

JUAN GALINDO, ENTHUSIAST

Por IAN GRAHAM.

THE NAME of Juan Galindo occurs in documents of the 1930s relating to Central American affairs with sufficient frequency to speculate that before he left his native shore he might have To give an instance of the obscurity surrounding this "Irishman in the service of the Republic of Central America", Stromsvik was encouraged by the improbability of his Spanish name to speculate that before he left his native shore he might have been called, not Galindo, but Gallegher.¹

Our glimpses of him in published material come principally from the following sources: first, the fairly numerous articles on archaeological and geographical subjects that he contributed to the journals of learned societies; second, his description of Copán, published by Morley as an appendix to *The Inscriptions at Copán*,² with a footnote drawing attention to his diplomatic activities; third, a recent study by Professor Griffith of his diplomatic work and colonising enterprises.³

This paper, entitled *Juan Galindo, Central American Chauvinist*, throws much light on one aspect of his life; but there was another side to him, and another set of activities, which were not mentioned. In themselves, Galindo's contributions to knowledge are worth reviewing, and if in the process their author emerges into clearer light, then so much the better; for the impression left by Griffith's paper the only published source of biographical material — is of an unredeemed opportunist

¹ Gustav Stromsvik, *Las Ruinas de Copán* (Tegucigalpa, 1946), p. 15.

² Sylvanus G. Morley, Carnegie Inst., Washington, Publication N° 219. (Washington, D. C., 1920) Appendix XI.

³ William J. Griffith, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XL (N° 1), (Durham, N. C., 1960) pp. 25-52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p., 32.

and common adventurer, memorialised solely by a trail of disaster.

That this should be so may be explained by the heavy reliance Griffith placed on the letters of Frederick Chatfield, British Consul-general in Central America, who became Galindo's enemy, and on documents written by other British officials who must all have been influenced to some extent by Chatfield's freely expressed hostility. For Chatfield conducted "a relentless campaign to discredit [Galindo] at home and abroad", as Griffith says; thereby making it difficult for historians today to judge him fairly. Consequently Griffith himself may not have been entirely successful in eliminating the "passion" which he deplores as an influence in so much writing of Central American history.⁵

Let us try another approach. By shifting to a different viewpoint the historian will see the man from a different angle, and make it possible ultimately to place him more precisely. The principle of the rangefinder may have validity in historiography... To pursue the analogy, the more determinations that are made with different instruments, the better. 'Zero error' is hard to detect; and in this connexion, the author feels bound to warn that the image of Galindo presented here will have suffered by transmission through a somewhat defective prism; for he is neither a qualified historian, nor quite free of interest in Galindo (but without interest, would history ever be written, let alone read?).

Initially the impulse to study Galindo came from the discovery of a parcel of letters he wrote to the Société de Géographie, Paris; thereafter momentum was kept up by a growing realisation that he had suffered undue neglect, and that it would not be grotesque to call him the first archaeologist in the Maya field.

Background and early life

The account that follows of Galindo's family is perhaps unnecessarily long. Some of it might have been omitted had it not involved an actress of heroic fame; nonetheless there is little

⁵ William J. Griffith, *The Historiography of Central America since 1830*, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XL (Nº 4) (Durham, N. C., 1960) p. 548.

which does not contribute towards an understanding of Juan Galindo and the forces at work in his character formation.

The Galindo family was of Spanish origin, established in London and the West of England. The founder of the English line appears to have been one James, born about 1705.⁶ Although one of his two sons, Samuel, had thirteen children, the Galindos died out completely with the death in 1924 of Miss Eliza Galindo. The other son, James (died 1819) married twice, having two sons Philemon and James by his first wife; and three more children by his second, who was a Quaker girl (the Galindos were Protestants, notwithstanding a declaration the contrary one made by the subject of this paper, of which more will be said below).

The father of John Galindo —he only became Juan on settling in Guatemala— was this Philemon (1770-1840), an actor and fencing master of Bath, Somerset. Playbills from the Theatre Royal, Bath, carry his name in the period 1794-1798.⁷ In the latter year Catherine Gough, an Irish actress, was engaged for a season; an attachment formed; and next year Philemon followed her to Dublin. They married in 1801. The Goughs were an old-established Anglo-Irish family, and Kitty a well-educated girl, interested in amateur theatricals. But her father went to the bad and dissipated his entire fortune; and Kitty went on the stage professionally to support, her father and herself.⁸ Here is an impression of her as an actress:

Away —for sad Galindo room—!
Living memento of the tomb
Upon her dark unaltered brow,
Sits one eternal cloud of woe, &c, &c.

and: "Mrs Galindo is too *lugubre*, but she is still a very good actress *in her line*; and to do her justice, *she* never makes herself ridiculous, by attempting parts she is not, in some degree, fitted for." But as for her husband, the same critic poured scorn on anyone who could —Equal to Garrick or to Barry

The Hero of the push and parry...

⁶ Samuel Galindo to Mrs. Charles Galindo, 28 Feb. 1873. Letter in possession of Mrs R. H. Shepard, Camberley, Surrey, England.

⁷ British Museum, Playbill Collection.

⁸ Belville S. Penley, *The Bath Stage* (London, 1892) p. 87.

("a very good fencing master *perhaps*, a very indifferent player most certainly.")⁹

In 1802 we do not see Mrs Galindo's name on the playbills, for she was pregnant with John, who was born in the spring or summer. But the famous Mrs Siddons had come over for the season, and on January 10 played *Belvidera* in *Venice Preserved*, with Mr Galindo as *Bedamar*. Mr Galindo, "a noisy forward fellow, whose presuming effrontery alone introduced him into decent society",¹⁰ must have been captivated by the great actress; and she, who had lived for 27 years with a dull husband and had just finished an unsatisfactory affair with Sir Thomas Lawrence, the portrait painter, seems to have succumbed to the insolent charm of Galindo. As a result, it is said, of her infatuation, she put on a production of *Hamlet* with herself (although 46 now, and getting stout) in the title rôle, so that she might receive fencing lessons in private from Galindo¹¹ (figure 1).

Sarah Siddons appears to have rather lost interest in the affair on her return to London, but she had already invited Kitty Galindo to play at Convent Garden. Mr. Galindo came over without delay and obtained a military post in London: his wife followed later.¹² Although it is hard to believe that she can have been ignorant until then of the liaison, she began at this time to nurse the hatred for Mrs. Siddons which found expression five years later with the publication of a little book entitled; *Mrs Galindo's Letter to Mrs Siddons*. In 1804 Sarah Siddons had gone to live in Hampstead after an illness, and Mrs Galindo complains that when she and her husband went to stay there, "my little boy [John] was always asked to accompany and sleep with me, Mr G. being as *usual* on the *sopha*."¹³

Possibly because she had tired of Philemon and wished to be rid of him, Mrs. Siddons put up £1,000 towards a theatrical

⁹ Anon. [John Wilson Croker] *Familiar Epistles to Frederick J—s Esq.* (Dublin, 2nd Ed. 1804) pp. 44, 50, 51.

¹⁰ Anon., *Mrs Galindo and Mrs Siddons*, The Dublin Satirist (Jan 1810) pp. 113-116.

¹¹ Naomi Royde-Smith, *The Private Life of Mrs Siddons* (London, 1933) p. 264.

¹² Catherine Galindo, *Mrs Galindo's letter to Mrs Siddons* (London, 1809) p. 14.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

venture in Manchester under the aegis of Galindo and William Macready Sr.¹⁴ This did not prosper (in Ann Holbrook's memoirs¹⁵ we have a glimpse of Galindo's lack of managerial tact; it led to Mr. Holbrook using an 'expression' that caused Galindo to break their engagement), and the pressure applied by Mrs. Siddons for the return of her money seems to have unleashed the resentment that was still at work in Kitty's melancholy and brooding mind.

