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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

Changing British Perceptions of Spain in Times of War and Revolution, 1808 to 1838

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**Changing British Perceptions of Spain in Times of
War and Revolution, 1808 to 1838.**

John Robert Holsman

Submitted for the Degree of Master of Philosophy

University of Dundee

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Declaration

I hereby declare that I,, am the author of this thesis; that, unless otherwise stated, all references cited have been consulted by me; that the work of which the thesis is a record has been done by me; and that this thesis has not been previously accepted for a higher degree.

Signed:

Date:.....

Certificate

This is to certify that has done this research under my supervision and that he has fulfilled the conditions of the relevant ordinances of the University of Dundee so that he is qualified to submit for the Degree of Master of Philosophy.

Signed:

Date:.....

Abstract

Historians have studied Anglo-Spanish relations for several years; however the diversity of British opinions towards the Spanish as revealed in the newspapers have been marginalised throughout history. The literature on the Peninsular War has been extensive, contributing to the overall narrative of British hostility and superiority towards the Spanish typified by the *Black Legend*. Britain's opinions and support for the independence of South America and the Spanish Revolution of 1820 have been understood as overwhelmingly supportive of these movements. This study challenges these views and maps the change in British observers' perceptions over thirty years, from the Peninsular War to the forgotten Carlist War. To judge these different attitudes and the extent of this change, British opinions will be examined from various angles, from the political ruling class in government, the military and the active British public, who debated issues in the newspapers and wrote memoirs of their experiences. This study shows a wider range of British perceptions on the issues of Spain and South America than most previous historians of the topic have suggested. That there was a persuasive conservative view of Spain held by many people who supported the rights of the Spanish monarchy against the rise of liberal political ideas and Britain's two political parties did not always hold opinions which reflected wider public perceptions. This study gives us a more comprehensive understanding of British opinions of Spain, the control of information by newspapers, demonstrating that opinions were less resolute and that perceptions did change with time.

Introduction

The way in which historians and literati have viewed the Spanish in the Age of Revolution is as being lazy, cruel and chaotic, but is this the case?¹ The historiographical understanding of British opinions of Spain and South America previously have been simplistic in their narratives. Subsequently this has led to a biased version of British conceptions, from a Protestant perspective, reminiscent of the *Black Legend* of old or an overly broad Whiggish overview. Historians, in certain instances, commonly utilise sources which reflect a negative opinion of Spain and the Spanish people, as opposed to a more positive and supportive argument. The Peninsular War historiography is abundant with the use of the same quotes from individuals, the Duke of Wellington, George Bell and Sergeant Lawrence prime examples of such, giving an overall impression of superiority towards the Spanish by Britons.² Historians have contributed to this impression in a number of works on the Peninsular War, with a brief synopsis of British opinions of the Spanish.³

In certain instances the nature of British opinions of Spain has been generalised without providing documentary evidence to support this theory. Charles Webster states without substantiation that the debates over the Foreign Enlistment Act “proved also how far public opinion in Britain had gone in sympathy with the colonies”.⁴ In fact the majority of Britain’s reading public had voiced their opinion for some time in the newspapers. The debate over the

¹ R. MacKay, *Lazy, Improvident People: Myth and Reality in the Writing of Spanish History* (New York, 2006), pp. 1-3 & 93-97. D. Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer: A History of the Peninsular War* (New York, 2001), pp.33-35.

² For specific references to the following sources listed see examples in Peninsular War chapter. A. Wellesley & J. Gurwood (eds.), *The Dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, K.G.: During His Various Campaigns in India, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, the Low Countries, and France* Volumes IV-VI (London, 1839). G. Bell, *Soldier’s Glory* (London, 1956). W. Lawrence, *Sergeant Lawrence: With the 40th Regt. of Foot in South America, the Peninsular War and at Waterloo* (London, 2008).

³ C.J. Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History* (London, 2003), pp.199-200. R. Parkinson, *The Peninsular War* (London, 2000), p. 191. D.A. Bell, *The Limits of Conflict in Napoleonic Europe- And Their Transgression*, in E. Charter, E. Rosenhaft, & H. Smith (eds.) *Civilians and War in Europe 1618-1815* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 212-225. Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer*, p.194.

⁴ C.K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh 1815-1822: Britain And The European Alliance* (London, 1925), p.423.

Foreign Enlistment Bill really reflected the divided mood over South America, which was evident in the final vote being almost equal, one hundred and fifty five for and one hundred and forty two against in the House of Commons.⁵

A wider investigation of sources of British perceptions, by reassessing issues which historians have employed previously and using new material, has uncovered opinions of British sympathies and support for both Spanish liberals and conservatives. As is often the case historians look at the differences between cultures, rather than investigating the similarities. This thesis consequently readdresses the extent of our understanding of British opinions and changing perceptions of Spanish affairs from 1808 to 1838.

Although the historiography of the *Black Legend* is extensive in the field of sixteenth and seventeenth century studies, few have examined its legacy in latter centuries and chiefly in Britain during the nineteenth century. The origin of the term *Black Legend* was conceived with its creator the Spanish historian, journalist and civil servant Julian Juderías in 1914, in his book, *La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica* (The Black Legend and Historical Truth). The term was used to describe the northern European *Hispanophobia* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries depicting the Spanish national characteristic as being intolerant, cruel and religiously fanatical.⁶ From a British perspective the rivalry with Spain for the control of trade and colonies in the Americas ignited this sentiment of hostility. In addition the fundamental religious differences, with Spain being a catholic society and Britain being overwhelmingly

⁵ R.G. Thorne, *The House of Commons 1790-1820: Vol. 1* (London, 1986), p. 269. *The Scotsman*, 12th June, 1819.

⁶ J. Juderías, *La Leyenda Negra* (Madrid, 1986), p.20. B. Keen, The Black Legend Revisited: Assumptions and Realities, *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Nov., 1969), pp. 706. M. De Guzman, *Spain's Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire* (London, 2005), pp. 4-6. L. Colley, *Britons; Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London, 1992), p.6. MacKay, *Lazy, Improvident People*, p.207. Hanke, A Modest Proposal for a Moratorium on Grand Generalizations: Some Thoughts on the Black Legend, *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Feb., 1971), pp. 112-127.

protestant, clearly defined their national ethos.⁷ Although during the Age of Revolution this pattern continued, in the case of Britain and America this took the form of racial discrimination in terms of the Spanish citizen's appearance and the mixed race origins of those in the Americas. Therefore the reason for studying a period of thirty years, in which many Britons became heavily involved, travelled or wrote about Spain, is important to investigate the idea of the *Black Legend* in the nineteenth century.

There has in recent decades been a growth in the study of British interaction with Spain and South America during the early nineteenth century. Most of this literature has examined Spanish influences on British culture, with a growth in works written about Spain and the Spanish in Britain after the Napoleonic Wars.⁸ The ability of individuals to change perceptions in Britain is questionable. Some of these studies have only scratched the surface, many assume that more liberal minded people, Whigs, were interested in Spain but omitted the more mainstream and conservative views of the country. Additionally in many cases, the role of the newspapers was predominantly to criticise the policies of the political party in power, which for much of the period under investigation was a Tory government. This has led many historians to concentrate to a greater extent on radical and liberal opinions of Spain in Britain.⁹

Assumptions also apply to the struggle for the independence of South America, the revolution in Spain in 1820 and Spanish exiles in Britain following the end of the *Liberal Triennium* in 1823. Those associated with the Whig party and their supporters have been previously studied, with little being said about their active support of the liberal cause and group affiliation with

⁷ M.R. Greer, W.D. Mignolo & M. Quilligan (eds.), *Rereading The Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empire* (London, 2007), pp. 1-3. J.H. Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830* (London, 2006), p. 404.

⁸ D. Howarth, *The Invention of Spain: Cultural Relations Between Britain and Spain 1770-1870* (New York, 2007). Kamen, *The Disinherited: The Exiles Who Created Spanish Culture* (London, 2008).

⁹ K. Gilmartin, *Print Politics: The Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 4-6, 18 & 25. J.A. Hone, *For the Cause of Truth, Radicalism in London 1796-1821* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 71-82.

the press to raise public awareness.¹⁰ The most prominent group being the Spanish committee, established in London in 1822, which supported the Spanish liberals' struggle during the revolution of 1820 and beyond. Additionally the less observed British support of the Spanish crown and affiliated governments, from support of the Spanish during the South American Wars of Independence to military assistance to the Spanish pretender Don Carlos in the Carlist War.¹¹ Finally, it is enlightening to see the links and progression of British opinion over a period from 1808 to 1838.¹² There have been insufficient links and comparative studies made concerning British involvement in the Peninsular War and the Carlist War, even though both periods involved a large contingent of Britons operating in Spain in a military or political role, or as a tourist.

The format of this thesis is intentionally arranged in a chronological order to show the changing perceptions of British opinion of Spain over the course of thirty years. This allows a comprehensive engagement with the historiography which governs related subjects and relevant issues. Chapters one and five are linked together as they form the alpha and omega, chapter one covering the Peninsular War from 1808 to 1814 and chapter five the Carlist War from 1833 to 1838. These periods of history offer a host of sources with similar comments on the aforementioned subject and consequently are set in a time frame when most people travelled to Spain in a military, diplomatic or private capacity. The main focus of chapter one will be to set in context the rest of the thesis but also to assess whether historians' perceptions

¹⁰ L. Sanders, *The Holland House Circle* (London, 1908). A.D. Kriegel, (ed.), *The Holland House Diaries 1831-1840: The Diary of Henry Richard Vassall Fox, 3rd Lord Holland with Extracts From the Diary of Dr. John Allen* (London, 1977).

¹¹ V. Llorens, *Liberales y románticos: una emigración Española en Inglaterra 1823-34* (Madrid, 1968). J. D. M. Ruiz, J. P. Ruiz & F. S. Bilbao, *Estado Y Territorio en España, 1820-1930: la formación del paisaje nacional* (Madrid, 2007).

¹² In relation to specific topics see for the Peninsular War, I. Paz, *British Popular Opinion of the Peninsular War: 1808-1814, Research Subjects: 19th Century Society, the Napoleon Series*. The South American War of Independence; M. Brown, *Adventuring Through Spanish Colonies; Simon Bolivar, Foreign Mercenaries and the Birth of New Nations* (Liverpool, 2007). B. Hughes, *Conquer or Die! Wellington's Veterans and the Liberation of the New World* (Oxford, 2010). The Carlist War; E.M. Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War in Spain, 1835-1838, A Forgotten Army* (London, 2005). R. James, *Public Opinion and the British Legion in Spain 1835-1838* (Montreal, 1996).

of a negative opinion to the Spanish, in the Peninsular War, are valid. Chapter five investigates British support of the Carlist and liberal government and further asks how far British perceptions changed since the beginning of the century? In essence the topics detailed in chapters one and five are a useful means of showing the changes in opinion and whether there was a persistence of the *Black Legend*.

Chapters two and three explore the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, with the changing situations in Spanish politics and control over the Americas. Chapter two questions the nature of British support of the South Americans in the Wars of Independence from 1815 to 1820 and asks if the perception of overwhelming British support for this movement is accurate. Chapter three considers the restoration of King Ferdinand VII in 1814 and the Spanish Revolution of 1820. Is the idea that Britons supported the new liberal movement in Spain justified? What did people know of the affairs of Spain, King Ferdinand and his government? Both chapters also engage with the handful of Britons who supported the old regime and institutions of Spain. Chapter four examines the number of Spanish exiles in Britain after the fall of the *Trienio Liberal* in 1823 and, for some, their return to Spain. What did British citizens understand about these exiles and how did they interact with them? Did Spanish exiles and British connections with Spain actually have an impact on British perceptions and the implementation of future policy? These three chapters engage with the general themes of this thesis but also have their own agendas, grasping the complexities of British opinions of Spain and readdressing the nature of perceptions of these subjects.

Methodology

Crucial to this thesis is a firm understanding of what is meant by the term *opinion*, meaning *British opinion*. In the first instance, an understanding is required of what *opinion* meant to people at the time and what it represents to historians. Politicians commonly associated the

term *opinion* with *the public*, which during the nineteenth century constituted men with property, below the class of gentleman, in other words a yeoman, freeholder, merchant, manufacturer and members of a learned profession.¹³ These individuals would have been part of the small group of voters and pillars of the community who, in the words of newspaper editors and journalists, were involved in *public opinion*. They pressed for legitimate actions that should be implemented and considered by the authorities for the good of the nation.¹⁴

Historians sometimes referred to reading public as the *participatory public*, who were regular readers of newspapers but also met to discuss news in coffee houses, taverns, clubs and societies forming urban culture.¹⁵ Jurgen Habermas also described the *bourgeois public sphere* in relation to the early capitalist commercial relations which emerged and pressure groups which expressed their opinions to the government.¹⁶ Habermas believed that there was a firm connection between public opinion and the practice of publicity, meaning that the newspapers could control the public's perceptions of issues under debate.¹⁷ Hannah Barker concludes in her work that "newspapers represented a generally wide body of opinion which engaged in a vigorous and frequently politicised debate".¹⁸ Furthermore, Bob Harris states that the press was a perfect example of a *public watchdog* of the government and its policies.¹⁹

However, Arnold Harvey suggests that "the most important measure of public opinion was not the newspapers, but the public meeting", as citizens could be more open about their feelings

¹³ D. Walton, *Appeal to Popular Opinion* (Pennsylvania, 1999), pp. 30-31. V.M. Uribe-Uran, "The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America During the Age of Revolution", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Apr., 2000), p. 425.

¹⁴ R. Stewart, *Party and Politics 1830-1852* (New York, 1989), pp. 12-13.

¹⁵ A. Briggs, "Middle Class Consciousness in English Politics, 1780-1846," *Past and Present*, I (April 1956), pp. 65- 74. H. Barker, & S. Burrows, (eds.), *Press, Politics and the Public Sphere in Europe and North America, 1760-1820* (Cambridge, 2002), p10. Colley, *Britons; Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, p.51.

¹⁶ Barker, & Burrows, (eds.), *Press, Politics and the Public Sphere in Europe and North America, 1760-1820*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁷ F. Cutler, "Jeremy Bentham and the Public Opinion Tribunal", *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (Autumn, 1999), p. 323.

¹⁸ H. Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion in Late Eighteenth Century England* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 2-4.

¹⁹ B. Harris, *The Scottish People and the French Revolution* (London, 2008) p.101.

and views away from legal censorship.²⁰ Kevin Gilmartin also argues that much of the development in printed radical material was a by-product of meetings, debating societies and petition campaigns.²¹ Printed works could represent an individual's opinion just as much as a larger group under one author.²² Overall as Brett has argued, both clubs and newspapers formed the "half way house between Westminster and broader public opinion".²³ Taking this and other historians' views into account, it seems prudent to use both newspapers and information from meetings to access individual Britons opinions of Spain.

It is obvious from the onset that the vast majority of Britons did not have any interest in the Spanish or developments in Spain. There are no significant sources written by the common people of Britain, such as a farm labour or weaver, the majority being illiterate and having limited time to consider foreign affairs, paramount to them were the bread and butter issues closer to home. Therefore the term *British opinion* does not appertain to this class but will relate to the ensuing people. The *political elite* for this time were represented by the prime ministers cabinet, only thirteen to fifteen men, the leaders and inner circle of the opposition and those who worked for the crown as ambassadors.²⁴ In addition, under this group, were the members of the House of Commons and Lords. This is a small group, consisting of little over one thousand in both houses, nevertheless they had great powers to influence and make decisions about national affairs.²⁵ In part due to wealth and titles, from having large

²⁰ A.D. Harvey, *Britain in the Early Nineteenth Century* (London, 1978), p.48.

²¹ Gilmartin, *Print Politics*, p. 3.

²² W.P. Davison, The Public Opinion Process, *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer, 1958), p. 98.

²³ P. Brett, 'Political Dinners in Early Nineteenth- Century Britain: Platform, Meeting place and Battleground', *History*, Vol. 81, No. 264 (1996), p. 547.

²⁴ J.P. MacKintosh, *The British Cabinet* (London, 1981). D.A. Bell, *Lawyers and Citizens: The Making of a Political Elite in Old Regime France* (New York, 1994), pp. 1-5. J.G.A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. viii-ix. P.J. Jupp, The Landed Elite and Political Authority in Britain, ca. 1760-1850, *Journal of British Studies* Vol. 29, No.1 (Jan., 1990), pp. 53-79.

²⁵ By 1808 the parliament had six hundred and fifty eight members in the House of Commons and over four hundred and sixty nine peers in the House of Lords. W.D. Robinson, *Britain's Century: A Political and Social History 1815-1905* (London, 1998), p. 282.

landholdings and ecclesiastical powers, this meant that they could influence many local elections.²⁶

The *participatory public* comprises of those aspiring to enter parliament, members of clubs or committees, the editors of newspapers and their readership, publishers and socialites involved in gatherings such as political dinners.²⁷ Also there were those who travelled to Spain and South America as part of the British Army or as liaison officers maintaining a watchful eye on developments. This group are the most socially diverse ranging from private soldiers to high ranking officers and generals who were also Members of Parliament. This study will concentrate on the officer class, those above the rank of ensign, but will use private soldiers' memoirs as a means to measure and contrast opinions. In a less structured role, a handful of Britons travelled to Spain and South America as tourists or were involved in writing travel guides and historical books. In the context of this thesis the term *British opinion* will describe the intellectual debate and opinionated criticism that took place in both public and private spaces among the politicians, newspaper readership, social club members and memoirs written by many who travelled to Spain and represented the reading public.

How does one form an opinion? Historians and analysts of opinion have conflicting views about how our ideas are formed. Opinions are sometimes shaped as, "an outcome of the structure of the society in which it was started".²⁸ Opinions or perceptions can be affected by society and manifest themselves in a sense of morality, whether a particular action is right or

²⁶ Over 50 to 60% of the House of Commons were either themselves or related to some of the largest landowners in the country and over twice as many Whigs as Tories were from entrepreneurial, commercial and banking backgrounds. Thorne, *The House of Commons 1790-1820*, p. 318. P. Jupp, *British and Irish Elections 1784-1831* (New York, 1793), p.18. E.J. Evans, *Political Parties in Britain 1783-1867* (London, 1985), p. 26.

²⁷ D. Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, 1780-1840* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.230-232. C. Parolin, *Radical Spaces: Venues of Popular Politics in London, 1790-1845* (Australia, 2010), pp. 149-152. M. Baer, 'Political Dinners in Whig, Radical and Tory Westminster, 1780-1880', *Parliamentary History*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (2005), pp. 181-206.

²⁸ W. C. Back, "Metaphors for Public Opinion in Literature", *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (Autumn, 1988), p. 278.

wrong. In the nineteenth century this was largely in reference to religion. In the case of British sentiment regarding Spain, the differences in the predominant religion, Catholic Spain and Protestant Britain, certainly influenced opinion. The views which Britons held in high esteem, such as freedom of trade, helped to justify their judgment of the affairs of Spain in the Americas.

Prior knowledge and experience can largely affect one's opinions too but before 1808 many Britons had little association with Spain. How much did the populace of Britain know about the Spanish and their institutions? Few external influences affected Spanish society in the Age of Revolution; travellers observed large cultural differences and remained detached from Spanish culture. Arguably human nature has not changed dramatically over the centuries; the syndrome of *the other* still prevails.²⁹ Even today British holiday makers in Spain commonly travel to places like the Costa del Sol which have been assimilated into British culture, *little Britain* more than Spain.

The criteria employed in this thesis to understand the opinion of individuals and groups will be to examine their political affiliation, religious outlook, nationality, experiences, responses and knowledge of Spain. To evaluate the language of the *Black Legend* words which are generally spiteful, hateful and bigoted making no attempt to use facts or evidence to support their claims will be taken to represent this.³⁰ A series of topics will be instrumental in judging the changes in British perceptions. The most common and protracted of these which were discussed by Britons were the Spanish royal family, systems of government, religion, the army, culture and the national character of the Spanish.

²⁹ Colley, *Britons; Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, p.xvi

³⁰ Guzman, *Spain's Long Shadow*, p.6. Hanke, *A Modest Proposal for a Moratorium on Grand Generalizations*, pp. 112-127.

Sources

The most prolific references to Britain's relationship and perceived views of Spain are in the area of political and military memoirs. Utilisation of these sources to understand changing perceptions involves applying the memoirs of a number of individuals over the period of time and to identify to what extent their perceptions changed. A significant number of officers in the army, political commentators and travellers in Spain wrote memoirs and letters, corresponding frequently to friends and relatives in private and on many occasions such letters found their way into the columns of British newspapers.³¹

Many individuals who fought in the Peninsular War or were members of the government at the time had further associations with Spain or South America later in their careers, some fighting in the Carlist War. One such example is Edward Costello, who began his career in the Peninsular War as a rifleman and later become a lieutenant in the British Auxiliary Legion in the Carlist War.³² A detailed study of a military and political family closely associated with Spanish affairs comes through the extensive correspondence and letters of the Wellesley family. Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) was the commander of the British Peninsular Army, Richard Wellesley, was Foreign Secretary from 1809 to 1812 and the youngest brother Henry Wellesley was the Ambassador in Cadiz from 1811 to 1821.³³ Additionally the Duke of Wellington was an active Member of Parliament, later, in the 1820's

³¹ The number of soldiers estimated to have fought in the Peninsula on land was two hundred and eleven thousand from 1808 to 1814, in the South American Wars of Independence from seven to ten thousand and in the Carlist War approximately ten thousand. The figures for the Peninsular War are taken from Andrew Bamford's study of the monthly returns to the Adjutant General found in the National Archives Series WO17. Furthermore these figures do not take into account the large naval forces engaged in these conflicts as well as the women, children and other non-combatants from Britain. A. Bamford, A Computation of the Number of British Troops Deployed to the Peninsular Theatre, 1808-1814, *The Napoleon Series*, November 2008. J.E. Cookson, *The British Armed Nation 1793-1815* (Oxford, 1997), p. 120. Brown, *Adventuring Through Spanish Colonies*, p.1. M.E. Rodriguez, *Freedom's Mercenaries; British Volunteers in the Wars of Independence of Latin America, Vol 1. Northern South America* (2006), p.7. M.E. Speirs, *Radical General: Sir George De Lacy Evans 1787-1870* (Manchester, 1983), pp. 81-82.

³² E. Costello, *Rifleman Costello - The Adventures of a Soldier of the 95th (Rifles) in the Peninsular & Waterloo Campaigns of the Napoleonic Wars* (London, 2005).

³³ I. Butler, *The Eldest Brother: The Marquess Wellesley, The Duke of Wellington's Eldest Brother* (London, 1973).

and 1830's, attaining the positions of the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary. This influential family had an extensive group of friends and colleagues to whom they frequently wrote to in both a personal and official capacity.

Members of Parliament also fought in Spain during the course of the Peninsular War, as Thorne has evaluated, over one hundred members of the House of Commons were involved in the conflict.³⁴ Significant members of the political elite which will be utilised to judge changing opinions were the members of the cabinet who determined government policy. The longest serving Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool assigned foreign affairs to his Foreign Minister Viscount Castlereagh and would only intervene when required.³⁵ Memoirs from these political and military figures are readily accessible; political correspondence and letters found in the National Archives, Foreign Office papers, and the Archivo Historico Nacional in Madrid contain diplomatic correspondence relating to Spain. The British Ambassadors' reports also include letters from their contacts, consular reports and private correspondence. These enclose responses to the ambassadors' reports from the Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister.

This study will also be engaging with the newspapers, which have provided a crucial understanding into the public expression of opinions and perceptions of Spain. Newspapers are a constant stream of information, as opposed to the use of a source from one individual who has a limited scope of experience on a matter. For decades several newspapers continued reporting readers', as well as their own reporter's, views on Spanish affairs. This also helps to ascertain the rippling effect of interest in Spain and gives an immediate interpretation of events, which memoirs, often written in hindsight lack. Many Peninsular War memoirs were written and published during the time of the Carlist War and infer more about the time they were

³⁴ For a comprehensive list see Thorne, *The House of Commons 1790-1820*, p. 308-313.

³⁵ A. Haigh, *Congress of Vienna to Common Market: British Foreign Policy 1815-1972* (London, 1973), p.24.

circulated than the events documented. Alternatively the memoirs written about South America were only published several years after the event.

A common dilemma with the accounts from private soldiers is that many were illiterate and so used a scribe to convey their recollections in the aftermath of events, an example being James Todd's *Journal of a Soldier of the 71st*, which was scribed by John Howell.³⁶ Tim Flannery says of Howell, he "befriended old soldiers and sailors, spending months writing down or editing their life stories".³⁷ According to Flannery it is dubious whether many of the words and descriptions within this memoir are the personnel words of Todd, Howell like many authors, would describe events captivatingly to the reading public and added a sense of embellishment to the document. At the other extreme, officers' and generals' descriptions are sharply etched because of their superlative education, articulation of their experiences being more fluid and gave a broader perspective of events on and off the battlefield and the overall political situation.³⁸ Sergeant William Lawrence's account contradicts this and reads like "poetry of above the standard of an Eton boys verses" and in the recent work of Coss, he has argued that the penmanship of various British private soldiers was more expressive than was previously perceived.³⁹

The accuracy of a number of accounts is questionable, particularly travellers' accounts which read more like a history book than a travellers descriptions of place and culture. It is not the nature of this study to look extensively at art, literature, poems and songs about Spain in the early nineteenth century by both British and Spanish observers, as in recent years this has

³⁶ J. Todd, *Bayonets, Bugles and Bonnets: Experiences of Hard Soldiering with the 71st Foot, the Highland Light Infantry, Through Many Battles of the Napoleonic Wars Including the Peninsular and Waterloo Campaigns* (London, 2006).

³⁷ M. Brown, *The Life of Alexander Alexander and the Spanish Atlantic, 1799-1822*, in C.A. Williams, *Bridging the Early Modern Atlantic World: People, Products, and Practices on the Move* (London, 2009), pp.210-211.

³⁸ G. Duby, J. Wicke & D. Moschenberg, *Memories with No Historian*, *Yale French Studies*, No. 59, *Rethinking History: Time, Myth, and Writing* (1980), pp. 7-16.

³⁹ Lawrence, *Sergeant Lawrence*, p.8. E. J. Coss, *All for the King's Shilling: The British Soldier Under Wellington, 1808-1814* (London, 2010), pp. 51-52 & 119.

received an appreciable amount of coverage.⁴⁰ However periodicals which wrote about social and cultural aspects, as well as gentleman's magazines, religious and mercantile periodicals will be examined.

Reading the newspapers of the day introduces its own problems; an important key to understanding the political attitudes of a newspaper is to understand the editor, as editors decided the content of their newspaper reflections of their personal opinion become evident. The staunchest Tory paper of the era was *The Times* which customarily followed government policy. John Stoddart, politically conservative in nature, became editor in 1809 and was replaced from 1817 to 1841 with the sympathetic reformer Thomas Barnes, having previously been a parliamentary reporter for numerous newspapers.⁴¹ The majority of newspapers during the early nineteenth century were inclined to take a Whig approach to politics which was aimed at reform and criticising the Tory government of the time. One of the most Whiggish newspapers was the *Morning Chronicle* edited by James Perry.⁴² At the radical end of the spectrum there was William Cobbett's *Weekly Political Register* and John and Leigh Hunt's *Examiner*.⁴³ These editors also became strong figures in their own right; Edward Baines, editor

⁴⁰ For references to represent historiography on British literature and the arts involving Spain see, D. Saglia, "O My Mother Spain!": The Peninsular War, Family Matters, and the Practice of Romantic Nation-Writing, *ELH*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (Summer, 1998), pp. 363-393. For the influences of the Spanish on British culture see, M. Murphy, *Blanco White: Self-Banished Spaniard* (Yale, 1989). Howarth, *The Invention of Spain*. Kamen, *The Disinherited*.

⁴¹ John Stoddart (1773-1856) a lawyer and leading political writer of *The Times* in the Napoleonic Wars. Thomas Barnes (1785-1841) studied law at Cambridge and started writing for *The Times* as a theatre critic and became editor in 1817. D. Griffiths, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press 1422-1992* (New York, 1992), p.90. S. E. Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain* (London, 1981), pp. 202 & 466.

⁴² James Perry (1756-1821) started reporting for the General Advertiser and London Evening Post in 1779, established the European Magazine and became owner and editor of the *Morning Chronicle* in 1790. I. R. Christie, 'James Perry of the *Morning Chronicle*, 1756-1821', *Myth and Reality in Late-Eighteenth-Century British Politics, and Other Papers* (London, 1970). I. Asquith, Advertising and the Press in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: James Perry and the Morning Chronicle 1790-1821, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Dec, 1975), pp. 703-718.

⁴³ William Cobbett (1763-1835) In his early life he served in the Army as a clerk from 1783 to 1791, lived in America from 1792 to 1800 and wrote articles condemning the French Revolution and later in Britain wrote his *Radical Political Journal*, *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*. James Henry Leigh Hunt (1784-1859) and John Hunt (1775-1848) in 1808 they both launched the *Examiner* and were arrested in 1812 for criticism of the monarchy. Griffiths, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, pp. 160 & 325-326. H. Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society 1695-1855* (London, 2000), p. 197. M. Conboy, *Language of*

and founder of the *Leeds Mercury*, from 1801 to 1833, also acquired, in 1827, the *Liverpool Advertiser* which his son Edward inherited, he became Member of Parliament for Leeds, in 1834.⁴⁴ Newspapers also enlisted a number of political writers and politicians who wrote articles to gain notoriety and a wider readership.⁴⁵

In the nineteenth century, the newspapers developed into an influential political force to cajole political and governmental opinion, with politicians soliciting the press to their advantage.⁴⁶ In order to gain the support of the press, political parties would fund newspapers, “the opposition Whigs appreciated the growing importance of public opinion and Whigs funds were given to support both London newspapers like the *Morning Chronicle* and sections of the provincial press”.⁴⁷ Not only did the Whigs fund the press but the Tories, who were predominantly in power, made sure that various newspapers supported government policy, for instance *The Times* received £300 per year, to print certain articles and reviews, until 1835 when it became publicly funded.⁴⁸ Evans stresses that,

“The press in the 1810’s was playing a large part in making public opinion and public opinion itself was growing in importance. The widespread distress of the public from 1815 to 1820 was a godsend to polemical journalists and cartoonists”.⁴⁹

Newspapers: Socio-Historical Perspectives (London, 2010), p. 65. J. A. Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790–1850* (London, 1994), pp. 37 & 80-85.

⁴⁴ Edward Baines (1774-1848) editor of the *Leeds Mercury*, very outspoken about Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform. He was elected as Member of Parliament for Leeds in 1834. Griffiths, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, p. 84.

⁴⁵ I. McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 39 & 69.

⁴⁶ P. Ihalien, *Agents of the People: Democracy and Popular Sovereignty in British and Swedish Parliamentary and Public Debates, 1734-1800* (Boston, 2010), pp. 35-36. J. Black, *The English Press 1621-1861* (Gloucestershire, 2001), p. 90.

⁴⁷ Evans, *Political Parties in Britain 1783-1867*, p. 9.

⁴⁸ B. Lake, *British Newspapers; A History and Guide for Collectors* (London, 1984), p.63. P. Hollis, *The Pauper Press* (Oxford, 1970), p.27.

⁴⁹ Evans, *Political Parties in Britain 1783-1867*, p. 27.

Wellington in the late 1820's admitted to his distaste that the country was governed by 'Gentleman of the Press'. He had a long history of grievances with the newspapers after their criticisms of his conduct during the Peninsular War. His successor Lord Grey said that he "prided himself on having always kept clear of the press and said that he had the worst opinion of those connected with it".⁵⁰ Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary in the Carlist War actively encouraged the consuls in Spain to send their reports to the *Morning Chronicle*, to compete with the information that *The Times* received.⁵¹ Whether politicians engaged with the newspapers or abstained, they could not escape the increasing influences and appeal which they had on the voting public.

Conboy emphasises the importance which newspapers possessed to the 19th century reader, "language is a thoroughly social activity and newspapers extend that activity beyond the confines of face to face discourse to an extended, imagined community of kinship based on nation".⁵² Increasingly newspapers believed they acted as a forum for impartial and political discussion, referred to by many as the *Fourth Estate*.⁵³ Peter Jupp argues that the public received increasing access to parliamentary speeches, debates and information on policy through the medium of the reports in the newspapers. Journalists slowly gained access to direct information from the House of Commons. By 1808, the House of Commons allowed sixty to seventy reporters into the viewer's gallery, leading to the creation of special parliamentary reporters. After 1803, parliament released official public reports; never before had Westminster's politics been more visible to the public.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Aspinall, *Politics and the Press 1780-1850*, p.2.

⁵¹ K. Bourne, *Palmerston: The Early Years 1784-1841* (London, 1982), p. 486.

⁵² Conboy, *Language of Newspapers*, p. 3.

⁵³ B. Wilson, *The Laughter of Triumph: William Hore and the Fight for the Free Press* (London, 2005), p.3.

⁵⁴ Thorne, *The House of Commons 1790-1820*, p. 333. R.M.W. Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland: A Study of its First Expansion 1815-1860* (Glasgow, 1946), p.27. N. Gaboy, *The Political Origins of Social Science: the Cultural Transformation of the British Parliament and the Emergence of Scientific Policy Making, 1803-1857* (California, 2007), pp. 103-108.

Not only did the coverage of parliamentary affairs escalate but so did that of foreign affairs. A need for more authoritative information led newspapers to employ foreign correspondents. One of the earliest war correspondents for *The Times* was Henry Crabb Robinson who reported on the war in Spain and Germany during the Napoleonic Wars.⁵⁵ By the Carlist War, twenty five years later, many of the leading newspapers employed correspondents or reporters in Spain to examine the war. In many instances they travelled amidst the forces of Queen Isabella and the pretender Don Carlos, leading to the Spanish authorities accusations of spying and causing dissent.⁵⁶

Historians have debated over the accessibility of newspapers to individuals and assessed and quantified figures through tax records on the stamp duty paid for each newspaper produced.⁵⁷ In 1801, the average number of newspapers sold by a single publisher was three thousand copies such as the *Morning Herald* and *Morning Advertiser*; a modest paper like the *Leeds Mercury* sold seven to eight hundred copies a day. By 1821 this increased with *The Times* selling seven thousand copies daily and its rival the *Morning Chronicle* selling three thousand.⁵⁸ In comparison the well-established intellectual and cultural magazine, the *Edinburgh Review*, was by 1814 selling over thirteen thousand copies a year.⁵⁹ The total number of papers sold a year dramatically rose from fourteen million, in 1790, to over thirty one million by 1835 and to forty eight million only two years later.⁶⁰ It is difficult for historians to quantify how many people actually read these newspapers; one paper could be read by many

⁵⁵ Henry Crabb Robinson (1775-1867) editor of *The Times* and special correspondent in Spain from 1808 to 1809. Griffiths, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, p. 494. T. Sadler, *Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson* (London, 1869).

⁵⁶ FO72/463, George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 26th November, 1836. FO72/484, George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 4th November, 1837.

⁵⁷ Barker, & Burrows, (ed.), *Press, Politics and the Public Sphere in Europe and North America, 1760-1820*, p.110

⁵⁸ Black, *The English Press 1621-1861*, p. 90. B. Fontana, *Rethinking the Politics of Commercial Society: The Edinburgh Review 1802-1832* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 3-4.

⁵⁹ G. Pattinger, *Heirs of the Enlightenment: Edinburgh Reviewers and Writers 1800-1830* (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 3.

⁶⁰ Gaboy, *The Political Origins of Social Science*, p. 108.

people who shared their copy in social groups or coffee houses. Additionally some people read more than one newspaper.⁶¹ Denis O'Bryan has estimated that over two hundred and fifty thousand were sold in London each week, with ten readers to each paper, which quantifies as over one third of the London population, which correlates with the estimated literacy rate being between 60 to 70 %.⁶²

To analyse the newspapers of the early nineteenth century a number of online database archives have been utilised. One of the main databases utilised is the nineteenth Century British Library newspaper collection in addition to *The Times Digital Archive 1785-2006*, *Scotsman Digital Archive 1817-1950* and the *British Periodicals Database* with numerous periodicals on subjects including religion, culture, commerce and political satire. From these databases the number used in this thesis was forty five newspapers, journals and magazines; this represents fourteen from London, twenty two from England, six from Scotland, two from Ireland and one from Wales. As the preference of these archives is to use search engines, in this investigation a variety of words have been applied to locate information. Typically the use of *Spanish*, *Spain*, *South America* and *opinion* capture an overall comprehension of related articles. In addition specific words were applied to particular issues. For example, in connection to religion, *inquisition* and *priests* and for the Spanish government *Cortes*, *constitution* and *Junta* were employed. Additionally place names and people, particularly *King Ferdinand VII* and *Don Carlos* and prominent members of Spain and Britain's political class were utilised as search criteria.

⁶¹ T. Bickham, *Making Headlines: the American Revolution as Seen Through the British Press* (Illinois, 2009), p.29.

⁶² Barker, & Burrows, (eds.), *Press, Politics and the Public Sphere in Europe and North America, 1760-1820*, pp.103-104. E. G. West, Literacy and the Industrial Revolution, *Economic History Review*, Vol. XXXI, No.3., August 1978.

Context of British Perceptions of Spain

This brief introduction will consider the general concepts in British history which affected opinions of Spain, before proceeding to the immediate period examined in this thesis. The men and women, who were involved in the Peninsular War and thereafter, were born between the 1760's and the 1780's. Therefore it is critical to investigate how their opinions of Spain affected their outlook on the country in the 1810's.

