal opportunity to analyse perceptions of Latin America in Ireland. Newspaper articles, personal interviews, and the judgement of the Appeals Court in Bogotá have been used to study different attitudes in this puzzling affair, which can be viewed as one of the lowest points in Irish relations with Colombia - and perhaps with Latin America as a whole.

*Peut-être comme moi / les croyais tu, naguère
fils de Che Guevara / et porteurs de lumière.
Mais leur lutte finale / leur matin du grand soir
c'est la haine et le mal / et surtout les dollars.*

*Renaud, 'Dans la jungle'
(Emi-Virgin France, 2005)*

*Perhaps you also believed, like me, that they
were the followers of Che Guevara and
carriers of light. But their final battle, the
morning of their last stand, is hate and evil
and above all Dollars.*

When the songwriter Renaud launched 'Dans la jungle' in December 2005 to support Ingrid Betancourt and other hostages abducted in Colombia, some were surprised to hear in the lyrics certain echoes of the

war on terror currently being waged by the United States and other governments. Betancourt, a Colombian politician who adopted French citizenship and founded the Oxígeno Verde green party, was kidnapped on 23 February 2003 by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). The song itself is a continuation of Renaud's long career as a writer of protest songs. He highlighted the double standards of Colombian guerrillas who claimed to wish to improve society and yet became a criminal army. However one could perceive in the French songwriter's most recent work a common worldview in which Latin America is depicted as a 'jungle', or a place steeped in corruption, chaos and turmoil, in contrast to the supposed honesty and civilisation of life and politics in Europe.

The Irish Republican Army's (IRA) alleged connections with FARC surfaced in 2001 and continue to appear in the Irish and Colombian media. I consider the ongoing affair an ideal opportunity to analyse perceptions of Latin America in Ireland. For the purposes of this article I used the limited number of relevant documents available to the public, together with online newspaper articles and interviews conducted by email. Rather than unveiling new information or undertaking a definitive account, the object of this article is to examine opinions that reveal values and beliefs regarding Latin America and its cultures.



FARC training at San Vicente del Caguán
(*Donna de Cesare, 2001*
<http://www.pixelpress.org/travelogue/0418c.html>)

Gangs of Colombia

Among Colombian rebel groups, according to the US Department of State, FARC 'is the oldest, largest, most capable, and best-equipped insurgency of Marxist origin' (US Navy NPS 2005). 'Foreign citizens are often targets of FARC kidnapping for ransom. The FARC has well-documented ties to the full range of narcotics trafficking activities, including taxation, cultivation, and distribution.' It comprises 'approximately 9,000 to 12,000 armed combatants and several thousand more supporters, mostly in rural areas' (US Navy NPS 2005). Several of the recruits are under eighteen years old and a third are women.

FARC has proclaimed itself a political-military Marxist-Leninist organisation inspired by Bolivarian ideals. [1] It claims to represent the rural poor in opposition to Colombia's wealthy classes, and opposes US influence in the region and neo-liberal policies. FARC was created on 27 May 1964 during Operation Marquetalia, when the Colombian Army overran this enclave held by peasant guerrillas, with key leaders such as Manuel Marulanda Vélez and Jacobo Arenas. The first conference was organised in 1965 and was attended by 100 guerrillas. Internal feuds resulted in a lack of unified strategies until 1974, when a metamorphosis was implemented from a guerrilla force into a revolutionary army. After the sixth conference in 1978, FARC operated in the Guayabero area. In 1982 the official name was changed to Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People's Army (FARC-EP), and the political-military Bolivarian Campaign was launched. A cease fire was negotiated with the Colombian government in late 1984, and FARC supported the parliamentarian candidates of the Patriotic Union party. Murders by the regular armed forces and paramilitary groups provoked a violation of the armistice and FARC resumed fighting in 1987. A new peace process began in 1991 but lasted only until 1992. Intensive military campaigns led by FARC resulted in another round of negotiations with the government. In the hope of negotiating a peace settlement, on 7 November 1998 president Andrés Pastrana granted FARC a 42,000

sq. km safe haven at San Vicente del Caguán in Caquetá department. This was the condition which FARC dictated for the initiation of peace talks. The peace process came to a halt in February 2002 after a series of high-profile actions, among them the kidnapping of political figures. FARC's international connections include links with Cuba and with radical groups in Latin America, most notably in Peru and more recently in Paraguay.

One of the paramilitary groups combating FARC, the United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia (AUC) is portrayed as an armed organisation that protects local economic, social and political interests by fighting Marxist insurgents, citing the excuse that the Colombian government has historically failed to do so. Its forces are estimated at between 10,000 and 20,000 militants, and it is considered to be a terrorist organisation by most countries, including the US. In 2000, former AUC leader Carlos Castaño Gil claimed that 70 per cent of the AUC's operation costs were financed through drug-related activities. Both FARC and AUC are accused of being key players in contraband drug production and distribution, and are therefore targets of the internationally-sponsored Plan Colombia.

With the primary aims of bolstering Colombia's social and economic development, combating the drug production and trade, strengthening government institutions, and ending armed conflict with insurgent groups, Plan Colombia was launched by the administration of president Andrés Pastrana in October 1999. Over one third of the original budget of US\$7.5 billion was pledged by the international community. The Clinton administration in the US donated US\$1.3 billion, and assigned military personnel to train local forces, and experts to assist in the eradication of coca plantations. These contributions to the plan made Colombia the third largest recipient of foreign aid from the US at that time. Further funding from the Bush administration was approved under the provisions of the Andean Counterdrug Initiative. Support from the European Union and some countries outside the EU met with little co-operation amid severe criticism, in particular of the procedure of aerial fumigation to eradicate coca. This activity allegedly damages legal crops and has adverse effects on the health of those exposed to the herbicides. Critics of the initiative also claim that elements within the Colombian security forces who receive aid and training from the Plan may be involved in supporting the AUC paramilitary forces. Moreover, recent research has shown that Colombia's economic problems are more related to political violence than to the drug trade in itself. [2]

Los Tres Monos [3]

On 11 August 2001, John Joseph Kelly, Edward Joseph Campbell and David Bracken were detained in Bogotá's El Dorado airport while attempting to leave Colombia (Appeals Court sentence, p. 2). [4] On the basis of intelligence from former guerrillas, the three men were suspected of being IRA explosives experts hired by FARC to provide military training to their fighters. The three admitted that their real names were Martin John McCauley, James William Monaghan and Niall Connolly, respectively, and that they had arrived from San Vicente del Caguán, an area under rebel control that had previously been liberated and demilitarised for the peace negotiations. The military police officer Captain Wber Pulido arrested the trio and handed them over to the Colombian courts (18).

After the preliminary investigation, the public prosecutor charged them of conducting training for illegal activities and travelling on false passports, charges that were denied by the defendants in their pre-trial depositions of 14 and 15 August 2001. The three men added that they were visiting the liberated area as tourists and later as observers of the peace process. The Interpol local branch identified McCauley and Monaghan as IRA members and explosives experts, and confirmed that the three men were travelling on passports obtained through fraudulent methods. Tests on explosive substances were performed by the US Embassy expert Anthony M. Hall on the possessions of the three men using General Electric Itemiser technology. The samples tested positive for traces of nitro, tetryl, HMX (high melting explosive), TNT, and ammonium nitrate, among other substances (98). On 21 August 2001 the judge remanded the men in custody and on 15 February 2002 they were officially charged by the prosecution.

Monaghan, McCauley and Connolly (or *Los Tres Monos*, as they were styled in Colombia) had been seen by witnesses in the FARC-controlled area since 1998 (83-95). Marcos Trujillo Celada saw one of them in August 1998 at Donde Robert with many other persons, among them a FARC commanding officer known as Julián. Giovanni Escobar Polania declared that they had shown FARC combatants a video about explosives in Ireland. John Alexander Rodríguez had seen them carrying out explosives training in late 1998, mid-1999, late 2000 and 2001. Rodríguez added that during their second visit they carried missile launchers with them. Furthermore, the men's passports recorded visits to Venezuela, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama from July 1999 to April 2001, while their real passports - those issued on their real names - were used to leave Ireland, stopping at Paris and Madrid.



Niall Connolly, Martin McCauley and James Monaghan portrayed in a mural at Levin Road, Killwilke, Lurgan, Co. Armagh
(Artist unknown, May 2003, © Dr. Jonathan McCormick
<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/mccormick>)

According to Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC, now PSNI) officers Garry Ian Clark and Christopher Kenneth Johnson, James Monaghan had been arrested in Ireland for use of explosives and for IRA membership. He had escaped from a Dublin courtroom using an explosive. He was re-arrested, sentenced to ten years, and freed in 1985. Martin McCauley had been arrested in 1994 and sentenced to two years for possession of arms and rocket attacks. He was wounded during the arrest. He was allegedly involved in a murder, though his participation has never been proven. Niall Connolly was Sinn Féin's representative in Cuba. In 2001 he had tried to obtain a false passport in Northern Ireland (55). Captain Pulido and other Colombian officers further stated that as a result of IRA training provided to FARC guerrillas, there had been an increase in terrorist activities, including mortar launching from 1999 to 2004, a technique pioneered in Europe by IRA explosives experts (118).

James William Monaghan [Edward Joseph Campbell] declared that he had been born in Ireland on 9 August 1945 and had worked with the railway as a metallurgic technician. In 1999 he was granted a position with an organisation called Coiste na n-Iarchimí (Ex-Prisoners' Committee), whose primary aim was to help former Republican prisoners to reintegrate into society and to enable them to use their abilities to shape the new society that would emerge from the Irish Peace Process. In 1972 he was arrested in London and given a prison sentence for the use of military equipment. He confirmed that he was also sentenced for placing explosives in a courtroom (73-75). Martin John McCauley [John Joseph Kelly] said he had been born on 1 December 1962 in County Armagh. He admitted that he had been convicted of the use of arms in Ireland and wounded in a fight. He arrived in Bogotá from Paris, in the company of Monaghan, on an Air France flight (75-76). Niall Connolly [David Bracken], born on 5 December 1964, stated that he had worked as a translator and lived in Havana with his partner, a Cuban national, and two children (76-77). He arrived in Bogotá via Madrid and Caracas.