Her plaint may not have had much effect beyond drawing comments from an Irish satirical magazine, which leaves us this impression of Mr. Galindo: "In the year 1799 he was engaged at the Crow St. Theatre (Dublin), and *Mrs. Galindo best knows at whose instigation*. This *exotic*, like many others, was ever sufficiently satirical on the manners of a people from whom he was receiving his bread. It saw him once, soon after his arrival in Ireland, and a brief description of the appearance and maners of — This hero famous and renown'd

For wounding INNOCENCE, &c.—

may probably afford some entertainment to the reader. He stood with his back to the *green-room* fire, in the undress uniform of the Bath Volunteers: a shabby blue coat, with red cape; his "fine form" was concealed under dirty *overhaws*: he brandished a horsewhip in the "*dear white hand*" which Mrs. Siddons appears so solicitous about, and "*Bauth*" alone was his theme (this hero's familiar way of pronouncing Bath); every elegance, every good was "*Bauth*". "*Were you ever in Bauth?*" "*Dam'me, Sir! But GALINDO was the GOLDFINCH in Bauth!*" — "*but here— why dam'me, they don't know nothing about the matter!*" Such was the *Adonis* that captivated the *Venus* of the Western Isle, even in her declination.

"The good people of Dublin, however, could not find out this man's great merit as an actor, and he became a mere *pantomime buffoon* on the stage, and a teacher of fencing off it."¹⁶

After this episode of notoriety, Philemon and Catherine Galindo slip into obscurity. A daughter had been born in August 1803, christened Sarah after Mrs. Siddons, who was her god-mother; and Philemon Alfred was born in 1805. This second son was to become curate of Heywood, near Manchester, in

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁵ Ann C. Holbrook, *Memoirs of an actress* (Manchester, 1807) p. 31.

¹⁶ *Mrs Galindo and Mrs Siddons*, p. 113.

1840,¹⁷ and vicar of Bradshaw, near Bolton, from 1844¹⁸ until shortly before his death in 1880.

Philemon Galindo senior died in London on January 1840 in the presence of Philip Galindo.¹⁹ This Philip Augustine, described as 'check taker to a theatre', died of syphilis in 1842 at the age of 19,²⁰ and may have been a late child of Philemon senior (by a second marriage?); or perhaps the result of a youthful indiscretion by Philemon Alfred—as his name rather suggests.

In 1818 John Galindo joined Lord Cochrane's Liberationist force and crossed the Atlantic.²¹ Perhaps he saw service in South America, but he seems to have soon gravitated to the Caribbean. He may well have joined his uncle James who had settled in Jamaica as a sugar planter in 1816.

Griffith makes the unqualified statement that Galindo left Britain as a "voluntary fugitive from British [English?] injustice in his native land" (i.e. Ireland), and quotes a printed pamphlet; but I can find in it no suggestion of the kind.²²

By 1827 John Galindo had moved to Guatemala, where he lodged at first with the British consul, having, Griffith says, "disciplined his distates for Great Britain sufficiently" for the purpose.²³ This makes Galindo a man of iron self-control, for he continued long after to consort with others of the same breed, such as Capt. John Washington R.N., Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, to whom he once presented a marimba,²⁴ and—as is conceded by Griffith—Francis Cockburn, Superintendant of the British Settlement at Belize. Chatfield too, who was posted from Warsaw in June 1833 to be Consul-general in Central America, acknowledged "great satisfaction at Galindo's friendly disposition" after an exchange of letters;²⁵

¹⁷ *The Clergy List* (London,, 1841)

¹⁸ *Crockford's Clerical Directory* (London, 1860).

¹⁹ London, general Register office, Somersert House (Death).

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Samuel Galindo to Mrs Charles Galindo, 28 Feb. 1873.

²² Griffith, *Galindo*, p. 25.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Société de Géographie loan, Collection of papers of Colonel Galindo (hereinafter cited as 'Galindo papers') Letter N° 22.

²⁵ London, Public Record Office, Foreign Office Series 252, Vol. 9 no fol. N° (hereinafter cited as F.O.252/9 nf.; Colonial Office Series as C.O.) Chatfield to Galindo, 26 July 1834.



FIG. 1. Philemon Galindo and Mrs. Siddons (from *The Dublin Satirist*, loc. cit.)

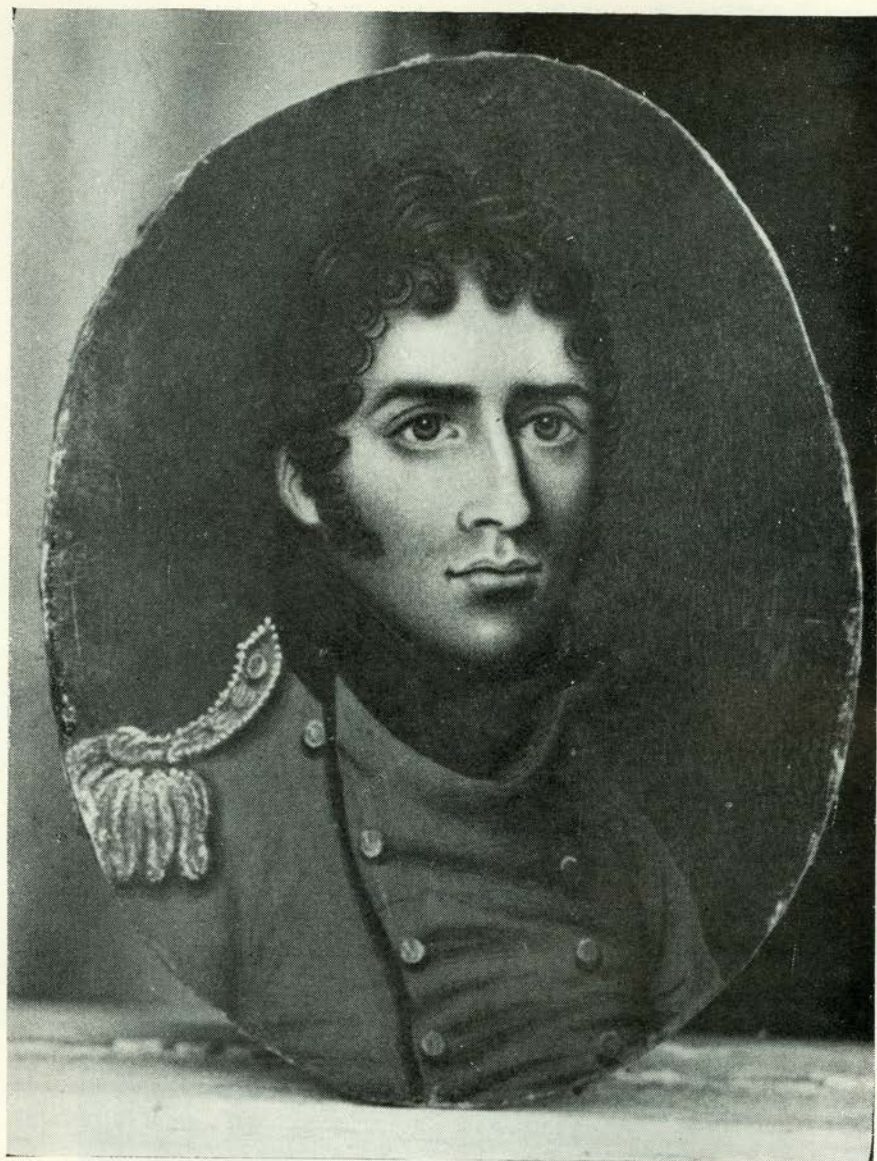


FIG. 2. Colonel Juan Galindo. A miniature in the collection of Mrs. R. H. Shepard.

