

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.

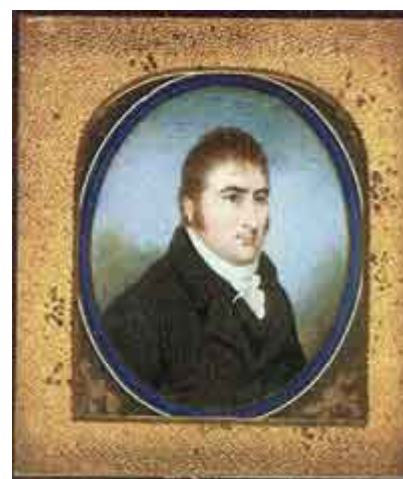
Reed's design for the Panóptico was based on the layout of a structure in Philadelphia. It remained in planning stages and only came to fruition between 1874 and 1881, incorporating changes made by the contractor Francisco Olaya. In Colombia, Reed built two bridges over Bogotá's streets, reconstructed 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) 'Abanderao 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).