The British explosives expert Keith Borer was called in as a witness for the defence. Although he acknowledged that he was not familiar with FARC techniques, Borer declared that the methods in use by the IRA and FARC were not similar. He analysed the results of the first explosive traces tests and though he recognised that the Itemiser was a very accurate instrument, he added that further tests were negative because the first samples may have been contaminated (107-117).

Other witnesses testified for the defence, including Ross O'Sullivan, Seán Ciarán Ó Domhnaill, Laurence Patrick McKeown, Síle Maguire and Michael McLaren. The testimony of the latter witness ultimately worked in favour of the prosecution as he presented electronically-manipulated videos in an attempt to prove that Monaghan had not been in Colombia at the time that he was charged with training guerrillas

in San Vicente del Caguán (126). Further documents included tax payment certificates but there were no records for the periods during which Monaghan had been seen in Colombia. Ultimately, the defence failed to present evidence in the form of notes, interviews or recordings to establish that the three men had been conducting social research on, or studying, the peace process (79).

On 26 April 2004, Bogotá's First Penal Court Judge Jairo Acosta acquitted the three Irishmen of the most serious charge of training for illegal activities which carried a 15-20 year sentence, but sentenced Monaghan to three and half years, McCauley to three years and Connolly to two years for travelling on false passports. They were released on probation while the prosecution appealed the sentence. The appeal was successful at the Appeals Court on 16 December 2004. This court also reversed the acquittal on the charge of training guerrillas, sentencing Niall Connolly and James W. Monaghan to seventeen and a half years each, and ordering them to pay a fine of approximately US\$280,000. The Court sentenced John McCauley to seventeen years with a fine of approximately US\$217,000. The three men were to be deported from Colombia after they had completed their prison sentences.

However, at the time of the sentencing they were no longer in Colombia as they had jumped bail. In spite of the international arrest warrant issued for Monaghan, McCauley and Connolly, they managed to flee the country and on 15 September 2005 were safely back in Ireland, just eight days after the IRA's historic announcement of its cessation of illegal activity. Shortly after arrival, the three reported to An Garda Síochána, the Irish police force, of their presence in the country. To date, extradition requests from the Colombian government have been unsuccessful and the three men remain at large in Ireland. [5]

It is not the purpose of this article to unearth the actual facts in the history of FARC-IRA relations. Rather I propose to analyse the different discourses which can be read between the lines of relevant documents, interviews and media articles.

Bring Them Home

The three men in question repeatedly denied the charges made against them. James Monaghan stated that 'the charge of training the FARC is a false charge, based on false evidence. The training never happened, and I and my friends are therefore not guilty' (Ruane 2003: 11). Defence lawyer Peter Madden affirmed that 'there was no real evidence against them' (6). Furthermore, according to the chairperson of the Bring Them Home campaign, Sinn Féin Member of the Local Assembly, Caitríona Ruane, during their imprisonment Monaghan, McCauley and Connolly had 'been subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment, threats to their lives, fears that their food was being poisoned, worry about dangers to their families and friends visiting them' (7). She characterised Colombia as 'a country where abuse of human rights is routine, systematic and relentless' and went further to say that 'the Colombian military and prosecutor have fabricated a case against these three men' (7).



Photo: Rose Hulman
(www.libreria.com.br/portal/artigos/geografia/colombia/2)

Although it was published before the ruling by the Appeals Court, a document edited by Ruane, *Colombia: Judge for Yourself*, refers to the same facts and represents a counterbalance to the statements contained in the charges. It includes the declarations of the three accused men to the court in Bogotá, summaries of the process, documents supporting the cause and, of particular interest, statements by the observers. Observers were selected among renowned solicitors and barristers, specialists in international law, human rights experts, legislators, social workers and trade union leaders. The observer reports are in general comprehensive, clear and appear to be technically-sound, though I cannot claim any judicial experience

or knowledge of criminal law and procedures. In particular, the reports by Ronan Munro, Natalie Kabasakalian and Shaun Kerrigan are very helpful in understanding the defendants' plea against the charges.

The observers are collectively described in Ruane's document as an 'International Delegation' (9, 19, 67) or 'brave people from three continents (Australia, Europe, and North America)' (7). Nevertheless, in the context of this article, it is important to remark that they are exclusively from Ireland, the US and Australia. There is a significant lack of observers from other parts of the world, particularly from Spanish-speaking countries, and of observers with experience of the criminal law system in Latin American countries.

Moreover, some of the observers' comments reveal their ignorance of the Colombian situation, and others may be perceived as patronising in relation to local practices. Commenting on the prosecutor's harsh question to a witness for the defence, Seán Crowe, TD for Dublin South West and Sinn Féin's spokesperson on Science and Education and Community Affairs, remarked that 'as an Irish Parliamentarian I don't believe that anywhere in the civilised world would this type of insulting behaviour be allowed' (21). Indeed, the *civilised world* mentioned by Seán Crowe does not seem to include Colombia. Finian McGrath, Independent TD in Ireland, rightly alluded to the violent methods of the paramilitary groups that oppose FARC guerrillas, but he demonstrated a particular ideological bias when he asserted that 'this is Colombia and anyone left or centre is an "extremist" or a "legitimate target" for the death squads' (24). Notwithstanding its clear structure and argumentation, Irish Senator Mary White's report maintained that 'political ex-prisoners in such a situation [trying to enter a country without a waiver visa] often consider their lives are in danger from subversive groups in many countries, particularly military and paramilitary groups in South and Central America' (28). In his concluding remarks, Barry McElduff MLA, member of Sinn Féin's Six County Executive and Chairperson of Sinn Féin in County Tyrone, stated that he had no 'real hope that these men could ever receive a fair hearing or any kind of justice in Colombia' (31).

Certain remarks from the observers Patrick Daly, Paul Hill and Pat Fowler are regrettable and do not help to objectively evaluate the defendants' stand. The Irish solicitor Patrick Daly makes comparisons with Ireland, where 'justice must be done but also must be seen to be done.' This statement seems to be irrelevant in the context of the Colombian judicial system. In this respect, Daly observed that 'things often move slowly in Colombia' (36), without any consideration to the different meanings that time may have to diverse cultures. He went on with assessments 'by way of comparison' with Ireland or 'by international standards' (38), which are in fact limited to Daly's experience in English-speaking countries. Paul Hill, one of the *Guildford Four*, [6] echoed the other observers in stating that 'as one who has observed trials in the North of Ireland, England, Scotland, Holland, America (north and south) Australia, I can honestly say I know of no other country where this case would be allowed to proceed.' He reinforced his views by pointing to the sequence of witness declarations dictated by the judge, and commented that it 'was in my view bizarre and would not be acceptable in any normal jurisdiction' (39). By *normal* he was certainly referring to the courts of which he had experience, reducing in this way the context of his judgement to a few legal systems in the world. The same can be observed in Pat Fowler's report, which is based on what is customary 'in most courts' or what is judged by 'most people in world' (63); vague statements that are not substantiated.

The issue of language and its cultural consequences is relevant to this analysis. Steve McCabe, a US-based lawyer and member of the Brehon Law Society, complained that 'no translation services were provided during the first day of the trial' and he regarded this as 'a case of passing the buck and perhaps an effort to preclude the [observers'] Delegation from understanding the nature of the testimony and the proceedings' (41). For his part, in his comprehensive and well-structured report, the Australian lawyer Shaun Kerrigan stated that 'after the first real public hearings in December 2002 the Presiding Judge adopted the philosophy that a translator would only be provided by the Colombian Government or was only required to be provided by the Colombian Government when the accused were actually present in Court or the persons giving evidence to the Court's first language was English' (67). Therefore, the observers' delegation had to obtain a translation themselves. Their complaint about the lack of translation services could be seen as a confirmation of their prejudiced attitudes towards a different culture in which the first language is not English. However, taking into account their qualifications, one would think that it is just one of their conditions in providing an accurate and impartial report. Subsidiary to the issue of language is the manner in which some observers spelled the name of the country. This is not a trivial issue given that they wrote their report subsequent to their visit. They should therefore have shown at least a minimum of respect for the country's name, which is misspelled by Des Bonass ('the *Columbian* military', 32) and Ronan Munro ('the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of *Columbia*', 79, my italics). Frequently in the English-speaking world Colombia is incorrectly written as Columbia. Yet one would expect that international observers selected on the basis of their objectivity to report on this trial would be aware of the difference between the Republic of Colombia and Canada's British Columbia or the District of Columbia in the US.



The three accused men shortly after their arrest
(Photo: Truth Monitor)

Ireland in Colombia - Latin America in Ireland

In order to obtain first-hand opinions from people interested in the trial of the three Irishmen, I conducted interviews by email with people in Colombia and in Ireland.

Johanna Cortés Conde is a young barrister at the courts of Bogotá. She was not involved in any stage of the judiciary process in relation to the accused Irishmen, though she is acquainted with the opinions prevalent in Colombia concerning the affair. Cortés Conde understands that FARC is connected to other international guerrilla groups, including Sendero Luminoso in Peru, and that they may have links with president Hugo Chávez of neighbouring Venezuela. She expressed the wish that Colombia and Ireland would improve co-operation, and suggested that the peace process in Northern Ireland could serve as a model for Colombia. In Colombia, people know very little about Ireland, and probably for this reason the trial of the three Irish prisoners has been underrepresented in the local media. Therefore she does not believe that this incident has damaged Ireland's reputation in Colombia. FARC has managed to garner some support in European countries, and is sometimes viewed as an organisation which protects the poor, though in reality - she says - they are mercenaries acting in collusion with drug-trafficking cartels. Corruption in Colombia's judiciary system is more rampant than in most European countries. However in recent times standards have improved significantly. Since the adoption of the new constitution of 1991, recourse to protection may be called upon in any context by any person, including foreigners. Basic rights like due process are constitutionally guaranteed. In addition, regulatory bodies are accessible to anyone and therefore transparency during the trial is guaranteed.

Alejandra Gonzalez was born in Medellín, a city north-west of Bogotá, and is a PhD student at the National University of Ireland, Galway, where she is involved in research and lecturing at the Centre for Innovation & Structural Change (CISC). [7] She comments that in many countries in Latin America the presence of Irish people was extremely valuable. The Irish Republicans' struggle for a united Ireland has been a source of inspiration for the organisations involved in the often suppressed socialist movements in Latin America. With regard to alleged connections between FARC and the IRA, Gonzalez believes that the image of Colombia in Ireland was negatively affected by the affair. She considers the 'Bring Them Back' [*sic*] campaign to have emphasised Colombia's most serious problems in the eyes of the general public in order to build a strong case for their campaign and to enhance their arguments. Nonetheless, she does not think the reputation of Latin America in general has been damaged by the event.