PLAN DEL TEMPLO DE COPAN
LLAMADO ULTIMAMENTE TEMPLO IV

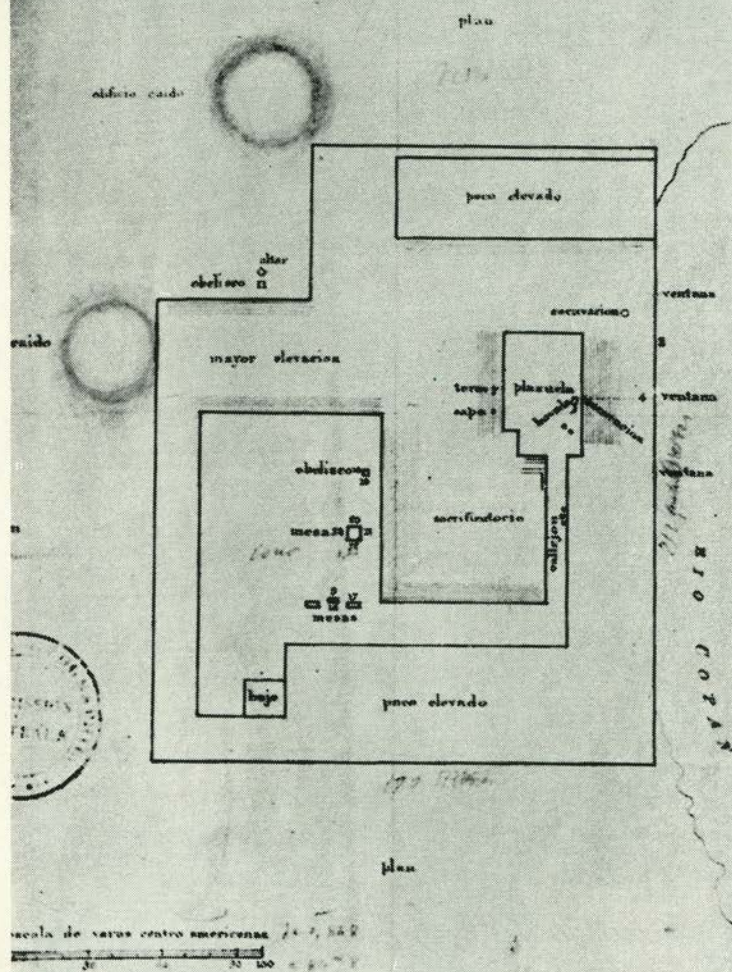




FIG. 4. Copan: *Las Ventanas* (Watercolour)

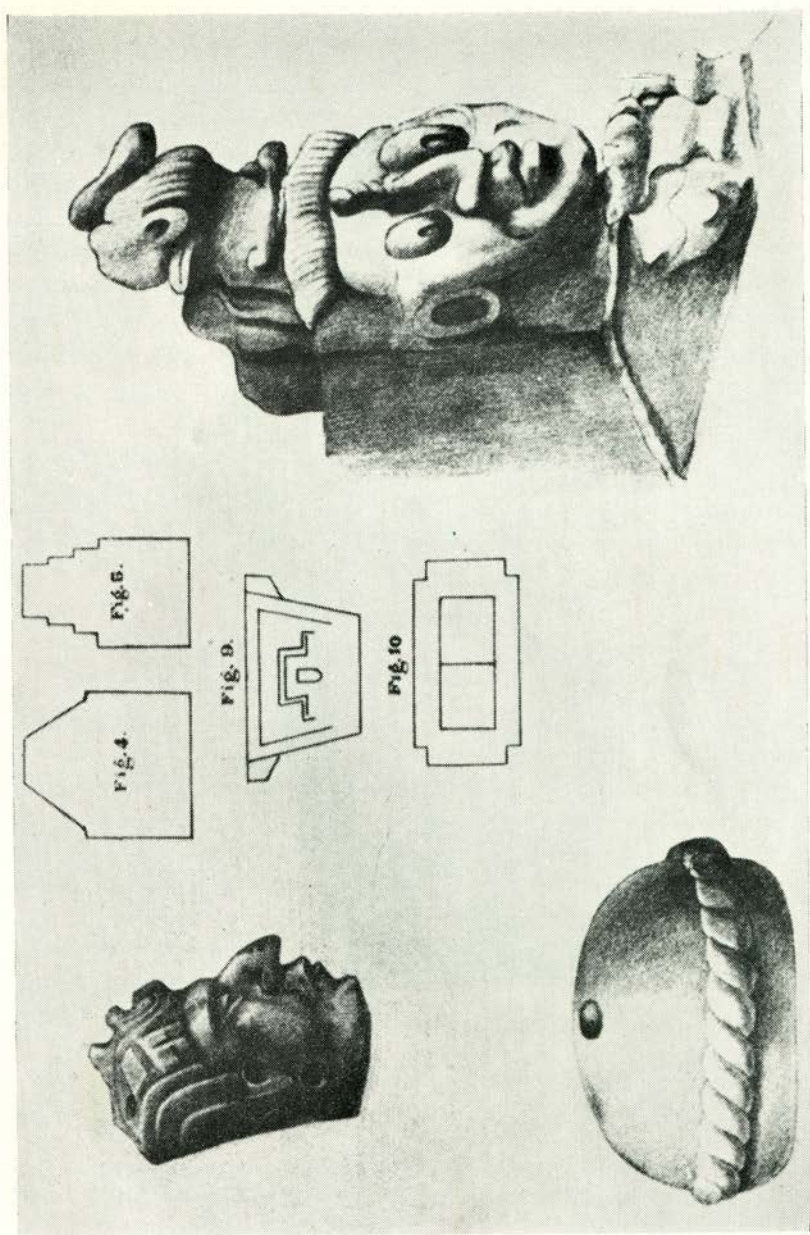


FIG. 5. Galindo's drawings of Copan



FIG. 6. Galindo's drawing of Stela H,
Copan

before long, however, this consul, a headstrong individual of overweening selfrighteousness, became strongly opposed to Galindo on political grounds, and changed his tune to this: "I confess from the indulgent mention made of Galindo I expected to see a *Gentleman* but our friend neither in appearance or manner can be so mistaken."²⁶

If Galindo had been possessed of such distaste for the English, Cockburn and Chatfield would surely have been the very persons towards whom he would have shown the coldest disdain from the beginning. . . Perhaps, instead, it would be closer to the truth to say that Galindo did develop a *political* animosity towards Great Britain in the middle 1830's, but that was the extent of it; one need look no further than Central America at the present time to find an ex-President whose vigorous campaignings against Great Britain on a theme that was close to Galindo's own heart are reputed not to have obliterated a personal fondness for the same country.

Official career, and later life

In October 1828 Galindo was in charge of improvements to the port of Iztapa.²⁷ By December of that year he was a major in the 2nd Honduras Battalion.²⁸ In March 1829 he was wounded at San Miguelito.²⁹ In August of the same year it fell to him, now a Lieut-Colonel, to conduct Archbishop Casaus to exile in Havana, where the cold reception³⁰ he received may have been due in part to his earlier connection with Cochrane being known. Then according to his own account, he held the post of Comandante General of the Federal armies for the whole of 1830.³¹ Early the following year he became military governor of Petén.