For centuries the protection of the British Isles followed a homologous course, in the words of Francis Bacon "he that commands the sea is at great liberty", agreeing with what English sailors and later the Royal Navy aimed to achieve. Defending the isles from invasion but also protecting merchants and economic interests from afar. Peter Marshall argues that Britain's sense of the *Black Legend* became prominent in English culture during the reigns of Queen Mary I and Elizabeth I.⁶³ In Elizabeth's reign England feared numerous invasions from Spain and infiltration of the Spanish Inquisition onto English soil. Maltby argues that the Spanish Armada of 1588 is significant, "Even today, many regard it as one of the greatest watersheds of human history, a primal conflict between all that is good, truth and liberal and the powers of darkness, intolerance and superstition".⁶⁴

The separation of the British Isles from the Church of Rome helped to form a British identity, extricating itself from Catholic European countries and finding common ground with other Protestant nations. Whoever controlled the Low Countries had the means to invade Britain, which in 1588 was the Spanish, and subsequently led to Britain waging war against France on numerous occasions, most noticeably in 1793 during the French Revolution.⁶⁵ Closer

⁶³ P. Marshall, The Other Black Legend: The Henrician Reformation and the Spanish People, *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 116, No. 465 (Feb., 2001), p. 46.

⁶⁴ W.S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, 1971), p. 44.

⁶⁵ G. Sheffield, *Forgotten Victory: the First World War: Myths and Realities* (London, 2002), p. 41.

relationships with the Dutch materialised in the Glorious Revolution of 1689. Increasing French aggression towards the Dutch and a firm alliance existing between the French and the Spanish in the eighteenth century, left Britain in fear of invasion, an illustration being Reverend William Tilly, who was apprehensive of a Spanish-French invasion in 1739. He wrote in his private journal, “if the French or Spanish... would venture 1,000 men... they would quickly have 10,000 [Catholics] to join them”,⁶⁶ illustrating two theories, panic of invasion from abroad and trepidation that British Catholics might support Catholics from other nations over national loyalties. The Spanish also, from a Scottish viewpoint, were implicated in supporting the Jacobites during the 1719 rebellion.⁶⁷ As late as 1779 during the American Revolution, with the intervention of Spain in the war, the French and Spanish conspired to send another Armada to take advantage of the conflict in the Americas to invade Britain.⁶⁸

The British defeat of the French and Spanish Navy at Trafalgar was a landmark in the war effort; setting in motion British naval superiority and providing Britain with a breathing space before Napoleon implemented his next move. Britain’s foreign policy was based on keeping the balance of power in Europe, and being as amicable with the major powers as possible, so no one power should be too dominant and threaten British economic interests.⁶⁹ With this principle Britain had never been on the losing side in a European conflict, playing its part in the treaties after the wars but increasing its dominance at the same time.

Aside from these larger international issues another key factor was religion. In the eighteenth century, “English anti-Catholicism can be said to have manifested itself under three main

⁶⁶ C. Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c.1714-80: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester, 1993), p.4.

⁶⁷ L.B. Smith, *Spain and Britain 1715-1719: The Jacobite Issue* (London, 1987).

⁶⁸ A. T. Patterson, *The Other Armada: the Franco-Spanish Attempt to Invade Britain in 1779* (Manchester, 1960). R. Middleton, *The War of American Independence, 1775-1783* (New York, 2012).

⁶⁹ G. Craig, *The System of Alliances and the Balance of Power*, in J.P.T. Bury (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. X, the Zenith of European Power 1830-70* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 249.

headings, political distrust, theoretical disagreement and popular fear".⁷⁰ Britain according to the historian Sheridan Gilley was 'great' because it adopted the Reformation and the Protestant ethics of industry, sobriety and enterprise.⁷¹ Britons believed that they were the true chosen people of God rather than the falsehood of Catholicism, ultimately leading to the belief that Roman Catholicism stood for cruelty, tyranny and popery.⁷²

Historically the examples of the bloody reign of Mary Tudor, the ineffectiveness of James II and the failure of the Spanish Armada reaffirmed this. Catholicism, from a British perspective, went hand in hand with cruelty. The most commonly used explanation of these old ideas was Bartolome de Las Casas' book, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, written in 1542 and published in 1552. Las Casas witnessed the events of the expansion of the Spanish empire in the Americas and highly criticised how these lands were being conquered. Interestingly Las Casas book was reprinted in English in 1583, 1695, 1656, 1689, 1699 and 1745, when Anglo Spanish relations were most strained.⁷³ In England John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, first published in 1563, celebrated protestant martyrs in the reign of Mary Tudor and largely influenced the perception of Catholic Church for generations.⁷⁴

In the realm of trade, too, Britain became very protective towards its merchants; a clear example is the War of Jenkins Ear which fuelled sentiments of hostility to Spain and the notion that British merchants had a right to trade where they pleased.⁷⁵ Since the Emancipation Act,

⁷⁰ Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c.1714-80*, p.3.

⁷¹ Gilley, *Roman Catholicism*, in D.G. Paz, (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century English Religious Traditions: Retrospect and Prospect* (London, 1995), p.33. Colley, *Britons; Forging the Nation 1707-1837*.

⁷² R.D. Tumbleson, *Catholicism in the English Protestant Imagination: Nationalism, Religion, and Literature 1600-1745* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 12-14. J.N. Hilgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Michigan, 2003), p.361.

Colley, *Britons; Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, p.29.

⁷³ J. A. Llorente (ed.), *Colección de las obras del venerable obispo de Chiapas don Bartolomé de Las Casas* (1822). Keen, *The Black Legend Revisited*, pp. 717.

⁷⁴ J.N. King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 1-4.

⁷⁵ M. Taylor, John Bull and the Iconography of Public Opinion in England c. 1712-1929, *Past and Present*, No. 134 (Feb., 1992), pp. 93-128. J. Black, *British Foreign Policy in an Age of Revolutions 1783-1793* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 17-18.

of 1791, had legalised Catholic worship a new generation of politically active middle-class Catholics emerged however they still experienced social prejudices directed against them.⁷⁶ The fear of Catholic retribution and invasion was still a possibility, particularly if an army could enlist the support of the widespread Catholic population of Ireland.⁷⁷ With all these ideas and fears of Catholicism, Spanish invasion and conflict's with empire, very few Britons had travelled to Spain.

Scholars and travellers did however start to commit to paper their accounts and experiences of the country such as Joseph Townsend and Henry Swinburne.⁷⁸ In 1775, in Barcelona, Swinburne commented "I am afraid we are come here a century too soon, or a century too late, and that the old original cast is worn off the Spaniards, without their having thoroughly acquired the polish of France or England".⁷⁹ This confirms that Swinburne's idea of Spain and Spaniards, the chivalric old Grande cast of the Spanish character in the golden age of empire, embodied in Don Quixote was not to be found. Additionally an eclectic circle of people, which had an impact on British political and cultural perceptions of Spain were the Holland family. Henry Richard Fox, Lord Holland and his wife Elizabeth Fox, Lady Holland, travelled to Spain from 1802 to 1805.⁸⁰ They were accompanied by Fredrick Howard, son of Lord Carlisle, his tutor the Reverent Matthew Marsh, also a friend to the Hollands and Mr. John Allen the

⁷⁶ Gilley, *Roman Catholicism*, in Paz, (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century English Religious Traditions*, p.37. A.W. Smith, *Irish Rebels and English Radicals 1798-1820*, *Past and Present*, No.7 (April, 1955), p.2.

⁷⁷ T. Pakenham, *The Year of Liberty: History of the Great Irish Rebellion of 1798* (London, 2000).

⁷⁸ Joseph Townsend (1739-1816) physician, geologist and vicar of Pewsey in Wiltshire, ordained in the Church of England in 1763 and educated at Edinburgh University. J. Townsend, *A Journey Through Spain in the Year 1786 and 1787* (London, 1791). Henry Swinburne (1743-1803) English travel writer. H. Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain, in the Years 1775 and 1776* (London, 1787).

⁷⁹ Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain, in the Years 1775 and 1776*, Vol. I, p. 14.

⁸⁰ Henry Richard Vassall-Fox, 3rd Baron Holland (1773-1840) nephew of Charles James Fox and Whig Member of the Lords, Lord Privy Seal from 1806 to 1807, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster from 1830 to 1834 and 1835 to 1840 and cabinet member under Lord Gray and Melbourne. C. J. Wright, 'Fox, Henry Richard, third Baron Holland of Holland and third Baron Holland of Foxley (1773-1840)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10035, accessed 27 Feb 2013]

Holland's doctor and later librarian.⁸¹ On subsequent trips to Spain the Hollands invited their close friend and political colleague John Russell who later became a liberal Prime Minister.⁸²

Lady Holland wrote affectionately of what she saw and had a clearer understanding of Miguel de Cervantes' book *Don Quixote*,

“In England I thought it a flat, burlesque work; now I think it without exception much the most amusing production of human wit. It is the only book which ever excited my risible faculties, as when I read it, I cannot refrain from bursting out into a loud laugh”.⁸³

Don Quixote became a reference point to Britain's to understand Spain, many still felt it had a bearing on Spain in the early nineteenth century, even though it was rather archaic. This fascination with the country would lead the Holland's to have one of the largest libraries of Spanish literature in Britain. The Holland House circle and their associated friends were certainly influenced by the Hollands' links with Spain. This was however the exception and not the rule and many still had little connection with Spain.

Other associations and literature had equal importance to the understanding of Spain. William Robertson, the Scottish clergyman and Edinburgh University Principal, was certainly influential amongst literary circles enlightening Britain's understanding of Spain in the late eighteenth century. In 1769 he published, *The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V*. By 1802, thirty three years later, the book was on its 10th edition.⁸⁴ He wrote various letters to the British ambassadors in Spain, Thomas Robinson and Sir Benjamin Keene, the favourite of the Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole. William Wilberforce, one of Britain's campaigners

⁸¹ E. Vassall & G.S.H. Fox Strangways, *The Spanish Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland* (London, 1910), p.1.

⁸² P. Scherer, *Lord John Russell: A Biography* (London, 1999), pp. 16-19. F. Horner, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner, M.P.* (London, 1853), pp. 338-339.

⁸³ Vassall & Fox Strangways, *The Spanish Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland*, p. 19.

⁸⁴ Haworth, *The Invention of Spain*, pp. 5-13.

against slavery, engaged Robertson for further information about slavery in the Spanish Americas.⁸⁵ Most literature in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century focused on Spain's economic decline. Adam Smith, like his predecessors, such as John Locke, observed that the destruction of the country was due to the abundant quantities of gold and silver from the New World, Locke wrote that, "Spain seemed as poor as the American wilderness".⁸⁶ For the generation who were participating in the Peninsular War, many arrive with the ingrained stereotypical ideas of the Spanish character (detailed in this section) however as the following chapter will examine some of these ideas would be reinforced and changed.

⁸⁵ D. B. Davis, *The Problems of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (London, 1975), pp.66-67.

⁸⁶ Thomas Robinson, 7th Baron Grantham (1738-1786) British ambassador in Spain from 1771 to 1779. Sir Benjamin Keene British ambassador from 1724 to 1739 and from 1749 to 1757. Haworth, *The Invention of Spain*, p. 16.

Chapter One: The Peninsular War 1808 to 1814

The Peninsular War has had a substantial amount of historiography devoted to it from its conclusion to the present day. It has become a byword for the achievements of the British Army and helped to create the iconic image of one of the nation's greatest military commanders, the Duke of Wellington. Although a ubiquitous subject, the descriptions of the involvement of the Spanish in the war by British historians in more recent years, has led to a re-evaluation of the conflict.⁸⁷ Nevertheless historians still favour a negative view of the Spanish war effort as part of their narrative.⁸⁸ For instance Parkinson states in 1813 that Wellington's headquarters was "in the small, dirty village of Lesaca" in the Basque country, however there is no evidence to suggest that this village, and others, were dirty and fuels the flippant way Spain has been described in the Peninsular War.⁸⁹ This chapter helps to readdress an overall opinion of the Spanish, taking both negative and positive comments into account, and evaluating whether the unenthusiastic perception of the Spanish by the British is justified.

This examination will first focus on how the British initially reacted to the Spanish challenging Napoleon's authority and becoming an ally of Britain. Did most negative perceptions of the Spanish form due to the foundations of the legacy of the failings of Anglo-Spanish military relations during the early years of the war? In challenging this how did perceptions from 1812 start to alter with further interactions with the Spanish populous and changing political infrastructure. This chapter will also instil the nucleus of ideas which will

⁸⁷ F.D. Lopez, La Peninsula para uso de ingleses: libros británicos de material Española, 1800-1850, *Cuadernos de Ilustración y Romanticismo*, Revista Digital del Grupo de Estudios del Siglo XVIII, No 18. (2012). Paz, British Popular Opinion of the Peninsular War: 1808-1814. C. J. Esdaile, *Fighting Napoleon: Guerrillas, Bandits and Adventures in Spain 1808-1814* (London, 2004).

⁸⁸ P. W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics 1763-1848* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 344-346. Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer*, p.194. R. Muir, *Britain and the Defeat of Napoleon, 1807-1815* (London, 1996). Charter, Rosenhaft, & Smith (eds.) *Civilians and War in Europe 1618-1815*, pp. 223-234.

⁸⁹ Parkinson, *The Peninsular War*, p. 191.

be discussed further and provide a starting point to investigate the changes in opinion, demonstrating the wider views held by British observers.

From the outset in May 1808, Britain's parliamentarians were interested in discovering the news of the uprising of the Spanish against Napoleon's rule. According to Norman Gash, "British public opinion was not slow to seize its significance".⁹⁰ Britain, by this point, had very few allies in Europe in the fight against Napoleon Bonaparte, after successive Austrian, Prussian and Russian armies had been crushed in previous years.⁹¹ Although Gash's view is just, the British newspapers were apprehensive and were not overly enthusiastic in their opinion of Spanish resistance regarding France. For instance, *The York Herald* wrote "that the people are unfriendly to the French is not to be believed ... for the people of any country may quarrel with those persons as guests, to whom they may have no objections".⁹² This along with similar comments in *Jacksons Oxford Journal* clearly shows that they both believed that it was only a handful of troublemakers that were causing the French soldiers any hardship and that many Spaniards were indifferent.⁹³

Members of the British government were reserved in their support of the Spanish. Mr George Ponsonby, a member of the Whig party, said "it was, above all, necessary to ascertain the true feelings and spirit of the Spanish people, what their union was, and how far their power of co-operation really extended".⁹⁴ The government did not want to embark in a war by allying itself with an unrepresentative body from another country. This level of uncertainty is confirmed in the *Scots Magazine* which tried to give its readers some perception of events. However it was

⁹⁰ N. Gash, *Lord Liverpool, The Life and Political Career of Robert Banks Jenkinson Second Earl of Liverpool 1770-1828* (London, 1984), p. 71.

⁹¹ D. Chandler, *The Dictionary of the Napoleonic Wars* (London, 1999), p. 332.

⁹² *The York Herald*, 7th May, 1808.

⁹³ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 4th June, 1808.

⁹⁴ George Ponsonby (1773-1863) nephew of Earl Grey and Whig Member of Parliament for Kilkenny in 1806, Cork from 1806 to 1812 and Youghal from 1826 to 1832. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume IV*, pp. 862-863. *The Times*, 25th February, 1808.

“so involved in confusion and mystery, that we know not how to give anything like an intelligible abstract of it”.⁹⁵ With Napoleon’s invasion, the capture of Ferdinand VII and the establishment of Napoleon’s brother, Joseph as King of Spain incorporating his own ministers into positions of power, there was no legal Spanish authority with which the British could conduct any form of diplomacy. The *Caledonian Mercury* strongly advocated “that the Spanish people...were rebels, and ought to be punished as such”.⁹⁶ Therefore for the time being all the British government and newspapers could do was deliberate about the developments in Spain as there was no general outcry to help the Spanish. Consequently to say that Britain was overly supportive of the Spanish in the early days of, what would become the Peninsular War is not entirely justified.

This opinion quickly changed due to the first declaration for aid coming from Asturias delegates, Vizconde de Matarrosa and Andreas Angel de la Vega, soon to be followed by delegates from Seville and Galicia.⁹⁷ When these Spanish representatives arrived in London in June, George Canning the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs professed “the cause of the Spanish patriots had united all England in a surge of enthusiasm and hope”.⁹⁸ Whether this was true Robert Jenkinson, Lord Liverpool the Home Secretary, understood the necessity for supporting Spain, in his own characteristically forthright language reinforcing the just cause, to rid themselves of “a powerful and sanguinary tyrant”, Napoleon Bonaparte.⁹⁹ One of the justifications for war was to help a neighbouring nation in its time of need, but also to initiate the end to Napoleon’s empire in Europe and restore the balance of power.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ *Scots Magazine*, May, 1808, pp. 377-379.

⁹⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 4th May, 1808.

⁹⁷ J.M.C. Toribio, *La Guerra de la Independencia: un Conflict Decisive 1808-1814* (Madrid, 2006), p. 172. Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History*, p. 88.

⁹⁸ D. Gray, *Spencer Perceval: The Evangelical Prime Minister 1762-1812* (Oxford, 1963), p.178.

⁹⁹ Gash, *Lord Liverpool*, p. 71. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume IV*, pp. 300-306.

¹⁰⁰ Saglia, “O My Mother Spain!”, pp. 363-393. J.C. Herold, *The Age of Napoleon* (New York, 2002), p.220.

Opinions altered in the newspapers with *The Morning Post* stating that, “an object of sympathy and interest to the British nation, as well, because in case of a successful issue, it would liberate Spain itself from the most odious tyranny and oppression”.¹⁰¹ Additionally the language in many articles used words such as, *noble struggle* or *course, freedom and liberty* and the *bravery and loyalty of the Spanish people*.¹⁰² These articles aimed at igniting public interests in the ensuing conflict which also caused the *literati* to view the Spaniards as a heroic nation just like Britain standing up to the might of Napoleon. The poet Thomas Campbell with his rather romantic view of how the Spanish would benefit from British assistance wrote “they will become a free people and have, like us, their Sidneys (Thomas Townsend) and Chathams (William Pitt, The Elder). Oh sweet and romantic Spain! If the Spanish succeed I shall die of joy, if not, of grief”.¹⁰³ Now Bonaparte was seen as a *destroyer of Kings and Kingdoms* and there was an emergence of British romantic nationalism which was reinforced with Spanish popular resistance to him.¹⁰⁴

This idea was used by authors such as Robert Southey, who had been to Spain from 1795 to 1797, comparing the fight of the Spanish against the Moors in the past reflected in the present events in Spain, the French seen as the heathen Moor.¹⁰⁵ Southey also wrote articles about old Spain such as the *Chronicles of the Cid, From the Spanish*.¹⁰⁶ In October 1808, James Wodrow had these enthusiastic words to say about the Spanish patriots and British sentiment, “all the

¹⁰¹ *The Morning Post*, 15th July 1808.

¹⁰² *Anti-Jacobin Review*, June, 1808, pp. 203-204. *The Tradesman or Commercial Magazine*, August, 1808, p.162. *The Morning Post*, 23rd September, 1808.

¹⁰³ Thomas Campbell (1777-1844) a poet how wrote a number of patriotic songs during the French Revolution. Later in 1820, he became the editor of the *New Monthly Magazine* and the Rector of the University of Glasgow from 1826 to 1829. M. R. Miller, *Thomas Campbell* (London, 1978). Gray, *Spencer Perceval*, p.179. W. Beattie, *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell* (London, 1850), p.110.

¹⁰⁴ *The European Magazine*, July, 1808, p.67.

¹⁰⁵ Robert Southey (1774-1843) poet, author and reviewer. He became fluent in both Spanish and Portuguese due to his travels and from 1795 to 1797 wrote *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal*. He wrote for the *Quarterly Review* and received after 1807 a yearly stipend to support the Liverpool administration. G. Carnall, *Robert Southey and His Age* (Oxford, 1960). M. Storey, *Robert Southey: a life* (Oxford, 1997).

¹⁰⁶ *The Annual Review and History of Literature* 7, January, 1808, pp. 91-99. *Monthly Review*, February 1811, pp.131-144.

inhabitants of Britain and the friends of liberty in every country in ardent wishes” for Spain.¹⁰⁷ There was also the idea that, Spain would experience a sense of liberty which only Britain would understand, and ultimately this seems to be a very patriotic stance to take at this time towards the Spanish by the British.¹⁰⁸

There was on the whole no opposition towards the war, but various members of the Whig party raised concerns. John Fane, 10th Earl of Westmorland wrote to Henry Vassall-Fox, 3rd Baron Holland observing, “the Spaniards... had got into a d—d scrape, and if we did not look sharp they would drag us into it too”.¹⁰⁹ This shows that several politicians thought that the war in Spain did not concern Britain and that in the Whig tradition; war with France was not in Britain’s best interests.¹¹⁰ After over fifteen years of conflict costing the nation millions of pounds and with the more radical Whig politicians seeing Napoleon as the symbol of progress, a war in Spain was unthinkable.¹¹¹

Aside from this issue William Cobbett’s *Weekly Political Register* declared that Spain might be better under the administration of the Bonaparte. Cobbett’s reason for this opinion was that Ferdinand was an unworthy monarch, gaining power by betraying his father and that it was a lack of discernment that gentlemen at the city of London taverns toasted for the restoration of Ferdinand.¹¹² This is a bold statement by Cobbett, as he had no real idea what Ferdinand would be like as a ruler; in fact few in Britain knew much about Ferdinand’s personality with no real

¹⁰⁷James Wodrow (1730-1810) a Church of Scotland Minister. Studied at Glasgow University, became the library keeper and received a doctorate of divinity. M. Fitzpatrick, ‘*The Enlightenment, Politics and Providence: Some Scottish and English Comparisons*’, in K. Haakonssen, (ed.), *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 1996), pp. 64–98 · G. Kelly, *Women, Writing and Revolution 1790-1827* (Oxford, 1993), p. 167.

¹⁰⁸ Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, pp. 310-311.

¹⁰⁹ John Fane, 10th Earl of Westmorland (1759-1841) Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1789 to 1794 and Lord Privy Seal from 1798 to 1806 and 1807 to 1827. A. Aspinall, (ed.), *The Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales, 1770–1812*, Vol. 8: *1811–1812* (London, 1971), p. 477. Gray, *Spencer Perceval*, p.424.

¹¹⁰ G. Davies, “The Whigs and the Peninsular War, 1808-1814.” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. Vol. 2 (London, 1919), pp.113-131. C. D. Hall, *British Strategy in the Napoleonic War 1803-15* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 61-62.

¹¹¹Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History*, p. 4.

¹¹² *Cobbett’s Weekly Political Register*, 19th November, 1808.

extensive writings or publications about him. Cobbett presumed that he would be similar to his father Charles IV, who was described in the *Scots Magazine* as being “a mere idiot” and in the *Anti Jacobin Review* as “the scourge of his kingdom” for his “weakness”.¹¹³ This was in reference to the fact that the First Minister, Manuel de Godoy had manoeuvred Spain into the predicament which she found herself in.¹¹⁴ This is significant as it is a clear demonstration of views resembling that of the *Black Legend*, of an insufficient Spanish monarch leading his people towards instability and suffering.¹¹⁵

No matter what the radicals and Whigs deliberated, George III officially declared that peace with Spain and an alliance would exist after 4th July 1808 and in the king’s speech to the House of Commons he identified British intentions as “perseverance in the cause of the legitimate monarchy, and of the national independence of Spain”.¹¹⁶ The British Army dispatched to Spain would be a liberating force that would restore the country to its former status, with Ferdinand as king.

The government rapidly dispatched the British Army and was also accommodating in repatriating Spaniards to fight for their country. A letter from the War Office to *Lieutenant-Colonel* Charles Doyle informed him that, “his majesty having been pleased to direct that the Spanish prisoners of war in this country should be immediately sent back to Spain ...you have been selected by his majesty as an officer adequate with the Spanish language”.¹¹⁷ These one

¹¹³ *Scots Magazine*, May, 1808, pp. 377-379. *Anti-Jacobin Review*, June, 1808, pp. 203-204.

¹¹⁴ C. Oman, *A History of the Peninsular War, Vol. I* (London, 1902), pp.39-43.

¹¹⁵ C.L. Ishikawa, *Spain in The Age of Exploration, 1492-1819* (Lincoln, 2004), pp. 68-70.

¹¹⁶ *The New Annual Register*, January, 1809, p.321.

¹¹⁷ *Lieutenant-Colonel* Sir Charles William Doyle (1770-1842) joined the Army in 1783 and by 1794 was Adjutant of the 87th Foot which his uncle, John Doyle had raised. Served in the West Indies, Egypt and throughout the Peninsular War. G.I. Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon: Volunteering Under the Spanish Flag in the Peninsular War* (London, 2012), pp. 30-32. WO1/241, Letter to Colonial Doyle, Downing Street, 2nd July, 1808.

thousand one hundred prisoners were repatriated embarking from Portsmouth to Corunna to fight in the war.¹¹⁸

By September The Supreme Central and Governmental Junta of Spain and the Indies, was formed under the presidency of Conde de Floridablanca. In the kings absence thirty four representatives from the provincial formed the new government.¹¹⁹ This would allow the Spanish to coordinate their war effort more effectively and establish a joint military strategy with the British Army. To recapitulate, many in Britain had high expectations of a war in Spain but with a large number of Britons in Spain would these opinions be changed?

The First Perceptions of the Spanish

In 1808 the British Army of fourteen thousand men under the command of General Sir Arthur Wellesley sailed to Corunna in Spain and then to Mondego Bay in Portugal to secure a base of operation in order to support the Spanish. Wellesley went on to defeat the French, entering Lisbon as a hero but still he was replaced by General Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Hew Dalrymple, senior in rank. The Convention of Sintra, signed by all three generals, concurred with the French that they would evacuate Portugal, with the assistance of British ships. However all three generals were summoned back to Britain for court martial and the command of the Army fell to General Sir John Moore.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ WO1/241, Order from Lord Castlereagh to Colonial Doyle, Downing Street, 6th July, 1808. ESTADO.69.D Junta de Galicia. Relaciones con el gobierno británico. Correspondencia con el coronel inglés Charles Doyle, 26th Julio, 1808.

¹¹⁹ Jose Monino, 1st Count of Floridablanca (1728-1808) He founded the first National Bank of San Carlos in 1782 and established new schools throughout Spain. W. D. Phillips & C.R. Phillips, (eds.), *A Concise History of Spain* (Cambridge, 2010), p.197. C. J. Esdaile, *The Spanish Army in the Peninsular War* (New York, 1988), pp. 106-107.

¹²⁰ General Sir Harry Burrard, 1st Baronet of Lyminster (1755-1813) joined the Army in 1772 and rapidly rose through the ranks during the American and French Revolution, fought in Holland, Denmark and Portugal. Tory Member of Parliament for Lyminster from 1780 to 1788, 1790 and 1791 to 1802. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume III*, p.333. Sir Hew Dalrymple (1750-1830) joined the Army in 1763 and very slowly worked his way through the ranks and was Lieutenant Governor of Guernsey from 1796 to 1801. M. Glover, *Britannia sickens: Sir Arthur Wellesley and the Convention of Cintra* (London, 1970). General Sir John Moore (1761-1809) joined the Army in 1776 fought in the American Revolution, the Mediterranean, Ireland and Sweden. Instrumental in developing the British Army's light infantry tactics at Shorncliffe Camp. C.

Before departing to face the inquiry, Wellesley wrote to Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh about the real plight of the Spanish Army,

“I really know of nothing that they (the Spanish) have in the shape of an army capable of meeting the French... these armies of peasantry, which in Murcia, Valencia and Catalonia, have cut up French corps, must not be reckoned upon as efficient armies to meet the French troops in the field”.¹²¹

This report was a worrying start to Anglo-Spanish military cooperation. However Wellesley’s assessment is questionable with the information available to him at the time, his reputation helped to create scepticism of how the Britain’s forces could win the war.

As the conflict unfolded, William Surtees’ 95th Rifles arrived in Spain as part of Sir David Baird’s detachment which intended to join forces with Sir John Moore’s army in Portugal. Surtees made an interesting comment about the first Spaniards he observed and the nature of the *Spanish character*. “They (the Spanish) are now so well known in England, that a description of these I saw here, would be only to repeat what has been so often and so much better told by others”.¹²² Although he did not describe what the Spanish characteristic was, the general perception of a Spaniard was that of a Catholic who could not be trusted, being superstitious, ignorant, a lazy worker and living in a country with inferior scientific, economic, political institutions and social progress compared to Britain.¹²³

Some however understood why the Spanish might be hostile. Joseph Donaldson of the 94th Foot, *The Scotch Brigade*, while sailing to defend Cadiz stated, “When we consider that they

Summerville, *March of Death: Sir John Moore’s Retreat to Corunna, 1808-1809* (London, 2003). Gash, *Wellington*, p.35.

¹²¹Secretary of State for War, 5th September, 1808 in A. Wellesley & J. Gurwood, (eds.), *The Despatches of Field Marshal The Duke of Wellington. Vol. IV. 1808-1809*, pp. 141-142.

¹²² W. Surtees, *Surtees of the 95th Rifles* (London, 2006), p. 71.

¹²³ See introduction for a more comprehensive explanation of British attitude and opinions before 1808. MacKay, *Lazy, Improvident People*, p.207.

had suffered so severely by Nelson and the British fleet (at Trafalgar)... that the shattered remains of some of their vessels were still lying in the bay”.¹²⁴ It must be remembered that Britain and Spain were very recent allies and that current events could create uneasy tensions. Therefore it is not surprising that it would take time for opinions to change.

After the arrival of reinforcements and the reorganisation of the army’s command structure, Sir John Moore’s army amounted to twenty five thousand men; with the intention to join with the Spanish army. On entering Spain for the first time, Ensign Charles Cadell, 28th Foot *The Slashers*, received a general order dated 25th October, 1808, by Adjutant General Henry Clinton stating that “the Spanish are a brave and orderly people, extremely sober, and warm in their temper, and easily offended by any insult or disrespect which is offered to them”.¹²⁵ To show a sign of recognition British officers wore, “Red Spanish cockades in their hats, as a mark of respect for that nation”.¹²⁶ There was little opportunity however for the British soldiers to become accustomed to the Spanish or interact with them as events moved unexpectedly. Napoleon’s Grand Army of two hundred thousand men took Madrid in December and pressed on to engage the British Army. This led to the long retreat to the coast by the British Army and by January 1809 Moore’s army was evacuated from Coruna.

Ensign Robert Blakeney, 28th Foot, summarised many soldiers’ feelings, due to a lack of co-operation by the Spanish Army or support from the Spanish civilians on their long retreat north, “thenceforward hatred and contempt of the Spaniards in arms filled the breast of every British soldier”.¹²⁷ The Spanish had done little to help the British army’s retreat, which justifies the

¹²⁴ Sir William Stewart (1774-1827) joined the Army in 1786, fighting in the West Indies, the Mediterranean and the Peninsular War; by 1812 he was commanding the 1st Division of the British Army. J. Donaldson, *Donaldson of the 94th-Scots Brigade: the Recollections of a Soldier During the Peninsula & South of France Campaigns of the Napoleonic Wars* (London, 2008), p.65.

¹²⁵ C. Cadell, *The Slashers: the Campaigns of the 28th Regiment of Foot During the Napoleonic Wars by a Serving Officer* (London, 2008), p.31.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, p.30.

¹²⁷ R. Blakeney, *Light Bob: the Experiences of a Young Officer in H.M 28th & 36th Regiment of the British Infantry During the Peninsular Campaign of the Napoleonic Wars 1804-1814* (London, 2006), p.36.

soldiers grievances' but the Spanish forces had to look to their own defence with Napoleons army at their door. The reality of the war in Spain had shocked the British, the Spanish Central Junta and Army were not as strong as once believed and there seemed to be no co-operation with their allies.

Mr Charles Doyle, an intelligence officer, summarised many of the reports from Spain. "Little indeed is to be expected...I believe that by much the best war we can win in this province (Valencia) and in Aragon is in the war of the peasants".¹²⁸ However dire the situation was for the Spanish, Britain's own misgivings did not help, with a lack of evaluation of the full extent of the war in Spain. British involvement in the country had been brief and the only success of the year was that Britain had secured Portugal and established a bridgehead from which to assist the Spanish in the future.

The Talavera Campaign

General Arthur Wellesley, in 1809, became the new commander of the British Army having been reinstated after the trial over the Convention of Sintra. With a secure base of operations in Portugal, Wellesley decided in the coming year to co-operate with the Spanish and advance on Madrid. Most of the campaigning in this year was determined by the Battle of Talavera and the joint operations with the Central Junta and General Gregorio García de la Cuesta.¹²⁹ The support of the Central Junta and the local magistrates was of great importance to the success of British operations.

¹²⁸ WO1/241, Letter from Charles Doyle, 24th February 1809.

¹²⁹ General Gregorio García de la Cuesta (1741–1812) entered military life as a member of the Spanish Royal Guard in 1758 and was successful as a lieutenant general during the War of the Pyrenees from 1793 to 1795. In 1808, he was promoted to Commander in Chief of the Army of Old Castile and suffered many defeats at the hands of the French invading armies. After co-operating with Wellesley's army in 1809 he retired after having a stroke and died in Majorca in 1812. Chandler, *Dictionary of the Napoleonic Wars*, p.112.

Writing to John Villiers, the British ambassador in Portugal, Wellesley found the Spanish to be, “inefficient or remiss in the performance of their duty, that we are constantly stopped or threatened, for want of assistance which we must require from them”.¹³⁰ Referring directly to the need for the Spanish army’s commissariat department to supply the British Army with rations, as most of the British army’s supply bases were back in Portugal. Wellesley had learnt early in his military career that organising provisions was critical to the success of any long term campaign.¹³¹ It was in the British Army’s best interests to procure their own supplies, showing good favour to the Spanish and unlike the French Army who implemented a policy of living off the land and stealing from the local population.

On the eve of meeting General Cuesta to coordinate the campaign, Wellesley wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Bourke, Assistant Quartermaster General, “I am much concerned that it is not in my power, with the instructions under which I act, to enter into any great system of co-operation with the Spanish armies”.¹³² On meeting Cuesta on the 10th July, the proceedings did not go satisfactorily, Wellesley arrived late at night; his guide leading him astray, and Cuesta awoke in a melancholy mood. A clash of personalities played a great part in their relationship; Wellesley preferring total control, handling matters himself and not trusting the judgement of his subordinates. Cuesta was sixty eight years old and had no confidence in an ambitious, younger British officer who thought he knew better.¹³³

For the soldiers in the British Army this was their first experience of the Spanish and their reaction was not one of enthusiasm, with General Cuesta receiving a lot of harsh criticism.

¹³⁰John Charles Villiers (1757-1838) Ambassador to Portugal from 1808 to 1810. Tory Member of Parliament for Old Sarum 1784 to 1790, Dartmouth from 1790 to 1802, Tain Burghs from 1802 to 1805 and Queenborough from 1807 to 1812 and 1820 to 1827. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume V*, pp. 454-457. Letter to the Right Hon. John Villiers, Aveiro, 27th May, 1809 in, Wellesley & Gurwood, *The Despatches of Field Marshal The Duke of Wellington. Vol. IV. 1808-1809*, p. 365.

¹³¹ R. Holmes, *Wellington: The Iron Duke* (London, 2003), p. 70.

¹³² Letter to Lieutenant Colonel Bourke, Assent QMG, Abrantes, 9th July, 1809 in Wellesley & Gurwood, *The Despatches of Field Marshal The Duke of Wellington. Vol. IV. 1808-1809*, p. 404.

¹³³ Holmes, *Wellington*, p.133. C. Hibbert, *Wellington: A Personal History* (New York, 2010), pp.82-90.

Sergeant Daniel Nicol, 92nd Foot, Gordon Highlanders, reported that before the Battle of Talavera. “The Spanish General Cuesta, it is reported, would not fight on Sunday. Well, he might be a very good Christian general, but he was no match for the French unless he could take, at any time, an advantage that might occur”.¹³⁴ Nicol’s was correct in his assessment that General Cuesta took no opportunity to engage the French on the Sunday before the battle; this was also later reported in the *Examiner*.¹³⁵ Nevertheless there is no evidence to suggest that the reasons gave were true; in fact Cuesta, on hearing of the enemies movements, was waiting to join with Wellingtons forces to have a better chance of success in the coming battle.¹³⁶ These comments were used as an opportunity to criticise the nature of religion in Spain.¹³⁷

Private John Cooper, 7th Fusiliers, simply described Cuesta as, “a worthless wretch” and his view of the whole Spanish Army was no better, “A motley crew they were. Many of them had muskets without locks”.¹³⁸ These views were shared with their officers, Captain Peter Hawker, 14th Light Dragoons, opinion of the Spanish Army was that, “their infantry, in part only, had good appearance: but many of their cavalry were in a ragged state, without boots, and some of them literally with bare feet”.¹³⁹ In context, the Spanish armies had been fighting the full force of the French Army, leading too many defeats, and without a strong central government or administration had suffered as a consequence. Most of the Spanish Army, which the British soldiers now observed, were not the cream of Spanish military power which was seen in 1808.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁴ D. Nicol, *Sergeant Nicol: The Experiences of a Gordon Highlander During the Napoleonic Wars in Egypt, the Peninsula and France* (London, 2007), pp.99-100.

¹³⁵ *The Examiner*, 13th August, 1809.

¹³⁶ C.H. Gifford, *The Life of the Most Noble Arthur, Duke of Wellington; From His Earliest Years, down to the Treaty of Paris in 1815* (London, 1817), pp. 250-251. Parkinson, *The Peninsular War*, p. 89.

¹³⁷ Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer*, p.177.