Caitríona Ruane is Sinn Féin's spokesperson on Equality, Human Rights and Women. She is an elected member of the Northern Ireland Assembly for the South Down constituency. She has experience of working in Latin America since 1983 and has chaired the Bring Them Home campaign since 2001. Ruane confirms that Sinn Féin has extensive links with political parties and social movements in Latin America, and points to the relationship between Britain and Ireland, historically that of coloniser and colonised, suggesting that it is therefore qualitatively different to that between Ireland and Latin America. In reference to immigration, Ruane recognises some institutionalised resistance to immigrants expressed in new Irish legislation. However she claims that Ireland has traditionally been a place which welcomes and assists new arrivals. Regarding the trial of the three Irishmen accused in Colombia, she asserts that only the reputation of the Colombian government, army, police and prison service, along with elements of the judiciary, has been damaged by this episode. From her own experience she has a positive view of the people and the cultures of Colombia, but criticises the abuse of authority by the rich and powerful.

It seems to me that the FARC-IRA affair represents one of the lowest points in the Irish relations with Colombia - and perhaps with Latin America - since the massive enrollment of Irish mercenaries almost two centuries ago to fight against Spanish colonial forces in Simón Bolívar's independence armies. In the present-day situation, the immigration controls in place for any visitor to Ireland are far more rigorous in the case of Colombian citizens than those of most other countries. The FARC-IRA affair did not help to ease those measures and did not contribute to facilitating free travel for Colombians. At the Colombian embassy in London I was informed by a spokesperson that owing to this affair the reputation of their country in Ireland has been negatively affected. [8] Conversely, since October 2001, the Irish are the only Europeans who are required to obtain a visa to enter Colombia.

News, Facts and Perceptions

Media reporting of the alleged FARC-IRA connection frequently comes across as a dichotomous discourse in which every player or episode is invariably consigned to one or the other side of a right-wrong divide. As a result of this, an astonishing number of print media and their online pages seem to have opted for one or the other position without further consideration of the numerous complexities of the situation.

One example is in the headlines, which are important in providing a brief summary of the news that follows, and indeed in attracting the audience's attention. The latter aim is often attained by paraphrasing literary texts or works of art - the subtitle of the first section of this article, 'Gangs of Colombia', is symptomatic of this trend, playing on the title of the film *Gangs of New York* - or by making an association with a popular historic event. News items relating to the FARC-IRA affair frequently include the title 'Colombia Three', thereby establishing an immediate association for Irish, and to a lesser extent UK audiences and readers, with the 'Birmingham Six' and the above mentioned 'Guildford Four'. All of these prisoners were proven to be innocent people framed by various members of the police force in the UK and imprisoned for offences and crimes which they did not commit. I could not access information on

how the headline 'Colombia Three' originated and became popular among journalists and others writing about this matter, but it is clear that it is not a neutral heading. [9] Another rather clumsy headline used by some print media is 'The Colombia Connection' which recalls William Friedkin's film *The French Connection* (1971), inherently linking violence and drug trafficking with the South American country. Likewise the campaign name 'Bring Them Home' mirrors a number of anti-war crusades in the US.

Elaborating on the information available relating to alleged links between FARC and the IRA would be misleading given the difficulties in locating reliable sources. In my analysis of newspaper sources, I covered the period from August 2001 to January 2006 inclusive, and a variety of national newspapers in Colombia, Ireland and the United Kingdom which offer online websites. Very few of the features published on this matter that I was able to study can be characterised as providing neutral information, the balance being unambiguously against the accused men in the case of the majority of Colombian and British media, and vaguely in favour among their Irish colleagues. Ostensibly, journalists writing these articles did not have recourse to the trial documents and rulings, most notably absent were references to the text of the charges.

Simplify and exaggerate is often the mantra when information is scarce and contradictory, when the subject is difficult to explain to a broad audience, and when prejudices are widely rooted in public opinions. Used by management counselors, pseudo-scientific strategists, and



Mural at Southway, Brandywell, Derry
(Artist unknown, December 2002. Copyright © Dr. Jonathan McCormick
<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/mccormick>)

self-improvement book authors, this recipe is also a favourite among the press and politicians to reduce complex information to simplistic statements that are difficult to dispute. News items on the FARC-IRA affair tend to pigeonhole the three accused men, their lawyers, Sinn Féin and even their country of origin together with the Marxist FARC rebels, Cuban and Venezuelan governments, international terrorist networks, drug-traffickers, warlords and arms dealers in Colombian jungles. Prevalent on the other side of the divide are the US, British, Irish and European governments, in co-operation with the regular Colombian forces, law enforcement organisations combating drug and arms trafficking, the international war on terror, and even paramilitary groups such as AUC. [10]



Another over-simplified taxonomy divides the players in this affair between those belonging to the supposedly civilised world of North America and Europe and representatives of the perceived untamed societies of Latin America. This opposition, redolent of Oliver Goldsmith's *The Traveller's* prejudiced depictions of continental European peoples, is given further contours by the reality of Latin America's Europeanised elites who regard native cultures as backward and barbarous. An appalling example is Mario Vargas Llosa's recent article about successful political movements in Bolivia, Peru and Venezuela, in which the aspirations of the indigenous people are seen by the Peruvian-Spanish author as racist, nationalist and militarist. [11] Even more outdated and entirely useless are 'left' and 'right' categorisations, which, even acknowledging the use of 'centre' and the more nuanced 'centre-left' and 'centre-right', should be limited to their French Revolution context. Nevertheless they are employed with staggering frequency to classify people, political movements, media and even entire countries and continents.

How should one approach the analysis of the FARC-IRA affair? In view of these prejudiced categories and descriptions, the likelihood of the publication in our lifetimes of a complete, accurate and candid account is doubtful to say the least. If the objective is to achieve a simple elucidation of the affair without falling into the trap of creating a new conspiracy theory, perhaps it is only our children, or even grandchildren, who will benefit from the neutrality more easily afforded by a historical perspective. Writing the history of current events is never an easy ride, and it is a task most reviled by historians. Reliable documents are in short supply or difficult to obtain. Factual or in-depth research is often resisted by the actors in the affair, most of whom have a vested interest in the story. When 'good' and 'evil' are identified, people tend to justify themselves, and their susceptibility is intense.

With these potential pitfalls in mind, instead of trying to ascertain the real facts of the story of the three Irish men in Colombia, I endeavoured to expose some prevalent perceptions that are deeply rooted in the mentalities of the people of Colombia and Ireland. As a rule, according to Tzvetan Todorov, we tend to think in a binary mode, liberal/conservative, idealist/realist, left/right, active/passive, and so on. [12] It is not necessary to reject one or the other term in these oppositions, but rather this very way of conceptualising the problem.

There may be other ways to classify the behaviour of all the players in this puzzling affair. Human beings are morally undefined, good and bad at the same time. Instead of the many manifestations of the opposition between 'us' and 'them', I propose to use Todorov's qualifying categories - democratic and totalitarian - to regard the events in a different manner. We are all democratic and totalitarian, Latin American and European (and African and Asian), left- and right-wing, moral and wicked. But when we preach as high-priests of morality we do little to ameliorate sectarian divisions. As Renaud says in his other song 'La ballade Nord-Irlandaise': *Ce sont les hommes pas le curés / qui font pousser les oranges*. [13]

Edmundo Murray

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Notes

[1] FARC-EP website.

[2] Holmes, Jennifer S. and Sheila Amin Gutiérrez de Piñeres, 'The Illegal Drug Industry. Violence and the Colombian Economy: A Department Level Analysis' in *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 25:1 (January 2006), pp. 104-118.

[3] In Colombian Spanish, 'Los tres monos' translates as 'The three blondes' (without gender connotations).

[4] The account of the arrest and trial was taken from the Appeals Court sentence of 16 December 2004. Page numbers of the sentence are indicated between brackets.

[5] Referring to intelligence in his possession, the Irish Minister for Justice, Michael McDowell, divulged that the IRA was to be paid between €20 million and €30 million by FARC for this service. The money had been raised by FARC through the organisation's dealings in the global cocaine trade (*The Irish Times*, 23 January 2006).

[6] The *Guildford Four* (Paul Hill, Gerry Conlon, Patrick Armstrong and Carole Richardson) were wrongly convicted in the United Kingdom in October 1975 of the Provisional IRA's Guildford pub bombing which killed five and injured sixty-five people. They served over fifteen years in prison.

[7] Alejandra Gonzalez's account of the Colombian presence in Ireland is very interesting. The largest group of Colombians is located in Dublin, and she estimates the total number at about 300. Twice a year, Colombian gatherings are organised in Dublin, generally around Christmas and for Colombian Independence Day (July 20th). Also, there is a Colombian Catholic priest in Dublin who says mass in Spanish, and this is well attended by the Colombian community. There are several Colombian women married to Irish men, along with Colombian engineers working in the information technology industry. Gonzalez considers Irish society to be more open than that of Colombia in terms of class, race, religion and sexual orientation, but she complains about the misty, grey and rainy weather of the west of Ireland.

[8] The embassy of Colombia in London is responsible for diplomatic relations with the UK and Ireland.

[9] Two observers described the affair using the loaded appellation 'The Colombia Three', including Niall Andrews, Irish Member of the European Parliament ('the trial of the Colombia Three'), and Des Bonass, Executive of the Dublin Council of Trade Unions ('visit of Columbia [*sic*] Three') (Ruane 2003: 19, 32).

[10] However, the media also reported on the resolution adopted by the European Parliament on violations of human rights in Colombia, particularly the case of Fr. Brendan Forde and his community of La Unión (7 September 2000). This is but one example of official criticism from a governmental body regarding the action of paramilitary groups. In the session of 18 October 2000 of Dáil Éireann (the Irish lower house of parliament), the then Minister for Foreign Affairs Brian Cowen was questioned on this same issue (Vol. 524).

[11] Vargas Llosa, Mario, 'De la mano de la "izquierda boba". Asoma en la región un nuevo racismo: indios contra blancos' in *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), 20 January 2006.

[12] Todorov, Tzvetan, *Mémoire du mal, tentation du bien: Enquête sur le siècle* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 2000).