But civil war broke out, and in January 1832 he was directed to Belize in the hope of raising support there for the reta-

²⁶ Belize, British Honduras, Government Archives (hereinafter cited as BHA), 'Letters Inwards 1826-1848' nf. Chatfield to Cockburn 16 Feb. 1835.

²⁷ Guatemala, Archivo General, B88.7 exp 83727 leg 3606 fol. 1.

²⁸ Galindo papers, Galindo to Terrelonge, 17 Dec. 1828.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Printed sheet without title, beginning 'La derota de Misco...'

³⁰ *La Antorcha Centro-Americana*, N° 11 (Guatemala, 10 Oct. 1829) p. 44.

³¹ Galindo papers, Galindo to ———, 24 March 1837.

king of Omoa. In particular it was hoped to arm a vessel for attacking the fort from the sea, with funds to be loaned by the British merchants;³² in order to encourage them the Guatemalan Government abolished a 5% tax on goods coming into the country from Belize; but this was a failure, and Cockburn decided on a policy of non intervention.³³ The latter did, however, impound a ship that was in rebel hands and was thanked by Terrelonge* for doing so. Meantime the rebels had also been making efforts to win the support, or at least the neutrality, of the British; Manuel Arce, writing to Cockburn from Bacalar in July 1832, begged him not to support Morazán, and threw in some uncomplimentary references to Terrelonge and Galindo.³⁴

Galindo took part in the siege of Omoa, and its capture on September 12, 1832.³⁵ Evidently he distinguished himself, for a proclamation was issued by Zebadua on February 4, 1834 from the Ministerio de Guerra y Marina awarding medals to Agustín Guzmán and Galindo in consideration of their services in the taking of the fort.³⁶

With peace re-established, Galindo now spent some time as Commandant of Truxillo. (From that port, in January 1833, he wrote to Cockburn "My dear and respected Sir, I take the liberty of forwarding to you a keg of Malaga and a box of raisins: I consider both of good quality, and perhaps they may find a corner at your hospitable board... Yours most devotedly..."³⁷ This has the appearance of a purely friendly gesture, for there seems not to have been any favour that Galindo could at that time have been hoping for.)

In February 1834 Galindo was appointed to make an official report on the ruins of Copán, a task which occupied May and June, and of which further details will be given below. Next

³² F.O. 253/2 nf. Hall to Cockburn, 31 Jan. 1832.

³³ BHA, 'Dispatches Inwards 1831-1834' Hall to Cockburn, 11 June 1832.

* General Henry Terrelonge, Jamaican by origin, and a friend of Galindo's; possibly it was he who invited Galindo to make his career in the Central American army?

³⁴ C.O. 123/44 nf. Arce to Cockburn, 9 July 1832.

³⁵ *Parte Oficial de la Rendición del Castillo de Omoa*, pamphlet of 2 p. signed Juan Galindo, 15 Sept. 1832 (Copy enclosed with Letter N° 24, Galindo papers).

³⁶ Galindo papers, enclosed with Letter N° 24.

³⁷ C.O. 123/44 nf. Galindo to Cockburn, 17 Jan. 1833.

month he was in San Salvador, acting as temporary commander-in-chief; Morazán was out of action, having lost the top of his left thumb.³⁸

In August 1834 Galindo received a grant of land in Petén for development by colonisation. At the same time he was making plans for a settlement at Boca del Toro, in what is now the Republic of Panamá. At the end of the year he was authorised to proceed to London with diplomatic status in order to negotiate with the British Government over the question of the British Settlement at Belize and its borders. This mission, the success of which was crucial to his own enterprise of colonisation, has been dealt with very fully by Griffith. In brief, Galindo, who had neither experience in diplomacy nor a natural talent for it, did not achieve success: Palmerston did come close to agreement with him at one point, but then seems to have retreated rather suddenly on the appearance of an inflammatory Guatemalan treatise on the question. The position at the end of the talks was worse than before in that the British attitude had crystallised, and hardened.

Finally, as the result of Chatfield's suggestion to Palmerston, he was denied recognition as the Central American envoy to the British Court on the grounds that he was of British birth himself. It might be observed that a somewhat similar question had arisen when Chatfield's predecessor left Guatemala in 1831 for reasons of health, nominating William Hall as vice-consul; the appointment was queried by Morazán, the President, because Hall had previously taken out Central American naturalisation papers, as being advantageous to his position as a merchant. Hall resolved the difficulty by giving up his newly acquired citizenship;³⁹ but for Galindo there was no such way out—it was quite impossible to set aside his status as a British subject. As Chatfield told him with smug sarcasm, "that *disadvantage* . . . cannot be overcome".⁴⁰

In addition, Chatfield industriously spread the story, both before and after the talks, that Galindo had no mandate from the Government to negotiate. "Mr. Galindo", he wrote as slightly as possible, "was commissioned without having any of-

³⁸ F.O. 252/nf. Galindo to —, 15 July 1834.

³⁹ F.O. 253/2 nf. Hall to Bidwell, 18 Sept. 1831.

⁴⁰ BHA 'Letters Inwards 1826-1848', Chatfield to Cockburn, 27 Dec. 1834.

ficial character to carry a letter to England in 1835.”⁴¹ Unfortunately for Chatfield’s reputation a letter from the Central American Minister of Foreign Affairs to the U.S. Secretary of State testifies unequivocally: “The Government of Central America has accredited Colonel Juan Galindo to the British Cabinet.”⁴²

The Boca del Toro colony was also engaging his attention, but it was an ill-conceived scheme unquestionably, and recklessly put into effect. Galindo saw his father set off for the new colony within a week or two of his own arrival in England;⁴³ later there was talk of young Philip joining him, coupled with the rather surprising plan that Philemon, accompanied by his sister Sally, should go out as Protestant Bishop of the Mosquito Shores;⁴⁴ for Philemon was still an undergraduate, only to be ordained deacon three years later. While he was in London, Juan Galindo signed up a party of settlers, and in due course they reached the haven on which they had fixed their hopes. But no road had yet been opened to San José, and the gold mines of Tisingal seem to have been illusory. The settlers became bitter and angry, and drifted away as best they could. James Galindo, described once as “a useless member to Society”, wrote two pathetic letters to Chatfield begging for help: “I was brought to this country by my nephew Colonel Galindo under the false idea of being made a great Man”; now he was “without *money* and without *cloaths*” and wished to go to United States.⁴⁵ In the event, he returned to Jamaica, and his brother Philemon to London, in 1838.⁴⁶

In May 1838 Juan Galindo adopted two children orphaned by the cholera epidemic. The Municipality of Guatemala, which had charge of them, agreed to entrust them to him, on certain conditions, because, although a foreigner, he was a Central

⁴¹ F.O. 252/9 nf. Chatfield to Anderson, 19 Dec. 1838.

⁴² U.S. Senate 2nd. Session, 32nd. Congress, Executive Document N° 27 Serial N° 660, A. Alvarez to Forsyth, 30 Dec. 1834.

⁴³ F.O. 15/18 p. 134 Galindo to Despacho General, Costa Rica, 24 Aug. 1835 (copied into Chatfield to Palmerston, 13 Sept. 1836).

⁴⁴ ‘Sir George MacGregor Outdone’, *Jamaica Despatch and New Courant*, N° 1192 (Kingston, 12 May 1836) p. 3 (Copy in F.O. 15/18 p. 106).

⁴⁵ F.O. 252/6 nf. James Galindo to Chatfield, 27 March 1838.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, nf. Stiepel to Chatfield, 22 July 1838.