¹³⁸ J. S. Cooper, *Fusilier Cooper: Experiences in the 7th (Royal) Fusiliers During the Peninsular Campaign of the Napoleonic Wars and the American Campaign to New Orleans* (London, 2007), p.21.

¹³⁹ P. Hawker, *Officer of Light Dragoons* (London, 2009), pp. 55-56.

¹⁴⁰ Esdaile, *The Spanish Army in the Peninsular War*, pp. 116-118.

The Anglo-Spanish strategy was to converge near Talavera and march on Madrid where both armies would confront the French. On the 27th July, the French Army of forty six thousand men under Joseph Bonaparte, commanded by Marshal Jean-Baptiste Jourdan, faced the joint forces of, the British Army occupying the high ground to the right with twenty thousand men and the Spanish Army holding the town on the left, with thirty three thousand men.¹⁴¹ Captain Hawker summarised the situation perfectly, “during the whole of the attack on the 28th (directed entirely against the British line), they (the Spanish) remained almost wholly inactive”.¹⁴² The British had little opportunity to observe the Spanish Army in action as they were more concerned with taking the brunt of the French column attacking their own position.

The first observations concerning the Spanish Army by British soldiers were the number of Spanish leaving the field. John Cooper noted that, “during the battle, the Spaniards deserted, and spread the news that the English were defeated”.¹⁴³ Upon approaching the battle at the end of the second day with the Light Brigade, Captain Jonathan Leach of the 95th Rifles commented that, “we soon met wounded Spanish soldiers and Spanish soldiers not wounded, pending there and heading in the other direction from the field of battle”.¹⁴⁴ The Battle of Talavera was one of the bloodiest victories for the British Army in the Peninsular War and affected the way in which these soldiers felt about their Spanish counterparts, who in the British soldier’s opinion had not preformed adeptly.

The British blamed the Spanish for a lack of supplies after the battle as they had not eaten for two days during the fighting.¹⁴⁵ Thomas Garrety, 43rd Foot, in the Light Brigade, had heard, “that the Spanish cavalry intercepted the provisions and forage destined for the English army,

¹⁴¹ Chandler, *Dictionary of the Napoleonic War*, pp. 433-435. P. Edwards, *Talavera: Wellington’s Early Peninsula Victories 1808-9* (Wiltshire, 2007), pp. 172-178.

¹⁴² Hawker, *Officer of Light Dragoons*, p. 62.

¹⁴³ Cooper, *Fusilier Cooper*, p.28. W.F.P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France From the Year 1807 to the Year 1814* (London, 1817), pp. 405-408.

¹⁴⁴ J. Leach, *Rough Sketches of Life of an Old Soldier* (London, 1831), p. 81.

¹⁴⁵ A. Field, *Talavera: Wellington’s First Victory in Spain* (London, 2005). Holmes, *Wellington*, p. 141.

and fired upon the foragers, as if they had been enemies”.¹⁴⁶ Captain Hawker, 14th Light Dragoons, who had been wounded and was behind the lines, personally observed what Garrety described. He further added “several of the Spanish cavalry ran away: some of whom were seen robbing the poor women belonging to the British army, whom they found on the road, crying, and anxiously alarmed for the fate of their husbands”.¹⁴⁷ After the battle one thousand five hundred British wounded which included Sergeant Nicols, were left in the protection of the Spanish in Talavera, only to be abandoned and captured with the advance of a returning French army.¹⁴⁸ In cases like this and others stated above, early battles of the Peninsular War also helped to further the negative perceptions of the Spanish.

After Talavera the newly named Viscount Wellington, promoted by the British government after his success in the battle, parted company with the aging Cuesta, who retired from military life. The lack of co-operation with the Spanish military and the Central Junta caused Wellington to rethink his strategy in the Peninsula. His letter to John Villiers gives a poignant insight into his thoughts and the situation his army encountered. “We are starving, and are ill-treated by the Spaniards in every way...there is not a man in the army who does not wish to retreat to Portugal”. The only logical action was to withdraw.¹⁴⁹ With this in mind Wellington did not discard the Spanish completely, as many others would have.¹⁵⁰ Clearly if the Spanish could attain the standards of the British Army there was a belief that the war could be concluded.

General Rowland Hill stated a widely held opinion in a letter dated November 1809 about British and Spanish cooperation and that the situation must improve.

¹⁴⁶ T. Garrety, *Soldiering with the Divison; the Military Experience of an Infantryman of the 43rd Regiment During the Napoleonic Wars* (London, 2007), p.75.

¹⁴⁷ Hawker, *Officer of Light Dragoons* , p. 61.

¹⁴⁸ Nicol, *Sergeant Nicol*, p. 112.

¹⁴⁹ Letter to the Right Hon. John Villiers, Javaicco, 12th August, 1809 in Wellesley & Gurwood, *The Despatches of Field Marshal The Duke of Wellington. Vol. V. 1809-1810*, p. 31.

¹⁵⁰ Letter to Marquis Wellesley, 8th August, 1809 in Wellesley & Gurwood, *The Despatches of Field Marshal The Duke of Wellington. Vol. V. 1809-1810*, p. 11.

“Too much jealousy, I fear, exists between us and the Spaniards to give hopes of doing any good by acting together, and little can be expected from our separate efforts, for the Spaniards do not understand the *business*, and we have not *numbers*”.¹⁵¹

The word *business* was understood to mean favourable strategic outcome by outmanoeuvring the enemy, bringing them to battle and winning a decisive victory, which the British officers believed they could achieve. However Hill does give the Spanish merit as part of the Anglo-Spanish forces the army would be powerful enough to engage the French through their weight in numbers.

The lasting impact of 1809 and the Talavera Campaign was that the British soldiers mistrusted the Spanish. Thomas Garrety summarises their feelings, “this conduct (Battle of Talavera) left an indelible impression on the minds of the English soldiers. From that period their contempt and dislike of the Spaniards were never effaced”.¹⁵² By the end of 1809 there was a growing contempt of the Spanish and ultimately this was laying the seeds of mistrust for the approaching years; however as will become clear later this opinion did start to alter by 1812.

As soon as news of the battle reached Britain it was proclaimed a ‘Splendid Victory’. Even the Whigs acknowledged Wellington’s victory and as William Jerdan wrote in the *The Morning Post*. “Forced along with the tide of public opinion, and frightened at the rash and malignant part they have taken, the opposition papers, as we expected, have recanted with what grace

¹⁵¹ Rowland Hill, 1st Viscount Hill (1772-1842) joined the Army in 1790 fighting in Egypt and in the Peninsular War, later commanding the 2nd Division. Tory Member of Parliament for Shrewsbury 1812 to 1814. G. L. Teffeteller, *The Surpriser: the Life of Rowland, Lord Hill* (London, 1983) Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume IV*, pp. 200-201. E. Sidney, *The Life of Lord Hill, G.C.B: Late Commander of the Forces* (London, 1845), pp. 116-117.

¹⁵² Garrety, *Soldiering with the Division*, p. 73.

they were able".¹⁵³ Later reports started to appear on the conduct of the Spanish and of General Cuesta. Assessment of the Spanish in the press was not positive, similar to soldier's opinions; the press related to the public the great failures after the battle.

Letters from Spain caused *The Times* to report, "the grossest misconduct in the commissary department of the Spaniards" and blamed General Cuesta for retreating and abandoning to the French the British wounded.¹⁵⁴ The *Examiner* and *Morning Chronicle* commented that the Spaniards did not participate in the battle and that, without British support, they would have found it difficult to impel the French from the Peninsula.¹⁵⁵

William Cobbett was one of the few to speak out against Wellington and in his *Political Register* using material from the French paper, *The Moniteur*. Stating that

"General Cuesta did right to leave Talavera; if he had delayed, he would have been lost...this post, which was the rear guard, was a post of honour; General Wellesley ought to have occupied it...according to the laudable practice of his nation he had left to his allies the post of danger".¹⁵⁶

The *Morning Chronicle* attacked Cobbett personally and the "rest of that treacherous crew" for questioning "the faith of our victorious general, and to accredit the French version of the glorious Battle of Talavera".¹⁵⁷ As is obvious from most reporters they defended Wellington's Army and their opinions of the Spanish were negative.¹⁵⁸ A French comment would not have been held as important and impartial as they were the enemy.

Wellington's private letter, published in the *Derby Mercury*, justified the Spanish Army's lack of involvement in the battle, that

¹⁵³ William Jerdan (1782-1869) writer for *The Morning Post*, *The Satirist*, and in 1813 became the Editor of the *Sun*, which he left in 1817 to become the editor of the *Literary Gazette*. Griffiths, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, p. 337. *The Morning Post*, 16th August, 1809.

¹⁵⁴ *The Times*, August 11th, 12th & 26th September, 1809.

¹⁵⁵ *The Examiner*, 13th August, 1809. *Morning Chronicle*, 15th August, 1809.

¹⁵⁶ *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, 14th October, 1809.

¹⁵⁷ *The Morning Post*, 15th September, 1809.

¹⁵⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 17th August, 1809. *Leeds Mercury*, 26th August, 1809. *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, 24th August, 1809.

“The ground which they occupied was too important, and its front at the same time too difficult, that I did not think it proper to urge them to make any movement on the left of the enemy while he was engaged with us”.¹⁵⁹

Wellington knew that the Spanish Army performed poorly but he felt that he needed to defend the reasons for his tactical decision not only to his peers but the reading public in the newspapers reiterating a positive belief in the war effort. This also shows that Wellington did not want to fuel sentiments which would damage the image of the Spanish, reminiscent of the *Black Legend*.

The Battle of Talavera was soon superseded by other problems at home such as the duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr George Canning, over the failure of the British Walcheren expedition, in Holland, diverting troops and the unnecessary deaths of many British soldiers contracting Walcheren fever.¹⁶⁰ By the end of 1809 British perceptions of the Spanish war effort was at a low; the rapturous enthusiasm of the previous year had faltered and was replaced by a cautious optimism of a conclusion of the war.

Portugal and Spain

In the following years the British Army remained in Portugal defending Lisbon from the assault by Marshall Massena’s French army. By March the French Army was unable to breach the defensive works along the lines of Torres Vedras, leading to a headlong retreat into Spain. The British political elite were uncommunicative about the Spanish, in 1810, as they were more concerned with the British Army, having a plethora of views to convey about Wellington’s lack of operations in Spain and his conclusion of the war. Many of Wellington’s officers, known as *Croakers*, such as William Erskine helped to incite this sentiment with letters written

¹⁵⁹ *Derby Mercury*, 17th August, 1809.

¹⁶⁰ R. Hopton, *Pistols at Dawn: A History of Duelling* (London, 2007), pp. 236-238. J. W. Derry, *Castlereagh* (London, 1976), p.132.

back home to friends and the press.¹⁶¹ Wellington's letters to his younger brother, Henry Wellesley the British envoy to Spain, give a good account of the situation, "much mischief is done in England, not only to me personally, but to the character of the army and to the country, by foolish observations upon what passes here, in all the newspapers".¹⁶² This is a clear insight into Arthur Wellesley's understanding of the damage and danger of the British newspapers to himself and the Spanish. However after a long campaign in Portugal, Wellington was ready to re-enter Spain, this time with a reorganised army with new arrivals to Spain with fresh and sometimes a preconceived traditional view of the Spanish.

The siege of Cadiz, at the centre of Spanish resistance was the first major Anglo-Spanish operation in 1811 to defeat the French under Marshal Victor.¹⁶³ Major-General Thomas Graham's five thousand men co-operated with General Manuel de la Pena's ten thousand to attack the French siege lines from the rear.¹⁶⁴ Marshal Victor's reaction was to send part of his army to take the Cerro de Puerco Hills, culminating in the Battle of Barrosa on 5th March. Ensign Charles Cadell, 28th Foot, was part of the British force which fought doggedly to retake the hills and was furious with the Spanish, even though some Spanish troops had been placed with the British; "during the action we saw nothing of the Spanish ...we did not see them again until they came up, when we were cheering on the top of the hill" after the battle.¹⁶⁵ Private Thomas Garrety, 43rd Foot, who was not present at the Battle of Barossa but still wrote, "our

¹⁶¹ M. Roberts, *The Whig Party 1807-1812* (London, 1965), pp. 139-143. Holmes, *Wellington*, p.144.

¹⁶² Letter to Right Hon. Henry Wellesley, Pero Negro, 11th November, 1810 in Wellesley & Gurwood, (ed.), *The Despatches of Field Marshal The Duke of Wellington. Vol. VI. 1810-1811*, p. 611.

¹⁶³ I. Fletcher, *Bloody Albuera: the 1811 Campaign in the Peninsula* (Wiltshire, 2000), p.49.

¹⁶⁴ General Manuel de la Pena. More of a diplomat than a soldier; however at the outbreak of the Peninsular War he commanded part of the Army of the Centre and came under criticism over his lack of involvement on the battlefield. In 1810, he then became Captain General of Andalusia, mainly defending Cadiz with the new Cortes taking its seat there. His actions at the Battle of Barrosa led to a court martial in which he was acquitted and relieved of further command. Major-General Thomas Graham, 1st Baron Lynedoch (1748-1843) joined the Army in 1794, raising the 90th Perthshire Volunteers; he fought in the Mediterranean at Gibraltar and in Egypt. In the Peninsular War was aide-de-camp to Sir John Moore and in 1812 was Wellington's second in command. Tory Member of Parliament for Perthshire from 1794 to 1807. A. Brett-James, *General Graham* (London, 1959). Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume IV*, pp.55-58.

¹⁶⁵ Cadell, *The Slashers*, p.68.

Spanish allies on this occasion behaved scandalously; indeed nothing but the unflinching firmness and courage of the English troops could have saved the army from entire ruin”.¹⁶⁶ This is evidence of forming an opinion about the Spanish without first-hand knowledge of them. The relationship between Graham and Pena was strained after this engagement and caused distrust between the generals for the ensuing campaign in the south of Spain.

Cadiz was now secure, Wellington ordered Sir William Beresford to capture the garrison of Badajoz, an important fortress which controlled the Spanish Portuguese border, and to break the French siege lines. Beresford’s force of thirty five thousand besieged Badajoz with little success, only to have Marshal Soult army in Seville of twenty four thousand march on Beresford’s rear to relieve the siege, leading to the Battle of Albuera on the 16th May.¹⁶⁷ British soldiers’ opinions about the battle are interesting as most of the comments come from individuals not involved in the battle but who still blamed the Spanish for the mishaps in the engagement. Both Private William Lawrence, 50th Foot, and Private Thomas Garrety, 43rd Foot, commented that the French attacked the Spanish on the right who then gave way in *great disorder*, and left the British to take the main force of the battle .¹⁶⁸ Ensign Robert Blakeney, 28th Foot, after talking to members of the 2nd Battalion, who were present at the battle, commented that, “they long and often dwelt upon the glorious Battle of Albuera; they told of the Spaniards coming late; that Blake would neither lead nor follow”.¹⁶⁹ Many soldier’s writings repeat the same narratives and it is therefore right to question the reliability of their perceptions.

¹⁶⁶ Garrety, *Soldiering with the Division*, p. 121.

¹⁶⁷ William Carr Beresford, 1st Viscount Beresford and 1st Marquis of Campo Mayor (1768-1854) joined the Army in 1785 fighting in France, Egypt, South America and South America. In 1809 he was given the command of the Portuguese Army and spent most of his career in Portuguese services. Tory Member of Parliament for Waterford from 1811 to 1814. S. E. Vickness, *Marshal of Portugal: the Military Career of William Carr Beresford* (London, 1976). Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume III*, pp. 190-191. Fletcher, *Bloody Albuera* , pp. 81-82.

¹⁶⁸ Lawrence, *Sergeant Lawrence*, p.68. Garrety, *Soldiering with the Division*, p. 146.

¹⁶⁹ Blakeney, *Light Bob*, p.179.

Looking at both the Battles of Barossa and Albuera with hindsight the French outflanked the allied forces and threatened to envelop the army. At Albuera Soult attacked the village, a strategic point with a bridge spanning the river. While keeping an attachment to occupy the allies at the village, the remaining army moved south and attacked the allies on the right flank; the Spanish under General Joaquín Blake holding this position.¹⁷⁰ When the British troops advanced to support the Spanish troops, the Spanish had already been fighting the French for an hour and had held the French in check, but all the British soldiers observed were the Spanish retreating.¹⁷¹

Contrary to this however the British press was very positive about the Spanish contribution to the battle and reported that the combined forces of British and Spanish armies were starting to cooperate well together unlike events at Talavera.¹⁷² Not everyone was positive about the conduct of the Spanish. In a report from Beresford to Lord Wellington, printed in *The Morning Post*, he states “No action in which the Spaniards have been engaged proves more than the Battle of Albuera how greatly it is to be lamented that they are not taught to manoeuvre by officers of more experience in the war than our own”.¹⁷³ As is common with British criticisms of the Spanish, the British believed they were superior, becoming frustrated with their allies. Conclusively from these two battles the British soldiers blamed the Spanish for their near defeat and their lack of cooperation.

Problems occurred on both occasions due to the British being taken by surprise, showing the greater mobility and superior tactics of the French, which rarely happened when Wellington was in direct command. The British soldier believed in his own invincibility but when in co-

¹⁷⁰ General Joaquín Blake y Joyes (1759-1827) descended from a noble Irish family; he entered the military in 1774 and rose rapidly to the rank of general during the French Revolution. In December 1810 he was designated Regent of Spain in Ferdinand's absence, was captured by the French at Valencia in 1812 and was released in 1814 taking up the post of chief engineer in the Army. R B. González, *General Joaquín Blake y Joyes*, research subject: Biographies, The Napoleon Series.

¹⁷¹ Fletcher, *Bloody Albuera*, p.85.

¹⁷² *Morning Chronicle*, 30th May, 1811. *Caledonian Mercury*, 1st June, 1811.

¹⁷³ *The Morning Post*, 4th June, 1811. *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 8th June, 1811.

operation with the Spanish this strong belief faded, inevitably leading to the Spanish being blamed. The soldiers' comments before 1812 are largely used to explain negative perceptions of Spain, but as the evidence in the next passage shows perceptions started to alter.

The New Spanish Army

The Anglo-Portuguese-Spanish armies' resounding victory at Salamanca on the 22nd July 1812 over Marshal Marmont's French army was a turning point in the war. Wellington, now a Marquess, was made commander of all forces in Spain by the Cortes.¹⁷⁴ From this date there was some improved in the opinion of the Spanish Army, due to constructive restructuring and successive victorious campaigns which brought the war to a close. Although the Spanish did not take any great part in the Battle of Salamanca the *Caledonian Mercury* still wrote that, "they are of great value, they behaved with great valour".¹⁷⁵ However by September with French reinforcements entering Spain, the Anglo-Spanish Army retreated to Ciudad Rodrigo to await the following year's campaign.

After Napoleon's defeat in Russia in 1812, the French in the Peninsula were weakened. Marshall Soult had abandoned Andalusia and King Joseph, with Marshal Jourdan, moved north to divide the approaching allied armies.¹⁷⁶ Wellington saw his chance and outflanked the French by proceeding through the mountains to the north concluding with the Battle of Vitoria, on the 21st June 1813. The Spanish once again assumed a limited role in the battle, but as General Sir Thomas Graham reported, "in all these affairs the Spanish troops have conducted themselves remarkably well".¹⁷⁷ The British press gave credit to Generals Francisco Espoz y Mina and Don Julian Sanchez, who after the battle, "continued to pursue the enemy's column.

¹⁷⁴ Chandler, *The Dictionary of the Napoleonic Wars*, pp.336- 338

¹⁷⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 22nd August, 1812. *The Times*, 8th September, 1812.

¹⁷⁶ W.F.P. Napier, *English Battles and Sieges in the Peninsular* (London, 1906), pp. 170-176.

¹⁷⁷ *Royal Cornwall Gazette, Falmouth Packet and Plymouth Journal*, 24th July, 1813.

General Mina captured 300 French, two guns, and some stores".¹⁷⁸ The Spanish Army went through prodigious transformations during the last few years of the Peninsular War and in some causes British soldier's opinions of their Spanish counterparts improved.

There were still confrontations between British and Spanish soldiers. The sense of mistrust expressed by several of the veterans of campaigns earlier in the war, who had experienced the lack of co-operation by their allies, still remained. A friend of Private William Wheeler, in December 1813, in an outburst of frustration while fighting in the Pyrenees and being unable to light his pipe tobacco, cursed "the Spaniards, calling them a cowardly superstitious set of priest ridden slaves".¹⁷⁹ Clearly in a time of frustration this soldier's prejudice was to blame his hardships on the Spanish, an invalid comment perhaps but it is an example of the manner in which the Spanish were still perceived.

Although *old habits die hard* there was a change in observations regarding the Spanish Army which is evident in the majority of comments at the conclusion of the war. The leaders of the Spanish Army were regarded as worthy commanders; principal amongst these generals was Pablo Morillo.¹⁸⁰ Rifleman William Surtees, 95th Rifles, commented that the Spanish troops under Morillo at the Battle of Vitoria in 1813, who "with his 3,000 or 4,000 Spaniards, had achieved a victory themselves. It is certain they are a vainglorious people".¹⁸¹ Ensign George Bell, 34th Foot, also states that, "Morillo's Spaniards displayed unusual courage, and fought

¹⁷⁸ Francisco Espoz y Mina (1781-1836) joined a guerrilla band in 1808 and by 1810 had his own small army in Navarre which was incorporated into the Spanish Army in 1812. He was later involved in the Liberal Revolution in 1820 and in the Carlist War. *The Times*, 20th July, 1813. *The Derby Mercury & Caledonian Mercury*, 22nd July, 1813.

¹⁷⁹ Wheeler, *Private Wheeler*, p.134.

¹⁸⁰ General Pablo Morillo (1775-1837) in 1791 he enlisted in the Spanish Royal Marine Corps and was present at the Sea Battle of Trafalgar. In 1808, he was promoted to lieutenant after the Battle of Bailen, with the collapse of the army he formed a guerrilla band in Murcia, later joined the Spanish regular army becoming a major general by 1812. Chartrand, *Spanish Guerrillas in the Peninsular War 1808-14*, p. 24.

¹⁸¹ Surtees, *Surtees of the 95th Rifles*, p. 175.

well”, and for Bell to make such a comment was unfamiliar as he rarely gave the Spanish any acclaim.¹⁸²

Another Spanish officer with an admirable reputation was Miguel Ricardo de Alava, aide de camp and a close friend of Wellington’s.¹⁸³ During the final days of fighting in Spain near the Pyrenees, Captain Harry Ross-Lewin, 32nd Foot, saw, “three very fine regiments that were commanded by Alava”.¹⁸⁴ It was agreed that the Spanish soldier was better trained, having a greater sense of discipline compared to previous years, thus creating much more reliability on and off the battlefield.

Lieutenant Colonel of the 20th Foot, Charles Steevens, saw the Spanish engaging the French at San Marcial on 31st August 1813, on the border of Spain and France, divided by the River Bidassoa which the Spanish held. He commented that

“the Spanish sent to Lord Wellington for reinforcements, but his lordship had observed the gallant manner in which they were behaving themselves, and refused support, saying they should have the honour of the victory entirely to themselves...the Spaniards behaved particularly well that day, and dashed at the French in noble style”.¹⁸⁵

This offers a positive report of the Spanish Army in action, but it also shows that the soldiers present thought that the Spanish had become somewhat reliant on the British Army to fight alongside them. This idea is confirmed in the *New Annual Register*, which wrote that British soldiers “could not help noticing that the Spanish troops, who ought to have been the principals

¹⁸² Bell, *Soldier’s Glory*, p. 69.

¹⁸³ General Miguel Ricardo de Alava (1770-1843) soldier and politician, he first served in the Spanish Navy and was present at the Sea Battle of Trafalgar. He then joined the Spanish Army and was attached to Wellington as an aide de camp in 1810. F.P. Miller, A.F. Vandome, J. McBrewster, *Miguel Ricardo de Alava Y Esquivel* (London, 2010).

¹⁸⁴ H. Ross-Lewin, *With the Thirty-Second in the Peninsular and Other Campaigns; the Experiences of a British Infantry Officer Through the Napoleonic Wars* (London, 2010), p.160.

¹⁸⁵ C. Steevens, *With the Old & Bold 1795 to 1818; The Reminiscences of an Officer of H. M. 20th Regiment During the Napoleonic Wars* (London, 2010), p. 88.

in the war, acted only as auxiliaries".¹⁸⁶ Wellington, in the case above, wanted the Spanish troops to have the confidence to fight for themselves and this was proven positive by their success in this engagement.

Adding to these sentiments were the misgivings that the new Spanish Army's uniforms were of the same cut and in some cases the same colour as the French, dark blue. This seems trivial but the identification of friend or foe on a battlefield was important, a matter of life or death; distinctive coloured uniforms, in the age of horse and musket, with black powder making visibility very difficult. An example in case was Captain John Kincaid, 95th Rifles on horseback surveying the local area near Bidassoa upon observing a body of troops close by. He "concluded that they were Spaniards, and kept moving onward...when, to my consternation, I saw the French eagle ornamenting the front of every cap".¹⁸⁷ Logical reasons to supply uniforms in blue, as well as cost, were that it contrasted with the British red, to create a national identity for the Spanish army.¹⁸⁸ This however caused problems when the Spanish were on the flank in the mist of battle, leading to them being mistaken as the French.

Another aspect of Spanish warfare sometimes witnessed was that of the Guerrillas. Historians debate the respective achievements of the irregular and regular forces during the war, comparing Wellesley's regular army to the Spanish Guerrillas, and assessing which held sway as the deciding factor which resulted in the defeat of the French.¹⁸⁹ The lack of interest in the Guerrillas at the time is witnessed in the absence of substantial information in the British newspapers during the war about them.

¹⁸⁶ The New Annual Register, January, 1813, p. 276.

¹⁸⁷ J. Kincaid, *The Complete Kincaid of the Rifles: With the 95th (Rifles) During the Napoleonic Wars, Adventures in the Rifle Brigade and Random Shots From a Rifleman* (London, 2009), p. 133.

¹⁸⁸ Lawrence, *Sergeant Lawrence*, pp. 95-96. Surtees, *Surtees of the 95th Rifles*, p. 173. *The Times*, 6th June, 1811.

¹⁸⁹ Esdaile, *Fighting Napoleon*, pp.1-3. R. Ashby, *Napoleon Against Great Odds: The Emperor and the Defenders of France, 1814* (California, 2010), pp. 124-125. J.L. Tone, *The Fatal Knot: The Guerrilla War in Navarre and the Defeat of Napoleon in Spain* (Carolina, 1994), p. 6.

Contrary to many views regarding the importance of the Guerrillas, Ensign Moyle Sherer, 34th Foot, writing after the war says that

“The Guerrilla system had certainly the most powerful, and most material influence in the salvation of Spain. May the same system, acted upon by the ablest partisans amongst the *Liberales*, again save her from the worst, the most formidable enemies, a domestic tyrant, a monarchy who may have the right to govern, but not the right to oppose her”.¹⁹⁰

One outstanding Guerrilla leader, who operated in the area of Salamanca, proving a great asset to the British by gathering intelligence and harassing the rear of the French armies was Don Julian Sanchez.¹⁹¹ Many British soldiers saw him, as in the case of Edward Buckham, a staff officer with the cavalry, he commented “I met Don Julian Sanchez, the Guerrilla chieftain, a fine, always good looking soldier”.¹⁹² Also Edward Costello, 95th Rifles, observed Sanchez linked arm in arm with the Duke as they walked through the British encampment, evidence of the respect and friendship between both these leaders.¹⁹³ The duke was showing to his own soldiers that Sanchez was important with this public demonstration.

One of the dilemmas with these irregular forces was identification. Sir Brent Spencer, one of Wellington’s divisional commanders, mistakenly killed one of Don Julian’s Guerrilla messengers thinking he was French at the Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro in 1811 and expressed his deep regret. Lord Wellington, surmising it was a case for which there was no remedy,

¹⁹⁰ M. Sherer, *Recollections of the Peninsula: An Officer of the 34th Regiment of Foot—‘The Cumberland Gentlemen’—On Campaign Against Napoleon’s French Army in Spain* (London, 2008), p. 316.

¹⁹¹ Don Julian Sanchez (1774-1862) joined the Spanish Army during the French Revolution and after the collapse of the Spanish Army in 1808 with the French invasion, raised his own band of guerrillas fighting around the area of Salamanca. Chartrand, *Spanish Guerrillas in the Peninsular War 1808-14*, p. 24.

¹⁹² E. W. Buckham, *A Staff Officer in the Peninsula: an Officer of the British Staff Corps Cavalry During the Peninsula Campaign of the Napoleonic Wars* (London, 2007), p. 34.

¹⁹³ Costello, *Rifleman Costello*, p. 162.

commented, “never mind, Spencer; it is only a Spaniard!”¹⁹⁴ This shows Arthur Wellesley rather dark and sometimes harsh mood, nevertheless this makes the point that he cared little of a Spaniard’s life. Many soldiers understood the necessity of the Guerrillas and their only bone of contention was the cruel manner in which the Guerrillas fought compared to the more gentlemanly warfare enacted by the British Army.

Even though criticism of the Spanish still existed, the British Army needed their support. In 1812 with the loss of 10% of Wellington’s British force at the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, a further 45% in hospital with fever, a number of Spaniards were recruited into British service.¹⁹⁵ An order on the 18th May 1812 authorised British regiments in Spain to recruit up to one hundred Spanish volunteers. They would serve for the duration of the war and be treated the same as any other British soldier, with the freedom to attend Catholic services. The Guerrilla leader Don Julian Sanchez, having a high regard for Wellington, was very helpful in finding men to full his ranks.

Edward Costello, 95th Rifles, noted that each company of the 95th Rifles had up to ten or twelve Spaniards, giving them the opportunity to observe the Spanish at close quarters.¹⁹⁶ He commented on a Spaniard *Blanco* in his regiment showing great courage, at the Battle of Nivelles, in France in 1814. When Blanco’s British friend Mauley was killed and his Spanish female companion ran onto the battlefield to protect him in the thick of the fighting. Blanco used his own body as a shield to cover his fallen comrade and his fellow Spaniard.¹⁹⁷ This suggests British soldiers believed that the Spanish could make commendable soldiers and

¹⁹⁴ Sir Brent Spencer (1760-1828) joined the Army in 1778 and spent most of his early career in the West Indies, also fighting in Egypt and Denmark. In the Peninsular War he was one of Wellington’s divisional commanders. A. J. Guy, (ed.), *The Road to Waterloo: The British Army and the Struggle Against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, 1793–1815* (1990). Stepney, *The Peninsular War with the Coldstream Guards*, p.69.

¹⁹⁵ R. Burnham, *Spanish Recruits in the British Army, 1812-1813*, *Napoleon Series*. Surtees, *Surtees of the 95th Rifles*, p. 192. Y. Cohen, *The Spanish: Shadow of Embarrassment* (Sussex, 2012), p.116. Costello, *Rifleman Costello*, p. 173.

¹⁹⁶ Costello, *Rifleman Costello*, p. 191.

¹⁹⁷ *ibid*, p. 191.

friends. As is evident from British descriptions and opinions of the Spanish Army, some perceptions did change over time. A lack of cooperation and understanding progressed into a more mutual collaboration of arms to bring the war to a conclusion which was due to British assistance with arms and the reliability of Britain's military power.

The Spanish Cortes and the Spanish Constitution of 1812

British criticisms of the Spanish early in the war judged that the army was uncoordinated and the Spanish government was administratively weak. The Central Junta residing in Seville fled when the French invaded Andalusia. Late in 1810 the system of Juntas with a five member regency council was replaced by the Cortes of Cadiz. Parishes selected one elector to join neighbouring electors who would meet in the principal town, or city, of the province where a deputy would be chosen to join the Cortes from the established estates, the clergy, the nobility, and the people.¹⁹⁸

The Spanish Army could not operate without finance, logistics and equipment, which had to be approved before first being authorised by a governmental body, which was ineffective until 1810.¹⁹⁹ The British press attempted to explain these policies to their readers with articles on the history of Spanish politics.²⁰⁰ The *Irish Magazine* wrote, the Spanish “want nothing, but an enlightened administration of government, to place it, and its people in the highest, political and commercial attitude”.²⁰¹ This represents the view that Spain was politically backwards and that its people or some of its political class saw the need for change. From a British perspective the war would help to improve this situation.

¹⁹⁸ *The Morning Post*, 21st September, 1810.

¹⁹⁹ C.J. Esdaile, ‘War and Politics in Spain, 1808-1814’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Jun., 1988), p. 306.

²⁰⁰ *Morning Chronicle*, 8th September, 1808. *The Morning Post*, 9th September, 1808.

²⁰¹ *Irish Magazine*, June, 1808, p. 312.

Henry Wellesley, the British envoy to Spain, had mixed opinions about the introduction of a new Cortes and represented “all the energy experience and conduct of the most enlightened and rigorous minds”.²⁰² Although Wellesley recognised this spirit this was a small minority of its members and the Cortes was weakened by internal rivalries. The reaction to the Cortes caused some excitement in Britain, *The Morning Post* saw the Cortes as removing the factional nature of the separate juntas and creating a union “which will increase the capability of resistance to the political intrigues as well as the military aggressions of the French”.²⁰³ *Cobbett’s Weekly Political Register* also had high hopes for the new Cortes, stating that “from what has hitherto appeared, it seems to be animated with a different soul. Their language and their acts breathe the spirit of freedom in every line”.²⁰⁴ The new Spanish Cortes certainly made a great impression on some British observers, bringing improvements to Spain and most importantly help to Britain to implement a quick resolution to the war through effective administration.

One reason that the Cortes was perceived to be a good institution by various people in Britain, as the *Monthly Magazine* wrote was that it was “conducted in a considerable degree on the principles of the British constitution”.²⁰⁵ Additionally, with the new laws allowing freedom of the press in Spain, the *Examiner* wrote, “They (the Spanish) are of the opinion that we are a great nation, because we may canvas the actions of public men, inspect the conduct of our representative and make known our opinion upon it”.²⁰⁶ There is no evidence given by the *Examiner* to justify this statement, but this does reinforce the idea that British institutions,

²⁰² FO72/94 Letter to Marquis Wellesley, Cadiz, 12th March, 1810.

²⁰³ *The Bury and Norwich Post*, 14th September, 1808.

²⁰⁴ *Cobbett’s Weekly Political Register*, 27th October, 1810.

²⁰⁵ *Monthly Magazine*, January, 1811, pp. 107-108 & 511-513.

²⁰⁶ *Examiner*, 30th December, 1810.

namely the government, had a strong relationship with the people and the newspapers, upholding the nineteenth century ideals of democracy.

Once the Spanish government was safe from French attacks, by 1812, the British government started to pursue some of its own policies for the interests of Britain. Lord Grenville asked the Prime Minister Spencer Perceval, in parliament, if measures had been taken to propose the abolition of the slave trade in Spain.²⁰⁷ Other policies the British government implemented were the opening of a South American trade market to British vessels. The Cortes granted, according to some newspapers, “peace with her S. American colonies and gave permission for a free trade with the same”.²⁰⁸ This was untrue as the decree was quickly nullified. After Henry Wellesley had worked tirelessly to bring the Spanish government to the table over this issue, he was however less successful in his talks on the abolition of slavery.²⁰⁹

It was not until 1812 that liberal members of the Cortes were successful in forwarding a constitution which would deliver enlightened policies to the state of affairs in Spain; principal amongst these members was Agustin Arguelles.²¹⁰ A number of these men were freemasons, as Cadiz had always had links with overseas connections through its commercial activities and was an important centre of freemasonry in the Peninsular War, with several British freemasons living in the city.²¹¹ The Constitution of 1812, also known as *La Pepa* as it was adopted on

²⁰⁷ Lord George Grenville (1788-1850) Whig Member of Parliament for Buckingham from 1810 to 1812 and Aylesbury from 1812 to 1832 and 1847 to 1850. J. V. Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles: Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos, 1710 to 1921* (1994). Spencer Perceval (1762-1812) Tory Member of Parliament for Northampton from 1796 to 1812, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons from 1807 to 1812 and Prime Minister from 1809 to 1812. In 1812 he was assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons and replaced by Lord Liverpool. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume IV*, pp. 86-96. *The Morning Post*, 8th May, 1811. *Caledonian Mercury*, 11th May, 1811.

²⁰⁸ *Bury and Norwich Post*, 18th September, 1811. *The York Herald*, 5th October, 1811.

²⁰⁹ K. Hamilton & P. Salmon, *Slavery, Diplomacy and Empire: Britain and the Suppression of the Slave Trade, 1807-1975* (Sussex, 2009), pp. 5-6. J.S. Martinez, *The Slave Trade and the Origins of International Human Rights Law* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 29-31.

²¹⁰ Agustin Arguelles (1776-1844) a Spanish liberal politician who studied law at the University of Oviedo. In 1809 he was Secretary of the Treasury and Legislation Department of the Central Junta and then a member of the Cortes of Cadiz, commissioned to formulate a constitution which led to the Spanish Constitution of 1812.

²¹¹ The origins of freemasonry in Spain dates back to the first official lodge in Madrid created by the Duke of Wharton in 1728 which operated under English warrants until the establishment of an independent grand lodge,

Saint Joseph's day, planned to grant greater powers to the Cortes rather than the crown, establishing a constitutional monarchy.²¹² The government would be centrally administered, abolishing regional privileges, introducing universal male suffrage with elections for members of the Cortes and a radical change to the rights of property for landowners and the church. Laws relating to the claims and rights of property would be based on the old Roman laws, rather than those of medieval Spain.²¹³

Likewise in British newspapers and periodicals the constitution was observed to have “obtained the entire confidence of the people” but as *The Gentleman's Magazine* thought “The British public will probably observe much to admire and something to regret in the Spanish constitution”.²¹⁴ It is striking that hardly any adverse opinion of the constitution is stated by the reading public in any major printed work of the time, which could show the extent to which the constitution was seen as important to the war or the level of ignorance shown for a real understanding of developments. As will be identified in chapter three, during the revolution in Spain in 1820, the constitution and British perception took on a new approach.