[13] It is the men not the priests who grow the orange trees. Renaud Séchan, *La ballade Nord-Irlandaise* in 'Marchand de caillaux' (1991).

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Journal From Lima to Caracas Commencing September 4th, 1826

By William Owens Ferguson

Coming down the cordillera this night a thunder storm and tremendous shower overtook me in the midst of a primeval forest, as dark as pitch and a torrent on my right thundering along making as much noise as the thunder. My horse got so frightened as to actually crouch so that my feet touched the ground. If I had been of a romantic turn, this was a bella occasion to enjoy myself. However, two or three falls of my horse and wet to the skin, hungry, sleepy and tired I only cursed the Commission, the road and country and last of all poor old Columbus who discovered it (15 December 1826).



William Ferguson's journey from Lima to Caracas
(Microsoft MapPoint © 2006 Microsoft Corp.)

The text of this journal has been transcribed from the original manuscript to a typewritten copy by William O. Ferguson's grand nephew. The present text is a scanned (OCR) version of the transcription. Only noticeable errors have been corrected, including a few place names (ex. Bogotá instead of *Bagota*). Biographical and other information was added, which is included in William O. Ferguson's biography.

The Ferguson Papers are the property of Mrs. C.D. Gamble of Canada. We are thankful to Susan Wilkinson of Toronto for sending her copy of this journal for publication.

4th September 1826. Left Lima, arrived at the Fortress of Callao and embarked at 7 at night. The crowd being so great as to impede the General embarking sooner. Men, women and children in fear and all declaring they would on no consideration allow his departure.

5th to 8th. On the Pacific, on board the sloop of war "Congress". Fair wind.

9th Sept. Came to in sight of Deadman's Chest in the mouth of the Guayaquil River.

10th Anchored at Island of Pema.

11th Farther up the river. Magnificent scenery.

12th Arrived at 3 o'clock in the morning at the city of Guayaquil, and landed just at daybreak amidst a thundering salute of cannon, ringing of bells, bands, huzzahs, etc.

13th to 18th In Guayaquil, five balls, three public dinners, horse races, etc.

18th To the town of San Borondon, 7 leagues, and embarked. Beautiful scenery, the banks of the river are covered with plantations and country houses. The effect is heightened by the picturesque appearance of the "balsas" on rafts, each of which has a little thatched house and a number of flower pots on it besides poultry and all the other little appendages to a family. It looks something like what is described of the Chinese. A plentiful dinner but cursedly hot and the room not very airy.

19th To the Fort and Town of Babahoyo, 8 leagues by river. Shot several crocodile they being in swarms on the sand banks, some as long as 16 feet. The banks of the river here are covered with rich pasturage and savannah.

20th Halt for meals.

21st To the cattle estate of Carzah, 3 leagues. Went to shoot wild geese, plenty game.

22nd To the hamlet of Large, 9 leagues. Very bad road through an almost impenetrable forest impervious to the rays of the sun, up to the girths in mire. Crossed the river several times. This road is impassable in the rainy season.

23rd To the town of San Miguel, good road in the dry season, vice versa, 7 leagues, 5½ and an ascent of about 60 degrees. San Miguel cold climate in a beautiful, valley and commanding a good view of Chimborazo, which is seen rising majestically above the clouds over the valley of Guaranda. The climate now changes from excessive heat to the cold bracing air of the serrania or mountains, I rather say Highlands.

24th To the borough town of Rio Gamba, 12 leagues. Cross the Cordillera of the Andes by the Paramo of Payal and the Chimborazo. Cross the rains of the old Rio Gamba. Breakfasted at the town of Cajabamba. Splendid dinner today. About 3,000 horsemen came out to meet the General, in fact these people show that they have some talent and discernment having shown a due respect for the Aides.

25th To the borough town of Ambato 9 leagues. This town suffered considerably when the last eruption of Cotopaxi ruined La Facunga and Rio Camba. Well received, good dinner and better horses. Mine tried to run away with me and as I was as headstrong as he, all the revenge he could take was to throw himself on his back, whilst I threw myself off it. It broke my new Hussar saddle and galloped all the way and jumped over the road, ditches and all.

26th To the borough town of La Facunga, 7 leagues, through beautifully cultivated I country. This day there were seven volcanoes in sight. Well received. An immense crowd of Indians with saints, triumphal arches and chicha pots, of which liquor they made most liberal libations.

27th To the town of Machachi, 11 leagues. Past the foot of Cotopaxi and over the plain of Mulalo in which there is an artificial mountain made by the Incas, supposed to contain hidden treasures. This plain is covered with enormous masses of stone ejected by Cotopaxi.

28th To the city of Quito 11 leagues, fine road, magnificent and rich scenery, abundant country. This city is seated at the foot of the Pichincha Volcano. We were well received although through the stupidity of the Intendant not so well as otherwise might have been expected. Here we remained carousing and in was sailing till the 4th of October. Beautiful women in Quito although without soul.

5th October To the Estate of Chaquinbamba, 7 leagues. On leaving Quito there is a lovely prospect of the Valley of Pomasqui. An immediate descent to the river and rather cold at night.

6th To the borough town of Otobal, 8 leagues. Beautifully rich and picturesque country in a high state of cultivation and thickly populated. There was a splendid reception, excellent déjeuner, dinner supper and ball. Pretty girls and kind. Mountain Imbaburá.

7th To the city of Ibarra, beautiful scenery and reception with a great deal of taste, ball at night and next day dinner, ball and supper. Left the Cayanti to the left.

8th All snug and in clover.

9th To the town of Pentel. Past the beautiful Lake of Yaguar-Cocha or moody Lake, and descent to the River Chota which has a bridge. A tremendous ascent in which during a storm we lost our way and got well drenched in spite of our oil cloth clothes. Beastly dinner, bad quarters and a miserable town with a talkative and fastidious old friar as curate who recommended his coffee as super excellent, as he assured us it was "de America". So much for the Friar's knowledge of the production of his native country.

10th To the town of Fulcan. Breakfasted at the town of Tura whose curate was just as bad as the other and gave us black puddings for breakfast. Stopped to take something at the town of Guica situated in a forest infested with banditti. This day we had an escort of cavalry and got well drenched. Got into Fulcan about 5 in the evening after 12 leagues of a heavy road. My wally de sham deserted today and carried with him a horse saddle and bridle. All my cloaks and dressing apparatus for the road ... probably the guerrilla took him in the wood.

11th To Cumbal, 4 leagues over rich pasturage. This town is very cold and situated at the foot of a volcano from which it takes its name. There was a battle fought here.

12th To the town of Fuguerres, 10 leagues over rich pasturage. A little corn and potatoes. Past three towns, road very good in dry weather.

13th To the city of Pasto, 12 leagues in Yacuanguer, past the River Guitara. A good deal of ascent and forest with positions at every half league. The city has a beautiful appearance from above, situated in a plain which it covers with a fine river running through it. The country rises almost imperceptibly in amphitheatre covered with country houses, farms and estates mostly of wheat and barley with Indian corn and potatoes.

14th Remained at Pasto which is almost without inhabitants owing to the bloody and inveterate war which has been carried on. It is calculated that not less than 60,000 men have lost their lives in this province and from the year 1823, 95 Field Officers and Officers have been killed in Pasto of the Colombian Army. Things are beginning to mend however, as the last guerrilla was taken with his party a few months since and shot. The obstinacy of these people has never had an example in any nation. They have frequently routed our best troops with wooden clubs and spears and never has a Pastuso asked for quarter on the field. The original settlers of this Province were Biscayans and Catalonians who are remarkable for their hardiness and constancy in Spain.

15th To Ortega, a ruined hacienda, by some mistake the cooks missed their way and we were without dinner or supper too. Fine country but entirely depopulated. We could see several groups of cattle that had gone wild and whose owners had long since been exterminated. My baggage did not make its appearance today and to an empty stomach I had the agreeable sensation to add that I had not a second shirt to my back. This day's journey 8 leagues, partly forest with a villainous heavy road and partly open country.

16th To the hut of Encanada, 5 leagues, descended to and crossed the River Juanambú, desert country full of positions and remains of field fortifications. There have been at least thirty engagements fought at different times within these 5 leagues. No appearance of the baggage, many a curse did I bestow, dire heart and fell did I bestow on the Pastusos as I recrossed the river in search of it. However, at last I met with the baggage mules tired out. There was nothing else for it but to make the servants dismount and place the baggage on their horses and my own. Whilst "Guy Surrey" who had had very little idea of climbing over precipices had the benefit of a little extra exercise.

17th To Venta Quemada, a shed, 7 leagues, over a mountain and forest road. Met wit skulls and bones still lying on the road of a detachment which had been surprised and cut to pieces about 6 months before. Not an inhabitant to be seen. Devilish short commons today.

19th To the hacienda or halo (cattle estate) of Puro, 8 leagues, very hot, crossed the River Patia, bad fare, tremendous thunder storm this night.

18th To the town of Mercaderes, 9 leagues, crossed the River Mayo. A little better fare although evidently is still in enemy's country.

20th To the chapel and curacy of Bordo, 7 leagues, situated a little above the town of Patia. Dreadfully hot but better fare than for some days past.

21st To the town of Morqueta, 12 leagues, troublesome road without anything interesting farther than passing by the gold mines of Santa Lucia.

22nd To the town of Macienda of Pimbio, 7 leagues, here we met with every luxury than money and taste could procure. Also a deputation from the city of Popayán waited His Excellency to facilitate him on his return.

23rd October 1826 To the city of Popayán, 3 leagues. Fine country. Beautiful view of the Volcano and Cordillera. About a thousand well dressed people came out to meet us and everything attending the reception was as splendid as possible. There we remained to the 29th and had four balls and several public dinners.



Popayán, Cauca
(Photo Luke Mastin 1999)

<http://www.lukemastin.com/%20diary/feb99.html>

30th October 1826 To the town of Totoró, breakfasted at the Hacienda of Calivido, 7 leagues, bad road in winter.

31st To the shed or Fambo of Gabriel Perez, 6 leagues of ascent excessively cold and half way up the Andes.

Nov. 1st To the town of Yussa, 12 leagues. Crossed the Andes here, tremendous rain, piercing cold wind and villainous roads made of logs of wood which in many places are worn away and so dangerous in others that it is necessary to dismount and the baggage unloaded. Arrived at 7 o'clock at night.

2nd To the city of La Plata, 13 leagues, across a fine cattle country, still excessively hot climate.