American by sentiment.⁴⁷ He appears to have had also a child of his own, for in October 1834 Chatfield wrote to Cockburn "The female you conjecture to be at Colonel Galindo's sporting cottage in Black Creek is now I fancy in Belize, perhaps on the road thither from Truxillo with *l'héritier problématique*. She is a native of Petén".⁴⁸

Then in June 1839 he wrote "I am engaged to be married to Dolores, daughter of Don Leocadio Asturias of Guatemala, a private gentleman of large and independant property... She is very tall, and her figure and carriage have not their equal in all Europe and America; her features are not so good... In character she is extremely proud and reserved, [and] she dances with tolerable grace..." Don Leocadio does not seem to have been very enthusiastic about the match.⁴⁹

But if Galindo was contemplating a settled family life, this was not to be. The Federation was breaking up and Morazán's party losing ground; soon Galindo was serving in the field again, and he was with the remnants of the Federal army under Trinidad Cabañas when they were defeated by Honduran and Nicaraguan troops at Hacienda del Potrero on January 29, 1840.

Two months later Chatfield finished a letter to Cockburn thus: "...I have no intelligence of the Travellers, Mr. Stephens is flying about the Country to get materials for his Book... * P. S. I forgot to mention that Colonel Galindo was shot at a village in the state of Honduras called Aguanqueterique... He was endeavouring to find his way to San Miguel,

⁴⁷ *El Amigo de Guatemala*, N° 15 (Guatemala, 2 July 1938) p. 59, And, Guatemala, Archivo General, B78.48, exp. 20670, leg. 858.

⁴⁸ BHA 'Letters Inwards 1826-1848', nf. Chatfield to Cockburn, 31 Oct. 1834.

⁴⁹ Juan Galindo to Sarah Galindo, 14 June 1839. Letter in possession of Mrs Shepard.

* Two weeks later Chatfield was reporting: "We have no news of Mr [Patrick] Walker and Lt. Catty [J.H. Caddy], and I am almost afraid that some disaster has happened to them. I have never heard that there existed a road from Peten to Palenque, it must be through the Monte or bushwood and hardly practicable. Mr Stephens and the Yankified English artist who accompanies him, are gone to Quesaltenango, intending to get to Palenque across the Mexican frontier.. Persons who desire to see Palenque should go by sea to Villahermosa, for to go by land is in my opinion, foolhardy, specially as there is little or nothing to see when on the spot."⁵¹

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Chatfield to MacDonald, 8 April 1840.

after the defeat of his chief Cabañas, when he fell in with a party of Honduran troops, who instantly destroyed him.”⁵⁰

Contributions to Archaeology and Geography

Soon after he had taken up his post in Flores as Governor of Petén, Galindo set out on a series of expeditions to gather data on the topography of the district, and its archaeological remains. There is no evidence that he did so in fulfilment of specific injunctions by the Government, although he might have been expected to report on the natural resources of Petén, and problems of its defence. But in the case of his visit to Palenque, that can only have been on his own initiative, and to satisfy personal curiosity; for then, as now, Palenque lay over the Mexican border.

The date of this visit was April 1831, and within seven months a letter of some length describing the ruins was published in the *London Literary Gazette*.⁵² Another notice which has hitherto escaped attention appeared in a New York French-language newspaper, but it is short, and of a general nature only.⁵³ He makes the important point here (as elsewhere) that the builders of Palenque, as portrayed in sculpture, show no physical difference from the Indians living round about; their civilisation he concludes to have been more advanced than those of the Mexicans and Peruvians, and “flourished without doubt well before the 14th century, since the former... who would have been their neighbours, and were distinguished for sagacity and curiosity, would not have failed to learn from them the art of writing”.

The longest account, accompanied by a few drawings, was sent to the *Société de Géographie*, Paris, the foremost institution of the kind at that time. The text of this letter was published almost verbatim in the society's *Bulletin*, together with the drawings, and a vocabulary of Itza Maya collected for Galindo in Flores.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ BHA 'Letters Inwards 1826-1848', Chatfield to MacDonald, 26 March, 1840.

⁵² *London Literary Gazette and J. Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences &c.*, N° 769 (London, 15 Oct. 1831) pp. 665, 666.

⁵³ *Le Courrier des États-Unis*, V. N° 37 (New York, 7 July 1832) pp. 223, 224.

⁵⁴ XVIII (Paris, 1832) pp. 198-217.

This was the first of 32 letters addressed to the Société over the next eight years, the originals of which, and the sketches, &c, accompanying them, were preserved in their archives. At some time, however, they were borrowed by Dr. E. T. Hamy, and remained in his keeping until his death in 1908, when they were returned to the Société by his daughter. With the rest of the Société's manuscripts they have since been deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The existence of these papers was mentioned by Hamy in the 1880's (as noticed by Morley), but they do not seem to have received attention since then. I am much indebted to the Société de Géographie for permission to make use of them, and to reproduce some of the figures.

Another of Galindo's expeditions was to Topoxté island in Lake Yaxhá, his report on which, dated Flores, 28 Oct. 1831, appeared in *Archaeologia*.⁵⁵ In point of fact he must either have made this visit before going to Palenque, or have written his letter on Palenque at some time after the superscribed date, having visited Topoxté in the interval; for there occurs this observation in the Palenque letter: "Either the buildings of Yaxhá [i.e. Topoxté] are more modern or the atmosphere less destructive [than at Palenque], or there is some other reason, for some lintels of its doors still remain of a wood which is called jabin; but here every sort of wood has already disappeared."

There are two pages of engravings with this article: Plate LIX is of four stucco glyphs from Palenque; Plate LX shows various objects of pottery. The glyphs are stated to be from the facade of "L'Étude" (Temple of Inscriptions) and were presented to the Society of Antiquaries of London.*⁵⁶ So also was the tripod pot of Plate LX, which with the other pieces shown with it is described as coming 'from this isle', which might be understood as Topoxté, but is undoubtedly Flores, where the letter was written. Among them is a very fine grotes-

⁵⁵ XXV (London, 1834) pp. 570, 571.

* Other glyphs were given to the Société de Géographie and are now in the Musée de l'Homme. A further 10 glyphs were in the collection of Jomard, obtained probably from Galindo, or just possibly Charnay.⁵⁸ Jomard's collection passed, via M. Henry Berthoud, to the Museum of Douai in 1866 (*Revue d'Ethnographie*, VIII (Paris, 1889) p. 349). I have not ascertained whether they survived the war.

⁵⁶ *Catalogue of Antiquities... of the Soc. of Antiquaries of London* (London, 1847) p. 55.

que head (from the lid of a censer?), now in the Musée de l'Homme, which has also been illustrated by Hamy.⁵⁷ The only specimens sent from Topoxté were six potsherds, one of which survives in the Musée de l'Homme collection to this day.

Galindo apparently never saw the ruins of Yaxhá proper. However there seems to be a reference to them —and if so, it is the earliest— in a manuscript sheet among the Galindo papers entitled “Diario que yebo desde el Pueblo de San José asta el Río fondo o Río Nuevo” written and signed by José Patricio Yaa(?), Río seco de Sacnab, 17 de Marzo 1835 (Sacnab is the lake immediately to the east of Lake Yaxhá). This man may have been employed by Galindo in connection with his projected colony in that area, and probably gave Galindo this report when the latter came up the Belize River in April 1835 in the course of his discussions with Cockburn about the border.

Yaa (if I have read his name correctly) left Remate, passed a night by Lake Macanché, another at San Clemente, and arrived at Lake “Llaxjá”. His companions told him about ruins on “Islapag”, which must be Topoxté, but they did not visit the island; then they encountered a ruined city having a large mound in the centre, which they recognised to be man-made, with masonry still showing. They climbed this high mound and found at the top a building with intact walls. This description fits the major pyramid at Yaxhá. The entry for the next day is recognisable too: “Dia honce. . . fue de mucha agua todo el dia i no quisieron los picadores ir al piquete p. estar mui fnebre el monte.”