It did however cause problems particularly with the radical Irish Catholic community who saw an ally in the new constitutionalists in Spain, wishing to separate themselves from British rule. At a meeting in Dublin, a “Mr O’Gorman brought forward his motion for addressing the Spanish Cortes, requesting their interference with the British government in favour of the

known as the Orient in 1770. With the arrival of the French in the Peninsula, a rival Grand Orient was formed by Joseph Bonaparte in 1809. R. Berman, *The Foundations of Modern Freemasonry: The Grand Architects: Political change & the Scientific Enlightenment, 1714-1740* (Sussex, 2012), p. 180. *New Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume 6* (New York, 1909), pp. 132-139.

²¹² A. P. Blaustein, *Constitutions of the World* (Tennessee, 1993), pp. 22-24.

²¹³ C.J., Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age: From Constitution to Civil War, 1808-1939* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 21 & 44. R. Carr, *Spain 1808-1975* (Oxford, 1989), p.99.

²¹⁴ *The Morning Chronicle*, 9th April, 1812. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1813.

Catholics of Ireland”.²¹⁵ This caused further questions to be asked about British views of the Catholic question. In a speech by the Duke of Sussex in the House of Lords he argued,

“Do we not act with, and assist the Portuguese and Spanish Catholics, endeavouring to protect them against the grasping ambition of France...why then, my lords, at the very moment we are making these protestations and exertions; in the same breath should our acts at home belie the sincerity of them”.²¹⁶

Evidently why should there be any concessions made for foreign Catholics compared to those in Britain? The simple answer is that Britain was willing to make allies with anyone who helped to bring about the ultimate goal of defeating Napoleon and restoring the balance of power in Europe.

The strong relationship with British ministers, such as Henry Wellesley, helped greatly to improve the cooperation of Spanish forces with Wellington’s planned grand strategy to drive the French from Spain. With a conclusion of the war in sight, by 1813, the Cortes moved from Cadiz to Madrid to await the return of Ferdinand VII. However in subsequent chapters the nature of support and the constitutions appeal would come under question as the state of affairs changed in the Peninsular War.

The Church and Religion

British soldiers had ample opportunity to observe the Spanish population after 1810. One factor which caught the eye of numerous British soldiers was Catholicism in Spain. This came as a cultural shock too many as the religion of the British Army reflected the protestant

²¹⁵ *Ipswich Journal*, 31st July, 1813.

²¹⁶ *The Edinburgh Review*, July 1812, pp. 56-57.

denominations of British society from Anglicans, Calvinists to Methodists.²¹⁷ Wellington, being from an Anglo-Irish family and a member of the Church of England, recognised that these religious differences could cause difficulties and tensions between his army and the general populace.²¹⁸ Wellington saw the importance of winning the hearts and minds of the Spanish people, even though his army was fighting to liberate the country, and ordered that his soldiers should only enter churches to pray.²¹⁹ There are however countless examples of British observers' dislike of priests and Catholic practices, which historians have cited frequently in their narratives to represent how all soldiers thought about to their catholic hosts.²²⁰

Soldier's acts of hostility, disrespect and intolerance were very evident. John Cooper, 7th Foot, in 1809 while spending the night at a convent, found a skull on the altar and used it as a football.²²¹ Another example of lack of respect about Catholicism was Private William Lawrence, 40th Foot, preparing a meal for the Spanish family he was lodged with, it being Lent, he deliberately placed meat in the dish. This brought a long lecture from the local priest who called him "an ignorant Protestant".²²² Bugler William Green, 95th Rifles, was questioned by a priest as to why he should be reading the Bible without a priest. Whereupon he stated that in Britain this was normal; the priest was then alleged to have said "Now, if you were a Spaniard, I should have you put into the inquisition". This incident led Green to comment, "As I was a British subject this 'Wolf in sheep's clothing' had no power over me; and on this account I felt

²¹⁷ C.D. Field, "Counting Religion in England and Wales: The Long Eighteenth Century, c. 1680-c. 1840", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 63, No. 4, October 2012, pp. 710-711. R. Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (London, 2002), p.355. F. Knight, *The Nineteenth-Century Church and English Society* (Cambridge, 1998), pp.93-95.

²¹⁸ M. Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion: The Forgotten History of the British Soldier From the Age of Marlborough to the Eve of the First World War* (New York, 2005), p.6.

²¹⁹ C. Oman, *Wellington's Army 1809-1814* (London, 1913), pp.325-326.

²²⁰ G. Fremont, *The Napoleonic Wars: The Peninsular War 1807-1814* (Oxford, 2002), p. 8. C.J. Esdaile, *Command of the Spanish Army, 1812-14*, in N. Gash, *Wellington: Studies in the Military and Political Career of the First Duke of Wellington* (New York, 1990), p. 67. Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion*, p.214.

²²¹ Cooper, *Fusilier Cooper*, p.39.

²²² Lawrence, *Sergeant Lawrence*, p.48.

thankful".²²³ In similar rhetoric Private Wheeler thought that the overbearing church in Spain was the main reason why the people lived under tyranny.²²⁴ All these instances show a lack of respect by the British, sometimes unjustified; on other occasions Spanish priests could be antagonistic, but overall the level of Catholicism in Spain shocked many soldiers.

Contrary to these general views and images created by historians and soldiers there were instances, which more often than not have been ignored, where British soldiers had harmonious relations with holy men. It has been estimated that one third of the British army was recruited from Ireland.²²⁵ Therefore there is good reason to state that a number of catholic soldiers in Wellington's Peninsula Army had good relationships with priests. Captain John Patterson, of the 50th Foot's Light Company, commented that one of his lieutenants, Hugh Birchall discovered "an old acquaintance, from his native town in Ireland, in the person of a Spanish priest; who had, a few years since, come to this place for the purpose of finishing his classical education".²²⁶ The British army had some Catholic officers as they were officially admitted into the army following the Roman Catholic Relief Act in 1791, although many Irish Catholics had served under the king's colours previously for more than a century.²²⁷

The Spanish likewise had more favourable relationships with the Irish soldiers, believing that every Irishman was a Catholic. Private William Wheeler, 51st Foot, was astonished at

²²³ W. Green, & H. Smith, *Bugler and Officer of the Rifles: With 95th (Rifles) During the Peninsular and Waterloo Campaigns of the Napoleonic Wars* (London, 2005), pp. 78-79.

²²⁴ W. Wheeler, *Private Wheeler: The Letters of a Soldier of the 51st Light Infantry During the Peninsular War & at Waterloo* (London, 2009), p.67.

²²⁵ S. Schwarnenfeld, "*The Foundation of British Strength*": *National Identity and the British Common Soldier* (Florida PhD, 2007), p. 7. E.M. Spiers, *Army Organisation and Society in the Nineteenth Century* in, T. Bartlett & K. Jeffery (eds.), *A Military History of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1997) , pp. 335-336.

²²⁶ J. Patterson, *The Adventures of Captain John Patterson with Notices of the Officers of the 50th or Queen's Own Regiment from 1807 to 1821* (London, 1837), pp. 73-74.

²²⁷ D. Keenan, *The Grail of Catholic Emancipation 1793 to 1829* (London, 2002). R. W. Davis, The House of Lords, the Whigs and Catholic Emancipation 1806–1829, *Parliamentary History*, March 1999, Vol. 18 Issue 1, pp 25–27.

“How the term ‘heretic’, sticks to the English. No good office can wipe out the foul stain, if you wish to come on terms of friendship you must pass for an Irishman. You then are considered as one of themselves, a good Christian”.²²⁸

Not all Irishmen shared this good friendship; Ensign George Bell 34th Foot, stated strongly that, “One question they never forgot to ask, ‘Are you an Irishman?’ They consider all Irishmen Roman Catholics; regarding myself, they were quite out of their reckoning”.²²⁹ Bell in his own words was a “staunch, loyal Protestant subject of the king of England”, and evidently the Spanish had prejudged the Irish having insufficient knowledge of the Protestant community in Ireland.

In Britain, apart from the question of Catholic emancipation, the discussions on Catholicism in Spain were limited in periodicals and newspapers with some of the same rhetoric still being used of Catholics. The *Court and Fashionable Magazine*, in an article about Spanish characteristics stated that, “their ignorance is in general extreme; most of them make no distinction between other nations, and many will maintain that a Frenchman, although a Christian, is not a Catholic”.²³⁰ This reasserts Spain as the most Catholic country in Europe which made them ignorant and full of pride. In conclusion British concepts of religion were still fuelled by the historical ideas of the *Black Legend* and this shows the importance which religion still held in the minds of the Georgians.

Bullfighting

One of the most commented on public spectacles which the British soldier witnessed in Spain later in the war after 1812, was the practice of bullfighting. The bull was as an important symbol for Spain representing masculinity, courage and strength. Bullfighting was a popular form of

²²⁸ Wheeler, *Private Wheeler*, pp.61-62.

²²⁹ Bell, *Soldier's Glory*, pp.7-8.

²³⁰ *Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine*, September, 1812, p. 123.

entertainment in Spanish society and it was a public spectacle which was used to celebrate great events in the *plaza mayor* in large towns and cities.²³¹ However there had been attempts to clamp down on the sport. In the reign of Philip II and Philip V, bullfighting was prohibited and in 1567 Pope Pius V even issued a Papal Bill which forbade fighting of bulls and other beasts. This was subsequently abolished in 1575 by Pope Gregory XIII.²³²

British attitudes in general to animals had developed over the centuries. In the Age of Enlightenment, John Locke advocated that having animals around children was a great way to develop compassion and develop a sense of responsibility for others, and increasingly in the nineteenth century children's literature possessed a sense of gentility and kindness to creatures.²³³ Alternatively the law viewed animals simply as property; hunting, bear-baiting, bull, dog and cock fights were still prevalent in Britain during the 1810's.²³⁴

The Bull was commonly used in cartoons published in 1808, which had a wide public audience in Britain as many were placed in print shop windows. The most famous Peninsular War cartoon was James Gillray's *The Spanish Bull-Fight, or The Corsican Matador in Danger*, which showed a Spanish bull trampling to death King Joseph and tossing Napoleon into a crowd of European sovereigns cheering a French defeat.²³⁵ However the most prolific (see figure 1) *The Flight of Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain*, shows the newly formed Anglo-Spanish connection. This presents the national personification of Britain *John Bull* laden with arms to assist his Spanish cousin *Don Bull* in charging the usurper King Joseph, strapped to a

²³¹ J.W. Randle, *Issues in the Spanish-Speaking World* (Westport, 2003), pp. 21-22.

²³² A. Shubert, *Death and Money in the Afternoon: A History of the Spanish Bullfight* (Oxford, 1999), p.147. C. B. Douglass, *Bulls, Bullfighting, and Spanish Identities* (Arizona, 1997), p. 50.

²³³ J.A. Serpell, *Animal Companions and Human Well-being: An Historical Exploration of the Value of Human-Animal Relationships*, in A.H. Fine, (Ed.) *Handbook on Animal-Assisted Therapy: Theoretical Foundations and Guidelines for Practice* (New York, 1999), pp.12-13. K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (London, 1984), p.143.

²³⁴ H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Harvard, 1989), pp. 2 & 151.

²³⁵ M. Bryant, *Napoleonic Wars and Cartoons* (London, 2009), p. 84.

mule with Spain's treasure being carried all the way to France.²³⁶ This representation is important as it shows the family connection between the bulls, a common bond between the two countries, who both snorting the same ideals of *liberty*.

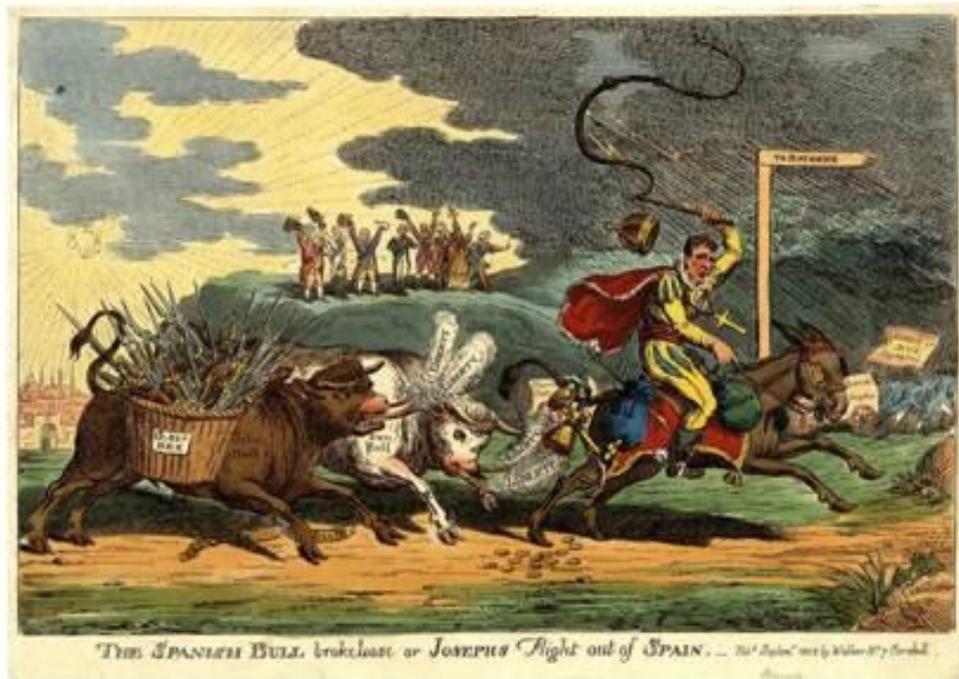


Figure 1: The Flight of Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain, 1808. Bryant, *Napoleonic Wars and Cartoons*, p. 88.

Many soldiers first witnessed bullfighting on entering Madrid in 1812 after the celebration of their victory at the Battle of Salamanca. Captain John Patterson 50th Foot gives a clear overall account of the spectacle of bull fighting,

“It was a miserable attempt to represent those exhibitions as they were in former days. Two or three unfortunate bulls were driven, or rather tormented, into a circle formed in the square; they were then goaded by a multitude of men and boys, until the animals become almost frantic; their tormentors, throwing up

²³⁶ T.L. Hunt, *Defining John Bull: Political Caricature and National Identity in Late Georgian England* (Hampshire, 2003), p. 165.

hats, caps, cloaks, and sticks, while hooting and yelling forth the most abominable noises”.²³⁷

Lieutenant William Grattan, 88th Foot, Connaught Rangers, witnessed one fight where eight bulls were killed; the last bull managing to jump the five foot high fence, but it was unfortunately forced back into the arena, whereupon unwilling to fight it was set upon by dogs. Observing this spectacle Grattan comments, “it would seem as if the honour of all of Spain had been tarnished, and had the fate of the nation depended on the trial of the unfortunate brute they could not have felt much more”.²³⁸ Captain Jonathan Leach, 95th Rifles, found it strange that Spanish ladies revelled in witnessing bullfights as their British counterparts do the opera, but explains this phenomenon by the fact that they had grown up with such displays since childhood.²³⁹ Additionally Private John Donaldson, 94th Foot, thought that many British soldiers were not “much captivated with this amusement; it was rather considered a cruel and disgusting one”.²⁴⁰ It is evident from these observations that the practice of bullfighting was detested by the rank and file of the infantry but cavalry regiments viewed the sport differently.

Private James Thomas Todd, 71st Foot, Highland Light Infantry, observed that the British cavalymen did participate in bull fighting, “Our horsemen were particularly good bull-fighters; and the women used to give them great praise”.²⁴¹ Class divisions might have played a part in the willingness of British cavalymen entering the arena. The cavalry saw themselves as superior to the infantry because they attracted the landed gentry to join them, a Cavalry officers commission cost double that of an infantry officer and finally being on a horse made

²³⁷ Patterson, *Adventures with the Dirty Half Hundred*, p.117.

²³⁸ W. Grattan, *The Complete Adventures in the Connaught Rangers: The 88th Regiment During the Napoleonic Wars by a Serving Officer* (London, 2009), p. 121.

²³⁹ Leach, *Captain of the 95th (rifles)*, pp. 284-285.

²⁴⁰ Donaldson, *Donaldson of the 94th-Scots Brigade*, pp. 168-170.

²⁴¹ Todd, *Bayonets, Bugles and Bonnets*, p. 98.

them physically higher than a soldier on foot.²⁴² Of the officers from the landed gentry many would have been familiar with fox-hunting in Britain which was a popular sport but unlike bullfighting, had the purpose of protecting livestock.²⁴³ Ultimately bullfighting was unpopular with most British troops and in many ways reinforced the old ideas of the *Black Legend*, of Spanish cruelty in this example to a fellow creature.

Spanish Civilians and Culture

Britons perception of the Spanish character certainly changed in 1808 with supportive comments on the noble qualities that the Spanish exhibited in their resistance to Napoleon. The success and failure of the war caused opinions to alter in regard to Spain. Articles in newspapers and periodicals, in the latter part of the conflict, describe to their readers various Spanish characteristics and customs. The *New Annual Register* wrote on the nature of Spanish national pride, “belief that the mere circumstance of being Spaniards, quite apart from any regard to their intellectual or moral qualities, or their conduct, raises them far above all other people”.²⁴⁴ This article is substantiated by the many military reports from the Peninsula commenting that pride had made cooperation between the armies difficult, as stated earlier in this chapter.

What many remarks and statements do not say is why the Spanish were so full of pride. Spain had a high percentage, roughly one in twenty, titled gentry, *Grandees* and *Titulos*, and ordinary nobles, *Hidalgos*, with ancestral links to knights and nobles of the Reconquista.²⁴⁵ Some had no physical wealth, but because of their title they had great pride in themselves, and the

²⁴² S. Reid, *Redcoat Officer 1740-1815* (Oxford, 2002), p. 15. B. Fostern, *Wellington's Light Cavalry* (London, 1982), p. 8.

²⁴³ E. Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain Since 1066* (Lancaster, 2007), pp. 144-147. J.M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester, 1988), pp. 18-19.

²⁴⁴ *The New Annual Register*, January, 1813, p. 279.

²⁴⁵ C. E. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid 1750-1800* (New York, 1970), p. 123. Carr, *Spain 1808-1975*, pp. 124-125.

perception of laziness, was apparent in the fact they did not work, being of noble birth.²⁴⁶ Conversely few Britons recognised or knew the class divisions adopted in Spain.

The general perception of the Spanish as a whole was improving. The *Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine* in an article entitled, *Manners, Customs, Dress, Popular Errors, Usages and Character of the Spanish Nation*, summarised that, "the Spaniard is patient and religious; he is full of patience, but slow in deciding; he has great discretion and sobriety...He is faithful, open, charitable, and friendly: he has vices, and where is a man without them".²⁴⁷ This last statement shows a level of understanding rarely seen. Stating that everyone has their vices and that the people of Britain must be reminded of this and shows the positive influence of religion on the Spanish character.

This article, at some length, describes the different manners and customs of different regions of Spain.

"The Catalans are the most industrious, active and laborious amongst the Spaniards; they consider themselves as a distinct people, are always ready to revolt and have more than once formed the project of erecting their country into a republic...The Valencian is subtle, false and milder in his manner; he is the most idle and at the same time the most supple individual that exists...The Andalusian has nothing of his own, not even his language..he is a bully, an idler, lively, jovial, attached to the ancient customs of his country...The Castilian is haughty, grave in his countenance, speaks but little, and seems wrapped in contemplation...Most of the servants are Asturians: they are faithful; not very intelligent, but exact in the performance of their duty".²⁴⁸

²⁴⁶ MacKay, *Lazy, Improvident People*, pp.2, 86 & 87.

²⁴⁷ Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine, September, 1812, p. 122.

²⁴⁸ Ibad, pp. 122-126.

This article was written by someone who had travelled extensively through the country, or by a Spaniard, as the article is evidence of some knowledge or sense of perception of regional characteristics. In looking at the article, a member of the British reading public could relate to the different regions, ascertaining that Spain was similar to Britain surmising regional variations in the character of its people.

Apart from general perceptions of the Spanish nation in Britain, the observations of the Britons in Spain as to habits and customs are important as overwhelmingly soldiers' memoirs pay more attention to billeting and food than they do to the fighting on the battlefield. Many were sheltered in Spanish homes, helping with domestic chores, and paying for any food provided. The reported relationship between the British soldiers and the Spanish has been somewhat misleading, comments being made about the British Army stealing food from their Spanish hosts contributed to this; From Private William Lawrence stealing pork on more than one occasion, to Private William Wheeler's friend stealing eggs from a Spanish shopkeeper and General Robert Craufurd seizing church plate to pay for food to feed the men in his Light Division.²⁴⁹ This clearly shows the want of food in times of desperation and so cannot be taken as typical examples of relations between respective countrymen.

Although the British Army had spent most of its time in Portugal until 1810, the soldiers had the opportunity to compare the perceived prejudicial character of the Spanish people. The general use of the term *dirty* about the Spanish by historians is groundless as demonstrated by

²⁴⁹ General Robert Craufurd (1764-1812) also known as 'Black Bob' because of his mood, joined the Army in 1779, rapidly promoted in the American Revolution, he also fought in India, attached to the Austrian Army in the French Revolution and fought in South America and finally in the Peninsular War. Commanding the Light Brigade and then the Light Division before dying at the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. Tory Member of Parliament for East Retford from 1802 to 1806. M. Urban, *Rifles: Six Years with Wellington's Legendary Sharpshooters* (London, 2004). I. Fletcher, *Craufurd's Light Division 1800-12* (London, 1991). Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume III*, pp.522-524. Lawrence, *Sergeant Lawrence*, pp. 62 & 73. Wheeler, *Private Wheeler*, p.94. Garrety, *Soldiering with the Division*, p. 89.

the comments of soldiers on entering the country.²⁵⁰ Captain John Kincaid 95th Rifles had his first experience of Spain after the Battle of Sabugal, 3rd April 1810. The British soldiers observed the differences between the Portuguese and Spanish and on most occasions they favoured the Spanish.

“passing from the Portuguese to the Spanish frontier is about equal to taking one step from the coal-hole into the parlour, for the cottages on the former are reared with filth, furnished with ditto, and peopled accordingly; whereas, those of Spain, even within the same mile, are neatly white-washed, both without and within, and the poorest of them can furnish a good bed, with clean linen, and pillow-cases”.²⁵¹

New to the Peninsula, Ensign John Cowell Stepney, Coldstream Guards, shared Kincaid’s opinion, “They were a fine race to look upon, and much superior, in this respect, to their neighbours the Portuguese”. Captain Charles Boothby, Royal Engineers, comments, “It is quite a relief...to be transferred from the filthy cities of the Portuguese to the clean houses of the Spaniards”.²⁵² As is evidently clear Portuguese homes were seen as *dirty* whereas the Spanish were seen as clean.

This sentiment was even evident in the pages of periodicals in Britain. In the *European Magazine* an article about *The Modern State of Spain*, published as early as 1809, states of Madrid “the streets are in general of a good breath, clean and well lighted...the houses are solidly built”.²⁵³ So the idea of the Spanish being *dirty* was not prevalent at the time. Therefore historians have been misleading in their general assumptions of a negative observation of

²⁵⁰ Parkinson, *The Peninsular War*, p. 191. Charter, Rosenhaft, & Smith (ed.) *Civilians and War in Europe 1618-1815*, pp. 223-234.

²⁵¹ Kincaid, *The Complete Kincaid of the Rifles*, pp. 47-48.

²⁵² C. Boothby, *Under England’s Flag from 1804 to 1809, the Memoirs, Diary and Correspondence of Charles Boothby, Captain Royal engineers* (London, 1990).

²⁵³ The European Magazine, January, 1809, pp.35-44.

Spanish domestic life. In fact the word *clean* should be applied to the general opinion of a Spanish dwelling.

What is also unmistakable from some officer's memoirs is the enthusiasm to learn for Spanish culture. Captain John Patterson, 50th Foot, gives a very positive image of Spanish hospitality. "In this instance, as well as in every other, when we had occasion to make the observation, the Spaniards proved themselves ingenuous and friendly people, in every possible way, and by every mark of goodwill".²⁵⁴ Ensign Moyle Sherer, 34th Foot, also took "Much pleasure from seeing a town inhabited by Spaniards, whose language, manners, customs, and dress, I knew, differed widely from the Portuguese, and were, from national pride, kept quite as distinct on the frontiers as elsewhere".²⁵⁵ There was a willingness of officers to see the finer points of Spanish life rather than to simply criticise but as with other observations it is the Portuguese that are viewed as inferior and less welcoming. This stresses the friendly nature of many of the Spanish they met, in contrast to a perceived image of hostility.

Scottish and Irish regiments had a particularly favourable relationship with the Spanish civilians. Though the Irish had a stronger link to the Spanish due to religious beliefs, it was the Scots who observed a greater sense of cultural similarities. Private James Todd, 71st Foot Highland Light Infantry, born in Edinburgh, remarked on the similarity between the Spanish and Scots "I have often thought the Spaniards resembled the Scots, in their manner of treating their children. How my heart warmed, when I have seen the father, with his wife by his side, and the children round them, repeating the Lord's Prayer".²⁵⁶ For Todd even in a foreign country, a Catholic one at that saw the similarities between Spanish families and those back in Scotland, asserting in him a great sense of Spanish kinship and changing his previous opinions.

²⁵⁴ Patterson, *The Adventures of Captain John Patterson*, p. 215.

²⁵⁵ Sherer, *Recollections of the Peninsula*, pp. 60-61.

²⁵⁶ Todd, *Bayonets, Bugles and Bonnets*, p.96.

Not only did some of the people remind Scotsmen of their homeland but even the landscape, Captain John Kincaid, 95th Rifles, from Stirlingshire, “halted near the ancient town of Segovia, which bears a strong resemblance to the old town of Edinburgh, built on a lofty ridge”.²⁵⁷ Captain John Patterson, 50th Foot, not a Scotsman himself, noted the fondness of the Spanish for bagpipes in highland regiments; at Don Benito near Badajoz in 1813 he wrote “they are extremely fond of the Scotch bagpipe, and when the highland corps appeared among them, all ranks and ages running to their doors and windows to listen with rapture to their piper Sandy, while he played along the streets”.²⁵⁸ Compared to other soldiers in the British Army the Irish and Scots were not dissimilar to their Spanish counterparts having cultural similarities as many soldiers came from a rural background.²⁵⁹

Of all the Spanish civilians whom the soldiers met, the frequency in which Spanish women arise in the writings is palpable. A noticeable class difference occurs with the British soldiers’ opinions of Spanish ladies. The officer class’ view of Spanish ladies of the upper classes becomes evident as Ensign George Bell believed “The young ladies were charming, barring education. The priests took care to keep them in ignorance, and free from the trammels of over much learning, so that they were generally very idle, but fond of music, dancing, gossiping, and eating grapes and chocolate”.²⁶⁰ This is an example of British soldier’s perceived idea that religion was responsible for lack of knowledge and education of the Spanish, and in this particular case of Spanish women.

William Graham, an officer in the Commissariat department in charge of providing food and supplies to the army, wrote in Navarre that, “During the whole time I have been in Spain, I have scarcely ever seen one truly handsome female; they are all either too fat or complete

²⁵⁷ Kincaid, *The Complete Kincaid of the Rifles*, p. 97.

²⁵⁸ Patterson, *Adventures with the Dirty Half Hundred*, p.104.

²⁵⁹ Schwarnenfeld, “*The Foundation of British Strength*”, pp. 3- 6. Coss, *All for the King's Shilling*, pp. 67-69.

²⁶⁰ Bell, *Soldier's Glory* (London, 1956), p. 48.

skeletons, neither of which can exhibit fine proportions”.²⁶¹ John Fredrick Herring, an officer in the 1st Kings German Legion Hussars, found the elite women of Spanish society to be “almost uniformly over-rating their own importance”.²⁶² Aside from the clear indication that some, not all, officers found Spanish ladies unattractive and differences in social standing being unclear, as stated earlier regarding nobles, combined with religious beliefs this was discouraging to soldiers in forming liaisons with the local women.

In contrast to the majority of officers, Captain John Kincaid, 95th Rifles, in the village of Rodrigo during a dance commented that the, “Spanish peasant girl has an address about her which I have never met within the same class of any other country; as she at once enters into society with the ease and confidence of one who has been accustomed to it all her life”.²⁶³

Another exception, which was rare, was Captain Harry Smith, 95th Rifles, who married Juana María de los Dolores de León, from a respected Spanish noble family.²⁶⁴ Smith, talking about the possible future of his wife if she were to stay in Spain, noted “if I must have left her behind, the fact of a true Catholic allying herself to a heretic would, among bigoted inhabitants, have secured her anything but tender attention”.²⁶⁵ What may also have dissuaded many from having liaisons, aside from the potential language barrier, was the social strains and taboo of an Anglo-Spanish relationship.

Lord Byron, who was on a grand tour of Europe during the war, commented on one Spanish girl, Signavita Cardova, writing home to his mother that, “the Spanish style in my opinion by no means inferior to the English in charms, and certainly superior in fascination”.²⁶⁶ This is similar to the comments noted in the *Court and Fashionable Magazine*, but one of the more

²⁶¹ W. Graham, *Campaigns in Portugal and Spain* (London, 2009), p. 179.

²⁶² J.F. Hering, *Journal of an Officer in the King's German Legion* (London, 1827), p. 190.

²⁶³ Kincaid, *The Complete Kincaid of the Rifles*, p. 59.

²⁶⁴ Bell, *Soldier's Glory*, p.27.

²⁶⁵ Later in life Harry Smith became a lieutenant general, 1st Baronet of Aliwal and, as Governor of the Cape Colony's, named Ladysmith after his wife. Green, & Smith, *Bugler and Officer of the Rifles*, p. 149.

²⁶⁶ Letter from Lord Byron to Mrs Catherine Gordon Byron, Gibraltar, 11th August 1809, in L.A. Marchand, (ed.), *Lord Byron: Selected Letters and Journals* (London, 1982), p. 27.

interesting letters, in *The Lady's Monthly Museum*, was from a Spanish officer in London, Don Ignacio, writing to his aunt about the manners of women in England.²⁶⁷ Ignacio allegedly wrote to his aunt that English women's "beauty and good qualities are as much vaunted in the Peninsula as the valour and discipline of their troops" adding further, "everything in England is of composed order- their language, their manners, their laws and their constitution- but most especially so, are the manners of their women".²⁶⁸ This could be interpreted as stating the qualities of Britain rather than women, however the message conveys that Spanish women were beautiful and that English women were more ladylike and reserved.

The common soldier, in contrast to several officers found the Spanish women fascinating, regularly writing about their sparkling brown eyes, jet black hair, comely appearance and friendly manner. Spectacles which caught the eye of the soldiers were women dancing the Fandango, fascinating the men during public festivals which many enjoyed and attended. Seemingly the feelings of British soldiers were shared by the Spanish also. Rifleman Benjamin Harris commented on entering a Spanish shop and talking to the wife of the shopkeeper, "she brought her handsome daughter, and, without more circumstances, offered her to me for a wife. The offer was a tempting one; but the conditions after marriage made it impossible for me to comply, since I was to change my religion, and desert".²⁶⁹ This was not an isolated incident as a number of Britons were solicited by parents to marry Spanish girls.²⁷⁰ The reasons are not clear but could be that there was a degree of protection for a girl whose partner was a soldier and that most of the Spanish male population was under arms, too busy for family life.

²⁶⁷ *Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine*, September, 1812, p. 124.

²⁶⁸ *The Lady's Monthly Museum*, January, 1813, pp. 15-16.

²⁶⁹ B. Harris, *The Complete Rifleman Harris: The Adventures of a Soldier of the 95th (Rifles) During the Peninsular Campaign of the Napoleonic Wars* (London, 2006), p. 70.

²⁷⁰ Green & Smith, *Bugler and Officer of the Rifles*, p. 95.

Conclusion

As Wellington's army marched over the Pyrenees into France, on the 31st March 1814, Paris was soon occupied by the allied armies, ending six years of conflict.²⁷¹ As is evident, in this chapter British opinions of Spain changed as quickly as events. At the outbreak of the Spanish revolution against Napoleon, old attitudes regarding Spain prevailed, unbelieving and sceptical of Spain's intentions concerning the French. Once sufficient reports clarified circumstances, with representatives arriving from Spain and reports in the newspapers, the British perception of the country dramatically changed. Liberating Spain, a new found ally, caused poets, scholars, politicians and members of the reading public to sing the praises of a just cause which benefited the British policy of crushing Napoleons Empire.

Opinions altered once again with progressive campaigns, from 1808 to 1810, which jeopardised British involvement in the Peninsula. It was perceived by both soldiers' and statesmen that the major faults prevailed with the unorganised Spanish government and an uncooperative army. The Talavera Campaign did little to improve British opinions of the Spanish and Spain; the sense of mistrust and hostility instilled in the British psyche remained for the rest of the war. These campaigns contributed to Wellington reassessing his strategy in the Peninsula, concentrating on the reorganising of the army in Portugal before returning to Spain. However some British opinions of Spain altered during the later years of the war, with improved cooperative military strategy which led to the decisive victories of 1813-14.

Impenetrable attitudes prevailed, re-establishing old and primitive ideas of Spanish society. The practice of Spanish bullfighting was resoundingly seen as a barbaric sport, the suspicious nature of foreigners towards Spanish civilians did little to encourage positive sentiments. Religion was an effective force which divided relationships between allies and individual

²⁷¹ Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer*, p. 192.

interactions with priests, and the populace of Spain. Conversely some perceptions altered and the negative narrative favoured by historians, of British opinions to the Spanish, can be challenged.

The perception that the Spanish were dirty was not based in reality; in fact many commented on the cleanliness and hospitality which they received while billeted in Spanish households. Britons with Catholic beliefs, predominantly Irishmen, sometimes found priests warm and welcoming and admired their level of education. The Scots observed in the Spanish many of their national traits, those from a rural district having a better understanding of country life and town society. Additionally individual's opinions were changed after personnel interaction with the Spanish which was also reflected in several newspaper articles viewed by the British reading public. Many found new friends and political allies from their endeavours in the Peninsula, but would peace bring even more encouraging developments, or undo the work which the British felt had been accomplished by their involvement in Spain?

Chapter Two: The South American Wars of Independence 1808 to 1820

With war raging across Spain there was increasing activity by insurgents in South America to extricate the tyranny of the Spanish; British merchants, adventurers and politicians saw an opportunity to extend Britain's *informal empire*. This was achievable by having political influence and commercial interests without embracing sovereignty.²⁷² The historiography of South American Independence has in recent years received extra attention, principally with the commencement of the bicentenaries of the events in question. Many studies have investigated the general history and personalities of the country, also historians like Webster, have researched the role which Britain played in prolonging the conflict.²⁷³ Social historians have taken a comprehensive look at the British, particularly Irish, volunteers who fought in South America, chiefly those who served in Simon Bolivar's British Legion.²⁷⁴

Historians have written extensively on the subject of Britain relations with Spain, Waddell and Webster have shown the pressure that diplomatic relations were under from the Spanish regarding Britain's indirect involvement with South America.²⁷⁵ However, as is so often the case with historians they have made the basic assumption that Britons, in general, supported the independence of South America.²⁷⁶ What has been neglected is British support for the

²⁷² A. Knight, *Britain and Latin America*, in A. Porter & R. Louis, (eds.), *The 19th Century* (Oxford, 1999), p.122.

²⁷³ M.H. Harrison, *Captain of the Andes: The Life of Jose de San Martin, Liberator of Argentina, Chile and Peru* (New York, 1943). J. Lynch, *Simon Bolivar: A Life* (London, 2006). J. Lynch, *San Martin: Argentinean Soldier, American Hero* (London, 2009). R. Harvey, *Romantic Revolutionary: Simon Bolivar and the Struggle for Independence in Latin America* (London, 2011).

²⁷⁴ Brown, *Adventuring Through Spanish Colonies*. Hughes, *Conquer or Die!*. C. Davies, C. Brewster and H. Owen, *South American Independence: Gender, Politics, Text* (Chicago, 2012). A. Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionnaires in the Liberation of Spanish South America* (New York, 1928). E. Murray, John Devereux (1778-1854), Army Officer and Recruiter for the Irish Legion in Simón Bolívar's Army, *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, Vol. 4, No. 2: March 2006.

²⁷⁵ D. A. G. Waddell, British Neutrality and Spanish-American Independence: The Problem of Foreign Enlistment, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (May, 1987), pp. 1-18. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh 1815-1822*, p.423.

²⁷⁶ R.C. Heinowitz, *Spanish America and British Romanticism, 1777-1826: Rewriting Conquest* (Edinburgh, 2010), pp.17-18 & 22-24. L. Bethell, (ed.), *The Independence of Latin America* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 107 & 201. T. Lloyd, *Empire: A History of the British Empire* (London, 2001), pp. 76-77. J. Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 205 & 231.

Spanish crown's right to rule in America with a small number of British volunteers serving with the Spanish army in the Americas. Was British opinion, on the whole, in favour of the insurgents, why was this the case, or was support largely based on commercial benefits. Were the Spanish unfairly perceived under the veil of the *Black Legend* by supporters of independence? This chapter will consider British opinions of the Spanish and insurgents in South America during and after the Napoleonic Wars; primarily using accounts from Britons in the Americas and the political debates raging in the newspapers, social clubs and in Westminster.