3rd To the estate of Juneal, 7 leagues, cross a fine cattle country, still oppressively hot.

4th To Ancon, 7 leagues, This day crossed the River Magdalena. Fine country and excellent accommodation at the hacienda, still hot.

5th To the city of Neiva, 14 leagues, A level hot country of pasturage. Cross the Magdalena again, good reception at Heiva which is a pretty place enough.

6th To the Villa Viega, a borough town, 6 leagues, ever hot plains of pasturage.

7th To Patea, a town 4 leagues over plains of pasturage. Cross the river Saldana

8th To the city of Natagaima, 6 leagues, very hot. The plains intersected with ravines.

9th To the borough town of Purificacion, 6 leagues, over the same description of plain. Well received.

10th To the town of Espinal, 8 leagues. Same kind of road. Crossed a lovely plain covered with palm and date trees and intersected with cottages and cattle estates.

11th To the borough town of Tocaima, 12 leagues. Very hot, pass the Magdalena twice today. Here General Santander and the Ministers of state met us, great deal of political manoeuvring and finesse. Santander making himself out the disinterested man etc.

12th To the town of Mesa de Juan Dias, 8 leagues. Mountainous road ascending.

13th To the town of Punza, 9 leagues, 5 of a steep ascent the remainder through the fertile plain of Bogotá. Here we met several acquaintances who came to meet us.

14th To the city and capital of Colombia. Bogotá, 4 leagues. Good road. The reception on the whole very indifferent. Here we had several public dinners and diplomatic balls and suppers. Rained almost incessantly during our stay which was to the 24th.

25th To Santander's estate of Hato Grande, 6 leagues. Breakfasted at the town of Usaquem. For the first 12 miles the road skirts along the foot of the chain of mountains of Montserrat, being lined with neat country seats and tolerable well cultivated farms which extend about 2 miles from the foot of the hills, the plain beneath being used for grazing. As, owing to its being overflowed at certain seasons of the year, it cannot be properly cultivated and the prospect is charming having in view several towns whose white steeples give an idea of comfort which is too often found to be erroneous on a closer inspection. On reaching the Brid called Del Comun the road continues to the right, leaving the other great one to the left which continues by Sipaquirá, famous for its salt mines, through Chiquinquirá celebrated for its miraculous image and magnificent sanctuary, to Guadalupe, Ahiva, Socarro, Zil, Pie de Cuesta, Pucaramanga and Olaina. Following our route along the left bank of the river for about six miles we reached Hato Grande where we got a superb dinner etc. etc.

26th To the estate of Poita, 4 leagues, through a cold highly cultivated country. Passed several villages. Nesser Montayas gave a splendid set out.

27th To the town of Choconta, 7 leagues, over a fine country with crowded population, passed five or six villages.

28th To the town of Venta Quemada, 6 leagues, mountainous country and very cold.

29th To the city of Funja, 6 leagues, passed Boyaca, cold mountainous country. Vex enthusiastic people, here we stayed the next day and had two balls.

December 1st To the town of Paipa, 7 leagues, rough road and although well cultivated, a cold country.

2nd To the borough town of Santa Rosa, 5 leagues. Magnificent scenery, rich pasturage and a valley covered with houses and cattle of all descriptions.

3rd To the town of Sativa, 11 leagues. Hilly road and various climate most part of the way, the country apparently without cultivation, but immediately about the town cultivation even to the top of the immense mountains that surround it.

4th To the town of Suata, 8 leagues, through hot ravines. Tolerable cultivation.

5th To the town of a Capitanejo, 10 leagues, across a good bridge. Unhealthy climate and suffocatingly hot.

6th To the town of Cerrito, 11 leagues. Ascent all the way, passed through two fertile valleys, very cold.

7th To the town of Chitaga, 8 leagues. This day we passed the paramo of Almorzadero, very cold.

8th To the city of Pamplona, 7 leagues, 3½ ascent and 3½ descent, over a cold mountain. The appearance of the city is beautiful from above as you can distinguish every house. They say here that it rains 13 months in the year. Very insipid, stupid, good sort of people here. Stopped the ninth.

10th To the town of Chinacota, 7 leagues. Situated in a fertile and hot valley. Descending all day, left the clouds and rain behind us up in the sky.

11th I was this day sent suddenly on commission to the west of Venezuela, where, during the revolution which began in April, the disaffected had always declared they would wait for and abide by General Bolivar's decision but now knowing that he was really coming they have thrown off the mask and disclaim all obedience to him. Principal authors of the revolution are Pena Paez, Marino and Carabano. The object in my going is to unite the troops stationed at Menda and Frufillo and to march on occupying the country as far as I can without compromising myself too much. Travelling past I can tell little of the country. Crossed the Zulia by swimming as the ford was lost owing to the rains. After going over some hills got into the beautiful valley of Cucuta, full of cocoa estates and famous for its breed of mules. Crossed the mountains of Cucuta and reached the town of Fariba near San Christobal at seven o'clock at night, 25 leagues.

12th Crossed the immense mountain and paramo of Tramadero, 6 leagues ascent. Reached the valley and town of Cobre. Then the borough town of La Grita, famous for its tobacco establishments. Crossed the high mountain and paramo de Puerco and reached at eleven at night the fertile valley and borough town of Bailadores, 29 leagues.

13th Passed the beautiful, rich and important tobacco plantations of Tobacal, reached a large cocoa estate and got into the Laderos de Chama. Here the road is about two feet wide and in some places a kind of miserable staging of pieces of wood is all that supports you, whilst a precipice of about two hundred feet and a rapid river is below on one side whilst on the other the mountain is so perpendicular as to be compared to a rock. My situation this day was not the most enviable as my mule was very tired and stumbled several times. Crossed the river by a sling or Taravita. This is effected by stretching a rope across which has a kind of runner or loop into which the "patient" is slipped and you have the pleasure of seeing a roaring torrent a couple of hundred feet beneath you whilst a lazy peon is tugging away and one is suspended in the middle where if the rope should have been slack you remain swinging to and fro. Arrived this night at the city of Merida, 30 leagues. Here I found only 120 men of the Battalion Paya, almost all recruits, badly paid and without shoes. Impossible to get them any and no more than 100 muskets in the park.

14th Remained all day at Merida. Marched off Paya.

15th Passed the valley of Merida, through four towns. Passed the borough town and paramo of Mucachies, passed the town and valley of Timotes, passed the paramo of Timotes and arrived at Boca del Monte. Coming down the cordillera this night a thunder storm and tremendous shower overtook me in the midst of a primeval forest, as dark as pitch and a torrent on my right thundering along making as much noise as the thunder. My horse got so frightened as to actually crouch so that my feet touched the ground. If I had been of a romantic turn, this was a bella occasion to enjoy myself. However, two or three falls of my horse and wet to the skin, hungry, sleepy and tired I only cursed the Commission, the road and country and last of all poor old Columbus who discovered it. This day did 33 leagues and slept at Bocado del Monte.

16th December 1826 Passed the towns of Cucharito, Bulera, Motatan and Pampanito. Fine country with partial plantations and Conucos, or small farms, tolerably well inhabited and hot. Arrived at Trujillo at 12 o'clock after travelling 15 leagues. Trujillo is one of the oldest cities in Venezuela and is situated in the gorge of a small valley and greatly ruined by the earthquakes. Here I found there was not even a single soldier, or even arms, and that as there was no money in the treasury, it would be out of the question to expect to get the Militia under arms, even supposing ourselves to be in a profound peace, but as we learned that preparation was making in the city of Focuyo, to invade this and the Province of

Merida, as having belonged formerly to the old Captain Generalship of Venezuela, which was now proclaimed an independent state, and Paez had actually invaded the Province of Varinas, with a force of 1100 men. Remained here waiting for Paya, which arrived on the 19th, sent it on with fifty militia to Carache, the frontier where all the militia of the Province was to pass a review on the 24th. Marched on the 22nd.



Carache, Trujillo
(Photo Oswaldo Terán
<http://cfpm.org/~oswaldo/fotos.html>)

23rd December 1826 To the town of Carache 9 leagues, after passing through the town of Santa Ana, where Generals Bolivar and Murillo met, and signed the celebrated treaty regulation of the war. The inhabitants of Carache have always shown their decision for the Royalists, and so far from coming forward at the present critical juncture, have all absented themselves and left the town almost deserted. The militia has not made its appearance, and in fact things look very blue. I this day received intelligence of Colonel Forellas who is commander-in-chief of the West, having stationed an

advance post in the town of Omucaros, between Focuyo and Agua Blanca, that on the 26th there is to be a review of all the troops and local militia of the West in Focuyo, which is surmised will be to prepare an expedition against Truxillo and Merida that in Cumana there had been a severe engagement between Bermudez and the revolutionists, in which the former was worsted and obliged to abandon the province. That General Paez had attacked Porto Gabello which place had declared for General Bolivar, and had been defeated. In fact the civil war has commenced, and to crown all I got a letter from General Bolivar, desiring me to push on far as I could with safety. However, what could I do with one hundred bad infantry! Were I to invade the West with even 2,000 men, the result would be dubious. Whereas by a coup de main, I may probably gain over Forres, probably may revolutionize the country and even if I should be taken prisoner on my way I may leave proclamations and let the people see the General is coming, the factions having spread industriously a report of his death. The receipt of these proclamations dated 16th in Maracaybo decided me, and leaving orders with the Commandant Frazer to consider me as taken if he did not hear from me within two days. The road from Carache (from whence I started at two o'clock -a.m.) to Agua de Obispos is dreadfully bad, with about 5 leagues of a steep ascent, in many places worn away by rains. Reached Agua de Obispos a little after daylight, and within half an hour proceeded through a heavy inundated road and presently entered a forest, where on account of the almost incessant rain, the road became like a river in many places plunging ourselves into quagmires from which with difficulty I extricated myself. Arrived at the town of Onnicuros at about one o'clock p.m. of the 25th, where I found an advanced post with an officer, who under the pretence of accompanying me, did the part of spy and guard at the same time. Continued, after half an hour's stay and arrived at the City of Focuyo about four o'clock on the evening of Christmas Day. As I had travelled incessantly I was quite knocked up, however it surprised me not a little on entering the city, to see the martial appearance of the people, military parading, awkward squads, drilling in the square, and in fact, all the appearance of war, people far from coming up to me on seeing my red coat (General Bolivar's staff uniform) to shun the street, and I could see them peeping out of the windows, evidently afraid of being seen in conversation with me. On entering the Governor's I found some ladies there who received me

rather coolly. My Umucaro friend the officer who accompanied me, now came forward rather boldly to state to the Governor that according to his orders he had brought me prisoner! an assertion that I thought proper to assure both was utterly false, as I now with astonishment certainly, for the first time learned that I was considered in the light, protesting at the same time most bitterly against such an outrage on the authority of General Bolivar.