Between September 1831 and March 1832 Galindo was concerned with efforts to bring the Lacandons under the control of the state. In his own view, these were successful, and he claimed that the two bows and various arrows that he received from the Lacandons (and later presented to the Société de Géographie) were given as a token of submission.⁵⁹ To follow this up he appointed an officer on April 7 1832 to have charge of

⁵⁷ E. T. Hamy, *Galerie Américaine...du Trocadero* (Paris, 1897) Plate XXVIII See also H. Lehmann, *Maya Research*, II N° 4 (New Orleans, 1935).

⁵⁸ *Catalogue des Objets d'Antiquité...du feu M. Jomard* (Paris, 1863) Nos. 554-563.

⁵⁹ Galindo papers, Letter N° 13.

the 'mayas idolatras'. The treaty cannot have been very effective, because five years later the Magistrado Ejecutor, Julián Segura, concluded another treaty of submission,* with the chief of the principal tribe of Lacandons, called the Menché.⁶¹

In seeking out the Lacandons Galindo must have come to the banks of the River Usumacinta, and perhaps navigated part of it. In March 1832, having returned from his business with the Lacandons, he sent a communication to the Royal Geographical Society describing the river in a general way.⁶² There is no very solid information in this except for mention of the rapids, but here as elsewhere he sets down the rumour that near the rapids, and "within an extensive cave on the left bank, are some extraordinary and magnificent ruins". One can scarcely doubt that this refers to the ruins of Menché ('Yaxchilan'); 'cave' may have resulted from the common usage among Peteneros of the word *cueva* for a stone building; or perhaps Galindo's information came to him as a written report, and *curva*, referring to the long curve in the river just there, was misread as *cueva*.

A much more impressive achievement is Galindo's "Derrotero del Usumacinta", an undated note among the Société de Géographie papers. It is a table of distances between natural features along the Pasión and Usumacinta rivers from the mouth of the Rio Subín to the rapids of Anaité. Apart from two errors, apparently of transcription, this table is surprisingly accurate (see Appendix 'A' of this paper); unfortunately there is nothing to indicate whether or not the observations were Galindo's own.

⁶⁰ *Boletín Oficial*, N° 21, 2nd part (Guatemala, 22 Aug. 1832) p. 205.

* The terms of this treaty, dated 21 April 1837, are interesting: the Lacandons put themselves under the protection of the Government of Central America, but with the reservation that it should not come into effect for six years (nor touch their religion and practice of polygamy). This is at least suggestive that the Lacandons followed a divinatory almanac at that time, and had some notion of yearly auguries too. However, it is hardly conceivable that the ancient tun-count had been maintained; in any case the tun 3 Ahau ending in 1843 would not seem especially propitious for political change.

⁶¹ A. Marure, *Efemérides de los Hechos Notables* (Guatemala, 1844 & 1895)

⁶² J. Roy. Geog. Soc. III (London, 1833) pp. 59-64.

Commission to examine Copán

The commencement of Galindo's career in the Central American army coincided with the victory of the Liberal faction. This party saw itself as a new broom to sweep away the outworn practices of the colonial era, and make room for progress. New ideas were imported wholesale from Europe (and to the indiscriminate application of them may be attributed, to some extent, the downfall of the regime). The refounding of the Sociedad Economica in November 1829 was a characteristic event. Galindo was soon co-opted to translate booklets published in London by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; he was made a member in October 1830, and in 1831 was reporting that he had sent samples of tea and quinine grown in Petén for evaluation in London.⁶³

But great as may be its visions for the future, a new nation is seldom oblivious of the past: typically there is a movement to remodel history and to seek for glory in antiquity, with which to foster the spirit of Nationalism. In Guatemala, the State Government issued a commission to Engineer-Colonel Manuel Jonoma, Galindo, and Miguel Rivera Maestre in January 1834; their task was to "reconnoitre all the edifices built prior to the conquest... and to make plans and drawings and measurements."⁶⁴

Rivera Maestre was appointed to study the ruins of Mixco, Iximché and Utatlán; there is a suggestion that Galindo assisted him and the artist Falla in this work. Lithograph copies of the resulting plans and views have survived.⁶⁵ Afterwards Rivera Maestre was to investigate the "ruins near San Martín Jilotepeque".

Jonoma was to report on Copán. Spanish by birth, and referred to as a 'scientific officer', he leaves the impression of being somewhat fastidious. Having recently refused two other commissions, he was not long in renouncing this one too; "when I accepted the commission... there did not exist the imminent

⁶³ Guatemala, Soc. de Geog. e Hist., MS 'Libro de Actos de la Sociedad Económica'. Entries for 29 March, 11 Oct. 1830; 11 April 1831.

⁶⁴ Guatemala, Archivo General, B95. 1, exp. 32616, leg. 1398 Unsigned draft letter to Jonoma, Galindo and Rivera, 16 Jan. 1834.

⁶⁵ J. A. Villacorta, *Bibliografía Guatemalteca* (Guatemala, 1944).

danger there is today that at any moment the terrible epidemic of Asiatic cholera morbus might be introduced into the state [it struck in fact three years later]; if I fulfil my commission I shall be leaving my family in the greatest abandon..."⁶⁶ Galindo was therefore nominated instead.

He reached Copán about the second week in May, and probably departed soon after writing his report, which is dated June 19; from there he seems to have travelled direct to San Salvador. Morley has reproduced in full Galindo's official report to the Government; the Société de Géographie received a version of this in French, to which are added itineraries for Guatemala —Copán and Copán— San Salvador. The two texts are almost identical, except for the Latitude and Longitude given for Copán; both are more inaccurate in the French copy.

Similar sets of illustrations must have been prepared, but as Morley notes those accompanying the Spanish version at some time disappeared. Among the Société de Géographie papers are all the figures referred to in the text, and lithograph prints of some of these, as mentioned by Hamy (Appendix B). The mystery is, why the full report together with the 26 figures was not published in the *Bulletin*, as had been the less valuable material on Palenque.

The quality of the illustration is uneven. The stelae are recognisably but poorly drawn. The four sides of Altar Q, on the other hand, were carefully copied; the watercolour view of *Las Ventanas* is well painted; and the drawing of the jade head from the tomb in the acropolis has the appearance of accuracy, and bears comparison with the professionally-executed coloured lithograph of the same piece in *Antiquités Mexicaines*.⁶⁷ In the latter publication it is described as 2 inches high, and the property of Col. Galindo, but no provenance is given. This jade head is not in the Musée de l'Homme collections; probably it was given to Jomard, since the catalogue of his collection describes a "tête en jade (amulette) Om, 05 de haut" (number 475). With about 80 other pieces it is ascribed to Palenque, but many of these attributions look improbable. The only objects sent to the Société by Galindo from Copán were four obsidian blades and a jade bead.

⁶⁶ Guatemala, Archivo General, B95.1, exp. 32615, leg. 1398.

⁶⁷ A. Lenoir, *Antiquités Mexicaines* (Paris, 1834-1835) Supplementary plate VII N° 14.