British Intervention and Policy towards South America 1808 to 1815

Once regions of South America started to revolt against Spain, a number of South Americans attempted to solicit the aid of the British government. Britain had planned on numerous occasions, before 1808, to invade South America for territorial and commercial interests, but the government concluded this to be “chimerical and ruinous” and it would be more feasible to supply arms to insurgents against their Spanish masters.²⁷⁷ For example, the British supported both attempts to liberate Venezuela in 1806: these were known as the Coro Expeditions. While these ended in failure, the expeditions brought together General Francisco De Miranda to liberate Venezuela and Thomas Cochrane.²⁷⁸ Cochrane, a Whig Member of Parliament and successful naval commander, would later join the insurgents to form the Navies of Chile and Peru.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ C.I. Archer, (ed.), *The Wars of Independence in Spanish America* (Wilmington, 2000), p.7. J. Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions 1808-1826* (New York, 1986), p.18. J.E. Rodriguez O., *The Independence of Spanish America* (Cambridge, 1998), p.30. M.E. Rodriguez, *Freedom's Mercenaries; British Volunteers in the Wars of Independence of Latin America, Vol 1. Northern South America* (2006), pp.26-30.

²⁷⁸ General Francisco De Miranda (1750-1816) joined the Spanish army in 1771, fighting in the American Wars of Independence and French Revolution which encouraged him to liberate his native Venezuela. By 1812 he created the first Venezuelan Republic only to be captured and imprisoned in Spain where he died four years later. J. Mahar, *Francisco de Miranda: Exile and Enlightenment* (Michigan, 2006). K. Racine, *Francisco De Miranda: A Transatlantic Life in the Age of Revolution* (Virginia, 2008). Rodriguez O, *The Independence of Spanish America*, pp.55-57.

²⁷⁹ Thomas Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald, 1st Marquess of Maranhao (1775-1860) served in the Royal Navy from 1793 to 1814, rising rapidly through the ranks and gaining notoriety under the name, *The Sea Wolf*.

The most notable intervention in South America by Britain directly was the expeditions to invade Buenos Aires in 1806 and 1807. The first expedition of one thousand seven hundred men was led by General William Beresford, later Commander of the Portuguese Army in the Peninsular War; he captured the nearby city of Montevideo but failed to liberate Buenos Aires and was forced to surrender.²⁸⁰ The larger second expedition of ten thousand men under Lieutenant General John Whitelocke attempted to recapture Buenos Aires only for part of the army to be surrounded and forced to surrender in July 1807.²⁸¹

Jackson's Oxford Journal reported that “the whole male population of the place (Buenos Aires) was in arms, the streets intersected with ditches, lined with cannon, pouring a destructive fire upon our troops, and every house a fortress”.²⁸² The journal added that “the Spaniards would murder their prisoners” and *The Morning Post* and *Caledonian Mercury* printed the opinion of a private correspondent who wrote of the bravery of the British troops and blamed the “folly and incapacity of the general who led them”.²⁸³ These reasons were used to explain why the British Army was defeated but these reports were exaggerated to nullify the fact that Spanish forces, in fact local militias, had defeated a British Army. This shows the inflated belief that Britons had of their Army, their inferior opinion of the Spanish and that the perception of the *Black Legend*, which was largely based on previous cruelty in Spain's conquest of the Americas, was still prevalent.²⁸⁴

Cochrane left Britain in 1818 after a tarnished political career with the great stock exchange fraud of 1814 and his outspoken comments in parliament over reform. Whig MP for Westminster from 1807 to 1814 and 1815 to 1818. He joined the Chilean Navy in 1818, the Brazilian Navy in 1822 and left South America in 1825 to fight in the Greek Navy in 1827. He returned to Britain, becoming Earl in 1831 and restoring his rank in the Royal Navy. Rodriguez, *Freedom's Mercenaries Vol.1* (2006), p. 52.

²⁸⁰ T. Byrane, British Army, Irish Soldiers, The 1806 Invasion of Buenos Aires, *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (March 2010), pp. 305-312.

²⁸¹ Omen, *Wellingtons Army 1809-1814*, p. 141.

²⁸² *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 19th September, 1807.

²⁸³ *The Morning Post*, 21st October, 1807. *Caledonian Mercury*, 22nd October, 1807.

²⁸⁴ L. Bethell, *The Cambridge History of Latin America, Volume 11* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 46. D. Todd, *Defoe's America* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 59-60.

Spanish cruelty was a common feature of many British soldiers' accounts. Private William Lawrence of the 40th Foot, reported seeing the savage treatment of British wounded by the Spanish, his officer answered by saying "we were to repay them in their own coin".²⁸⁵ There were similarities to the Peninsular War, in that the Spaniards by some British soldier's accounts were difficult to socialise with, whilst others found them to be the most hospitable people they had ever met. Once again Irish and Scottish soldiers had an easier time with the Spanish, particularly those who became prisoners taken in the failed attack on Buenos Aires, in 1807. Private James Todd, 71st Foot, Highland Light Infantry, noted that a fellow soldier "Donald M'Donald was quite at home...he was a good catholic", being friendly with a priest and was willing to stay until reminded that he might never see his native country, Ireland, again.²⁸⁶

Other Britons were also encouraged to reside in South America, Second Lieutenant Harry Smith of the 95th Rifles, was offered, by the wealthy Spanish family he was lodged with in Montevideo their "daughter in marriage and \$20,000, with as many thousand oxen as I wished, and a house in the country upon any plan I chose to devise".²⁸⁷ Smith did not accept this offer but some of his comrades did reciprocate and stay. An early British merchant who arrived in Buenos Aires, John Parish Robertson, a Scotsman who established the first British company to trade throughout the Rio de la Plata, encountered Peter Campbell some years later a former British soldier who had become a gaucho guard for the Argentinean General Miguel de Guemes.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵ Lawrence, *Sergeant Lawrence*, p.24.

²⁸⁶ Todd, *Bayonets, Bugles and Bonnets*, pp. 33-34.

²⁸⁷ Green, & Smith, *Bugler and Officer of the Rifles*, p. 95.

²⁸⁸ John Parish Robertson (1792-1843) an Edinburgh merchant and author, who accompanied his father to Montevideo in 1806 and established a prominent business in Buenos Aires by 1815. Later joined by his brother William they expanded their operations to Chile and Peru as these countries became independent and established connections with London, Glasgow and Liverpool. V.B. Reber, *British Mercantile House in Buenos Aires: 1810-1880* (Harvard, 1979), pp.112-116. J.P. Robertson, W.P., Robertson, *Letters on Paraguay; An Account of a Four Years Residence in that Republic*, Vol. I (London, 1838). W. S. Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics: As Told in the Lives of Their Liberators* (Texas, 1965).

However with the outbreak of the Peninsular War in 1808 Britain became an ally of Spain; leading to the British government refusing any further help to the South American insurgents so as not to cause unnecessary tension between the two powers in the war against the French. The British force stationed in Ireland to invade South America, under the command of Arthur Wellesley, was diverted to take part in the Peninsular War.²⁸⁹ Although British policy had altered, this did not curtail South American insurgents arriving in Britain to seek support for their cause. By 1810 General Miranda, who now lived in London, with delegates from Venezuela including Simon Bolívar, Andres Bello and Luis Lopez Mendez, arranged a number of meetings with Richard Wellesley, Foreign Secretary, but no immediate support was provided.²⁹⁰

Nevertheless, it was during this time that many South Americans gained British support and a number of friends to their cause. Bello while spending nineteen years in Britain tutored Lord Hamilton's children, teaching them Spanish.²⁹¹ Additionally during Miranda's stay, he became friends with many leading figures, such as the former Prime Minister Henry Addington, the former Foreign Secretary, George Canning and Lady Holland, the wife of Henry Fox, nephew of Charles James Fox, leader of the Whig party.²⁹² San Martin, the future military mastermind behind the liberation of many parts of southern South America, formed a lasting friendship while serving in the Spanish Army, during the early part of the Peninsular War, with James

²⁸⁹ Memorandum by Major General Sir Arthur Wellesley 8th February 1808. DOC WP1/192/39. The proposed plans to attack the Spanish colonies in South America in the Viceroyalty of Terra Firma.

²⁹⁰ Andres Bello (1781-1865) Venezuelan humanist and editor of the *Gazeta de Caracas* newspaper. Bello arrived in Britain in 1810 and acted as Secretary for Diplomatic Affairs connected with Chile and Colombia. He remained in Britain until 1829, when he returned to Chile to become Minister of Foreign Affairs and founded the University of Chile in 1843. Luis Lopez Mendez (1758-1831) he was a Professor of Philosophy at the University of Caracas in 1777 and elected Mayor of Caracas in 1797. In 1810, Mendez arrived in London, staying until 1821, as a special commissioner with the power to purchase and organise British volunteer soldiers to fight for Venezuela. In 1822 he was appointed diplomatic agent to the Courts Hanseatic. Lynch, *Simon Bolivar: A Life*, pp. 49-54. I. Jaksic & F. Lopez-Morillas, *Selected Writings of Andres Bello* (New York, 1999), pp. xvii-xix. W. W. Kaufmann, *British Policy and the Independence of Latin America* (Yale, 1951), p. 51.

²⁹¹ J.A. Crow, *The Epic of Latin America* (London, 1992), p. 643.

²⁹² D. Sinclair, *Sir Gregor MacGregor and the Land That Never Was* (London, 2003), p.26.

Duff the 4th Earl of Fife, in 1811.²⁹³ Throughout the rest of San Martin's life they kept in contact about events in their respective countries.²⁹⁴

One of the great inspirations of the revolution in South America started with the establishment of *La Logia de la Gran Reunion Americana* in London in 1798 by Francisco de Miranda, after coming into contact with British freemasons in the Royal Society. These beginnings inspired *The Most Worthy Lodge of Rational Knights of Lautaro* to be formed; the most notable was in Cadiz, where Simon Bolivar, Jose de San Martin and Bernardo O'Higgins joined during the Napoleonic Wars.²⁹⁵ There is unsubstantiated evidence that in London a Secret Society of Spanish Americans and a Patriotic Literacy Society was also active in 1811.²⁹⁶ Later when Luis Lopez Mendez and Andres Bello arrived in London they also joined, under the influence of Miranda. This led to the creation of Lodges being formed in Venezuela, Argentina, Chile and Peru between 1811 and 1824.²⁹⁷ Overall, Masonic doctrine was important to the political identity of many South American leaders in the Age of Revolution, this culture established that they were fighting for freedom, independence and justice.

Britain began a policy of mediation between Spain and the South American colonies in 1810.²⁹⁸ These mediations were aimed at "a general amnesty, a mercantile system upon liberal principles towards the foreigners and native Americans and particular consideration towards

²⁹³ James Duff, 4th Earl of Fife (1776-1857) volunteered to fight with the Spanish in 1808, fought at the Battle of Talavera and defended Cadiz, becoming a major general in the Spanish service and returned to Britain in 1811. He was a Member of Parliament for Banffshire from 1811 to 1827. H. M. Stephens, 'Duff, James, fourth Earl Fife (1776-1857)', rev. Charles Esdaile, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8170>, accessed 10 April 2012]

²⁹⁴ Lynch, *San Martin: Argentinean Soldier, American Hero* (London, 2009), pp. 25-26.

²⁹⁵ R. Harvey, *Liberators: Latin America's Struggle for Independence* (New York, 2000), p.35. Lynch, *San Martin: Argentinean Soldier, American Hero*, p. 27.

²⁹⁶ Uribe-Uran, "The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America During the Age of Revolution", p. 448.

²⁹⁷ R. F. Gould, *Military Lodges: The Apron and the Sword of Freemasonry Under Arms* (London, 1899), p. 213. M. W. Redding, *Illustrated History of Freemasonry* (New York, 1997), pp. 549-551. J. Hamili & R. Gilbert, (eds.), *Freemasonry: A Celebration of the Craft* (London, 1993), p. 227. Lynch, *San Martin: Argentinean Soldier, American Hero*, p. 47. Archer (ed.), *The Wars of Independence in Spanish America*, p. 306.

²⁹⁸ ESTADO.87.N.24, Intenciones del gobierno inglés con respecto a América , 16th Agosto, 1810.

Americans in the nomination to employments and other limited privileges".²⁹⁹ Spain responded by saying that Britain should help suppress the insurgents, this was instantly refused.³⁰⁰ Equally the British government was apprehensive that the South Americans would canvass the help of the French or the United States, in recognising their independence, whereby Britain would lose an opportunity to advance its mercantile power in the region and in wider military strategic terms.³⁰¹ Although officially the British government did not support the South American insurgents, a number of British individuals did assist them.

The Admiralty certainly were aware of known individual's activities in the Caribbean, for instance a British Captain Cavils Delloralia, who was noted as supplying "arms and ammunition to the governor of Vera Cruz from his majesty's ship *The Inconstant*".³⁰² One of the most notable and earliest Europeans to offer his sword to the insurgent cause was the Scotsman, Gregor MacGregor; who having served in the Peninsular War from 1809 to 1810 reaching the rank of major before selling his commission. After the tragic death of his wife he sailed to Caracas in 1811.³⁰³ A number of British merchants operating in the Caribbean were beginning to help finance Bolívar's expeditions. Robert Sutherland, who had a monopoly in the export of coffee and cotton from Haiti, supplied large quantities of arms and munitions for the insurgents and Maxwell Hyslop, in Jamaica, provided money to support Bolívar's expedition in 1815.³⁰⁴ No action was taken by the British government to stop such activities unless these individuals were involved in piracy.

²⁹⁹ FO519/36. Letter from Marquess Wellesley to Henry Wellesley, 4th May 1811.

³⁰⁰ ESTADO.87.N.21, Diferencias entre España e Inglaterra en la Mediación, Abril & Mayo, 1812.

³⁰¹ Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, p. 393.

³⁰² WO1/164. Admiralty Office, 1st April and 12th June, 1811.

³⁰³ Gregor MacGregor (1786-1845) he joined the 57th Foot of the British Army in 1803. He joined the army of General Miranda as a colonel, later becoming brigadier general; he married Simon Bolívar's cousin Josefa Andrea Lovera in 1812. In 1820 he carried out his own personal expeditions to America including his failed colonisation of Poyais. Rodriguez, *Freedom's Mercenaries Vol.1* (2006), p. 87.

³⁰⁴ Robert Sutherland (1780-1819) arrived at Haiti in 1806 as a representative of business interests in London with Jacob Lewis. Maxwell Hyslop (1783-1815) a merchant of Jamaica who had a good relationship with Simon Bolívar, looking after and sponsoring him for over eight months in 1815. P. Verna. *Robert Sutherland, Amigo de Bolívar en Haití*. (Caracas, 1966). Rodriguez, *Freedom's Mercenaries Vol.1* (2006), pp. 91-94. R. W. Slatta &

Fundamental to British policy, after the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, was the Congress of Vienna in 1814. Little attention was paid to the issue of the South American Revolution. The major European powers preferred to “abstain from any interference between the metropolis and the colonies”.³⁰⁵ It was thus agreed at the Congress that all European powers would comply with a policy of *neutrality*. In Britain's case discussions with King Ferdinand VII left the British government under the impression that British merchants could directly trade with South American ports, on the condition that Britain maintained strict neutrality by preventing her subjects from engaging in the ongoing conflict with the rebels in South America.³⁰⁶ The British government acknowledged this, but would it do anything to stop British subjects from volunteering their services to the South American insurgents?

British Involvement: Soldiers and Adventurers

The insurgents fight against the Spanish by 1817 was looking bleak and in order to turn the tide Luis Lopez Mendez, the Venezuelan representative in London, started to recruit British troops. Five colonels, Gustavus Mathis Hippisley, Henry Wilson, Richard Skeene, Donald Campbell and James Gilmore raised regiments of horse, foot and artillery to fight in Venezuela.³⁰⁷ This first force consisted of nine hundred men; many of whom died before they reached a battlefield or returned home immediately due to their disappointment with the

J.L. De Grummond, *Simon Bolivar's Quest for Glory* (Texas, 2003), p. 130. W. F. Lewis, Simón Bolívar and Xavier Mina: A Rendezvous in Haiti, *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3, Jul., 1969, pp. 458-460.

³⁰⁵ M.De Predt, *The Congress of Vienna* (London, 1816), p.192.

³⁰⁶ Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh 1815-1822*, p. 409.

³⁰⁷ Gustavus Mathis Hippisley (1768-1831) was commissioned in the 9th Light Dragoons as coronet, serving in Ireland and Cape of Good Hope becoming a major. On his return to England made Captain of the West Mendip Militia from 1810 to 1815. Henry Crosdile Wilson (1785-) son of a Protestant clergyman from Galway educated at Oxford University and served in the 3rd Light Dragoons from 1806 to 1810. Richard Skeene (-1817) riding master at the Maidstone cavalry depot from 1807 to 1816. James Gilmore (-1863) started his military career in the Royal Artillery, promoted to ensign in the Portuguese Mountain Artillery in the Peninsular War and then serving with the 27th Foot in the British army from 1812 to 1817. Donald Campbell (-1817) served in the West Indies, joined the Portuguese's army and then became aide-de- camp to General Ballesteros from 1812. Brown, *Adventuring Through Spanish Colonies*, pp. 22-23. Hughes, *Conquer or Die*, pp. 26-28. Rodriquez, *Freedom's Mercenaries Vol.1* (2006), pp. 232-235.

insurgents' cause.³⁰⁸ The survivors of this force were reorganised into the British Legion, under the command of Colonel James Rooke, in 1819.³⁰⁹ Subsequently in 1819 other Legions were raised including Colonel James Towers English second British Legion of two thousand men, Gregor MacGregor's Hibernian Legion of one thousand men and General John Devereux's Irish Legion numbering around one thousand seven hundred officers and men.³¹⁰

As the climate and battlefield casualties started to take their toll, British units recruited local natives to replenish the ranks. The officers and non-commissioned officers were still nonetheless British and formed the core of Bolívar's best units, The British Legion, The Black Rifles and both Simon Bolívar's and José Antonio Páez Guards of Honour.³¹¹ Likewise, most of Bolívar's aide-de-camps, from 1815 until his death in 1830, were either British or Irish. The most notable was Daniel O'Leary son of a Cork merchant, who joined in 1817, became one of Bolívar's Guard of Honour and steadily rose through the ranks to become one of Bolívar's most trusted aides-de-camp. On Bolívar's death in 1830 he disobeyed his orders to burn his personal documents and wrote a memoir of Bolívar's life, which has been influential in the way Bolívar consequently has been viewed in Britain.³¹²

³⁰⁸The Weekly Entertainer and West of England miscellany 58, December, 1818, p. 972 J. Hackett, *Narrative of the Expedition Which Sailed from England in 1817. To Join the South American Patriots* (London, 1818), p. xii.

³⁰⁹ James Rooke (1770-1819) joined the British army in 1791 and fought in Spain from 1813. He left the army in 1816 and travelled to St. Kitts to visit his sister, the wife of the governor. In 1817 he joined Bolívar's army as a lieutenant colonel, later commanding the 1st Venezuelan Hussars and then the British Legion, at the Battle of Vargas Swamp he led the British Legion with distinction, dying shortly after. M. E. Rodríguez, James Rooke (1770-1819) Commander of the British Legion in Bolívar's Army, *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, Vol. 5 Num., 2, July 2007, pp. 137-138.

³¹⁰ James Towers English (1782-1819) served in the British army as a clerk in the commissariat department during the Peninsular War. On his arrival in Venezuela in 1818 he was promoted to colonel. He promised to raise more soldiers for Bolívar back in Britain and in 1819 arrived back in Venezuela. James was promoted to brigadier general in command of all foreign troops and at the Siege of Maturín he fell sick and died shortly after. John Devereux (1778-1860) had fought for the United Irishmen during the Irish Rebellion of 1798 and went into exile in America, working as a merchant in Baltimore. By 1819 his legion arrived in Venezuela, abstaining from a commanding role in the following campaigns but became Colombian envoy to the courts of Europe in 1823. E. Murray, John Devereux (1778-1854), *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, Vol. 4 Num., 2, March 2007. T. Hooker, & R. Poulter, *The Armies of Bolívar and San Martín* (Oxford, 1991), p.8 Brown, *Adventuring Through Spanish Colonies*, p. 40.

³¹¹ Brown, *Adventuring Through Spanish Colonies*, pp.40-41.

³¹² Daniel Florence O'Leary (1802-1854) He was later appointed as a representative to Europe by the Venezuelan government in 1834 and became the British Consul of Caracas and Puerto Cabello in 1841. Hooker, & Poulter, *The Armies of Bolívar and San Martín*, p.9. C. Healy, Daniel Florence O'Leary (1802-1854), Army

The majority of British volunteers travelled to the northern regions of South America, due to an easier passage from British held islands in the Caribbean, in the southern most areas of South America very few Britons were involved in the armies of San Martin and Bernardo O'Higgins. The most important contribution to the latter was British Naval support, with decommissioned Napoleonic warships, ex Royal Navy sailors and most notably Vice-Admiral Thomas Cochrane who helped establish the navies of Chile and Peru.³¹³

How did these volunteers react to the Spanish that they encountered in the new world? Few adventurers commented on the Spaniards in South America possibly due to their lack of knowledge to perceive the difference between a Spaniard and a South American. There were however key differences; *Creoles* were people with Spanish ancestry, like Simon Bolivar, who increasingly suffered from discrimination from the Spanish crown in favour of Spaniards or *Peninsulares* in administrative positions.³¹⁴ Also many individuals did not integrate with Spaniards for the simple reason that foreigners would have received harsh treatment for intervening in the affairs in South America. Those that did had the following to say of their experiences.

Matthew Rafter, an officer with MacGregor's Hibernian Legion, perceived the difference between South American and Spanish education after conversing with General Miranda.³¹⁵

Officer in the South American Wars of Independence, *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, Vol. 4, No. 2: March 2006, pp. 95-96.

³¹³ William Miller (1795-1861) joined the army and fought in the Peninsular War. In 1817 he travelled to Buenos Aires to join San Martin's army and served under Lord Cochrane who was commander of the marines in the Chilean Navy. William was given command of the Peruvian Legion with the rank of general and commanded the combined cavalry of San Martin's and Bolivar's army. He lived in Lima but fell out of favour with the government due to their bad treatment of Indians and left to become the British Consul of the Pacific Islands in 1843. J. Miller, *Memoirs of General Miller, in the Service of the Republic of Peru* (London, 1828).

³¹⁴ P. Bakewell, *A History of Latin America to 1825* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 374-378. D.A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State 1492-1867* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 581-582.

³¹⁵ Michael Rafter adjutant general of MacGregor's Florida expedition and wrote *Memoirs of Gregor MacGregor*. His brother, William Rafter served in British army from 1806 to 1818 fighting in Holland, West Indies and the Peninsular War, resigning his captaincy in 1817. He was in command of MacGregor's riflemen, second in command at Portobello, captured there and one of the only survivors in prison. Hughes, *Conquer or Die*, pp. 50 & 221. Rodriguez, *Freedom's Mercenaries Vol.1*, pp.107-108.

“Miranda possessed a fondness for literature...his mind too enlightened for the usual course of Spanish education, which is generally founded upon the rigid dogmas of polemic divines and gloomy theologians”.³¹⁶ This reasserts the prejudice of Spanish, catholic, education and its draconian methods. James Hamilton, former merchant and British consul in Angostura in Colombia also clarifies the situation with the example of the education of women in South America and the influence of the church;

“The Bogota ladies are by no means deficient in talent, but nothing can be worse than the Spanish education for females. They are sent very young into the convents to be educated by the nuns, and taught to embroider robes for the Virgin and all the Saints, and their minds filled with gloomy superstition”.³¹⁷

This is an all-encompassing statement, which was typical of comments at the time with the assumption that the Catholic Church’s influences on education equalled an insufficient understanding of the world and suppressed potential. However why would various wealthy families in Britain still employed clerics to tutor their children, for example the Holland family engaged the Church of England Reverend Matthew Marsh. Moreover it was the supposed superstitious nature of Catholic teaching over new enlightened thinking which raised criticism in Britain and added to the sentiment of the backwards nature of Spain.³¹⁸

In contrast to these beliefs, John Parish Robertson, a Scottish merchant who spent many years in Argentina, had these words to say about the Spanish character from his own experience.

³¹⁶ M. Rafter, *Memoirs of Gregor M’Gregor; Comprising a Sketch of the Revolution in New Grenada and Venezuela* (London, 1820), pp. 34-35.

³¹⁷ James Hamilton (-1840) a Scottish merchant in Angostura who supplied arms to the patriots and was made an honorary colonel in the Venezuelan army. He was also a British spy writing often to the Home Office, having close connections with the Duke of Sussex. He was sent to Colombia in 1823, by George Canning, as a commissioner to assist in granting recognition of Colombia as a state and later became the British Consul in Angostura. J. P. Hamilton, *Travels Through the Interior Provinces of Colombia Vol. II* (London, 1827), p. 139. Rodriguez, *Freedom’s Mercenaries Vol.1*, pp. 219.

³¹⁸ L. Kelly, *Holland House: A History of London’s Most Celebrated Salon* (London, 2013), pp. 35-37.

“I found all my preconceived notions of the gravity and austerity of the Spaniards quite overthrown. We have formed our estimate of them. I think, more from legends and romances of by-gone times, than from a real observation of their character at the present day”.³¹⁹

This statement noticeably identifies that preconceived ideas about the Spanish, the *Black Legend*, existed, and that Robertson altered his perception through observation, clearly showing that opinions about the Spanish could alter.

Nonetheless many British attitudes toward religion were divided, shown in the following comment. Hamilton upon entering the village of Fucutativa while travelling in Colombia stated that “the priest had been most violent in his invectives from the pulpit against foreigners, calling them Jews and heretics, and exhorting his parishioners not to receive them into their houses”.³²⁰ Local residents also resented the drunken behaviour of the volunteers when stationed in their towns and villages as they were unaccustomed to drink. Priests went so far as to tell their flocks that the British were *savages and cannibals*.³²¹

This sentiment was evident in the Venezuelan Army also; soldiers called the British ‘dogs’ and ‘brutes’ during the hard campaigning of 1818.³²² This type of narrative is extraordinarily similar to the views expressed by Peninsula soldiers concerning the way in which Spaniards and priests viewed them as foreigners. Contrary to this, Gustavus Hippiusley, commented on a young priest in Bolívar's army and stated that, “his affectionate manners, his prepossessing appearance, his ease, and good natured freedom, had completely won my esteem”.³²³ Although there is no indication from the accounts of travellers in South America, the Irish soldiers in

³¹⁹ Robertson, & Robertson, *Letters on Paraguay*, p. 107.

³²⁰ Hamilton, *Travels Through the Interior Provinces of Colombia Vol. II* (London, 1827), p. 258.

³²¹ Hughes, *Conquer or Die*, pp. 137-138, 143 & 183.

³²² K. Racine, Rum, Recruitment and Revolution: Alcohol and the British and Irish Legions in Colombia's War for Independence, 1817-1823, *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, Vol. 4, No. 2: March 2006, pp. 45-53.

³²³ G. Hippiusley, *A Narrative of the Expedition to the Rivers Orinoco and Apuré in South America: Which Sailed From England in November 1817, and Joined the Patriotic Forces in Venezuela and Caraccas* (London, 1819), p. 310.

John Devereux's Irish Legion, being predominantly Catholic would, like those Irish soldiers in the Peninsular War, have experienced a warm and friendly approach from priests in South America.

Understanding the Spanish language was important to many who travelled to the country, in the first instance, to understand and be able to communicate basic information. John and William Parish Robertson commented, on his first visit to South America in 1807, that "I made myself pretty well master of the principles of the Spanish language; and by hourly intercourse with the natives of Montevideo; I soon acquired tolerable fluency in speaking it".³²⁴ Others acquired their knowledge of the dialect through previously serving in the Peninsular War, Colonel Gustavus Hippisley remarked on a fellow officer, Lieutenant-Colonel McDonald and his earlier experience. "He had been aide-de-camp to General Ballesteros, and had also held a regimental commission in the Spanish Army".³²⁵ Mc Donald attained his knowledge of the language through these commissions. More importantly, South Americans such as General Simon Bolívar understood the necessity for British soldiers under his command to learn the vernacular. According to Charles Brown, Captain in the British Legion's artillery, Bolívar was "versed in several languages, including the English, though he never makes a practice of speaking the latter".³²⁶ Considering also that many British officers who served in South America ultimately commanded South American units, an understanding of the dialect was necessary to issue basic military commands.

It was also very apparent that, if one did not pick up the language quickly, this could lead to grave misunderstandings. Gustavus Hippisley, while at a ball in Venezuela, caused offence by misinterpreting what his host was saying;

³²⁴ Robertson & Robertson, *Letters on Paraguay*, p. 104.

³²⁵ Hippisley, *A Narrative of the Expedition to the Rivers Orinoco and Apuré in South America*, p. 8.

³²⁶ C. Brown, *Narrative of the Expedition to South America, Which Sailed from England. At the Close of 1817* (London, 1819), pp. 83-84.

“I requested of the colonel (Henry Wilson) to inform the governor (Montillo), that I was not conscious of having given offence; that, as I did not sufficiently understand Spanish, I could not be aware that he was addressing me, and that I was sorry he had so mistaken my intentions”.³²⁷

Language was evidently a barrier not only in formal occasions, but in personal relationships. James Hamilton, who was fluent in Spanish, described how his young secretary was attracted to a pretty mulatto girl of seventeen and that “ignorance of the Spanish language was a serious obstacle to love-making”.³²⁸ Attitudes to the Spanish in South America were similar to perceptions during the Peninsular War, where the Spanish fundamentally were seen more as the enemy than fellow allies while fighting Napoleon. In this context it is not surprising that such negative and explicit *Black Legend* perceptions existed.

Political Opinion Regarding the Spanish in South America

What did Britons conclude about the conflict and the Spanish? The majority of comments made by the newspapers and their readers were in favour of independence. *Liberation* and *patriots* were very commonly used word to describe the efforts of the insurgents and linked to this, the *oppressive and tyrannical nature* in which the Spanish had governed the Americas.³²⁹ A statement by a reader of the *Leeds Mercury* was very reminiscent of many comments printed in the newspapers, siding with the insurgents over the Spaniards.

“The general voice of England is in the favour of South American independence, and if the wishes of one nation could ensure the success of

³²⁷ Hippisley, *A Narrative of the Expedition to the Rivers Orinoco and Apuré in South America*, pp. 250-251.

³²⁸ Hamilton, *Travels Through the Interior Provinces of Colombia Vol. II*, p. 43.

³²⁹ Keen, *The Black Legend Revisited*, pp. 717. S. Eastman, *Preaching Spanish Nationalism Across the Hispanic Atlantic, 1759-1823* (Louisiana, 2012), pp. 46-48. Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*. Guzman, *Spain's Long Shadow*, pp.4-6.

another, the patriots of one of the finest regions of the globe would, long since, have triumphed over the arms of their oppressors”.³³⁰

This is quite an overstatement and amounts to mere words; although the subject of South America caused increased discussion in the newspapers, not all agreed with independence. Statements like these led historians to believe that the fight for independence was endorsed by the British reading public.³³¹

One reason why many believed the South Americans could adopt independence was that they desired a government which was based on “the model of the British, and enhances the glorious principles of liberty, of religion, liberty of the press and the Palladian of public rights, trial by jury... Britain is held up as the example to be followed!”³³² Evidence of this statement having some legitimacy lies in Simon Bolivar’s address to the Congress of Angostura in 1819, where he declared that the British system of government was a worthier model for South America.³³³ This said when independence was achieved the system of the Republic of Gran Colombia resembled that more akin to the Spanish liberal system, with a constitution and regional governors.³³⁴ This did not therefore resemble the British constitutional monarchy with a House of Lords and Commons.

Articles and letters printed in the British newspapers and periodicals comment on the development of public opinion towards South America. An anonymous reader questioned the newspapers to pay attention to concerns, but it is more probable that it was the editors and

³³⁰ *Leeds Mercury*, 30th Aug, 1817.

³³¹ Heinowitz, *Spanish America and British Romanticism, 1777-1826*, pp.17-18 & 22-24. Bethell, (ed.), *The Independence of Latin America*, pp. 107 & 201. Lloyd, *Empire*, pp. 76-77. Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*, pp. 205 & 231.

³³² *Aberdeen Journal*, 6th Oct, 1819.

³³³ Simon Bolívar’s *An Address of Bolivar at the Congress of Angostura, 15th February 15, 1819*. In D. Bushnell & H. Fredrick, (eds.), *El Libertador: Writings of Simon Bolivar* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 31-53.

³³⁴ Bethell, *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, p. 519. H. Tarver & J.C. Fredrick, *The History of Venezuela* (Westport, 2005), pp. 55-57.

journalist who saw opinion as an important issue. Evidence can be found in the absence of names attached to letters such as the following arguing, “There is one circumstance that deeply interests the British public.... in short, in the present situation in which Spanish America stands; we implore the British public to attend to this question”.³³⁵ Newspaper editors like Charles Maclaren of *The Scotsman* implored readers to pay attention to this issue, “The growing interest, however, which is now attached to the events passing in that continent, has induced us again to call the attention of our readers to the same subject”.³³⁶ Those interested in South America, and who wrote to the newspapers, were highly influential people in the leadership of the Whig party and vocal radical commentators.

The British reading public were concerned that the information they were receiving was distorted, which did not represent what they believed South America and the politics of its independence were about. Additionally any reports which originated in Spain or from a Spanish source were not considered reliable. An example of a letter to the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, from a friend of a British merchant, which complains about *The Courier's* source of information,

“sir, it is very evident when *The Courier* writes on Spanish American affairs, all his information is obtained through the agents of the Spanish residents in this country. When you, sir, give the public information on this most interesting subject, you always show great local information respecting these immense regions”.³³⁷

³³⁵ *Freemans Journal*, 11th November, 1815.

³³⁶ Charles Maclaren (1782-1866) editor of the *Scotsman* from 1817 to 1818 and from 1820 to 1845. Griffiths, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, p. 394. *The Scotsman*, 3rd May, 1817.

³³⁷ *Morning Chronicle*, 15th Jan, 1817.

The *Morning Chronicle's* sources could be very biased. William Walton, a journalist on the *Morning Chronicle* wrote under the pen name of William White and pretended to be an alleged British sympathiser in Trinidad.³³⁸

A clear example of the cruelty committed by the Spanish in South America, sometimes grounded in truth, sometimes unsupported, was the criticism of General Pablo Morillo. He served in the Spanish Army during the Peninsular War and was one of a minority of Spanish generals respected by the British; in 1815 he led the Spanish expedition which crushed the insurgents in Venezuela.³³⁹ A letter from a British Marine, Mr G, in the Spanish service, comments on a speech made by Morillo before leaving Spain for South America.

“Before his departure for South America he openly declared that ‘no mercy would be extended to any English subject whom he should want in that country’ and seemed thoroughly excited at having the power to inflict the severest punishment on the adventurers of Great Britain!”³⁴⁰

Disturbing to a number of British merchants was their treatment by the Spaniards due to their commercial involvement in South America.

The *Caledonian Mercury* reports how Mr Maxwell Hyslop, a British merchant in Cartagena, was captured by Morillo, adjudged by civil courts and found guilty, with the repercussions of being sentenced to death.³⁴¹ A letter to the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, described as a friend of a British merchant, also states

“I have resided, Sir, a considerable time in South America, and I am well aware, from sad experience, the kind of favour Englishmen may expect in these

³³⁸ Hughes, *Conquer or Die*, pp. 25 & 115.

³³⁹ K.S. Stoan, *Pablo Morillo and Venezuela, 1815-1820* (Columbus, 1974), pp. 203-236. Archer, (ed.), *The Wars of Independence in Spanish America*, p. 213.

³⁴⁰ *Morning Chronicle*, 1st Nov, 1817.

³⁴¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 15th April, 1816.

settlements where Spain rules and I am convinced that a trade with the patriots, under any circumstances, is preferable to a trade with these countries”.³⁴²

As a reaction to such events, petitions were submitted by merchants to parliament, over the unfair treatment they received from the Spanish in South America.³⁴³ William Dundas of Dundee conveyed his concern, sighting British subjects who had been condemned to death by General Morillo in Cartagena for aiding the insurgents.³⁴⁴ A point which must be considered in the treatment of several traders by the Spanish is that certain merchants had fought with the insurgents in local militias, in some of the most important ports in South America. Notably, at the siege of Cartagena in 1815, two hundred and fifty British and French nationals and many merchants, fought under the command of an Irishman, James Stewart, who was later shot with the insurgent leaders.³⁴⁵

Several years later, realising his unpopular reputation amongst Britons in South America and in the British press caused Morillo to release a proclamation on the 26th March 1819, to British subjects now serving with the insurgents.

“Englishman! To you I address myself... now that you have seen a hero of his unevenly reprisal, his troops, his generals, and the unsecure who composes his government, you must be convinced that you have been deceived by him in the most shameful manner...I know that these deluded Englishmen and other foreigners. One hundred have quitted this unworthy cause for want of money, I therefore offer and guarantee, to these who shall repair to the army under my command, personal security, they shall be either received into the service of his

³⁴² *Morning Chronicle*, 15th Jan, 1817.

³⁴³ *Aberdeen Journal*, 7th Jun, 1820.

³⁴⁴ Sir William Dundas (1762-1845) Secretary of War from 1804-1806, Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty in 1812. Tory Member of Parliament for Edinburgh 1812-1831, Keeper of the Signet a private society of Scottish solicitors. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume III*, p. 653. *Caledonian Mercury*, 27th April, 1816.