Here the Governor began to explain to me the late occurrences and that so far from respecting the authority of General Bolivar, he had orders to stop him or take him should he arrive there, and any Aide-de-camp he might send to the West, should be immediately sent to Headquarters with two officers, who should not lose sight of him; adding at the same time that I must not speak to anyone and to prepare to march within two hours!

I must confess my feelings were not very enviable at this moment; a perfect stranger, tired to death and with very scanty purse and twenty leagues distant from my camp, in the hands of the enemy and on the point of being sent off post haste to Valencia, and add to this my being a foreigner on whom either party would rejoice to vent its spleen.

As the mass of the people were averse to this revolution and as General Bolivar was loved by the great body, I determined on beginning my operations at once. After assuming a very important tone and letting fall as if inadvertently, that my flying camp had remained in Omurcares, 5 leagues (by this time a number of officers had surrounded me) to be duped by Paez; that the only disinterested man in the country was Bolivar. I assured them he was in Trujillo with 5,000 peruvian troops and then read his proclamation which was most a propos. I took the advantage of the moment they were most warm in their praises of him and straight forward, John Bull fashion, proposed throwing off all allegiance to Paez and to proclaim the Constitutional Government. Some looked a little blue but an old veteran with only one leg limped up and giving a most magisterial thump on the table with his crutch, settled the point on the spot saying he was resolved it should be so and without waiting their answer, proceeded to give orders to several of the by-standers relative to the proper measures for explaining the affair to the troops and other officers, counting on the private citizens concurrence to a man.

I was quite surprised to see the influence of this man, however, I soon learned that he was comptroller of the tobacco factory and head administrator for the factory, besides his jovial manners and distinguished services when in the Army had gained him an immense popularity. This gentleman 's name is Undanata.

He presently sent for the principal men in the town and in taking into consideration what ought to be done, I learned that on the following day the local Militia from Carora and Quiber was to arrive for the review and that in Barquisemeto, 15 leagues distant there was a Battalion 1,000 strong with a well provided magazine and 4 guns. Also that Forellas had his headquarters there and at the moment was entertaining Pena and Cistiaga who were on their way as Commissioners from General Paez to announce to General Bolivar the new order of affairs and oblige him either to return or enter Venezuela as a private individual. I also learned that there were 300 infantry and a squadron of cavalry in Quibor, 3 leagues distant and that in Barquisemeto they did not even know of my arrival in Carache. It also appeared that there was no ammunition until it should arrive from Barquisimeto.

The first thing that occurred to me was to get Pena and Forrellas into my power by surprise and although they all approved my plan still there was no cavalry mounted and it was now 9 o'clock at night. On the other hand as the revolution would take place at daybreak and had been talked of already it was more than probable some one would send off an express to Forrellas.

I had not yet tasted a mouthful of dinner and sleep was overpowering me. It was at this time it occurred to me that only a most rapid movement would save the country as delay was perdition. I now got a little wine and biscuit and sallied out in quest of some officers who had spoken with me and after going to three or four balls where they were amusing themselves, I succeeded in persuading five and twenty to accompany me, and at twelve I had marched with my detachment of Lancers! We arrived at three at the borough town of Quibor and surprised the barracks without a shot, so unexpected was it. I now spoke to these officers and troops and making a virtue of necessity said to show by confidence in their loyalty to

General Bolivar I would not deprive them of their arms but merely ordered them to be present at 9 o'clock in Focuyo there to swear allegiance to the Constitutional Government. I now continued my way at a brisk trot and having fed the horses and given the detachment a good breakfast at an Inn 4 leagues from Barquisimeto set out again with our horses all well refreshed. I must confess that I began, after passing such a sleepless night and scorched by a dreadfully hot sun to reflect on my enterprise as rather hazardous, only 25 Lancers, our horses would not be able to carry us back again, myself totally unacquainted with the country or town we were going to surprise, beside a foreigner and accompanied by officers who 12 hours before were amongst the most sanguine supporters of the Revolution, probably they might be playing me the same trick as my Umucaro friend. In fact I felt rather low-spirited, however, we kept on at a round pace to the outskirts of the town where I formed up my piquet and briefly telling them of our compromise they unanimously swore they would accompany me faithfully.

I am now determined in case the Garrison should be got under arms before we could take the Magazine and Barracks to get possession of the persons of Forrellas and Pena and if we could not bring them off to lance them as State Criminals as proscribed by law. The inhabitants at first took us for a party of masqueraders as at this Festival it is customary to parade and gallop about on horseback but as soon as they heard us shouting "Viva Bolivar" (an exclamation which had been long been supplanted by Viva Paez"), "Viva la Federacion" they began to see what was going forward. The generality of the people detested Paez and the new system but it still had its supporters among the Empleados or Civil Officers but almost one half of the middle class were friends of the measure and although none had as yet declared against General Bolivar their actions did so. The confusion became great as we advanced (at full gallop), some cried "Viva el Libertador", some "a las armas" others shut their windows and doors whilst in all directions men could be seen running some to arms and others to get out of the way. We now got into the principal square and seeing a group of officers opposite before they recovered from their surprise I surrounded them and finding that Forellas and the Commandant of Arms were amongst the number I left five or six Lancers guarding them whilst I proceeded to Pena's house, where I took both him and Cistiaga without any resistance. Here I left 10 of my piquet and gave them orders to kill them immediately if rescue should be attempted. It now became quite a critical moment when I regained the street I found myself with only 8 officers and still the Barracks and Magazine were in the hands of the enemy! I did not know the way or the direction they lay in. I galloped up the first street I came to and seeing a body of about 300 men running before me it struck me (as was really the case) that they were trying to gain the Barracks and arm themselves. We immediately charged on them and as only a few officers who were with them had swords they all dispersed and gained some ruins that were near. We soon gained the Barracks and found the guns half way out of the gate (the guard having abandoned them as they saw us disperse the others) and having once possession of the arms I began to look a little about me. I here left 7 of my men at the Barracks and rode back to see about securing my prisoners. When meeting the officer I had placed in charge of Forellas he informed me that he had made his escape with the Commandant who was at that moment rallying some of the fugitives to attack us. Things had gone on swimmingly until now as not a shot had been fired as yet but I could not help seeing that if ten Infantry attempted it they would infallibly turn the scale and the mass of the people who until now had remained neuter would rise and secure us as there was only one pair of pistols in all my army.

It appeared that I had not perceived a guard of 25 men, which was close to where Forellas was standing and when I was gone he began reasoning with the officer and edging away until he got close to the guard when he ordered them to fire but at calculating that I had not only come with the advance guard thought it as well to fly for it.

I here found myself almost alone, my small force divided in four distant parts, the Commandant (a determined fellow) at liberty uniting a force to attack us. I then sent to the Civil Authorities an order to prepare barracks and rations for three squadrons of Hussars which formed the Vanguard or the Army and would arrive within two hours, I having only come on to reconnoitre as I had only two or three privates in the 25 of picquet the rest being officers.

The people now began to join me. At this moment I retook the Commandant who had some 8 or 10 men together and only fired one or two shots. As there was not the slightest disorder or pillage, the inhabitants thought by putting themselves on their good behaviour they would be treated on the arrival of the Army, (my flying camp of 100 recruits very quietly stationed 35 leagues off waiting for orders and now began to make a great noise crying out "Viva el Libertador" etc. On seeing this I got them collected in the Public Square and read aloud the General's proclamation which was loudly applauded. Taking advantage of this effervescence the Municipality and principal inhabitants were got together and in less than an hour I had compromised the greater part of the city making them personally sign an act disclaiming the new Government and putting themselves entirely under General Bolivar's control. After gaining this very essential point, what was their astonishment when they learned that all the Force within 100 leagues was 100 infantry and even these half recruits! However, their vanity was flattered to think that only an assurance of their good disposition towards General Bolivar could have induced him to send such a small force, which did not touch their pride by insinuating anything like conquest or invasion. The bells now rung a merry peal and having published a proclamation with all due formality the Battalion volunteered and swore fidelity etc. The Artillery was got in readiness, a Squadron of well-mounted Volunteers presented itself and deputations went off full tilt to every town in the neighbourhood to give the news.

At 10 o' clock at night I had 1,000 Infantry and 200 Cavalry with four field guns in complete order and a magazine with ammunition and arms quite sufficient to equip an army.

I literally had not slept since the 23rd and had been travelling or working night and day. I fell fast asleep dictating an official letter to General Paez and there lay till next day until six o'clock in the morning.

27th December 1826 Today the borough town of Yaritagua sent a deputation placing itself with a Battalion and two Squadrons of Horse under the General's absolute orders. I sent off a column of 300 men to the town of Sanare, 10 leagues in advance, to cut out the road of the Forest on Montana del Altar and threaten the town Aurare, following myself at 6 o'clock in the evening. Slept at town of Marita.

28th December 1826 Next morning continued and met near Sanare an Officer commissioned by the Commandant and Municipality of Araure to offer the submission of their Province. Having heard that I entered Barquisimeto with 1500 men. I thought it as well to go on to Araure and accordingly having first sent on a spy to see if there were any troops, I crossed a beautiful plain country and after twenty leagues ride entered Araure at sunrise with Major Escalona and two officers whom I had brought with me. The Commandant Escalon, brother of the Major, was the most perverse and intriguing agent in Venezuela, but fearing the invasion had made this ruse to gain merit in the eyes of the victorious party under the impression that I had a formidable division under my orders at Sanare; but the other brother finding that the operation of Bar-



Los Zaragozas celebration at Sanare, Lara
(Estado Lara
<http://www.estadolara.com.ve/folklore.shtml>)

quisimeto had been a coup-de-main now regretted exceedingly having invited me, nevertheless as they were detested by the people, I could immediately perceive, I called a public meeting or Cabildo, where I dictated an act similar to that of Barquisimeto which every inhabitant signed.