After his work at Copán, Galindo had no further opportunity to examine ancient sites. However the receipt of his reports, drawings and artifacts from Palenque and elsewhere had excited great interest in Paris, and an influential member of the Société, inspired by these contributions, suggested the foundation of a museum; the proposal later received unanimous approval, but nothing was to come of it. Galindo was awarded a silver medal, which he was able to collect personally on a visit from London. He was also nominated *Correspondant Étranger*.⁶⁸

Interest in Palenque was further stimulated at this time by the publication of works by Dupaix and Waldeck; and copies of the drawings of Bernasconi were received by the Société de Géographie from Galindo;⁶⁹ also by Henri Ternaux-Compans from a Spanish source.⁷⁰ The committee therefore decided in April 1838 to award a gold medal worth, 3,000 francs for the best work on Palenque to be received by the end of the year.

Naturally Galindo was a keen contestant for the medal, but having no opportunity to revisit the ruins, he could only send maps, itineraries and further remarks based on previous work. One consignment of this matter did not arrive until after the closing date of the competition, when the prize had already been withdrawn. However, the Société decided to award Galindo a further silver medal for his contributions to geography.⁷¹ It proved to be a posthumous award.

Here it is not proposed to assess these contribution to geography. Some were in the form of descriptive articles, such as *On Central America*,⁷² and *Noticias del Petén*⁷³ (only four pages but full of information); or were itineraries, like the 'Derrotero del Usumacinta' already mentioned. In addition there were maps drawn up wholly or in part by Galindo; among them is the map of Costa Rica credited to him and accompanying the paper *On Central America*; a plan of Itazapa; a small contribution

⁶⁸ *Bull., Soc. Géog.*, 2nd Ser., VI (Paris, 1837) pp. 84, 121, 125, 271.

⁶⁹ Galindo papers, Enclosed with Letter of 22 Dec. 1835.

⁷⁰ *Bull., Soc. de Géog.*, 2nd Ser. VIII (Paris, 1837) p. 131.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 2nd Ser. XIII (Paris, 1840) p. 191.

⁷² *J. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, VI (London, 1836) pp. 116-136.

⁷³ *Gaceta Federal*, N° 35 (Guatemala, 29 Sept. 1831) pp. 257-260 (Copy among Galindo papers).

to the Admiralty chart of the Pacific coast of Central America;⁷⁵ and a map of Petén and adjoining territory, which he alleged was stolen by agents of the British Company of Agriculture, Commerce and Colonisation, and used as the basis for one the Company published. A copy of this, heavily emended by Galindo, was forwarded by him to the Société together with material supporting his claim to have been the original author.⁷⁶

Other communications were addressed to the Société describing the inhabitants of Central America: Lacandons, Mosquitos, Caribs, &c. The following vocabularies were collected:

Cakchiquel	62 words & 30 numbers	Woolwa	45 words
Kekchi	32 words	Talamancas	30 words
Chorti	40 words & 10 numbers	Valientes	35 words
Itza	91 words & 41 numbers	Tiribis	19 words
San Salvador 'náhuatl'	74 words	Subtiava	86 words
Mosquito	23 words		

These vocabularies,⁷⁷ too brief to be of value today, may nonetheless have much esteemed by the savants of Paris in the 1830s. A further item in this category is *The Lord's Prayer and the Creed in Maya*, apparently collected in Santo Domingo del Palenque.

Lastly, the Société received from Galindo a small number of sketches in watercolour or pencil of various subjects: Guatemalan Indians in traditional dress, a view of Guatemala City, a sugar-cane mill, etc.

Retrospect

We have seen some of the factors both hereditary and environmental that formed the character of Juan Galindo. They include a melancholy, brooding mother, who had descended in social station and married an improvident, gay, somewhat raffish man (Mrs. Siddons refers to his "oddity", gaiety, impulsiveness, violence). Of Juan's parents the mother is the one more likely to have seen that he received the good education he must have had; the French, for example, that he wrote to

⁷⁵ *Central America, West Coast*, Hydrographic Office, Admiralty (London, 1835).

⁷⁶ Galindo papers, enclosure with Letter N° 26.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Letters 17 & 18, and elsewhere.

the Société required only occasional editing. Kitty Galindo was probably ambitious for her son and hoped to see him rise out of the reduced social and economic condition in which he was brought up. One might imagine her as not checking the flow of her husband's imagination as he recounted the fabulous lineage of Galindo; such dreams might inspire her son to do great deeds, and at the same time add a comforting lustre to her own marriage.

From his father Juan inherited his looks and his dashing character, together with an improvidence or lack of realism in affairs. The braggadocio of the Goldfinch of Bauth reappeared also in the son, who showed indeed distinctly paranoiac tendencies. At different times he boasted that troops under his command had lowered the last Spanish flag to fly on the American continent i.e. at Omoa; and that the final submission of independent Indians in Central America was no that of the Itza in 1697, but of the Lacandons (to him) in 1832. Eager to immortalize his name, he designated as Isla Galindo one of the islands in the Chiriqui archipelago, and was far from embarrassed by the proposal of the Government of Honduras to bestow his name on the Coco, Wanks, Segovia, or Tinto River, which "disputes with the Usumacinta pre-eminence among Central American rivers".⁷⁸ Petén soon had its Arroyo Irlandés, and a district of Aquitaine — a reference to his fancied descent from Clovis, first Christian King of the French, and the kings of Aquitaine. Study of his genealogy also revealed to him a significant pattern: every 11th generation threw up a distinguished man, and he was N° 44!⁷⁹ However, with a view to gratifying the most influential officer in the Société de Géographie, the name he gave to a lake which he claimed to have discovered (Yalnabaj, in the Dept. of Huehuetenango) was that of Jomard.

In the matter also of his nationality Galindo made some exaggerated statements. When first he settled in Central America, acceptance of him may have been disappointingly slow, due in part to the reputations gained by other officers of foreign birth such as Perks, Prem, Raoul, Pierson. He many have

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Letter N° 18.

⁷⁹ J. Galindo to Sarah Galindo, 27 July 1838. Letter in possession of Mrs. R. H. Shepard.

thought it expedient to declare with intentional ambiguity that he was "Irish, of Spanish descent and Catholic family".⁸⁰ (To the copy of this pamphlet that he sent to Cockburn, who probably knew of his Protestant background, he added this gloss: "the author considers this a very imperfect brochure, written at the spur of the moment and merely for the nonce, time and place for which it was intended".) Then there was the irritation of his British nationality, which could not be renounced. Finally, in 1838, he had to face a new surge of xenophobia stirred up by priests, who were encouraging the Indians to believe that foreigners had caused the cholera epidemic by poisoning the water, until they rose up under Carrera crying "Viva la Religión, y muerte a los extranjeros!"⁸¹

Against this background should be viewed such public statements as that he held "no memories nor affections for any other country save Central America"⁸² —which was almost certainly untrue, but dictated by exasperation and political expedience. However, when he is reported as saying that he would rather see Boca del Toro in the hands of the British than any other power, except Central America⁸³ (it was being claimed by Colombia), it is impossible to choose among the possibilities of dissimulation, true feeling, and misquotation.

Seeking to be confirmed in his vision of a great personal destiny (as hero-elect of the 44th generation) Galindo craved recognition and acclaim. The diploma conferred on him by the Royal Geographical Society, and the title of *Correspondant Étranger* were highly prized, as letters show. But whether or not it was vanity that supplied the energy for his researches and communications, his conscientious performance of them deserves praise. The quality of his handwriting —always an exemplary 'copperplate'— suggests a surprising trait of meticulousness. His description of the tomb at Copán is very creditable, including as it does measurements of both size and orientation. As a draughtsman Galindo was at least competent,

⁸⁰ F. O. 254/2 p. 62 *He sabido que...*, pamphlet signed Juan Galindo, 4 May 1830.

⁸¹ J. L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, &c.* (New York, 1841) p. 225.

⁸² *El Amigo de Guatemala* N° 17 (Guatemala, 14 July 1838) p. 65.