³⁴⁵ Rodriguez, *Freedom's Mercenaries Vol.1*, p.90.

most Catholic Majesty, or sent free to the place which they may choose...This offer of security, made to you by the Spanish General who has combated at your side for the liberty of Europe will, I trust, be considered as sincere and invaluable” (sic).³⁴⁶

This proclamation was effective as in July 1819 over forty men deserted General English’s expedition and joined the Spanish.³⁴⁷ In the same year, many Catholics amongst the failed expedition of Gregor Macgregor’s force, who were captured at Portobello, were offered their freedom if they would join the Catalonia regiment, fifty men out of the three hundred accepted this offer.³⁴⁸ This was not reported in the press as it could have altered the public’s outlook on the conflict; the only reports of captured British subjects refer to imprisonment and the death sentence.³⁴⁹

The essence of these reports resulted in a number of Britons believing the Spaniards to be as cruel as their ancestors during the conquest of the Americas and the Dutch Revolt. The phraseology of a letter penned by a member of the British public after Bolívar's victory at Angostura confirms this, stating “these details will be read with the liveliest interest by those who have witnessed the stratagems of the Spaniards and their agents, to shield the ALBA of South America and his band of ruffians”.³⁵⁰ The 3rd Duke of Alba was the governor of the Spanish Netherlands, from 1567 to 1573, nicknamed *The Iron Duke* by the Protestants of the Low Countries because of his harsh rule and cruelty. Tales of atrocities committed during his military operations in Flanders became part of Flemish, Dutch and English folklore, forming

³⁴⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 26th June, 1819.

³⁴⁷ Hughes, *Conquer or Die*, p. 186.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 295.

³⁴⁹ Rodriguez, *Freedom’s Mercenaries Vol.1*, p. 124. *The Edinburgh Annual Review* 12, January 1819.

³⁵⁰ W. S. Maltby, *Alba: Biography of Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Third Duke of Alba, 1507-82* (California, 1984). *Morning Chronicle*, 18th May, 1818.

the *Black Legend*.³⁵¹ Again this evidence shows that the *Black Legend* still persisted even in the early nineteenth century, with references to past events but in a modern context.

Support for the Patriots

Apart from the support of the adventurers in South America, in Britain there were several diverse societies and organisations which had an interest in South America and advocated the cause of the insurgents. There was little sign in the press of any interest in South America before 1815, apart from Britain's expeditions to Rio de la Plata. The newspapers do however give a concise record of the varied people in attendance at social meetings and dinners in connection with South America. The members of the Concentric Society, known for providing a forum for Whig dissenters, discussions in public of reform, the extension of the franchise and associations with the independent debating society, also provided a forum for discussion over South America.³⁵² During a dinner at Pull Street in Liverpool in 1815, the President Colonel Richard Williams and Vice-President Egerton Smith raised an opening toast to "the patriots of South America".³⁵³ Colonel Williams had experience of the Spanish having fought in the Peninsular War, commanding a battalion of Royal Marines and later a brigade in the British Army.³⁵⁴

A dinner was convened in Liverpool on the eve of the Irish Legion's departure for Venezuela; the toast was "to the free press, on proposing this toast, General Devereux expressed himself in the warmest terms of gratitude for the manner in which the press of this country treated

³⁵¹ Greer, Mignolo & Quilligan (eds.), *Rereading The Black Legend*, pp. 5-6.

³⁵² J.R. Dinwiddy, *Radicalism and Reform in Britain, 1780-1850* (London, 1992), pp.117-138. K. Moore, *Liverpool in Age of Popular Radicalism*, *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Cheshire*, cxxxviii (1989), pp. 137-57.

³⁵³ Egerton Smith (1774-1841) he first worked in the family business making navigational instruments and later became the founder and editor of the *Liverpool Mercury in 1811*. M. Perkin, *Egerton Smith and the Early Nineteenth Century Book Trade in Liverpool*, in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds.) *Spreading the Word: the Distribution Networks of Print, 1550-1850* (Winchester, 1990), pp.151-64. *Liverpool Mercury*, 6th Dec, 1815.

³⁵⁴ Colonel Richard Williams (1764-1839) joined the Royal Marines in 1778 and saw action in the American and French Revolution, the Napoleonic War and the American War of 1812. He was the first commander of the Royal Marine Artillery from 1804 to 1810 and in 1816 to 1827, later commanding the Portsmouth division of the Royal Marines from 1827 to 1835. P. H. Nicolas, *Historical Record of the Royal Marine Forces*, Volume II (London, 1845), p.272.

him”.³⁵⁵ During the seventh anniversary dinner of the Concentric Society in 1820, the Reverend W. Shepherd also toasted “Lord Cochrane, General Devereux, and the patriotic cause in South America”.³⁵⁶ What is evident from these examples is that approval of the insurgents was prevalent in the elite in Liverpool, not surprisingly as in attendance were a substantial number of merchants, many who had been involved in trade in the Caribbean and maintained connections with the continent.

In relation to this issue, another group active in Britain was a society dedicated to the abolition of slavery, under William Wilberforce, successful in influencing parliament to pass a law, in 1807, to abolish the British slave trade. Campaigning however still continued, as slavery in British colonies was only abolished in 1833.³⁵⁷ One of the conditions of British mediation with Spain and South America was the abolishment of slavery in the latter. Henry Wellesley, the chairman of this mediation, was himself a supporter of the abolition of slavery.³⁵⁸ It was suggested that this would be one of the conditions for the acceptance of the independence of South America by the British government and William Wilberforce was in correspondence with members of the government concerning the matter.³⁵⁹ In 1817 Britain pressured European countries with colonial merchants to agree to abolish the slave trade. Spain promised to stop the trade north, and then, south of the equator by 1820.³⁶⁰ However, despite this arrangement

³⁵⁵ *Liverpool Mercury*, 18th Feb, 1820.

³⁵⁶ Reverend William Shepherd (1768–1847) Minister of Unitarian Church, Gateacre. He was involved in the first meetings for the abolition of slavery in Liverpool alongside Edward Rushton (1756-1814) poet, writer, radical and founder of the Blind School of Liverpool in 1791. M. W. Royden, *Pioneers and Perseverance* (London, 1991), pp. 25-39. *Liverpool Mercury*, 21st Jan 1820.

³⁵⁷ H. Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440–1870* (London, 1997), pp. 638-641.

³⁵⁸ C.W. Vaire, *Correspondence, Dispatches and Other Papers of Viscount Castlereagh, Vol.II* (London, 1853), p.42.

³⁵⁹ William Wilberforce (1759-1833) leader of the Abolishment of the Slave Trade campaign which saw the passing of the Slave Trade Act of 1807 and Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. Founder of the Church Mission Society in 1799 and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in 1824. An Independent Member of Parliament for Kingston upon Hull from 1780 to 1784, Yorkshire from 1784 to 1801 and 1801 to 1812 and Bramber from 1812 to 1825. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume V*, pp. 557-572. R.I. & S.W. Wilberforce, *The Correspondence of William Wilberforce* (Boston, 1841), pp.274-275.

³⁶⁰ *British and Foreign State Papers 1818,-1819* (London, 1835), p, 21. A.P. Rubin, *Ethics and Authority in International Law* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 115.

trade continued, with increasing reports from British naval vessels that searched suspected ships.³⁶¹ Not until the Carlist War would the Spanish agree to other terms, which will be addressed in chapter five.

In other meetings, particularly in London, similar toasts were being raised, at a lavish party held by the Earl of Sefton, the toast was “to the patriots of South America-may they soon gain their independence”.³⁶² Other clear indications that South American patriots were supported by the Whigs came in February 1819. Members of the House of Commons attended a dinner, at 140 Freemasons Tavern, chaired by Mr George Tierney, the leader of the Whig party in the commons, raising numerous toasts and, once again, prioritising the “cause of independence in South America”.³⁶³ Prominent Whigs also proposed a toast, at a celebration of over three hundred voters at the triumph of George Lamb at the Westminster elections, in the Crown and Anchor Tavern, a popular destination for Whigs to gather and dine. Most political dinners followed elections either, before, during and after the campaign for a local seat.³⁶⁴ Sir Francis raised a toast to “Lord Cochrane, and success to the patriot cause of South America”.³⁶⁵ It is apparent that many high profile Whigs supported independence and advertised their meetings

³⁶¹ Hamilton & Salmon, *Slavery, Diplomacy and Empire*, pp. 5-8. M. Archibald, *Across the Pond: Chapters from the Atlantic* (Caithness, 2001), pp. 76-77. D.R. Murray, *Odious Commerce: British, Spain and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 81-83.

³⁶² William Philip Molyneux, 2nd Earl of Sefton (1772-1838) a close friend of the Prince Regent, sportsman and Whig Member of Parliament for Droitwich from 1816 to 1831. *Liverpool Mercury*, 21st Aug, 1818.

³⁶³ George Tierney (1761-1830) born in Gibraltar, the son of an Irish merchant from London and became the leader of the Whig Party in the House of Commons from 1818 to 1821. Whig Member of Parliament for Colchester from 1788 to 1790, Southwark from 1796 to 1800 and 1801 to 1806, Athlone 1806 to 1807, Bandon 1807 to 1812, Appley 1812 to 1818 and Knaresborough 1818-1830. R.G. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790-1820, Volume V*, pp. 609-610. *Morning Chronicle*, 4th Feb, 1819.

³⁶⁴ C. Parolin, *Radical Spaces: Venues of Popular Politics in London, 1790-1845* (Australia, 2010), pp. 149-150.

³⁶⁵ George Lamb, 1st Viscount Melbourne (1784-1834) Whig Member of Parliament for Westminster from 1819 to 1820 and Dungarvan from 1822 to 1834. Sir Francis Burdett, 5th Baronet (1770-1844) great advocate and speaker against the abuse of privilege in the House of Commons. Whig Member of Parliament for Boroughbridge from 1796 to 1802, Middlesex from 1802 to 1806 and Westminster from 1807 to 1837.

Also present was Henry Evans (-1842) served in the West Indies in the 1790's and commanded the Cork Sea Fencibles. Member of Parliament for Wexford from 1819 to 1820 and 1826 to 1829. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume III*, pp. 302-314. *Volume IV*, pp. 354-356. The Calcutta Journal of Political and General Literature 6. 229, 3rd November, 1819.

and public activities, ensuring that supporters and friends of the insurgents could discover political friends within the Whigs.

Social connections and friendships were important factors in the transmission of ideas and news about developments. Lord Byron was a keen advocate of adventure, revolution and a known Bonapartist. From 1815 he was exiled from Britain due to a public scandal, but still communicated with his friends, notably John Hobhouse, who was a source of information for Byron about the latest events in South America. There is a reference in one letter to Byron being ‘enamoured of General Jose Antonio Paez’, a Venezuelan revolutionary.³⁶⁶ In 1819, living a profligate life in Venice, and seeking a cause to fight for, he decided, “now I want to go there (South America) I should not make a bad South American planter”.³⁶⁷ Alexander von Humboldt, travel writer on South America, while in London attended a number of meetings and parties at Holland House.³⁶⁸ Overall support for the insurgents was evident in many large venues of public discussion but in smaller meetings some had a different opinion.

Support for the Spanish

Historians, like Waddell and Brown, and various contemporary commentators have assumed that British support for South America was widespread and positive. In fact, support was very much associated politically with the Whigs and radicals, as will become clear later in this chapter. In both the House of Lords and Commons there was substantial opposition to aiding the insurgents, and, more importantly to reneging on Britain’s agreement to remain neutral in

³⁶⁶ George Gordon Byron, 6th Baron Byron (1788-1824) radical, poet, wrote for the Edinburgh Review and Member of the House of Lords. Extensively travelled through Europe during the Napoleonic War including Spain in 1809. Letter from Lord Byron to John Hobhouse, Bologna, August 20th 1819, in Marcharid, *Lord Byron: Selected Letters and Journals*, p.216.

³⁶⁷ Letter from Lord Byron to John Murray, Venice October 29th 1819, in Marcharid, *Lord Byron: Selected Letters and Journals* , pp. 221-222.

³⁶⁸ Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) a German explorer and naturalist, who travelled in South America from 1799 to 1804. His younger brother, Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) a diplomat and philosopher, was also philologist in the Basque language. Sanders, *The Holland House Circle*, p. 252. N.A. Rupke, *Alexander von Humboldt: A Metabiography* (Chicago, 2008).

the war in the Americas. Although the majority of the British reading public who did state their views, supported the insurgents' cause in South America, there were a number of Britons who felt that the Spanish were justified in their aim of suppressing the insurgents. The reasons for Britons supporting the Spanish can be associated with British fears of revolution and of Napoleon's threat to world peace, even in exile. Lord Cochrane with French exiles in the United States of America, notably Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Emmanuel de Grouchy, hankered after aiding Napoleons escape from St Helena and establishing a republic in South America.³⁶⁹

Adventurers also helped to create a dire impression of the patriots too. Hippisley's book, *A Narrative of the Expedition to the Rivers Orinoco and Apuré in South America*, published in June 1819 questioned Bolivar's skills and intentions; "He aspires to be a second Bonaparte in South America without possessing a single talent for the duties of the field or the cabinet".³⁷⁰ Although it must be remembered that Hippisley left the patriot's cause in disgust and was highly critical of Bolivar, his book does reflect the worries of several individuals about the intentions of the leaders in South America.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* conveyed to its readers "A warning to Britons; containing facts connected with the patriots in South America", written by another disgruntled volunteer, Cornet Daniel Houghton Simons, who had served in Colonel Hippisley's regiment and returned with him in 1818.³⁷¹ A discredited character, Colonel Wilson, is reported in many newspapers to have been executed by Bolívar for treason.³⁷² However this was untrue, he actually returned home but the *Morning Chronicle* commented that Wilson and other adventures "will spread

³⁶⁹ F. Giles, *Napoleon Bonaparte: England's Prisoner: The Emperor in Exile 1816-21* (London, 2001), pp. 27-30. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume IV*, p. 467.

³⁷⁰ *The Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review* 1.15, 28th August, 1819. *The British Critic, and Quarterly Theological Review* 12, November 1819, p. 506.

³⁷¹ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1818, p.617. Hippisley, *A Narrative of the Expedition to the Rivers Orinoco and Apuré in South America*, p. 536.

³⁷² *The Morning Post*, 15th September, 1818. *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, 17th September, 1818. *Caledonian Mercury*, 9th November, 1818.

exaggerated accounts of their own sufferings, and of the state of the officers in South America. We ought to, therefore, receive all such statements with caution”.³⁷³ Highlighting that many of the accounts in the newspapers must be treated with care, viewed in context and possibly they are more about individuals’ motives.

Reports in the newspapers about the conduct of volunteers before their departure to South America were not auspicious. An early example is a letter to the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* about a recruit, Morris Farmer, who was imprisoned for drunk and disorderly behaviour before departing.³⁷⁴ The police and court reports in many newspapers, gave a damning view of the people embarking for South America. A report in London comments on a shady character named Robert who ran away from home to the concern of his family, and also from his job as clerk of the Ordinance Office in the Tower. He was found skulking near the docks dressed in a smart woman’s frock and red cap; the Phrygian cap or liberty cap was commonly associated with the French revolutionaries and would advocate that Robert was a radical.³⁷⁵ When asked in court what were his reasons for this, he replied, “He was sick of a sedentary occupation, and had determined to join the standard of the independents in South America”.³⁷⁶ Another case in the press was a police report from the landlord of a public house, who noticed the recruitment of certain individuals to join the forces of South American independence was occurring in his establishment. This was brought to the attention of the magistrates because the landlord found this an odd situation during a time of peace.³⁷⁷

Two legal disputes also appeared at the court of the King's Bench, *Gibson vs. Merides*, over the ownership of the ship *Indian* which sailed to Venezuela in the service of the Venezuelan

³⁷³ *Morning Chronicle*, 13th Jan, 1819.

³⁷⁴ *Morning Chronicle*, 6th Nov, 1817.

³⁷⁵ J. Harris, “The Red Cap of Liberty: A Study of Dress Worn by French Revolutionary Partisans 1789-94”, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (spring, 1981), p. 284.

³⁷⁶ *Morning Chronicle*, 23rd Sept, 1818.

³⁷⁷ *The Times*, 13th Nov, 1818.

government in October 1817 and sank on route, and another case which involved the recovery of five hundred barrels of Stockholm tar, *Marshall vs. Campbell*.³⁷⁸ Mr Marshall the ship-owner had sold the tar to Mr T. Braster, receiving his payment from a company under William Duncan Campbell. However, no money was forthcoming, because Mr Campbell had absconded to South America to become a colonel.³⁷⁹

One of the most severe cases in breach of the law was a riot in Liverpool, in late June 1819, *The Liverpool Advertiser* reported the arrest of a group of Irishmen for stealing rope at the docks. "8,000 to 10,000 people assembled around Bridewell, among who were several of the Irish recruits destined for South America, who threatened to pull down the building if the prisoners were not released and to murder the constables". One can conclude that the Irishmen who were arrested were members of the Irish Legion, known to be there at the time. The mob tried to storm the building, but the authorities restored order and one of the members of the Irish Legion was captured and sentenced to the gallows.³⁸⁰ This event occurred nearly a month before the infamous Peterloo Massacre, during this time there were many such disturbances due to economic and political concerns. These reports create a somewhat contemptuous view of the people involved in the fight for South American independence; they were people who absconded and cause trouble. Considering the timing of this report and that it may not have involved members of the Irish Legion, the *Liverpool Advertiser* in this article creates a negative representation of these individuals and their cause and might just be exploiting them as scapegoats.

British officers in the service of Spain who raised troops for the war in the colonies were also reported. In response to the recruiting of British volunteers to fight for Simon Bolivar, the

³⁷⁸ *Ipswich Journal*, 7th Nov, 1818.

³⁷⁹ *Morning Chronicle*, 23rd Jan 1819.

³⁸⁰ *The Times*, 1st July, 1819.

Spanish Ambassador in London, Joaquin Francisco Campuzano, wrote to the Spanish Minister of State, Pizarro, to suggest recruiting British officers for the Spanish service in South America.³⁸¹ Evidence can be found in the *Morning Chronicle*, a Colonel Farrman, who was in the service of the Spanish government, recruited British officers to serve for the Royalist cause along with a Colonel Townsend who had recruited fifty British officers.³⁸² Colonel Farrman, as the *Morning Chronicle* wrote, had been an aide-de-camp to Sir James Cockburn, who previously was Under Secretary of the State for War and the Colonies from 1806 to 1807 and also from 1811 to 1819 and the British Governor of Bermuda.³⁸³ In Cockburn's services Farrman was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel of Curacao, which would explain his possible connection to South America. The *Morning Chronicle* makes no references to Colonel Townsend's military experience but there is evidence that officers with the surname of Townsend existed in the British Army but it would be presumptuous to label any of these individuals with the Townsend reported in this newspaper.³⁸⁴

News of this kind started an interesting debate in the *Morning Chronicle*; Colonel Farrman heavily discredited the patriot agents for deceiving British volunteers. In response to his comments a letter from a Major General in the service of the patriots for South America, Mr T. H...Y, stated "These agents have conducted themselves with the utmost liberty towards British subjects. They did not humbug with empty promises or delusive hopes".³⁸⁵ This is most likely to have been written by someone in Britain, with a false name, and using the initials of Colonel Hippisley or one of his sons. Furthermore the author of this letter concludes that he

³⁸¹ Joaquin Francisco Campuzano (1786-1860) an important diplomat for Spain in Europe during the Napoleonic Wars, official Secretary of State from 1811 to 1817 and Spanish Ambassador in London in 1817. Secretariat of State from 1818 to 1819 and Minister Plenipotentiary at Dresden from 1820 to 1823. *Illustrated Encyclopedia Universal European American* (Madrid, 1908). Waddell, British Neutrality and Spanish-American Independence, pp. 1-6.

³⁸² *Morning Chronicle*, 16th September, 1817.

³⁸³ C. Arnold-Baker, *The Companion to British History* (London, 1996), p. 326.

³⁸⁴ D. Dobson & K. Dobson, *Scots in the West Indies, 1707-1857, Volume 1* (Baltimore, 2006), p. 29. The National Archives Catalogue WO25 Officers commissioned and WO76 Records of Officers' Services.

³⁸⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, 13th Sept, 1817.

knows of an officer who signed up to serve with the Spanish months before, but had received no further word of employment. This suggests that the recruitment of British officers by the Spanish ambassador was false and, if this was true, that a patriot supporter was trying to discourage soldiers from joining the Spanish. Signing officers up to Spanish service meant that they could not engage in employment in South America, which may have been the intentions of the Spanish ambassador from the inception.

Another letter in response to the accusations by Colonel Farrman, also mentioned a friend raising troops for the Royalists.

“His opposition will yield him this praise... among them I must consider myself.

There would be as many volunteers to join the legion about to be raised by Col.

(H.I. Townsend)... as to join the Patriotic Army, and thus we shall find

Englishman opposed to Englishman, as was the case in the Northern

America”.³⁸⁶

Contributing to this debate, the Spanish General Pablo Morillo, wrote to the British press warning volunteers against the patriotic agents working in London. His view was that his “Britannic Majesty's subjects have been seduced in England by Mendez and that traitor”.³⁸⁷ In direct response to this letter and printed on the same page in the *Morning Chronicle* General James Towers English stated that the Spanish fought against the despotism of a foreign power in the Napoleonic War, and that this was exactly what the Patriot forces were fighting against as well.³⁸⁸

Aside from this debate in the *Morning Chronicle* there were clear examples that British officers served in the Spanish Army in America. In the House of Commons debates, Sir Simon

³⁸⁶ *Morning Chronicle*, 16th Sept, 1817.

³⁸⁷ *Morning Chronicle*, 22rd Sept, 1819.

³⁸⁸ *Morning Chronicle*, 22rd Sept, 1819.

Newport asked whether Sir John Dowine was still in Spain, being a Brigadier General in the Spanish Army.³⁸⁹ Newport, “understood he (Dowine) was going out with the Spanish expedition, to assist in the subjugation of those very provinces”.³⁹⁰ Two further examples of British officers serving with the Spanish Army are those of Colonel Thomas Arbuthnot, Commander of the Valencia Regiment, at the penultimate Battle of Carabobo in 1821 which sealed the independence of Venezuela, and secondly, the Royalist Commander of Panama, Major General Hore who fought Macgregor at Portobello, who was a native of Dublin and had served the Spanish in the Peninsular War.³⁹¹

Although examples and instances of British recruitment by the Spanish Army to fight in the Americas are infrequent, this also points to the fact that support for the insurgents was not unequivocal, and that the Spanish, conversely could gain the support of Britons. It also makes the issue of South America less straightforward and adds another element to our understanding of British views on the conflict; the support of the Spanish. In other respects it shows that supporters of the insurgents were not useful role models to promote the cause and that the image presented in the newspapers and periodicals was that of troublemakers and misguided individuals.

Political Reaction and the Foreign Enlistment Bill

Britain's governmental policy towards South America, analogous to other European conflicts after the Napoleonic Wars, was that of neutrality. Contrary to this a number of British subjects actively supported the South American insurgents by the raising of troops to strengthen their

³⁸⁹ Sir John Downie (1777-1826) helped to form the Legion Extremadura created for Spanish service during the Peninsular War in 1810. Later he became a Brigadier General in the Spanish Army. J. Grant, *The Scottish Soldiers of Fortune: Their Adventures and Achievements in the Armies of Europe* (London, 1889), pp. 137-138.

³⁹⁰ Sir Simon John Newport (1756-1843) Tory Member of Parliament for Waterford from 1803 to 1832. Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1806 to 1807. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume IV*, pp. 663-667. Caledonian Mercury, 20th February, 1815.

³⁹¹ Hughes, *Conquer or Die*, pp. 160 & 306.

armies or were merchants supplying arms and ammunition and subsequently ships, to enhance the insurgents' naval power. These issues were relatively unknown to many in Britain, before 1819, but this aid was one of the chief concerns of successive Spanish ambassadors in London who protested to the British government, namely to Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary. The first ambassador to complain was Joaquin Francisco Campuzano, who was later replaced by The Duke of San Carlos, in October 1817.³⁹² A number of letters were written by both gentlemen demanding Britain acquit itself against the supporters of the insurgents; in the middle of 1817, when a significant number of British officers were recruiting regiments to serve in Bolívar's army, the volume of letters steadily increased.³⁹³

By the end of July 1817, no affirmative action had been implemented, even though the Spanish ambassador created a list of demands; that his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, formally and publicly denounce the actions of any Britons supporting insurgents. Secondly, that he introduce laws to stop further actions, and thirdly that authorities in Britain and the Caribbean take action against insurgent support.³⁹⁴ According to Campuzano, The Prince Regent's opinion was that Britain had "no other object than that of prolonging the destructive war which lay waste the Spanish provinces", this nevertheless was not backed up with any official state by the Prince Regent.³⁹⁵ These sentiments however were later reinforced in Henry Wellesley's letters to Viscount Castlereagh, in his discussions with the Spanish government.³⁹⁶

³⁹² José Miguel de Carvajal-Vargas y Manrique de Lara, 2nd Duke of San Carlos (1771-1828) he was Viceroy of Navarra in 1807 and then Mayordomo Mayor, high steward in charge of the King's person and his rooms, from 1805 to 1807, 1808 and 1814 to 1815. Spanish ambassador in Paris, London and Lisbonne, He was also a director of the problematic Banco de San Carlos, founded in 1782 by the French. P. Molas Ribalta, *Del Absolutismo a la Constitucion. La Adaptacion de la Clase Politica Espanola al Cambio de Regimen* (Madrid, 2008), pp. 273-275. F. P. Miller, A.F. Vandome, J. McBrewster (ed.) *Jose Miguel de Carvajal-Vargas, 2nd Duke of San Carlos* (Saarbrücken, 2010).

³⁹³ Waddell, *British Neutrality and Spanish-American Independence*, pp. 1-18.

³⁹⁴ FO 72/216. Letter from Campuzano to Viscount Castlereagh, 30th July, 1817.

³⁹⁵ FO72/203, Letter from Campuzano to Castlereagh, 30th July 1817.

³⁹⁶ ESTADO.89.N.38, Advertencias de Gran Bretaña, 10th Abril, 1818.

Through looking at the diplomatic correspondence of the Spanish ambassadors, it becomes clear the amount of evidence against British subjects' intent on helping the insurgents was increasing; a number of newspaper cuttings were used to identify this and could not be overlooked by the British government.³⁹⁷ An example of documents which the Duke of San Carlos collected was the *Constitutional Spaniard, or Miscellany of Politics, Arts, Sciences and Literature*, a monthly pamphlet of sixty four pages, in both English and Spanish, edited in London by a number of publishers across the capital. Included in this pamphlet were articles on, "The origin and progress of the American Revolution, to shake off the Inquisitional Despotism by which the Mother Country is oppressed" and "An impartial judgment on the Political Conduct of the different Patriotic governments of Spanish America".³⁹⁸ The author of these articles is unclear, a prominent writer at the time who criticised the Spanish and could have composed the articles was, Jose Maria Blanco Y Crespo, better known as Joseph Blanco White.³⁹⁹ He had a great interest in South America and corresponded with individuals, such as Andres Bello, a Chilean exile in London from 1810 to 1829, who was a member of the delegation sent from Venezuela to seek British support.⁴⁰⁰

The cabinet finally convened a meeting with San Carlos to talk about the issue; also discussed was the possible mediation between Spain and South America and the prospect of British trade, the latter remaining unresolved. San Carlos was willing to listen to conciliation, but ministers in Spain dismissed the idea completely, and consequently San Carlos fell out of favour with Ferdinand VII and exited Britain shortly after.

³⁹⁷ FO72/204A, Letter from San Carlos to Castlereagh, 30th October 1817.

³⁹⁸ FO 72/217. Letter from San Carlos to Castlereagh, 28th January, 1818.

³⁹⁹ Joseph Blanco White (1775-1841) born in Seville where he was trained as a priest and fled to Britain in 1810 and edited the periodical *El Español*, 1810 to 1814, from London. He worked as tutor in the household of Lord Holland. His *Letters From Spain*, in 1822, was an immediate success, and his articles for *The New Monthly Magazine* introduced his native Spanish literature to the English literary public. G. M. Murphy, 'White, Joseph Blanco (1775-1841)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2005 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29260>, accessed 12 April 2012]

⁴⁰⁰ GB 141 BW - Papers of Blanco White, Letter from White's friend, the Venezuelan writer Andres Bello (4 June 1821) BWI/4.

The government eventually emplaced decisive action against British subjects serving for the patriot cause in South America with the reimplementation of the Foreign Enlistment Bill. The bill dating back to the reign of George II, in 1736, and referring to British subjects serving under the French king. Its aim was “to prevent the enlisting or engagement of his Majesty's subjects to serve in the Foreign Service, and the fitting out or equipping, of his Majesty's dominions, vessels for warlike purposes, without his Majesty's licence”.⁴⁰¹ The first new draft was produced in October 1818, but was not discussed in parliament until May 1819, seven months later. A reason why the British government delayed in taking affirmative action towards South America is explained in a letter from Viscount Castlereagh to Arthur Wellesley. He referred to the bill, “which was prepared last session, but not introduced, hoping that Spain would launch the mediation and enable us to carry through the bill without exposing an ally to all the forces of abuse”.⁴⁰² The first reading took place on the 22nd May, the second on the 10th June, and, on the third and final reading, on the 21st June, the bill was eventually passed.

The introduction of the Foreign Enlistment Bill into parliament resulted in a number of members orchestrating petitions against it. Sir M.W. Ridley presented a petition from merchants of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne and Mr. Palmer presented a petition from Reading.⁴⁰³ Sir Robert Wilson having an appeal by over one thousand seven hundred connected with the trades in London, who generally agreed that Spain deserved the problems encountered in its American colonies.⁴⁰⁴ Thomas Denison had a petition signed by over seven hundred persons from

⁴⁰¹ HCPP, Foreign Enlistment Bill, May 1819, p.1.

⁴⁰² DOC WP1/617/15. Letter from Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh to Arthur Wellesley, 6th February, 1819.

⁴⁰³ Sir Matthew White Ridley, 4th Baronet (1778-1836) Whig Member of Parliament for Newcastle-Upon-Tyne from 1812 to 1836. Charles Plamer (1777-1851) Whig MP for Bath, 1808-1826. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume V*, p. 19. Bristol Mercury, 7th June, 1819 and The Times, 19th May, 1819.

⁴⁰⁴ Sir Robert Thomas Wilson (1777-1849) army officer, colonial governor diplomat during the Napoleonic War. During the Peninsular War he had raised and commanded a unit of Portuguese known as the Loyal Lusitanian Legion from 1809 to 1812. In 1812 he was sent to Russia as a liaison officer in the Russian Army. Later a radical Whig Member of Parliament for Southwark between 1818 and 1831, dismissed from parliament in 1822 for imposing his authority on the Household Cavalry for shooting at a crowd in Hyde Park during the

Bermondsey and Rotherhithe, in London. Denison had personal reasons to oppose the bill as his friend, Lord Cochrane, was fighting in America.⁴⁰⁵ Alarmed about the Enlistment Bill the *Freemans Journal* stated that the men who signed this petition, “whether they looked upon it in a political or commercial point of view, they considered of the most vital importance”.⁴⁰⁶ This clearly shows, from the observations in the journal that those who did sign various petitions generally had a political but moreover, a commercial reason for protesting. This shows the monetary gains which some merchants were making and the importance this piece of legislation had to their livelihoods.

Not only did members of the opposition to the Liverpool administration forward petitions but also Tory members. George Canning’s petitions from Liverpool also raise anxiety over the effect that the bill would have on existing trade with South America.⁴⁰⁷ Mr. Thomas Wood, who usually voted in line with his brother-in-law Viscount Castlereagh, had differing opinions on this issue; he “presented a petition against the bill, which he said was signed by a most respectable number of inhabitants of Westminster”.⁴⁰⁸ The Lord Mayor of London, Mr. George Bridges, another supporter of Liverpool, and a member of the Common Council protested against the legislation also.⁴⁰⁹

funeral of Queen Caroline. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume V*, p. 604. *The Times*, 4th June, 1819 and *Bristol Mercury*, 7th June, 1819.

⁴⁰⁵ Thomas Denman (1779-1854) Whig Member of Parliament for Warham from 1818 to 1820 and Nottingham from 1820 to 1826 and 1830 to 1832. He contributed to the *Whig Monthly Review* and the *Critical Review*; he was also a good friend to Lord Cochrane, replacing him in the 1807 Westminster Election. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume III*, p. 584.

⁴⁰⁶ *Freemans Journal*, 10th June, 1819.

⁴⁰⁷ *The Times*, 11th June, 1819.

⁴⁰⁸ Thomas Wood (1777-1860) Tory Member of Parliament for Breconshire from 1806 to 1847. He was Colonel of East Middlesex Militia which he raised in 1798; married Viscount Castlereagh’s daughter, Lady Caroline Stewart and was a close friend of King George IV and William IV. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1790-1820. The Parliamentary Debates From the Year 1803 to the Present Time: Vol. XL. Comprising the Period from the Third Day of May to the Thirteenth Day of July 1819* (London, 1819), p. 1084.

⁴⁰⁹ George Bridges (1762-1840) Tory Member of Parliament for London from 1820 to 1826, Sheriff of London from 1816 to 1817 and Mayor of London from 1819 to 1820. Fisher, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820-1832*. *The Times*, 11th June, 1819.

Set in context these petitions were negligible compared to other issues raised in parliament, the Corn Law of 1815 and the question of Catholic Emancipation, whose signatures extended into the tens of thousands. The petitions against the Enlistment Bill did not represent a sizeable body of the politically active public.⁴¹⁰ These petitions were largely organised by Whig Members of Parliament and, through their connections with the newspapers, were well publicised. What is also apparent is that there is no trace of support for the bill in the press, in relation to social meetings, letters or comments. This would suggest that the newspapers generally were on the side of the majority of the Whigs, petitioners and those against the government's bill. In 1824, five years later, in Belsham's *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, he wrote that, "the Public abhorrence of this bill was strongly manifested by the numerous petitions presented against it".⁴¹¹ This evidence ultimately affected the way the public at the time viewed popular feelings, within parliament and out with, against the Enlistment Bill.

Much of the interest in the debate about the Foreign Enlistment Bill in parliament has sided with the views of the Whigs and the opposition, neglecting that of the majority, for example those who voted for the bill and members of Liverpool's government. What is very apparent is that members who declared their opposition to the bill were Whigs and those in support of the bill were Tories.⁴¹² Evidence that the bill had immense support came during the second reading

⁴¹⁰Colley, *Britons*, pp.52 & 232. Bickham, *Making Headlines, the American Revolution as Seen Through the British Press*, p.84. D.G. Barnes, *A History of English Corn Laws: From 1660-1846* (London, 2006), pp.172-178.

⁴¹¹ W. Belsham, *Memoirs of the Regent of George III: From the Treaty of Amiens, 1802 to the Termination of the Regency 1820, Vol II*. (London, 1824), p. 269.

⁴¹² *The Gentleman's Magazine's* listed the main opposition to the bill as; James McDonald (1784-1832) Whig Member of Parliament for Tain Burghs from 1805 to 1806, Newcastle-Under-Lyme from 1806 to 1812, Sutherland from 1812 to 1816, Caline from 1816 to 1831 and Hampshire from 1831 to 1832. James Scarlett (1769-1844) Whig Member of Parliament for Peterborough from 1819 to 1830, Malton from 1830 to 1831, Cockermouth from 1831 to 1832 and Norwich from 1832 to 1834. Born in Jamaica where his wealthy family made their living, he came to Britain and studied law. Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832) political writer, lawyer and politician, joint owner and editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, Whig Member of Parliament for Nairn 1813-1818 and Knareborough from 1818-1832. The main support of the bill as; George Canning, Lord Castlereagh, Henry John Shepherd (1784-1855) Tory Member of Parliament for Shaftesbury from 1818 to 1820. William Pole Tylney Long Wellesley (1788-1857) Member of Parliament for St.Ives from 1812 to 1818 and 1830 to 1831, Wilshire from 1818 to 1820 and Essex from 1831 to 1832. Thorne, *The History of Parliament*,

when Sir Robert Wilson proposed the motion that the vote should be delayed for six months; when voted upon one hundred and fifty five were against his motion and forty two for the extension, showing an urgency to resolve the issue.⁴¹³ The two main topics of conversation being the effects the bill would have on trade and Britain's relationship with Spain. During the heated debate, Castlereagh reminded the house that hostile rhetoric about King Ferdinand VII and his government was not the intention of the bill.⁴¹⁴ Although *The Gentleman's Magazine* does not directly quote from the members of the House of Commons' criticism and slurs against Ferdinand, it does show that in the debate old habits reminiscent of the *Black Legend* still persisted and that this could supersede matters in hand.

Nevertheless the support for the bill shows that the government under Liverpool saw that maintaining good relations with Spain was important. Evidence existed in the comments made by leading Tory speakers which represented a more mainstream view of the legislation than radical Whigs' opinions. Sir William Scott "supported the bill, as necessary to the preservation of the faith of treaties", and Francis Grant thought that it should be seen as, "an engagement on our part, with the government of Spain, that we should remain neutral".⁴¹⁵ John Copley further believed that the bill was "open" and "manly mannered" and that the sort of "underhand mode which seemed to be proposed on the other side" was negative to Spanish relations.⁴¹⁶ In

Volume IV, pp. 365-369. *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, from July to December, 1819, pp. 69-70 & 75.

⁴¹³ *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, from July to December, 1819, p. 75.