I now understood that the Commandant was getting together a body of horse about 3 leagues distant to surprise and take me, but owing to the enthusiasm of the inhabitants, the Militia would not assist him.

Cala with the Division which had invaded Varinas was now on his retreat having heard of my march from Trujillo and fearing to have his communications cut off and was expected to pass through Araure within two days, so that as my Force could not be in Sanare for three or four days yet I resolved on leaving Araure, first making the inhabitants abandon the Town and conceal their horses and cattle so that Cala might not receive any assistance there. I also deposed Mr. Commandant and sent him off. I before had remitted Pina and Cistiaga to Maracaybo.

29th Travelled all night, passed through and after 22 leagues arrived

30th at 7 O' clock in the morning at Yaritagua, where I learned that General Paez's brother, Commandant of the City of Felipe had got 800 men under arms and threatened this place where the troops were Militia only. I sent for two Companies to Barquisimeto and dispatched 3 or 4 secret agents to revolutionize San Felipe.

This day returned to Barquisimeto, 8 leagues. The whole of this country is thickly populated. Wherever there can be water procured for irrigation there are beautiful plantations and farms and in the parts the ground is covered with the Cardon tree, a species of immense thistle that breeds the cochineal.

31st Received news of the Infantry from Carora and Quibor having presented themselves in Focuyo where everything went on swimmingly. Ordered two squadrons and all the flank companies up.

Jan. 1st, 1827 In Barquisimeto. This was the third city founded in Venezuela, Caro having been the first and afterwards Focuyo, it still retains vestiges of its former opulence as it was levelled to the ground by the earthquake of the year 1812. The houses at present are only one storey high on that account.

This day we received the account of San Felipe having declared itself under General Bolivar's protection and also the brother of General Paez whom they remitted prisoner. I sent off a column of 600 Infantry to march with what men they could collect in San Felipe and Yaritagua against the borough town of Nirgua, which they were to take in case of resistance and open communication with Puerto Caballo where General Bolivar would arrive in a day or two. After doing this the Division was to seize the Pass of Forito only 6 leagues from Valencia where Paez had his headquarters. As the ground here is very mountainous they were to defend this pass, which could not be turned, whilst I either dispersed or defeated Cala's Division and would then march on San Carlos and crossing from Finaco would form a junction in Forito having a secure retreat either on San Felipe or Puerto Caballo and with all calculating on a force from 2,000 to 2,500 disposable men, in opposition to which Paez had only about 2000 men in Valencia. Besides which my closeness on him would encourage desertion as his troops were beginning to demoralize.

Until now my servant had not even come up with me and I had been from the 25th of last month without any help taken away from Paez his Prime and Confidential Minister, the cities of Fucuyo, Carora, Barquisimeto, San Felipe, and Araure, the borough towns of Quibor, Yaritagua and Candare and Nirgua, beside ten smaller towns, upwards of 3,000 stand of arms, 57 barrels of gunpowder, 7 guns, 8 squadrons of local cavalry, all without ten shots and withal a foreigner and perfectly unacquainted with the country or any of its inhabitants.

2nd Marched to Sanare. The two companies of Paez and Company from Quibor, having arrived and ordered to continue at midnight as I had received information of Cala' s Division having arrived at Ospinos and expected to arrive at Araure the day after.

3rd To Araure 10 leagues. Found my little column rather in a funk, being only 200 strong and that of Cala's was stated to have 1500 veteran troops.

4th Crossed the River Facarigua and reconnoitred the town of Purificacion where I was chased by a party of Dragoons.

5th The Paya's and another squadron came up this day, also 200 Militia. This day I received accounts (not officially) of General Bolivar's having pardoned Paez and his abettors also an order from his Secretary to suspend hostilities, provided the other party remained in status quo. I immediately sent off an Officer to Cala to inform him of this and recommended him to remain where he was, as I would not permit him to pass without an express order from General Bolivar. I invited him to an interview in the Savannah of Choro.

7th Marched with Colonel Urslar to see Cala and was much surprised to meet his Division in full march at about 2 leagues distance. On my remonstrating with him for this breach of orders, I could perceive that he despised my force as being inferior so on his refusing to halt I darted off and in less than an hour had my line formed in the plain in a tolerably good position, he being within two musket shots, I immediately threw out skirmishers and advanced a squadron of Cavalry to turn and carry off his Park, cattle and baggage as I saw he had only about 80 ill-mounted cavalry left. He now saw what he had bought himself to and very wisely knocked under and capitulated on the spot with only condition of waiting General Bolivar's order concerning him.

8th Remained in Araure this day. General Urdanita arrived and having received despatches from General Bolivar, permitted Cala to proceed to Valencia with two companies, the remainder of his division having been sent in different directions.

9th Returned this evening to Aurare with the Column. Here we received letters and despatches from General Bolivar who had given a decree in Puerto Cabello indulging Paez, and those concerned in the Revolution. His motives for doing this were originated in the difficulty of securing the person of Paez, who could make himself formidable by retiring to the plains and carrying on a desultory warfare also be raising the black population, which would only end in the ruin of the country. Notwithstanding we were not at all contented with these measures as in fact we would have taken Paez himself had the decree been a week later. As it was, I being recalled, dismissed all my volunteers and prepared to march on the morrow.

10th To San Carlos, 18 leagues. Cross the forest of Altar, pass the towns of Caramacate and Santa Rosa. The City of San Carlos has suffered greatly by the revolution and is situated in a splendidly fertile grazing country, on the banks of a river which takes its name, navigable very close to the City and falls into the Portugesa and Apure which join the Orinoco.

11th In San Carlos.

12th To Finaquillo, a town, pass through the borough town of Finaco, over a fine arable country well stocked with cattle 20 leagues.

13th To Valencia, through Carabobo and Focuyito, beautiful country covered with cattle and conucos or farms. Passed three English Settlers farms on the Carabobo. This city (Valencia) is situated about a mile distant from the famous lake of that name in a fertile plain, with a healthy appearance and salubrious climate.

14th In Valencia.

15th To Victoria, passing through the borough towns ,of Mocundo, Guacara and Maracay, besides several small towns, all situated the fertile and beautiful valley of Aragua. 21 leagues. Victoria is a handsome enough city.

16th January 1827 To Caracas, 23 leagues. Pass the town and mountain of Cocuisas (the estate of General Bolivar), San Mateo lies behind Victoria), the town of San Pedro and the great descent to Las Juntas from whence the road skirts off along a noble valley called San Francisco in which is situated the City of Caracas, birth-place of Bolivar.

The General was at dinner when I entered and in Paez's and Carabana's presence got up from the table and embraced me. This was satisfactory but all the reward I got for my commission which ended here with my Journal.

There are a great many towns not mentioned in this journal we not having halted in them. The leagues are of 6666 Toises.

John Devereux (1778-1854), army officer and recruiter for the Irish Legion in Simón Bolívar's army

Devereux, John (1778-1854), army officer and recruiter for the Irish Legion in Simón Bolívar's army, was born in county Wexford but little is known of his family or his younger years. Thought by some to be a veteran of the 1798 United Irishmen's rising at New Ross, Devereux was living in the United States in the 1810s in voluntary exile and as a US citizen. He joined a merchant house in Baltimore, Maryland, and shipped a cargo of coffee from there to France throughout the British blockade in 1812. Arriving in Cartagena from the US in 1815 with a cargo of arms, just as Simón Bolívar was going into exile, Devereux made an offer to the patriots. He undertook to muster up support for them in Britain, where he claimed to have many friends in parliament, and to raise an Irish Legion of 5,000 men with the requisite arms, ammunition, and military stores. He was to be paid \$175 per soldier imported into Venezuela. Devereux untruthfully boasted that he was a general in the Irish army and had led the Irish Catholics in the fight for Emancipation. After a visit to Buenos Aires, where he endeavoured to convince the authorities that he could raise a loan of two million pesos backed by the US government, he arrived in Haiti to stay with Robert Sutherland, a British merchant in Port au Prince. In July 1817 Sutherland forwarded to Bolívar 'General' Devereux's offer to raise the Irish Legion, which he strongly recommended. Bolívar accepted the offer and Devereux travelled to Ireland in 1818 to commence recruitment for his legion.

Although many of the non-commissioned officers and privates recruited by Devereux were war veterans, little care was exercised in selecting the best men for the job and nearly all who applied were accepted. It was a force noted more for its bravery than for its discipline. Thousands of returned soldiers from the British army in France enlisted for service in Venezuela. They sought not only the certainty of an immediate livelihood, but also the prospect of further excitement and adventure, with the chance of making their fortunes in South America. With the Irish MP Daniel O'Connell's support and the aid of the 'Irish Friends of South American Independence', Devereux sold commissions in his legion by forging a letter from Bolívar to attach legitimacy to his project. O'Connell's son Morgan and a near relative from Ennis, County Clare, Maurice, were among the officers.

The first contingent of John Devereux's Irish Legion landed in Margarita Island between September and December 1819 and the rest arrived in Angostura (present-day Ciudad Bolívar) in April and May 1820. From the beginning the expedition was plagued with problems as the soldiers were given meagre food rations and no pay. There were a number of mutinies, particularly after an attack on the Legion at Rio Hacha soon after they landed. This left huge casualties and afterwards most of the Irish were evacuated to Jamaica for transport home.

Devereux, as commander of the Irish Legion, remained in England and Ireland, living sumptuously off the profits of his subterfuge, until the return of some of those whom he had cheated exposed him to danger of being arrested or shot. Devereux was ultimately forced to travel to South America. He landed on Margarita many months after his Legion had departed. The Irish blamed the Venezuelan authorities for the terrible hardships which they had been forced to endure, though the responsibility should have been placed entirely on Devereux, who sent his troops off without making any arrangements for their reception, designated Margarita as their destination without consultation with, or notification of, the military authorities of Venezuela, and above all, failed to accompany his men to cater for their needs.

In Margarita, Devereux was received with great pomp and ceremony by the governor Arismendi. At a banquet in his honour, Devereux is reported to have spoken for two hours, promising that all Ireland was roused to the cause of the South American patriots. It was an eloquent speech, yet its effect was somewhat marred by the fact that Devereux spoke in English, a language which no member of his audience understood. In 1821 Bolívar confirmed John Devereux in the grade of Major General. He remained in military service for two more years, and in December 1823, John Devereux was appointed Colombian envoy extraordinary to the courts of northern Europe. In 1825 he was arrested by the

Austrian authorities and imprisoned in Venice. Devereux was eventually released and, returning to the US, lived there on a pension which he received from the government of Venezuela until his death in 1854.