⁸³ F. O. 252/6 nf. Stiepel to Chatfield, 20 May 1837.

although disclaiming proficiency as such.⁸⁴ His hastiest sketches are always better than Lara's drawings of Tikal, while his best work is decidedly good — eclipsed though it is by that of the incomparable Catherwood. As an interpreter of what he saw, he was capable of intelligent comment, compounded with a fair share of wild speculations. The fervour of his loyalty to any cause he took up made him incapable of moderate opinions; but often he was more nearly right than wrong. He vigorously championed the purely American origin of the civilisation whose ruins he studied, rejecting Cabrera's notions of an early influence from Europe; but from there he went on to state that the race of American Indians was the oldest on the globe.

Galindo can be credited as the first to recognize the hieroglyphic writing at Palenque and Copán as a uniquely Maya achievement, although he was mistaken about the role played by 'Tultecos'. And whereas Stephens considered that "the head [of a figure at Palenque] represents a different species from any now existing in that region of country. . . a race of people now lost",⁸⁵ Galindo's was to the contrary, and has been quoted above. In the matter, too, of orthography of Spanish and Indian words and place-names Stephens must yield to Galindo.

One further remark on Galindo's character; the motives behind his plans to colonise eastern Petén and Boca del Toro were certainly made up both of financial self interest and of service — as he fancied it — to the nation, since he regarded both projects as means of consolidating the Federation's sovereignty in regions that were in danger of erosion or seizure by other countries. But in what proportion did these factors operate? Griffith's declaration that "the *failure* (my italics) of Galindo's promotional and diplomatic undertakings gave plausibility to the charge that he was a foreign opportunist who led his adopted country to disaster in pursuit of personal objectives"⁸⁶ is misleading, surely, as it cannot express his real opinion (no one could hold that altruistic motivation is restricted to successful ventures). He must have meant that "failure gave *occasion* for charges, &c". He then suggests some factors in mitigation of these charges, among them that only by selec-

⁸⁴ *Bull., Soc. de Géog.*, 2nd Ser. V (Paris, 1836) p. 271.

⁸⁵ *Incidents of Travel &c.* II (N. Y., 1841) p. 311.

⁸⁶ Griffith, *Galindo*, p. 52.

ting trouble spots as sites for colonisation could Galindo whip up support in his own country, where money was always hard to come by. But it was never his intention to seek finance in Central America—that he would do in England, Holland, the U. S.;⁸⁷ his main concern at home was to obtain the necessary grants of land and other licences, and these were freely given at that time. Thus, if to make money had been his chief purpose, he could have chosen more favourable locations for his colonies.

This view does not make Galindo a more realistic entrepreneur—rather the reverse. But it tends to remove a stain from his character. Furthermore, he can scarcely be classed with Sir Gregor MacGregor as a shark whose sole aim was to relieve would-be settlers of their money and abandon them to certain misery with cold-blooded indifference. To have sent out his nearest relatives as founders of the colony at Boca del Toro he must have been quite hopeful of its success—if not, then a monster indeed! His father in fact seems to have borne no resentment afterwards, for Juan reported of him in 1839: "He writes from London saying he is miserable, and determined on recrossing the Atlantic to me." To which he added: "God Forbid!"⁸⁸

But soon after, and within three weeks of each other, father and son were to die, one of old age, the other from the blows of a machete (according to Stephens). To quote Griffith, "Chatfield reported his enemy's demise, and implacable to the end, closed the door on Galindo's memory with the grim epitaph, 'thus terminated the career of this ill-judging and mischievously intentioned person'".⁸⁹ The Superintendent of British Honduras, however, had a less uncharitable view to express on his return from a visit to the Mosquito Shore: "I was compelled to (meet) a Mr. Manuel Fonseca. This shocking ruffian is the individual who with a troop of Indians barbarously murdered Colonel Galindo of Guatemala on his retreat from a battle in the interior. Galindo, an enthusiastic but well meaning

⁸⁷ e.g., 'To Capitalists and Agriculturalists', *Morning Courier and N. Y. Enquirer* (New York, 25 June 1835).

⁸⁸ J. Galindo to Sarah Galindo, 14 June 1839. Letter in possession of Mrs R. H. Shepard.

⁸⁹ Griffith, *Galindo*, p. 50.

adventurer, was well known at the Foreign Office and at several literary and scientific Institutions in London.”⁹⁰

George IV was not long in his grave, and it was not a mark of civility to appear too much taken up with any cause, or one might be dubbed an *enthusiast* —one so full of zeal as to seem possessed by a spirit. The term fits Galindo well; let him be remembered as “enthusiastic but well-meaning”.

APPENDIX A

Derrotero del Usumacinta

bouche de la Canó		
San Juan Acul	2 leguas	
boqueron de agua caliente ^a	8	^a un petit lac
embocadura de Cojchecol ^b	8	^b est une rivière grande
embocadura de Naya	6	tributaire de l'Usuma-
Yxtok	6	cinta
rio Chicsoi	7	^c est une roche magni-
Naxtun ^c	3	fique
boca de los cerros o Angostura ^d	10	^d appellée las Tiendas
isla del Petén en el Usumacinta ^e	10	^e c'est une grande isle
grande chute		

Clearly, one figure in the above table of leagues was omitted in copying; and there are some other mistakes. Good correspondance with distances measured from a modern map is obtained when three major changes are made: 1 for *Chicsoi* substitute *Lacantun*; 2 for *Naya* substitute *Chixoy*; 3 insert '10 leguas' after the first figure in the table. Further small errors are that the mouth of the little lake should refer to San Juan Acul, and the great river of note (b) to the Chixoy.

The old name 'Canó' for the Rio Subín is known from a reference by Galindo to "El Rancho Subín sobre el rio Canó".⁹¹ Naxtun must be Retumbio; Isla del Petén, Isla Agua Azul; and

⁹⁰ BHA 'Despatches Outwards 1837-1844', Sept. 1841.

⁹¹ *El Oficioso*, N° 9 (Guatemala, 12 March 1833) p. 36.

Nota. El autor desea agradecer a Mr. Philips Hofer de la Biblioteca Houghton de la Universidad de Harvard, por haberle llamado la atención sobre el trabajo de Von Racknitz y proporcionado la fotografía que reproducimos como Fig. 1; y a Miss Erika Wagner de la Universidad de Yale por su ayuda en la traducción de la biografía de Von Racknitz.

Boca de los Cerros the narrows just south of the old *montería* of Agua Azul. The identity of Yxtok is unknown to me.

That the 'legua' in this table comes to about 3,000 metres (as compared to the old Central American league of 4,240 m.) should not be surprising in view of the difficulty of measuring speed or distance on a swift-flowing river.

APPENDIX B

Table of figures accompanying Galindo's report on Copán

- 1 Map of Copán and environs (including *Piedras Pintadas*)
- 2 Plan of Acropolis
- 3 *Las Ventanas*
- 4 Section of highest *ventana*
- 5 Section of tomb chamber
- 6 Jade head
- 7 'Venus' figure on Jaguar stairway
- 8 Spheroidal altar by Stela B
- 9 Side elevation of 'canoe'
- 10 Plan of 'canoe'
- 11 Stela P, front
- 12 Stela H, front
- 13 Stela H, foot (detail)
- 14 Stela B, front
- 15 Stela B, back
- 16 Stela A, Inscription on Back
- 17 Altar H., Glyph I
- 18 Stela P, south side, Glyph B10
- 19 Stela F, back, 3rd cartouche
- 20-23 Altar Q, four sides
- 24 Plan of stelae in plaza
- 25 Cave of Cutilca
- 26 Plan of La Conquista