⁴¹⁴ *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, from July to December, 1819, p. 268. *The Parliamentary Debates From the Year 1803 to the Present Time: Vol. XL*, P. 1102

⁴¹⁵ William Henry John Scott (1795-1832) Tory Member of Parliament for Heytesbury from 1818 to 1820, Hastings from 1820 to 1826 and Newport from 1826 to 1830. Francis William Grant (1778-1853) Tory Member of Parliament for Elgin Burghs from 1802 to 1806, Inverness Burghs from 1806 to 1807, Elginshire from 1807 to 1832 and Elgin and Nairnshire from 1832 to 1840. He joined the fencibles in 1793 as a lieutenant and by 1809 was a colonel in the Argyll Fencibles. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790-1820*. The Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Time: Vol. XL, p. 1242.

⁴¹⁶ John Singleton Copley, 1st Baron Lyndhurst (1772-1863) Tory Member of Parliament for Yarmouth in 1818, Ashburton from 1818 to 1826 and Cambridge University from 1826 to 1827. Born in Boston, he fled with his parents to Britain during the American Revolution, studied law and become a sergeant at law. Solicitor General in 1819, Attorney General in 1824, Lord Chancellor in 1827 and in that year entered the House of Lords. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790-1820*. The Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Time: Vol. XL, pp. 1113-1114.

response George Canning used words to the effect that a stranger in Britain would question the number of soldiers currently employed in London and ask which country Britain was at war with? He further added a maxim, “do unto others as you would they should do unto you, was as applicable to politics as to morals”.⁴¹⁷ Overall ministers, and those outside of parliament, understood that the activity of British subjects in the Americas was a sign of hostility against the Spanish and, therefore, to reintroduce the bill would resolve the issue amicably.

In direct response to these statements Colonel Davies, a veteran of the Peninsular War and a Whig minister, then averred “that she (Spain) had violated almost every treaty which she had ever made with us”.⁴¹⁸ He cited the example of the commercial transactions with Spain in 1667, 1796 and 1814. Davies finally added that Britain received, from its manufactured goods, over two million pounds from America and only four hundred thousand pounds from Spain.⁴¹⁹ There is no evidence at this time to quantify these numbers accurately, as Patrick O’Brien has stated that before 1825 only questionable representations of estimates of national records occurred compared to modern state statistics of the state.⁴²⁰ Recent research by Manuel Llorca-Jana states that between 17% - 24% of Britain’s world exports from 1810’s - 1840’s was heading to the South American market and 80% of this related to textiles.⁴²¹ Certainly Britain was benefiting from this trade and would in the future, with bank loans, the selling of finished and cotton goods within South America, particularly in Buenos Aires where over ninety British

⁴¹⁷ The Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Time: Vol. XL, pp. 1104-1108.

⁴¹⁸ Thomas Henry Hastings Davies (1789-1846) Whig Member of Parliament for Worcester from 1818 to 1834 and 1837 to 1841. He joined the army in 1804, served in the Peninsular War with the Guards from 1809 to 1814 reaching the rank of captain and later Colonel of the 1st Foot Guards in 1815. In 1819 he was on half pay as Colonel of the Chasseurs Britanniques. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790-1820*.

⁴¹⁹ The Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Time: Vol. X., pp. 1085-1086.

⁴²⁰ P.K. O’Brien, “*The Global Economic History of European Expansion*” in, V. Bulmer-Thomas, J. Coatsworth & R. Cortes-Conde (eds.) *The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America: Volume 1* (Cambridge, 2006), p.28.

⁴²¹ M. Llorca-Jana, “The Impact of ‘early’ nineteenth-Century Globalization of Foreign Trade in the Southern Cone: A Study of British Trade Statistics”, *Economic History Research*, IHE-115, 2012, pp.6-9.

merchant houses existed in the city. However this comment by Davies is somewhat inflated for argument's sake to influence, and mislead, opinions.⁴²²

The Whigs and their political opponents both realised the potential of South America in opening up a lucrative market for British goods in the economic slump after the Napoleonic Wars. It was perceived, by some, that Spain was holding back British trade, an issue which had led to many debates in the house on numerous occasions. In response Viscount Goderich, Fredrick Robinson, the Vice President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer to the Navy, rebuked that "if the gloomy colours in which the conduct of Spain had been painted were at all warranted, Great Britain had no choice left".⁴²³ If the situation was as ruinous as Davies remarked, Britain would certainly take direct action and declare war on Spain.

Finally Lord Castlereagh "contended that the law was necessary to prevent our giving just offence to Spain, whom that house was too just and generous to *oppress* because she was weak and her fortunes had declined".⁴²⁴ This both defends the British government's relationship with Ferdinand and his government and attacks the opposition for being too critical about of the Spanish state, a rare example in the house, the defence of Spain under Ferdinand. The final debates in the House of Lords, two days after the third reading in the Commons, followed a

⁴²²M. Llorca-Jana, *The British Textile Trade in South American in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 70 & 310. V. Bulmer-Thomas, *The Economic History of Latin America Since Independence* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 18-20. Reber, *British Mercantile House in Buenos Aires: 1810-1880*, pp. 116-117.

⁴²³ Fredrick John Robinson, 1st Viscount Goderich (1782-1859) Tory Member of Parliament for Carlisle from 1806 to 1807 and Ripon from 1807 to 1827. Vice President for the Board of Trade from 1812 to 1823, Paymaster to the Forces from 1813 to 1817, Treasurer of the Navy from 1818 to 1823, Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1823 to 1827, Prime Minister from 1827 to 1828 and Leader of the House of Lords. Fisher, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832 The Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Time*: Vol. X, pp. 1085-1086.

⁴²⁴ W. Belsham, *Memoirs of the Regent of George III: from the Treaty of Amiens, 1802 to the Termination of the Regency 1820, Vol II.* (London, 1824), pp. 266-268.

similar pattern, but with a greater majority of fifty three supporting the bill, one hundred and forty against.⁴²⁵

As already stated Webster argued that, “the debates on the bill in the House of Commons proved also how far public opinion in Britain had gone in sympathy with the Colonies”.⁴²⁶ Webster also assumes that until this point few supported the insurgents’ cause, the bill showing how far support for the colonies had advanced, but as the evidence has shown, there was already a significant body of support from the Whigs and merchants. An indication that this bill was a divided issue in the House of Commons was the fact that it was passed with a majority of only thirteen; one hundred and forty two members against and one hundred and fifty five for the bill, only half the house in attendance to vote on this issue.⁴²⁷ It is evident this was not the case in the House of Lords where an overwhelming vote for the bill occurred, showing a more conservative view to British unauthorised support of the insurgents.

Additionally the belief, by the public, that the Spaniards had influenced the government’s decision on implementing the bill caused the readership of newspapers to voice their anxieties before and during the debate. A letter to *The Scotsman* stated “Spain, blind, depraved and corrupt, would fain persuade her friends in Downing Street to assist in bending to her yoke (to South America)”.⁴²⁸ A further letter in *The Scotsman* stated that, “Britain is no longer the refuge

⁴²⁵ Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne (1780-1863) Whig Member of Parliament for Calne from 1802 to 1806, Cambridge University from 1806 to 1807 and Camelford from 1807 to 1809. Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1806 to 1807, Home Secretary from 1827 to 1828 and Lord President of the Council from 1830 to 1834 and 1835 to 1841. He was also a central figure and major champion in the House of Lords for the question on Catholic emancipation. Patrick James Herbert Crichton-Stuart, 2nd Marquess of Bute (1793-1848) Whig Member of Parliament for Cardiff Boroughs from 1818 to 1820 and 1826 to 1832, Buteshire from 1820 to 1826, Ayr Burghs from 1834 to 1852 and Constable of Cardiff Castle from 1823. Henry Herbert, 2nd Earl of Carnarvon (1772-1833) Whig Member of Parliament for Cricklade from 1794 to 1811 and peer. Dudley Ryder, 1st Earl of Harrowby (1762-1847) Tory Member of Parliament for Tiverton from 1784 to 1803 and peer. Foreign Secretary from 1804 to 1805, President of the Board of Control in 1809 and Lord President of the Council from 1812 to 1827. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume III, pp. 810-823*. Fisher, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832. The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, from July to December, 1819, p. 168.

⁴²⁶ Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh 1815-1822*, p.423.

⁴²⁷ *The Scotsman*, 12th June, 1819.

⁴²⁸ *The Scotsman*, 22nd Aug, 1818.

and the shield of the oppressed and the unfortunate".⁴²⁹ This causes the following to be questioned, that the Spaniards could manipulate British policy and that by this action Britain had lost a sense of its national identity, its perceived notion of championing for a just cause and people's liberties.⁴³⁰ A clear example of an ambassador's power can be seen with the disposition of the Spanish ambassador in Washington, Luis de Onís y Gonzalez-Vara, to his approach towards American policy concerning South American independence.⁴³¹ This was noted by the Americans in their newspapers, but also by the British ambassador Charles Bagot.⁴³²

The Duke of San Carlos also lobbied and pressured the government to enforce laws to prevent British subjects interfering in South America, and, partly to his credit, the British government passed the Foreign Enlistment Bill in 1819. British comments on South America in the newspapers became sporadic in the latter part of 1819, partly due to the revolution in Spain overshadowing the interests and attentions of members of parliament. The government also abolished the practice of newspapers and the public writing overtly about British aid to the patriots with the passing of the Foreign Enlistment Bill and, in November, the Newspaper or Stamp Duties Act, part of the Six Acts, increased taxes on publications which advocated strong opinions not conceded news worthy.⁴³³ However not directly aimed at views on South America,

⁴²⁹ *The Scotsman*, 1st Aug, 1818.

⁴³⁰ Colley, *Britons; Forging the Nation 1707-1837*.

⁴³¹ Luis de Onís y Gonzalez-Vara (1762-1827) Spanish Foreign Minister to the United States from 1809 to 1819. S.C. Tucker, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the Mexican-American War: A Political, Social, and Military History* (California, 2013), p. 475.

⁴³² Sir Charles Bagot (1781-1843) British envoy and ambassador to the United States from 1815 to 1824, later serving as ambassador to Russia and the Netherlands. Also married to Mary Charlotte Anne Wellesley-Pole, the niece of Arthur Wellesley whose connections helped his diplomatic career. Phillip Buckner, 'Bagot, Sir Charles (1781-1843)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1037>, accessed 9 April 2012]

⁴³³ H. Martin, *Challenging History- Britain in the 19th Century* (Cheltenham, 2000), p. 46. J. Chandler, *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism* (Chicago, 1998), pp. 42-43. N. McCord, B. Purdue & A.W. Purdue, *British History 1815-1914* (New York, 2007), pp. 27-28.

certainly this had an effect on the volume of overly public sympathetic opinions to military aid for the insurgents.

This did not put an end to Britain's relationship with emerging independence for Latin America. British subjects continued to help fight for independence, initiated in many South American states by 1825 and several British subjects became part of the administration of these countries at their inception.⁴³⁴ By 1825 the Foreign Secretary George Canning, made a famous speech stating "I called the New World into existence".⁴³⁵ Britain formally recognising the independence of Gran Colombia, Mexico and Argentina, legitimising these states and allowing the appointment of official consuls for British trade with South America.⁴³⁶

Conclusion

Britain's perceptions of the Spanish in South America were very similar to their attitudes towards Spaniards in general. Elements of the perceived cruelty and tyrannical nature of the Spanish expressed by the *Black Legend*, appeared occasionally in a subjective way about the conflict in the colonies and Spain's rights to these territories. The British soldiers and merchants who travelled to Buenos Aires from 1806 to 1807 certainly shared opinions very similar to those of the Britons in Spain during the Peninsular War. Almost certainly, soldiers' first experiences of the Spanish in South America affected their attitudes and opinions when they arrived in the Peninsula. The two expeditions to Buenos Aires are fundamental in understanding a number of accounts written by the British military about attitudes towards the Spanish.

In relation to South American independence, British diplomatic problems only really occurred with merchants and volunteers actively supporting the insurgents with arms, transportation of troops and providing ships as part of the South American insurgent navy. The

⁴³⁴ Brown, *Adventuring Through Spanish Colonies*, pp. 202-211. Hughes, *Conquer or Die!*, pp. 309-319.

⁴³⁵ P. Dixon, *Canning: Politician and Statesman* (London, 1976), p.231.

⁴³⁶ Bethell, (ed.), *The Independence of Latin America*, pp. 210-216.

Spanish perception that did not distinguish between merchants, who peacefully traded, and those who supported the insurgents, the issue of hostile treatment of British merchants incited a number of politicians to take somewhat aggressive stances towards Spanish policy, leading to overt comments on the Spanish character. From the profile of those who expressed an opinion, many were members of the Whig opposition in parliament or held radical political views. Many had a number of existing connections with Spain or South America through military experience, friendly associations with prominent South American leaders and of paramount importance commercial ties. This is also true in the case of those individuals who actively supported the Spanish, involving connections formed previously during the Peninsular War.

This chapter shows that contrary to many historians' views not everyone concurred in having sympathies with the independence movement in South America. There was also a group in parliament namely Tories sympathetic to the Spanish, and a number of people actively supported the Spanish Army in establishing order in the colonies. Many of the British volunteers who fought for the patriots, on their return to Britain, helped to fuel the Spanish cause indirectly because of their ill treatment by the insurgent armies. In reflection, although the voice of the Whigs and supporters of the insurgents was vociferous in the public sphere, in newspapers and in debates out with of parliament, in the debates in the Commons, and critically the House of Lords, it is the government which was triumphant, holding more political weight. The next chapter will look at how British opinions were shaped during the revolution in Spain in 1820 and how several of the issues, and perceptions, relating to South America transmogrified.

Chapter Three: Revolution in Spain 1820 to 1823

With the threat to the stability of Spain's American empire, Spain was also about to experience internal strife from liberal forces in the army in reaction to Ferdinand VII's regime. Predominantly, the Spanish revolution of 1820 is narrative based in British historiography with little insight into perceptions and attitudes of Spain.⁴³⁷ Although various studies have utilised the reports from Madrid by Henry Wellesley's Ambassadors little attention has been paid to widespread opinions and coverage in British newspapers and periodicals. The few studies that examine British views concentrate on the Whig, and moreover radical sentiments, assuming, therefore, that all Britons supported the Spanish liberals.⁴³⁸ Additionally the historiography of Ferdinand's reign has led to a narrative of a monarch who was weak, indecisive and disassociated from his people; there are few positive remarks concerning Ferdinand which will become evident in the following pages. Charles Esdaile's assessment of King Ferdinand VII is that "few figures in Spanish history have attracted such odium".⁴³⁹ Ferdinand is a familiar figure in Spanish literature and is pivotal to any study of the country's history in the first half of the nineteenth century but remains an enigma in British historical understanding.

It is the aim of this chapter to investigate the reasons why such opinions regarding Spain were held and what sources of information affected this judgement. Commencing with, an assessment of Ferdinand's reign, his personality and how this influenced Spain for the first six years of his rule, from 1814 to 1819. How did British opinion regarding Ferdinand and the state of the country develop after the Peninsular War? What did Britain's reading public understand

⁴³⁷ M. Broers, P. Hicks & A. Guimera, *The Napoleonic Empire and New European Political Culture: War, Culture and Society, 1730-1850* (New York, 2012), pp. 69-71. Carr, *Spain 1808-1975*, pp.129-145. Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age*, pp. 48-55. J. M. Owen IV, *The Clash of Ideas in World Politics: Transnational Networks, States, and Regime Change, 1510-2010* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 147-148.

⁴³⁸ A. Sahagun, "The Birth of Liberalism: The Making of Liberal Political Thought in Spain, France, and England, 1808-1823" (PhD thesis, Washington University in St. Louis, 2009), pp. 315-324. Howarth, *The Invention of Spain*, p.41.

⁴³⁹ Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age*, p.42.

about the revolution and why and how did several newspapers support the constitutionalist cause in Spain? The concluding part will assess British political reaction to French intervention to restore Ferdinand. At the outset it is important to remember that different factors affected British opinion during Ferdinand's reign. Interconnected with this section are the issues of the Latin American Wars of Independence (chapter two), and the increasing numbers of Spaniards living in Britain as exiles (chapter four). In a larger context this chapter questions whether it is correct to assume that Britons predominantly supported the new Liberal government and movement in Spain.

As part of this thesis is concerned with British opinions of the Spanish monarchy, it is prudent at this stage, to look at Ferdinand VII. Ferdinand became heir to the Spanish throne shortly after his birth in 1784, following the unfortunate death of four of his brothers in infancy. He was educated by a Canon of Toledo, Don Juan Escoiquez who raised him to be a devout Catholic. His mother Maria was not enamoured of her son and considered him to be of "a weak and delicate temperament" and his first wife, Maria Antonia of Naples and Sicily, also had little praise for her husband.⁴⁴⁰ Most of his early life was controlled by his parents King Charles IV and Queen Maria Luisa of Parma. Charles only took a perfunctory role in the affairs of the country, Crow describes him of "weak intellect and impotent in action" and that it was the queen's favourite, Manuel de Godoy who dominated Spanish politics.⁴⁴¹ Arguably Ferdinand was not introduced to affairs of state because of Godoy's power and his parents' unwillingness to set an example of how to govern the country, this led him to take a personal and absolutist approach to ruling Spain.⁴⁴²

⁴⁴⁰ R.S. Mantero, *Ferdinand VII* (Madrid, 2001), pp. 28-29 & 32-34.

⁴⁴¹ J.A. Crow, *Spain: The Root and the Flower: an Interpretation Spain and the Spanish People* (London, 1985), pp. 243-244. J.C. Herold, *The Age of Napoleon* (New York, 2002), p. 206.

⁴⁴² J. Chastenet, *Godoy, Master of Spain, 1792-1808* (London, 1953), pp.21 & 104. Carr, *Spain 1808-1975*, p.80. J.F. Coverdale, *The Basque Phase of Spain's First Carlist War* (New Jersey, 1984), pp.34-35.

It is clear that Ferdinand did have ambitions to be King of Spain, in 1807, in the Conspiracy of the Escorial, Ferdinand betrayed his fellow conspirators, leading to his arrest and pardoning by his parents.⁴⁴³ Napoleon, observing Spanish weakness, tried to take advantage of Godoy and threatened to invade, with his unbeatable armies, if Spain did not support France in its wars against Britain. Events culminated, in March 1808, as Clarke states Ferdinand “the enemy of the hated favourite, was the darling of the mob”, leading to the disposal of Godoy, the abdication of Charles IV in favour of Ferdinand, who approached Napoleon his ally for assistance.⁴⁴⁴

At Bayonne in April 1808, Ferdinand was forced to renounce his throne in favour of Charles IV, who in turn resigned his right to rule to Napoleon who consequently appointed his brother Joseph as King of Spain.⁴⁴⁵ Ferdinand spent six years as a prisoner of Napoleon at the Chateau of Valencay in France. Napoleon, suffering the effects of the Sixth Coalition in opposition to the Empire of France in 1813, acknowledged Ferdinand as King of Spain, but did not release him until 1814.⁴⁴⁶ Manifested in Ferdinand’s early life, two narratives emerge, firstly that he was a victim of circumstance with unsympathetic parents and at the disposition of the indomitable force of Napoleon, creating empathy for his situation.⁴⁴⁷ Secondly, and most prevalent, that Ferdinand was viewed as a *felon*, *religious bigot* and *sadist*, who plotted and schemed against his parents.⁴⁴⁸ In retrospect the opinions held of George IV of Great Britain where not far removed from Ferdinand, with the addition of signs of insanity prevalent in many

⁴⁴³ Broers, Hicks & Guimera, *The Napoleonic Empire and New European Political Culture*, pp. 262-263. H.B. Clarke, *Modern Spain 1815-1898, Volume 4* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 31.

⁴⁴⁴ Clarke, *Modern Spain 1815-1898*, p. 13.

⁴⁴⁵ J. D. Bergamini, *Spanish Bourbons: The History of a Tenacious Dynasty* (New York, 1974), pp. 132-133.

⁴⁴⁶ Carr, *Spain 1808-1975*, p. 120.

⁴⁴⁷ P. Gifra-Adroher, *Between History and Romance: Travel Writing on Spain in the Early Nineteenth-Century United States* (London, 2000), pp. 150-151. Grismer, R.L., & Arjona, D.K., (eds.), *The Pageant of Spain: A Graded Reader with Simplified Abridgements of Favourite Selections from Well-Known Spanish Writers* (New York, 1966), p. 103. M. J. Quin, *Memoirs of Ferdinand VII King of The Spain's* (London, 1824).

⁴⁴⁸ E.G. Duro, *Fernando VII: El Rey Felon* (Madrid, 2006). K. Shaw, *Royal Babylon: The Alarming History of European Royalty* (New York, 2001), pp. 84-85. Alonso, M.M., *La Fabricacion de Fernando VII, Ayer No. 41, Fernando VII. Su Reinado y su Imagen* (2001), pp. 17-41.

Georgian kings. As will become evident both these conflicting narratives become the standardised way in which Ferdinand was viewed in Britain.

Ferdinand was repatriated in 1814 with appreciable jubilation. Clarke concurs; he “had become the symbol of the national ideal, the name round which patriotic, loyal and religious feelings were grouped”.⁴⁴⁹ The Spanish populace expected much from their king. The nobility craved the restoration of their previous privileges, the church an unwavering hold on the country, the Army to be rewarded, and the people a return to former glory. Spain was in crisis, the economy in ruin, trade was disrupted due to revolts in the colonies in South America and the country was completely bankrupt. Spain after the Peninsular War was in turmoil which encouraged various factions in the country to resist Ferdinand’s return.⁴⁵⁰ Due to Ferdinand’s reintroduction of old institutions, personal grievances emerged. It is not surprising that as early as September 1814, one of the most famous guerrilla leaders, Espoz Y Mina embarked on a revolt which was followed by five additional unsuccessful Liberal *Pronunciamientos*, military coups from 1814 to 1819.⁴⁵¹

Henry Wellesley, British Ambassador to Spain, greeted Ferdinand at Valencia, on the 16th April 1814, and reported that the king “was received with the same lively demonstrations of attachment which he experienced at Saragossa and at all the other places through which he has passed”.⁴⁵² At this juncture Wellesley engaged with one of Ferdinand’s most trusted advisers, Jose Miguel de Carvajal Vargas, the 2nd Duke of San Carlos, who was eager to confirm the continued support of Britain and affirm to Wellesley that the Constitution of 1812 was unconstitutional and unrepresentative of the people of Spain. In response Henry reasserted that

⁴⁴⁹ Clarke, *Modern Spain 1815-1898*, p. 31.

⁴⁵⁰ Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age*, p.42.

⁴⁵¹ Carr, *Spain 1808-1975*, p.130.

⁴⁵² FO72/160. Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh Valencia, 19th April, 1814.

his government wished for the re-establishment of Ferdinand as King of Spain.⁴⁵³ Certainly it was in the best interests, not just of Britain but of Europe, that peace existed, and that a repeat of the French Revolution did not occur. Britain had been justified in liberating the Spanish from Napoleon's rule, but to use her army to suppress revolutionaries in times of peace in Spain was questionable. From these discussions it was evident to Wellesley that Ferdinand expected future resistance to his rule.⁴⁵⁴

Ferdinand VII's Restoration

The British reading public speculated what Ferdinand's government would entail, not surprisingly most supposed that it would be absolute.⁴⁵⁵ Unlike his father Charles IV, Ferdinand endeavoured to be his own master with no predominant ministerial favourite in control, a legacy from recognizing the power of the previous favourite Godoy.⁴⁵⁶ This culminated in most of his close ministers holding office for only six months in the first six years of his reign. Ferdinand's government was weak with mixed abilities. Don Pedro de *Cevallos*, the Foreign Minister for four months was unaware that Spain was part of the Holy Alliance.⁴⁵⁷ Henry Wellesley, in a report to the Foreign Secretary, Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, a week after welcoming Ferdinand, raised his concerns, stating "I have not much faith in the wisdom or friendship of the people who surround the king", further adding that, "it must be emphasised that if they succeed in establishing a constitution...they will be entitled to the gratitude of the nation".⁴⁵⁸ Having witnessed the Cortes in action Wellesley was implying that it may be more

⁴⁵³ FO72/160. Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh Valencia 24th April, 1814.

⁴⁵⁴ FO72/173, Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh Madrid 26th Jan, 1815.

⁴⁵⁵ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1814. *Examiner*, 31st July, 1814. *The Weekly Entertainer*, 29th August, 1814. *Cobbett's Political Register*, 4th March, 1815.

⁴⁵⁶ Clarke, *Modern Spain 1815-1898*, p. 36.

⁴⁵⁷ Coverdale, *The Basque Phase of Spain's First Carlist War*, p.52.

⁴⁵⁸ FO72/160. Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh Valencia, 24th April, 1814.

beneficial to Spain if Ferdinand sought the advice of ministers with a talent to govern than relying on his own judgement to conduct the affairs of state.

Conversely, one of Ferdinand's first acts was to suppress the Cortes and the Constitution of 1812; in Ferdinand's opinion it was an illegal legislative group which subverted the monarchy and was unrepresentative of the Spanish people. Not all the four hundred and twenty two members of the Cortes of Cadiz were in favour of the constitution; ninety six *serviles* had written to Ferdinand to suspend the constitution and call a new Cortes.⁴⁵⁹ To the British government this was reasonable as it was Ferdinand's right to rule in the manner of an absolutist monarch, restoring the old order and working against the influences which the unconstitutional French and liberal majority had inflicted on the country. However the arrest and banishment of former liberals and members of the Cortes created an alarming foreshadow of what was to occur in the restoration.⁴⁶⁰ Wellesley had spent a protracted time with the deputies of the Cortes of Cadiz, but as he travelled throughout the country he realised that the constitution was not as popular in the provinces as he once thought.⁴⁶¹ This showed an estimable understanding on his part of the influences and constraints which the constitution had on the Spanish people.

It had been believed, from a British perspective, that the Constitution of 1812 had extensive leverage during the Peninsular War. Although few Spaniards had read or acknowledged the constitution, believing they were fighting for the king, it had influenced the politicians, in Spain and across Europe, and would be important in the coming revolution, among army officers.⁴⁶² As shall become evident throughout this chapter the issue of constitutionalist support would be ever present in British observations of the revolution.

⁴⁵⁹ Coverdale, *The Basque Phase of Spain's First Carlist War*, p.51.

⁴⁶⁰ FO72/160.Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh Madrid, 15th May, 1814.

⁴⁶¹ FO72/160.Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh Valencia, 4th April, 1814.

⁴⁶² Blaustein, *Constitutions of the World*, pp. 22-24. Howarth, *The Invention of Spain*, p. 30. I. Woloch, (ed.), *Revolution and the Meanings of Freedom in the Nineteenth Century* (California, 1996), pp. 86-91 & 227.

Although few in Britain felt the need to write publicly about their frustrations, at the suspension of the constitution, they felt the need to criticise the re-emergence of the inquisition.

Wellesley wrote that,

“there is certainly a strong party in favour of its restoration of which the infants Don Carlos and Don Antonio are said to be at the head ... that there is much reason to apprehend that the influence which his uncle and his brothers over his mind, backed by the powerful clergy”.⁴⁶³

It was clear from Wellesley’s letters that there was pressure on Ferdinand to restore the inquisition and additionally that the Duke of San Carlos had worries about the reintroduction of the inquisition.

So why then did Ferdinand feel the need to restore the inquisition and a copious church presence? The historian Stanley Payne writing extensively on religion in Spain states that, “the clergy provided the strongest base of support for his (Ferdinand’s) reactionary neo-absolutism”, which was targeted against “Masonry and the other secret societies (including some members of the church) that had become the organisational mainstay of liberalism”.⁴⁶⁴ Ferdinand was not enamoured with the constitution which had been orchestrated in part by Spanish freemasons, liberals and more radical members of the Cortes.⁴⁶⁵ Upon the return of Fernando VII and the inquisition in 1814, Francisco Xavier Campillo, The General Inquisitor, published an edict of prohibition and condemnation of Freemasonry. Dissatisfaction with Ferdinand’s return was a critical factor in uniting a number of officers in the army, notably the ringleaders, in the future revolution in 1820, in the Army of Andalusia who formed a group

⁴⁶³ Infante Carlos, Count of Molina (1788-1855) and Infante Francisco Antonio de Paula, Duke of Cadiz (1794-1865) Ferdinand’s Uncle, youngest brother of Charles IV, Infante Antonio Pascual de Borbon y Wettin (1755-1817). FO72/160. Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh Madrid, 6th July, 1814.

⁴⁶⁴ S.G. Payne, *Spanish Catholicism: An Historical Overview* (Wisconsin, 1984), pp.75-76.

⁴⁶⁵ B. R. Hamnett, “Liberal Politics and Spanish Freemasonry, 1814-1820”, *History* Volume 69, Issue 226, January 1984, pp.221-237.

called the *Taller Sublime*.⁴⁶⁶ The inquisition was therefore an admirable instrument to combat the further swell of this and other radical theories, like Jacobinism and the printing of political pamphlets and to restore conservative ideas. Additionally the Jesuit order was re-established by Pope Pius VII, having been banished from Spain in 1767.⁴⁶⁷ Conclusively, Ferdinand was ultimately convinced, partly by his strong catholic education, to restore the Jesuits and bring stability to the country.

Henry Wellesley in conversation with the Duke of San Carlos and other representatives warned that the reintroduction of the inquisition would be disastrous and impact on foreign relations.⁴⁶⁸ Although diplomatic relations might not have been affected, it certainly made Britain's reading public and merchants in Spain vocal in their criticism of the state of Spain. A British merchant in Barcelona wrote to the *Bury and Norwich Post* that "Friars and Clergymen have the entire sway, they are quartered on the inhabitants like soldiers, and whilst the latter are loaded with contributions, the former are exempt".⁴⁶⁹ Overall the reintroduction of the inquisition did not improve British perceptions of the Spanish and Ferdinand, reasserting ideas of the *Black Legend*.

Additionally a sarcastic reader of the *Morning Chronicle* thought that Ferdinand "has particularly bestowed these mitres on the Clergy who have been assisting him in the holy work of maintaining his tyranny over the Spanish people".⁴⁷⁰ It was certainly true that Ferdinand did appoint sixty new bishops on his return to Spain, assisting him in his new administration of the country. Nevertheless the numbers of members of the religious orders from 1808 to 1820 had declined from about forty six thousand to thirty three thousand, nearly by a quarter.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁶ Archer (ed.), *The Wars of Independence in Spanish America*, p. 306.

⁴⁶⁷ W.J. Callahan, *Church, Politics and Society in Spain: 1750-1874* (Harvard, 1984), p.112.

⁴⁶⁸ FO72/160. Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh Madrid, 6th July, 1814.

⁴⁶⁹ *Bury and Norwich Post*, 18th October, 1815.

⁴⁷⁰ *Morning Chronicle*, 10th March, 1815.

⁴⁷¹ Payne, *Spanish Catholicism: An Historical Overview*, pp.75-76.

Therefore a perceived image of more clerics is in fact untrue. This comment therefore says more about a perceived image than the reality of the church and reasserts the belief of its control over the country. With articles entitled, *The Inquisition Unmasked*, one of the informants for the *Morning Chronicle* regarding new developments was Joseph Blanco White; a former Spanish priest turned Anglican minister resident in Britain.⁴⁷² All these statements can be closely compared to British, *Black Legend*, views towards other Spanish kings centuries before, criticising Ferdinand's alleged overbearing religious upbringing for the imposition of the clergy on the people.⁴⁷³

Other issues which affected British relations and opinions regarding Spain was the revolution in Spain's American colonies and, more importantly, British trade, (which has been detailed in chapter one, the Peninsular War and chapter two on South America). In 1816 even with relative peace in Spain, in parliamentary questions, Mr Henry Brougham asked, if the Spanish rose up against Ferdinand, would Britain support the Spanish people?⁴⁷⁴ The *Morning Chronicle's* parliamentary reporter, William Hazlitt, stated in response to this question that "Lord Castlereagh's reason for not taking any part or expressing any opinion with respect to the proceedings of Ferdinand of Spain is that he is our ally; and that it is not proper to interfere with the internal government of other nations".⁴⁷⁵ Hazlitt, like Brougham, was a Whig and this statement suggests a criticism of government policy in helping foreigners against what Hazlitt and Brougham saw as a tyrant. Secondly this also proves that the government publicly

⁴⁷² For more information on Blanco White see footnote 399, Chapter Two. *Morning Chronicle*, 29th November, 1816.

⁴⁷³ MacKay, *Lazy, Improvident People*, p.207.

⁴⁷⁴ Henry Peter Brougham, First Baron Brougham and Vaux (1778-1868) founder of the *Edinburgh Review*, in 1806, he was appointed secretary to a diplomatic mission to Portugal, Whig Member of Parliament for Camelford from 1810 to 1812, Winchelsea from 1816 to 1830 and Lord Chancellor from 1830 to 1836. He was also an active freemason who believed that education was the means for political emancipation and founded the University of London in 1836. Thorne, *The History of Parliament*, Volume III, p.265. Hamili & Gilbert, (ed.), *Freemasonry: A Celebration of the Craft*, p. 61.

⁴⁷⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, 7th February, 1816.

supported Ferdinand and the moderate opinion of the day, not to interfere and criticise allies' customs.

Britain was an ally of Spain and due to its relations with other European powers after the Napoleonic Wars non-intervention was the only option, even though a number of people in Britain wished otherwise. Fundamentally the Quadruple Alliance of Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia, which had emerged in 1813 to defeat Napoleon, also upheld the settlement agreed at the Congress of Vienna in June 1815.⁴⁷⁶ The Congress established the return of France's former territorial borders before the French Revolution, and was pledged to stop further revolutions in Europe.

Many European powers believed that Spain should have a reduced representation in the Congress, because Spain had neither, as a consequence of the war, lost or gained any of its home territory in Europe. Additionally it may have been felt that because Spain had been an ally of Napoleon, until its invasion in 1808, this invalidated Spain's position. The Quintuple Alliance was established with the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, which allowed France to join the other members.⁴⁷⁷ Parts of the alliance though, The Holy Alliance, created by Czar Alexander I and Klemens von Metternich, Foreign Minister of the Austrian Empire, between Russia, Austria and Prussia, were sometimes in conflict with other members. Britain was strongly opposed to the use of armed force to settle other nations' internal disputes; at this stage predominantly against new Liberal governments. Therefore Britain's official policy regarding any civil unrest in Spain or its South American colonies was neutrality, but, as will be discussed, this was not always the case.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁶ Predt, *The Congress of Vienna*. Haigh, *Congress of Vienna to Common Market*, p.24.

⁴⁷⁷ M.S. Anderson, *The Ascendancy of Europe 1815-1914* (Essex, 2003), p.2.

⁴⁷⁸ Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh 1815-1822*, p. 409.

One area of change in Spain which would lead to a revolution was the condition of the Spanish Army. The Army, meaning officers, wanted to be rewarded for their service in the Peninsular War but the Finance Minister, Garay, said that the Spanish Royal Army was “useless and ever harmful in the state of peace which fortunately we enjoy”.⁴⁷⁹ The *Examiner*, one of the few newspapers to keep a continuing eye on the developing Spanish affairs because of its radical agenda, tried to explicate to its readership why Ferdinand was hostile to officers in his army during the war. The *Examiner* explained that, “the patriots had the courage to be better and more truly loyal men than himself (Ferdinand), while the courtiers showed themselves as feeble and as faithless”.⁴⁸⁰ It was stated that Ferdinand felt resentment towards these patriots, showing favouritism to his courtiers. This article also implies that Ferdinand had no respect for those who had fought to re-establish his rule and preferred to surround himself with a council of sycophants, thereby instilling in the British reading public a sense of how tyrannical his regime was. By surrounding himself with what he saw as reliable courtiers Ferdinand could feel more unassailable. Certainly, many of the officers who challenged Ferdinand’s rule had been supporters of the constitution and, consequently, these individuals could cause political divisions.⁴⁸¹

The Spanish Army consequently needed to be reduced in size, from its apogee in 1814 of one hundred and eighty four thousand men. The Minister of War, General Eguia, stripped the Spanish Army back to the pre 1808 establishment of one hundred and twenty thousand men.⁴⁸² Ten thousand commissioned and non-commissioned officers found themselves unemployed. Many had received battlefield commissions, being raised from leaders of guerrilla bands to

⁴⁷⁹ E. Christiansen, *The Origins of Military power in Spain 1800-1854* (Oxford, 1967), p.20.

⁴⁸⁰ *Examiner*, 11th October, 1818.

⁴⁸¹ Esdaile, *The Spanish Army in the Peninsular War*, pp. 198-199.

⁴⁸² FO72/173, Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh Madrid 16th Feb, 1815.

generals in the Spanish regular army; forming the new officer class who it was believed by Ferdinand had sympathies for the constitution and provided a threat to him.⁴⁸³

With reports of these events in Spain, Britain's reading public, from 1814 to 1819, had mixed opinions about the sober reality in Spain. On the one hand there was the perception that Spain was on the verge of revolution and, on the other that it was, the most stable country in Europe. A declaration made by a Spanish Colonel, Melchor, a constitutional champion, asserted that, "it is clear that King Ferdinand and his adherents have calculated wrong, for every day it becomes more apparent that the Spanish people will not tamely submit to the wrongs heaped upon them".⁴⁸⁴ It can be argued that Colonel Melchor was really writing about the grievances of the officers in the Army and not the populace of the country. This evidently suggests, along with other letters, reports and proclamations made by Spaniards, published in the British newspapers that Spain was not at peace.