Edmundo Murray

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Daniel Florence [*Florencio*] O'Leary (c.1802-1854), army officer in the South American Wars of Independence



Daniel Florence O'Leary (c.1802-1854). Bronze by anonymous artist.
(Government Arts Collection, London
<http://www.gac.culture.gov.uk>)

O'Leary, Daniel Florence [*Florencio*] (c.1802-1854), army officer in the South American Wars of Independence, was born in Cork City at the turn of the nineteenth century to a relatively prosperous merchant family. His paternal grandfather, Florence O'Leary, of Dunmanway in West Cork, had moved to the southern city to become a grocer and butter merchant. The business was inherited by his two sons Daniel and Jeremiah, who owned it in partnership. Jeremiah, a member of the influential Cork Committee of Merchants, married Catherine Burke, who hailed from a family involved in tailoring and the licensed victualling trade in Cork City. The couple had ten children in all, few of whom survived to adulthood. Daniel Florence was their eighth child. His elder brother became a medical doctor in Killarney, County Kerry and his sister Catherine was a milliner in Cork.

In 1815, as the Napoleonic Wars in Europe finally drew to a close, the merchants of Cork, who had grown wealthy through provisioning the British Navy and the West Indian trade, were faced with disaster. Jeremiah O'Leary's business went bankrupt and two years later his son, Daniel Florence, aged only sixteen, decided to join the army. He was recruited as Second Lieutenant by the British Legion in London for the 1st or 2nd Division of the Venezuelan Red Hussars under Colonel Henry Wilson. In December of that year, the cavalry regiment sailed from Portsmouth, England on the corvette *Prince*.

In February 1818 they disembarked at St. Georges, Granada, and two months later arrived at Angostura, present-day Ciudad Bolívar. Shortly after arrival, Wilson was sent back to England on suspicion of political intrigue. O'Leary busied himself with studying the Spanish language and subsequently travelled to Guyana to join the troops being organised there by Simón Bolívar, recognised as the Liberator of northern South America. He was presented to General Carlos Soublette, future President of Venezuela and father-in-law of Daniel Florence O'Leary, and was chosen for the Dragoon Squadron of the Guard of Honour under the command of General José Antonio Anzoátegui. O'Leary had a personal audience with Simón Bolívar at this time.

By early 1819 on an inspection of the troops by Bolívar, O'Leary had been promoted to the rank of First Adjutant of the Dragoons. He received a facial injury from a sabre wound in July 1819 at the battle of Pantano de Vargas, resulting in false reports of his death in the Cork newspapers. From his arrival in South America, O'Leary distinguished himself in numerous battles and rose through the ranks of the army to become aide-de-camp to Anzoátegui. In September 1819 Bolívar authorised O'Leary's member-

ship of the order of Liberators and named him one of his own personal aides-de-camp. He accompanied the Liberator to sign a peace treaty in favour of the new state of Venezuela in Trujillo and sealed the country's independence at Carabobo. O'Leary was named Colonel in 1827 and a year later he married Soledad Soublette. He was finally appointed Brigadier General by Bolívar in 1830.

O'Leary had a round beardless face, a high forehead, brown hair, sparse sideburns and bright attentive eyes. He was literate and educated, though no records survive as to where he received this education. He had a lively interest in history, science, the natural world and politics, understanding the import of the events in which he was involved in South America, and conserving records and papers. He was also an adept horseman.

Subsequent to the death of Simón Bolívar, Daniel Florence O'Leary and his wife Soledad Soublette travelled to Kingston, Jamaica, where the General attempted to set himself up as a merchant and the couple had the first of their nine children. In 1833 he was advised by General Soublette to return to Venezuela.

O'Leary was sent by the Government of Venezuela to Europe in 1834 as secretary to the Plenipotentiary General Montilla. While on that side of the Atlantic, General O'Leary visited Cork, though his parents had already passed away. He met with his only surviving sibling Catherine. He spent almost six years as a diplomat in London, Paris, Madrid and the Vatican.

In 1841 the Corkman was appointed British Consul at Caracas and later at Puerto Cabello. Two and a half years later he was appointed British chargé d'affaires and consul-general at Bogotá, Colombia. O'Leary settled in Bogotá with his family on the ranch 'El Chocho' on the savannah. For health reasons O'Leary again travelled to Europe in 1852 to visit consultants and receive treatment in Paris, Rome and Malvern, Worcestershire. Back in Cork, he presented his collection of minerals, plants and birds from South America to Queen's College Cork, now University College Cork.

Daniel Florence O'Leary arrived back in Bogotá in December 1853. Just two months later he died of apoplexy caused by a brain haemorrhage early on the morning of 24 February 1854. Some twenty-eight years later his remains were removed to the National Pantheon in Caracas, Venezuela, close to the final resting place of Simón Bolívar.

O'Leary's son, Simón Bolívar O'Leary collated and edited his father's extensive manuscript collection on the South American wars of independence in the 32-volume *Memorias del General O'Leary*, a crucial source in the study of the era. Daniel Florence O'Leary's papers were donated by the family to the 'Archivo del Libertador' (Liberator's Archive) in Caracas, Venezuela.

Claire Healy

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William Owens Ferguson (1800-1828), army officer in the South American wars of independence

Ferguson, William Owens (1800-1828), army officer in the South American wars of independence, was born in Ballinderry, County Antrim, the eldest son of John Ferguson (d. 1845), from a family of linen drapers in Belfast, and his wife Agnes, née Knox (d. 1861). Their other children were John Ferguson (d. 1868), the poet, antiquarian and president of Royal Irish Academy Samuel Ferguson (1810-1886), Hester Ferguson, who married Archibald Macelkeran, Mary Eliza Ferguson, who married John Cowan, and Ellen Ferguson (d. 1841), who married William Haughton. The family were descendants of Scottish Presbyterian immigrants who settled in Ulster.

According to Ferguson's own account, in his formative years he was 'headstrong and difficult' (*Journal*). After getting into financial difficulties, he was sent to South America on a commission in Simón Bolívar's army in 1818.

During his short yet eventful life, William Ferguson stood out as an intelligent and intrepid officer, and Simón Bolívar entrusted him with important responsibilities. He joined the South American army on 4 November 1818 as second lieutenant, was promoted to lieutenant on 2 September 1819, to captain on 1 January 1820, to lieutenant-colonel on 9 December 1824 and to colonel on 15 March 1828. Ferguson served in the Battalion of Rifles of the Guards, in the Staff of the North, the Battalion Voltigeurs of the Guards and in the Staff of General Simón Bolívar.

William Ferguson participated in the campaign of 1819 in the lower Apure and was present at the action of Camarra. He also saw action in the campaign of the East against Cumana. He was taken prisoner by the Spaniards at sea and carried to Puerto Cabello where he was imprisoned for four months. He embarked on the war schooner *Admiral Brown* and was present at a naval action.

Ferguson commanded the troops who landed on the island of Puerto Rico. He joined the expedition in Margarita as aide-de-camp to the commandant general, Colonel Mariano Montilla. He served in the entire campaign of Río Hacha, was present in the actions of Fonseca, San Juan, Molinos, Gurumito, Moreno and the general actions of Río Hacha. He served in the campaign of the Magdalena and was present at the taking of the Fort of Savanilla. With his company, Ferguson fought and entirely routed the enemy's vanguard in Pueblo Nuevo. Ferguson participated in both surprise attacks at Turbaso and fought for eight months during the siege of Cartagena.

William Ferguson served in the campaign of the South and was present with his company, the 2nd Rifles, in Bombona. He conducted several guerrilla campaigns until the surrender of Pasto. Ferguson fought in battles at the bridge of Guaytara, at Taindala, Tachanguer and Pasto, where he was promoted for bravery. In 1823 he served in the independence wars of Peru at the fortress of Callao and against Riva Agüero. The following year Ferguson took part in the battles of Junín and Ayacucho. With his company he did duty as a guerrilla fighter with the 3rd in Corpaguaico. He served in the campaign of Upper Peru against the Spanish General Hanesta, pursuing the rest of his army until the surrender of Valdez in Turmusla. He was employed in the pacification of Cinti and Tarija and he aided the passage of the battalions Junín and Pichincha through the Cordillera.

William Ferguson was decorated with the order of Liberators of Venezuela, and with the medals of the Liberators of Quito and Ayacucho. He received the shield, embroidered on the left arm, of the Magdalena in the years 1820 and 1821. He also received the order of *Beneméritos de la Patria* in Colombia and *En grado eminente* in Peru. He was twice wounded, once in the campaign of the East in 1819 and again in the taking of Carmen in 1820.

On the orders of Simón Bolívar, Ferguson carried the Liberator's constitution to the Republic of Bolivia. He rode together with Bedford Wilson from Lima across the Andes to Chuquisaca (1,800 miles) in nineteen days and did the return journey in a similar time. In 1827 he was took charge of providing rations and accommodation to the force at Chuiacota that was to march from Bucaramanga and Ocana

to Trujillo. By a subsequent order he took command of the vanguard of the army that marched on Venezuela against rebel forces. With only 120 men of the Battalion Paya, Ferguson managed to take control of the west of Venezuela in the space of two days, the defence of which consisted of four battalions of regular militia, eight squadrons of cavalry and four pieces of artillery. He managed to espouse these forces to the official government cause. By moving on Barquisimeto, which he took by surprise, the Colonel occupied San Felipe, Nirgua and Arsura and forced the division which had invaded Barinas to capitulate. During this campaign in Venezuela he kept a diary, a *Journal from Lima to Caracas*, including military and other details of his journey from Peru to Venezuela.

In his twentieth-nine year, William Ferguson was on duty at Bogotá as aide-de-camp to General Bolívar when a plot was hatched against the General. On 28 September 1828 Ferguson, mistaken by the conspirators for Bolívar, was shot in the back and mortally wounded while walking down the street. He had been engaged to the daughter of José Manuel Tatis of Cartagena, treasurer in Bolívar's army. After his death the people of Bogotá honoured William Ferguson with a public funeral and buried his remains in the cathedral - an unusual honour for a Protestant - and erected a handsome monument which bears a grateful inscription to 'Colonel Guillermo Fergusson'.

Edmundo Murray

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