In support of this view General Francisco Javier Elio, the Governor of the Province of Valencia, wrote in a formal letter originally to Madrid, warning of potential revolution.⁴⁸⁵ Elio warned that "We shall end by murdering one another. The son will kill his father and mother. If this picture terrifies you, or appears a mere chimera, cast your eyes on France; and you will find all realised by the history of our own times".⁴⁸⁶ Not everyone agreed with this statement. In January 1819 a letter to the editor of *The Morning Post* under the pseudonym Hebernicus, used to describe an Irish stranger on the continent, averred the opposite.

⁴⁸³ Christiansen, *The Origins of Military power in Spain 1800-1854*, p.19.

⁴⁸⁴ Colonel Melchor, is said to have '800 Patriots in Estremadura' and that his proclamation are 'printed and distributed pretty freely'. *Morning Chronicle*, 9th August & *The Bristol Mercury*, 16th August, 1819.

⁴⁸⁵ General Francisco Javier Elio (1767-1822) Governor of Montevideo from 1807 to 1809, Viceroy of Rio de la Plata from 1810 to 1811 returning to Spain in 1812. With Ferdinand VII return to Spain in 1814, Elio met Ferdinand in Valencia and swore allegiance of his troops for the monarchy, was appointed Governor of the Province of Valencia. During the revolution in 1820 he lost his position and was finally executed in 1822 for his support of the monarchy. S. Haliczzer, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia: 1478-1834* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 354-355.

⁴⁸⁶ *The Times*, 12th February, 1819.

“Sir- It is with sensations of mixed surprise, regret, and disgust, I have read the barefaced untruths that are almost daily sent forth as facts by many of our newspapers, in regard to the state of Spain...We are told that all the provinces in Spain are in arms, and in open rebellion...the Spanish people are a most happy and contented race, and that there is not a nation in Europe in which the king is more popular with the mass of his subjects than in that country- the number of the discontented there is, comparatively very small”.⁴⁸⁷

From the pseudonym this could read like an official Spanish minister placing a personal perspective on events, or an individual with strong convictions in support of King Ferdinand. From the assumed name they could be conceived as an Irishmen in Spain, suggesting a more intimate knowledge. This report relays a more accurate account of events than other perceptions of the state of Spain throughout the late 1810s in the newspaper, as most disturbances were small in scale and not national. One aspect of reports of this nature was that British observers in Spain and in Britain recognized that proceedings would erupt in Spain and that Ferdinand’s leadership would be challenged, effecting British relations.

The Spanish Revolution

In Madrid, in the first week of January 1820, Henry Wellesley received an initial communication that the revolution had occurred which would much later lead to the king accepting the constitution. An order from the Duke of San Fernando stating that, “circumstances concurred with the safety of the state required that no courier should be allowed to leave Madrid”.⁴⁸⁸ This was enacted so that the news of the revolution would not extend to other parts of Spain, and that royalist forces could suppress the problems in Cadiz. Even though

⁴⁸⁷ *The Morning Post*, 12th January, 1819.

⁴⁸⁸ Joaquin Jose Melgarejo y Saurin, Duke of San Fernando de Quiroga (1780-1835) First Secretary of State from September 1819 to March 1820. FO72/234, Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh, Madrid, January 7/10th, 1820, p.42.

the general opinion entertained by the government of Madrid was that this was a minor incident, it does show a sense of trepidation and foresight, as would become apparent in the next two months that communication was important to the success of the revolution across the country.

Reports arriving back in Britain, as early as January, commented on the small numbers of troops involved in the revolt, but, within a month this dramatically increased and intensified the severity of the revolution. On 7th January this numbered a single battalion, the Regiment of Asturias under Reigo, in Andalusia who had pledged an oath to the constitution and by 31st January tens of thousands of soldiers had joined their ranks.⁴⁸⁹

Henry Wellesley's opinion regarding the individuals involved in the revolt, and their reasons for causing a mutiny are explained in his letter of the 9th January

“it is believed that this insurrection is more the work of the non-commissioned officers and troops than of the officers, that very few of these have joined in it, and that (although the constitution has been proclaimed) it arose principally from a dislike to embark upon the expedition”.⁴⁹⁰

This highlights an important issue that it was the non-commissioned officers revolting, thus agreeing with Cruz's argument that it was not a bourgeois class revolution but by the lower social orders.⁴⁹¹ Many had been demoted in rank due to the post Peninsular War reforms to cut the number of officers in the Army, creating another level of personal grievance. Wellesley offers another reason for the revolt as being the antipathy of the Spanish expedition force in

⁴⁸⁹ Rafael del Riego (1784-1823) joined the Spanish army as an officer in 1807 and was captured twice during the Peninsular War. On his return to Spain with the rank of lieutenant colonel he took the oath to the constitution, was a strong supporter of the liberals and a known freemason. Commander of the Asturian Regiment in the army planned to be sent to South America. Leading the start of the revolution he rapidly became field marshal, later elected Cortes Generales, in 1823 fighting off the royalist he was betrayed and executed in Madrid. A. Novales Gil, *Rafael del Riego. The Revolution of 1820, Every Day* (Madrid, 1976). Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh Madrid January 7/10th 1820. FO72/234, pp. 42-44.

⁴⁹⁰ FO72/234. Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh Madrid, 7/10th January, 1820.

⁴⁹¹ J. Cruz, *Los Notables de Madrid: Las Bases Sociales de la Revolucion Liberal Espanola* (Madrid, 2000).

Andalusia. A Spanish army was being organised to fight in South America, which was clearly seen as a death sentence, as the war in the colonies was favouring the insurgents.⁴⁹²

Historians have debated the true essence of the soldiers' grievances, but the constitution was clearly at the heart of their declared aims.⁴⁹³ Wellesley's two main informants had alternate views about the revolution. First, the insider, John Downie who had commanded the Spanish Extremadura Legion in the Peninsular War and on Ferdinand's return was made Field Marshal, Governor of the Palaces of Seville and Captain General of Andalusia, reflected that the troops there "well supported with supplies".⁴⁹⁴ Secondly, James Richard Matthews, the British consul in Cadiz and Andalusia, thought, "that the whole ill activated plot will of itself in a few days die a natural death".⁴⁹⁵ Downie witnessed the events personally whereas Matthews had relied on the reports and published proclamations in Spanish newspapers such as *Diario Mercantil De Cadiz*.⁴⁹⁶ In less than five days Matthews travelled to Port Royal at Cadiz and saw Lieutenant-Colonel Riego, the main officer in command of the insurgents, reciting a proclamation to a large assembly of troops and civilians. It read "it is worded on the principle and states 'that nations are no longer to be governed by kings or their own property; that kings are because nations will it so'".⁴⁹⁷ This experience altered Matthews' perceptions of the mutiny and clearly illustrates how an onlookers experience altered the opinion of an individual.

British opinions in political circles and in the newspapers took differing views to the revolt; this was largely due to the lack of information and the extent to which the insurgents had the

⁴⁹² H. Jarrett, *The Congress of Vienna and its Legacy: War and Great Power Diplomacy After Napoleon* (London, 2013), p. 225.

⁴⁹³ E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789-1848* (London, 1995), pp. 109-110. P. M. Pilbeam, *Themes in Modern European History 1780-1830* (London, 1995), p.138.

⁴⁹⁴ John Downie to Henry Wellesley Seville, 17th January, 1820.

⁴⁹⁵ James Richard Matthews (1784-1864) British Consul of Cadiz from 1817 to 1822. In 1823 he was under suspicion of plotting to rescue the royal family, later arrested and released with Ferdinand's second restoration. FO72/234. James Mathews to Henry Wellesley Royal Palace Seville, 12th January, 1820. FO72/234.

⁴⁹⁶ *Diario Mercantil De Cadiz* or *Mercantile News of Cadiz* was in publication from 1802 to 1837 and owned by Don Nicholas Gomez de Requena. M.B. Rodriguez, *Cadiz En El Sistema Atlantico: La ciudad, sus comerciantes y la actividad mercantile, 1650-1830* (Madrid, 2005), pp. 337-338.

⁴⁹⁷ FO72/234. James Matthews to Henry Wellesley Port St. Mary's, 17th January, 1820.

support of the Spanish people. The newspapers' sources of information from the British ambassador and consuls in Spain arrived in Britain several weeks after the events described; this delay did not help in understanding whether a revolution was imminent. John Black, the foreign correspondent for the *Morning Chronicle* arrived at this conclusion in January.

“Nothing has yet arrived from Spain that enables us to judge, with any certainty...that the Spaniards have been long waiting for an opportunity to throw down that despotic system by which they are now governed, and restore the constitution they have lost and deplore”.⁴⁹⁸

In a subsequent article, a month later, the *despotic system* of Ferdinand's government was in part due to “the repeated changes and banishments of ministers, but no improvement whatever has followed”.⁴⁹⁹ The *Morning Chronicle* was a newspaper which saw the constitutional system as that which the Spanish people coveted, and in similar rhetoric to the *Freeman's Journal*, the “abused throne” which Ferdinand ruled was at the heart of the revolutionaries' grievances.⁵⁰⁰ *The Times*, a more conservative newspaper, thought “It would be rashness in us to pretend to predict the result of the revolt of the Spanish Battalions”.⁵⁰¹ The wording is particularly important as there is, unlike other newspapers, nothing about the constitution and citizens allying with the soldiers.

In a letter to the editor of *The Times*, *A Friend of Real Liberty* substantiated British concerns, “the accounts of the state of Spain are so contradictory, that at present it is difficult to trace any

⁴⁹⁸ John Black (1783-1855) editor of the *Morning Chronicle* in 1817, and also when the paper was bought by William Clement of The Observer in 1821. He started work with the *Morning Chronicle* with his friend James Perry in 1810, during which time he was the foreign correspondence and reporter for the debates in the House of Commons. Griffiths, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, p. 112. *Morning Chronicle*, January 24th, 1820.

⁴⁹⁹ *Morning Chronicle*, February 24th, 1820.

⁵⁰⁰ *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, January 27th, 1820.

⁵⁰¹ *The Times*, February 3rd, 1820.

clue to the real proceedings of the royalists or rebels".⁵⁰² At this early stage it was very unclear how the revolution was proceeding and who supported it, *The Times* unlike other newspapers, wished to abstain from judgement at this point. In comparison to the British ambassador's reports, the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Bristol Mercury* had a very clear and insightful view of what the future might hold for Spain. The *Bristol Mercury* saw the events in Spain as "a contest between the popularity of King Ferdinand and that of the late Cortes, and the eventual issue must depend on the feelings displayed in the other provinces, when they learn what has been done near Cadiz".⁵⁰³ Perhaps these two newspapers, being more mercantile based, knew from their informants and contacts about the extent to which the revolution, was progressing, nationwide and not regional.

Overall in both Spain and Britain it was uncertain how the revolution would precede, but it was observed that unlike the other failed attempts over the last six years, this could lead to reform. This showed a change in perceptions of the Spanish. In 1808 British observations were sceptical as to the nature of Spanish resistance in the first month of the Peninsular War (see chapter one). As is evident the majority of observers in Britain in 1820 were less sceptical of the ability of the Spanish to take action, thus showing a general transformation in consensus.

Early in February 1820, the *Caledonian Mercury* predicted that Ferdinand would counter his own wishes and "pronounce frankly in favour of the constitutional regime".⁵⁰⁴ To put events in context, on the 13th February, the Duc de Berry, heir-presumptive to the French crown, was assassinated.⁵⁰⁵ Ten days later in London, the Bow Street Runners apprehended the Cato Street Conspirators who planned to murder the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, and his cabinet.⁵⁰⁶ In

⁵⁰² *The Times*, 21st March, 1820.

⁵⁰³ *The Bristol Mercury*, February 14th, 1820.

⁵⁰⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, February 3rd, 1820.

⁵⁰⁵ A.W. Ward & G.P. Gooch, *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919, Volume 2: 1815-1866* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 33.

⁵⁰⁶ I. McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 145-148.

relation to these coincidental incidents, in context, the revolution in Spain can be viewed as part of a wider insurrection in Europe to governments and the monarchy.

By early March the Spanish royal court saw a real threat from the revolution in Andalusia and other parts of the country. As a result of these developments Ferdinand appointed a Junta to consider the measures necessary to halt this crisis. This Junta, which was led by the king's brother Don Carlos with the endorsement of Ferdinand's Guards, concluded that the best course of action for the king's safety was for him to acknowledge the Constitution of 1812.⁵⁰⁷

Henry Wellesley clearly reported how the revolution had achieved its intentions.

“it can no longer be doubted that the insurrection in Andalusia was part of a fixed plan, in which nearly the whole Spanish Army was concerned and that all the operations of the insurgents were influenced in a greater degree by the communications from the numerous partisans in Madrid”.⁵⁰⁸

What had affected these plans was the decision of the royal authorities to stop the communications about the Andalusia revolt spreading. An example was the late revolt in Galicia headed by Pedro de Agar a former constitution deputy during the Peninsular War who had been banished upon the king's return in 1814.⁵⁰⁹

As news arrived in Britain that Ferdinand had accepted the constitution, the *Glasgow Herald* wrote that this information had been received with general exultation “by all descriptions of people, from an erroneous supposition that the government of Ferdinand has been superseded by a moderate limited Monarchy, modelled very much upon our constitution”.⁵¹⁰ Although

⁵⁰⁷ FO72/234. Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh Madrid, 3rd & 13th March, 1820.

⁵⁰⁸ FO72/234. Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh Madrid, 13th March, 1820.

⁵⁰⁹ Pedro de Agar (1763-1822) he joined the Navy in 1780 and gained some notoriety serving in the Americas. Later he was appointed to the Council of Regency and arrested on Ferdinand's return in 1814. FO72/234. Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh Madrid, 3rd March, 1820. Clarke, *Modern Spain 1815-1898*, pp. 45 & 483.

⁵¹⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, April 3rd, 1820.

those in Britain were overconfident about the constitution and its support by the Spanish people, Henry Wellesley in contrast, in Madrid, in a report shortly after the king accepted the constitution, expresses the slow willingness to change;

“That eight and forty hours had elapsed and yet all the public authorities continued to act under the old system, whereas upon the king’s return from France all the constitutional authorities were abolished and replaced by others within four and twenty hours after”!⁵¹¹

This observation suggests that the constitution was not popular and that the people of Madrid sided with caution than jubilation. This however is in contrast to the opinions of the newspapers which evidently exaggerated the widespread support in Spain and Britain.

Conversely there were several examples of support. In celebration of these events, a Spanish dinner was organised on the 5th April, and in the *Morning Chronicle* we read that a party of “150 persons, chiefly merchants connected with Spain, sat down to a sumptuous dinner at the Albion (hotel), in celebration of the late glorious re-establishment of the constitution in Spain”.⁵¹² For the time, this was a large assembly of diners and included notable Spanish and British merchants in London. The president of the meeting was Jose Cayetano de Bernales, a Spanish merchant who had lived in London since 1808, having strong links to Bristol, and the vice president was Emanuel de Bergareche, from a merchant family in Ochandiano in the Basque province, who had resided in London for a similar period of time.⁵¹³ Also in attendance at this dinner was John Huth, co-founder of the first and most influential merchant banking firm, Fredrick Huth & Co, which had strong connections with Spain. Huth himself had moved

⁵¹¹ FO72/234. Henry Wellesley to Viscount Castlereagh Madrid March 13th 1820.

⁵¹² *The Times*, March 30th, *Morning Chronicle*, April 27th & *The Liverpool Mercury*, May 5th, 1820.

⁵¹³ S. Conway. (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham Volume 10, July 1820 to December 1821* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 131-132. B.W. Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeeshouse* (London, 2005), p. 91. *The Champion and Weekly Herald*, 20th October, 1839.

his business from Hamburg to Corunna in 1805, married a Spanish lady, and moved to London in 1809 to escape the ravages of the Peninsular War. Most importantly was the fact that Huth had been a major supplier of the British Army during the Peninsular War.⁵¹⁴

The newspapers certainly wanted their audience to understand the principles of the constitution and the new limited powers which the monarchy held. A number of newspapers, namely the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Caledonian Mercury*, published articles which related to “the power that remains for the king”.⁵¹⁵ Verification that this information was correct is that it corresponds to that published in *The Madrid Gazette*, of the Constitution of 1812 with its four hundred articles. The Spanish constitution was also being published in Britain; “The most correct translation of it is that by Lieutenant Daniel Robinson which is published by Mr Stockdale, of Pall-Mall”.⁵¹⁶ Lieutenant Daniel Robinson later joined the liberal army staff in Spain in 1823.⁵¹⁷ John Stockdale a publisher and seller of books, like his father before him, had a popular salon for the political classes in London. Therefore the publishing of the Spanish constitution in part testifies to the growing interest in Spanish politics.⁵¹⁸

Compared to the previous decade, in 1820 most of the information in British newspapers was acquired from direct transcriptions from the Spanish press. The vast majority of these articles

⁵¹⁴ John Fredrick Andrew Huth (1777-1864) in 1791 he was apprenticed with the Spanish merchants in Hamburg under Juan Antonio Urbietta. Urbietta sent Huth to work in his house in Corunna in 1805. By 1809 he himself had his own business but moved to London because of the war. In 1815 John Fredrick Gruning, a Bremen merchant, went into partnership with Huth to form the Fredrick Huth & Co. Later Huth would be instrumental in working with the Spanish government, becoming a financial agent in 1837. His descendents continued the business into the twentieth century. A. J. Murray, *Home From the Hill: A Biography of Frederick Huth, 'Napoleon of the City'* (London, 1970), pp.48-52 &155-157.

⁵¹⁵ *The Morning Post*, March 22nd, *Caledonian Mercury*, March 25th, 1820.

⁵¹⁶ *The Morning Post*, March 22nd, 1820.

⁵¹⁷ Lieutenant Daniel Robinson’s only information that has been found on this individual is that by 1823 he was in Spain as a lieutenant colonel attached to the Spanish constitutional Staff Corps. *The Morning Post*, 10th October, 1823.

⁵¹⁸ John Joseph Stockdale (1770-1847) publisher and bookseller, how established his business in Pall Mall in 1806-known for having radical political tendencies and the use of blackmail with the publication of women’s dailies such as Courtesan Harriett Wilson book which incriminated statesman such as the Duke of Wellington and Henry the 1st Baron Brogham. H. Barker, ‘Stockdale, John (c.1749–1814)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26541>, accessed 2 February 2013]

were concerned with understanding what the Spanish people desired and what Spanish political opinion was towards the revolt, as Britain had little direct involvement. The *Freeman's Journal* wrote an article about the improved situation of Spanish newspapers in Madrid,

“The subject of the Liberty of the Press was discussed (in Britain generally) at considerable length, and with a spirit and feeling that showed how highly the benefits of a free press are estimated by the representatives of the Spanish people. The previous censorship is disallowed in political matters, but continued in matters relating to religion”.⁵¹⁹

Many in Britain who read this article and supported British liberties may have applauded the changing situation in Spain, most notably newspaper editors and reformers who observed the British government's suppression of the freedom to express opinion and criticism as an attack on British liberties. Furthermore, the Spanish newspapers understood the importance of political opinion, an article in one of the Madrid papers, *El Universal*, entitled *On Public Opinion in Spain*, stressed this fact. It described “the anxiety manifested by all the authorities to stand well in public opinion; each being anxious to show that he performed his duty, and that in all his proceedings he respected the liberties of the people”.⁵²⁰ This could be construed as commentary about the new found liberties of the Spanish newspapers but could also be bombastic of the laws which had been imposed on the newspapers by the British government with the Six Acts in 1819.

A clear indication of the Spanish authorities' need to gain political support is shown in a letter from General Pablo Morillos, who had commanded the Spanish expedition to South America,

⁵¹⁹ *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, 17th October, 1820.

⁵²⁰ *The Times*, 20th September, 1821.

in 1815, and who defended Ferdinand on his return to Spain in 1821. He wrote to the editor of *The Madrid Journal* expressing that

“it is painful for a citizen who fulfils his duties, and for a military man, full of honour, who has often faced death in the field of battle, to appear criminal in the eyes of the public, and to see his opinion attacked in the most cruel and afflicting manner”.⁵²¹

General Morillo seems to have understood more than most the importance of British political opinion, principally about his own conduct, as many letters from South America were published in the British press to justify the royalist cause in South America and his treatment of British subjects in that continent. This could suggest that, as in Britain, Spanish public opinion was starting to be more widely recognised as a form of political activity.⁵²² However, in the instance of Spain this would have only really affected those in the large towns, as the vast majority of the population lived in rural areas, and like many Britons were illiterate.⁵²³

Political opinion in Britain regarding Spain during the revolution was on the whole passive. However there were several very vocal people in favour of the Spanish constitutional government. Principally, as this would ultimately lead, as many thought, to a Spanish government which resembled its British counterpart and represent the wishes of the Spanish people. An example of this came with the opening of the first parliament of George IV in 1820. Robert Grosvenor a Whig member “expressed his great satisfaction at the glorious triumph of the Spanish people over tyranny and priest craft”.⁵²⁴ This is just another instance of a Whig

⁵²¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 15th September, 1821.

⁵²² Dinwiddy, *Radicalism and Reform in Britain, 1780-1850*, p. 299.

⁵²³ A. Shubert, *A Social History of Modern Spain* (London, 1990), p.10. C. E. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid 1750-1800* (New York, 1970), p.123.

⁵²⁴ Robert Grosvenor (1767-1845) 2nd Earl of Grosvenor, later 1st Marquess of Westminster in 1831, Lord of the Admiralty from 1790 to 1793, Commissioner of the Board of Control from 1793 to 1801 and great project builder. Originally a Tory and then to a Whig in 1806, Member of Parliament for East Looe from 1788 to 1790,

stating vocal views of the *Black Legend* and assuming that the new regime was a clear sign of improvement. As with many aspects of this study, the vocal nature of the opposition and the newspapers need to criticise the government can distort the moderate and sometimes straight forward observations of the day. One of the main issues which concerned the British government was not so much the activities in Spain itself, but the reactions of other European nations, particularly France's intervention in Spain. With the alliance systems in place after the Napoleonic Wars, alliance members were permitted to intervene in a neighbouring country's affairs against revolution and public disorder.

Sir Robert Wilson, a Whig Member of Parliament, asked a question in parliament over British involvement in Spain and whether Britain was restricted by the members of the Holy Alliance.⁵²⁵

“When the Russian Manifesto against Spain appeared it had been asked by a noble lord if this country was engaged by any treaty, to act against the constitutional party- whether there was anything in the scope of the European Alliance that could call on this country to interfere with the Spanish people”.⁵²⁶

The Russian Manifesto which Wilson referred to was the part of the Congress of Troppau, which occurred in November 1820 several months earlier in which Russia, Austria, and Prussia signed a protocol that proclaimed their right of armed intervention in other states for the purpose of suppressing revolution, thus prompting Wilson's remark.⁵²⁷ One of the main reasons he asked this question was because he wanted to serve with the constitutionalists against any

Chester from 1790 to 1802 and Mayor of Chester in 1807 to 1808. Thorne, *The History of Parliament*, Volume IV, p. 114. *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, 4th May, 1820.

⁵²⁵ For more information on Sir Robert Thomas Wilson see footnote 419, Chapter Two.

⁵²⁶ *The Morning Post*, 25th January, 1821.

⁵²⁷ T. Chapman, *The Congress of Vienna: Origins, Processes and Results* (London, 1998), pp. 66-67.

royalist or foreign backlash. Wilson eventually did travel to Spain with a small expeditionary force in 1823 but on his arrival he was arrested and took no active part in the war.⁵²⁸

Britain was not overly concerned with Spain at this time, like other European nations such as France; Britain had its own domestic troubles and insurrections preoccupying the minds of politicians.⁵²⁹ In Britain radicalised members of the public had actively demonstrated their resentment to the government with strikes and armed radical insurrection. The most prolific examples being the Peterloo Massacre, armed insurrection in Scotland and the plot of the Cato Street Conspirators to assassinate members of the government.⁵³⁰ With this turmoil prevalent amongst the general population in Britain, why should Briton's have been concerned with a foreign revolution? The legacy of the French Revolution made many aware that disorder could spread and therefore the fear over what might arise in Spain must be taken into account.⁵³¹ Hobsbawm and others labelled this time as the Age of Revolution, not only was Spain in revolt, other European countries experienced civil disturbances; Spain's neighbour Portugal being one such country, and, from a global perspective, Spain's South American colonies were in a state of war. Spain therefore, at this point, was very much the concern of the British political elite who had affiliations to Spain, dating back to the Peninsular War, than the wider public.

British Support for the Revolution

During the period in question, a considerable number of public meetings were held in Britain to discuss the Spanish Revolution and the vast majority were supportive of the constitutional government. A few instances of such meetings occurred in 1820 but the vast majority took place in the latter months of 1823, when the constitutionalist cause was in jeopardy. There were

⁵²⁸ Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War, 1835-1838*, p.8.

⁵²⁹ Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh 1815-1822*, p. 228.

⁵³⁰ Dinwiddy, *Radicalism and Reform in Britain, 1780-1850*, p. 212.

⁵³¹ Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789-1848*. C. Breunig, *The Revolutionary Era 1789-1850* (New York, 2002). J. Sperber, *Revolutionary Europe, 1780-1850* (Essex, 2000). J. Sweetman, *The Enlightenment and the Age of Revolution, 1700-1850* (London, 1998).

however two major meetings in 1820 which were publicised in the newspapers. The first was a dinner for John Cam Hobhouse for a meeting with the electorates of Westminster, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the constituency which he won to become a radical Member of Parliament.⁵³² Hobhouse was previously known for travelling with his close friend Lord Byron throughout Portugal, Spain and Albania during the Peninsular War and was a member of the Rota, a dinner club for the promotion of political reform. During this dinner the following toast was raised by Mr Hobhouse, “Lord Cochrane, and speedy success to the cause of freedom in South America”, and later “The Spanish people. May they rapidly destroy the despotism of the ungrateful Ferdinand”.⁵³³

Another gathering was held for the return of Mr Whitbread, in a public dinner at the Mermaid Tavern, Hackney.⁵³⁴ Mr Hobhouse gave a long speech and concluded by giving a toast to the Spanish people; “May their endeavours to establish a constitutional government be crowned with success”.⁵³⁵ These political engagements are evidence that the revolution had strong support, predominantly from Whigs, who were deeply devoted to a general futurity of uprising, reform and the advancement of freedom for the Spanish and South American people against Ferdinand’s control.

By 1823 there was a vast increase in the occurrence of meetings and also in audience participation, which is indicated in the following assembly held on the 7th March, where “upwards of 400 persons had taken their seats”, during the grand Spanish dinner at the City of

⁵³² John Cam Hobhouse, 1st Baron Broughton (1786-1869) founded the Whig Club at Cambridge and later after many attempts was a radical Member of Parliament for Westminster from 1820 to 1833, Nottingham 1834 to 1847, Harwich 1848 to 1851 and Secretary of War 1832 to 1833. R. M. Zegger, *John Cam Hobhouse: A Political Life* (London, 1973), pp. 26-28 & 81.

⁵³³ *Morning Chronicle* and *The Times*, 3rd March, 1820.

⁵³⁴ William Henry Whitbread (1795-1867) Whig Member of Parliament of Bedford from 1814 to 1835 and in 1819 joined in a partnership with his brother, Samuel Charles Whitebeard, in the family brewing business. Thorne, *The History of Parliament*, Volume V, p. 545.

⁵³⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, 19th April, & *The Bury and Norwich Post*, 26th April, 1820.

London Tavern, attended by the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of San Lorenzo.⁵³⁶ A predominantly Whig audience were in attendance, notable guests were; Sir James Mackintosh, joint owner and editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, Mr James Campbell a Peninsula Veteran, The Duke of Sussex and Somerset, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Viscount Althorp, William Wigram, chairman of the East India Company, Mr Lambton and Mr Littleton.⁵³⁷

During the dinner, the chairman, Lord William Bentinck, another Peninsular War veteran, highlighted Britain's main concern over Spanish affairs, in a short speech he

“condemned the conduct of France to Spain as utterly detestable, and dangerous to liberties of mankind, and eulogized the gallant, noble, uncompromising spirit of the Spanish people, which had spurned all foreign interference with their internal concerns”.⁵³⁸

At this engagement also, The Duke of San Lorenzo in response said to his guests,

⁵³⁶ The Duke of San Lorenzo, the Spanish Ambassador in Paris from 1822 to 1823 arrived in Britain under the suggestion of British ministers in Paris for his own safety before the French invasion of Spain. *The Foreign Review, and the Continental Miscellany Volume III* (London, 1829), pp.543-544. A. Nicolle, Ouvrard and the French Expedition in Spain in 1823, *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Sep., 1945), p. 195. *The Times* 8th March and *Caledonian Mercury*, 13th March, 1823.

⁵³⁷ James Campbell (1773-1835) army officer and colonial governor, served in the Peninsular War from 1810 to 1813 as a general, later Governor of Grenada from 1825 to 1833. Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex (1773-1843) 6th son of George III and Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England from 1813 to 1843. Edward Adolphus Seymour, 11th Duke of Somerset (1775-1855) scholar, scientist and mathematician, President of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1801 to 1838 and President of the Royal Literary Fund. John Charles Spencer, Viscount Althorp (1782-1845) Whig Member of Parliament for Okehampton from 1804 to 1806 and Northamptonshire from 1806 to 1832 and 1832 to 1834. Leader of the Whigs in the House of Commons and Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1830 to 1834. William Wigram (1780-1858) Whig Member of Parliament for New Ross from 1807 to 1812, 1826 to 1830 and 1831 to 1832 and Wexford from 1820 to 1826 and 1830 to 1831. The Deputy Chairman and Chairman of the East India Company from 1822 to 1824. John George Lambton (1792-1840) a radical Whig Member of Parliament for County Durham from 1812 to 1828, father-in-law, Charles Grey, 2nd Earl Grey, Prime Minister from 1830 to 1834. Edward John Littleton 1st Baron Hatherton (1791-1863) Radical Whig Member of Parliament for Staffordshire from 1812 to 1832. Thorne, *The History of Parliament*, Volume IV, pp. 437 & 498-502. Fisher, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832*. For information on the Sir James Mackintosh and Marquis of Lansdowne see footnote 412 & 425, Chapter Two.

⁵³⁸ Lord William Henry Cavendish Bentinck (1774-1839) army officer in Spain, diplomat to Sicily and Governor-General of India from 1828-1835. Whig Member of Parliament for Nottinghamshire from 1796-1803, 1812-14 and 1816-26. *Liverpool Mercury*, 14th March, 1823. Thorne, *The History of Parliament*, Volume III, pp. 184-185.

“he was happy to find so lively an interest was excited for his country in so distinguished and respectable a company as that he had now esteemed liberty and justice; and England might well be called the greatest nation in Europe. He hoped that the relations of amity and the ties of commercial intercourse would never be interrupted between Great Britain and his native country – (cheers)”.⁵³⁹

San Lorenzo’s warm sentiments were heightened by the feelings of hostility which he had experienced in France before coming to Britain prior to this event. What is also insightful is the strong element of criticism of the French. Showing real concern, an additional point which San Lorenzo makes is about the ties of commercial intercourse, this being just as important to Spain as it was to businesses in Britain.

This meeting was also depicted in a cartoon (See figure 2) published by Samuel William Fores, the self-named *Caricaturist of the First Consul*, one of London’s leading caricaturist.⁵⁴⁰ Clearly depicted in the centre of the drawing is Lord William Bentinck as chairman, to his right the Duke of Sussex, and next to him the Duke of San Lorenzo. There are two other Iberians, to the left of Lord Bentinck, wearing what appears to be Spanish dress from an earlier century, with sixteenth or seventeenth century ruffs and slashed doublets. This is more than likely artistic licence and to make clear to the onlooker of the cartoon, that they are Spanish. Other cartoons reflect this stereotypical and fixed historical time (see cartoon on page 65 in chapter one showing Joseph Bonaparte in similar clothing). However it might also be interpreted as showing the primitive nature of the Spanish, reflected in the old fashioned clothing. More than likely this showed that Spain, under the liberals, had embraced a new *golden age* as was evident

⁵³⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 13th March, 1823.

⁵⁴⁰ Samuel William Fores (1761-1838) he started his business by selling prints in 1783 around Piccadilly and soon specialised in satirical prints and caricatures: publishing works by the political cartoonist James Gillray (1756-1815) and Thomas Rowlandson (1757-1827). M. Bryant, *Napoleonic Wars and Cartoons* (London, 2009), p. 117.

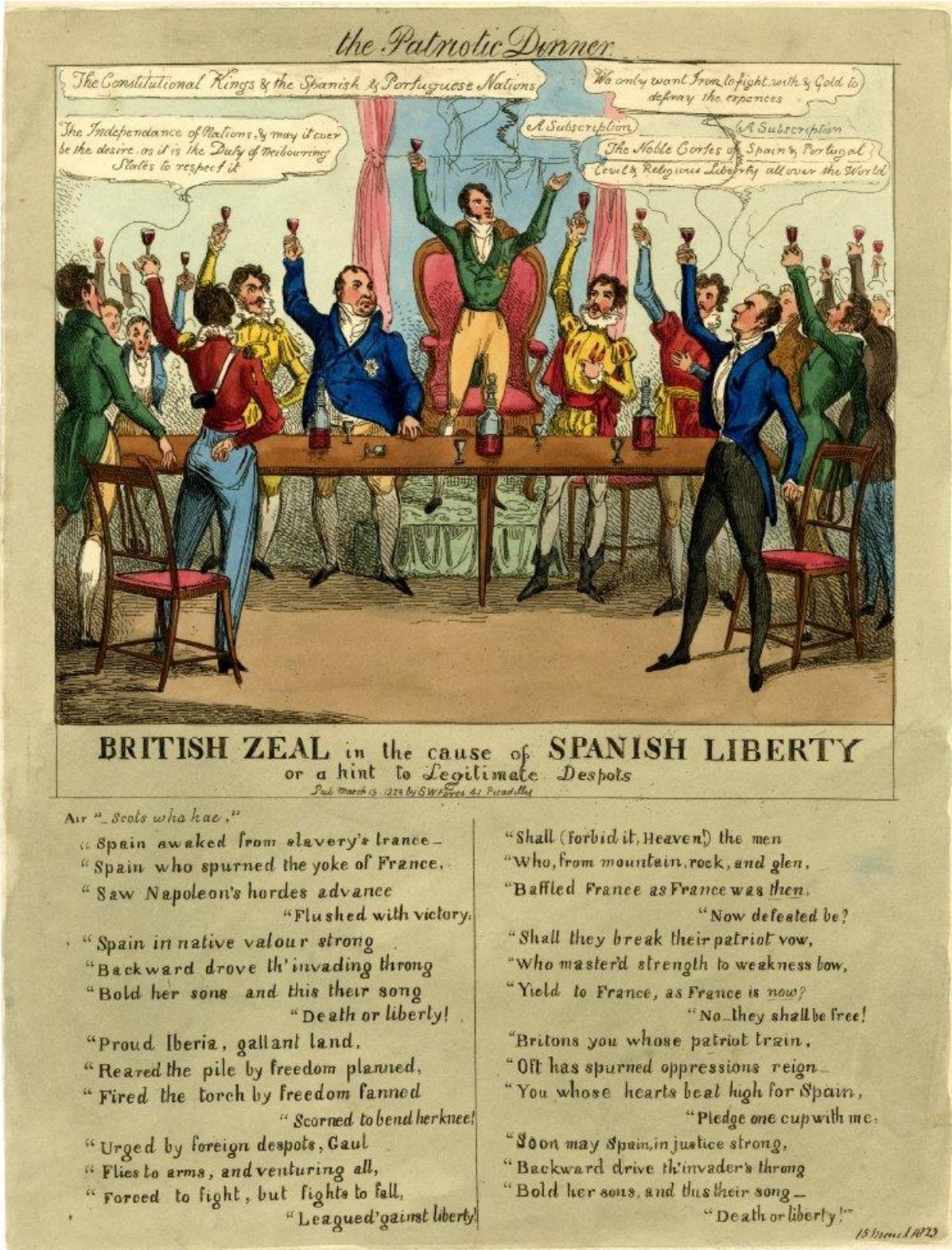


Figure 2. The Patriotic Dinner, British Zeal in the Cause of Spanish Liberty or a Hint to Legitimate Despots. By Samuel William Fores. The British Museum BM Satires 14513.

previously in sixteenth century Spain. Furthermore, an officer stands to the left of the cartoon, possibly making reference to Britain's contribution to the Peninsular War and the connections which various officers still maintained with Spain, this is evident from the list of attendants at the meeting.

Aside from the speech bubbles placed above the members of this meeting, proclaiming the constitution and subscriptions for the cause of the Cortes in Spain, the ballad, which was sung at the party, seen below this cartoon, is insightful. The poetic song reads like *Scots wha hae* written by Robert Burns in 1793, first printed in the *Morning Chronicle* in May 1794, about Robert the Bruce's victory over Edward II of England at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314. However, Burns wrote it as a Jacobin song, with radical and republican sentiments which were linked to the French Revolution.⁵⁴¹

So what is the relevance of this tune to the situation in Spain in 1823? One way to interpret this is as a rhetorical attack on the French. At the time the French were mustering an army to restore Ferdinand to his former position and destroy the constitution. In Britain it was perceived that the French, in respect of the case of Spain were a foreign aggressor wishing to crush the liberties which the Spanish were benefitting from under the Cortes.⁵⁴² The Spanish people had been a strong and defiant nation fighting for liberty during the Peninsular War against a foreign oppressor and could repeat such events again.

An example of another meeting to raise awareness of the situation was in Edinburgh at the Caledonian Theatre, on Wednesday 2nd of July 1823.⁵⁴³ This meeting was important as it was held the day before a debate about the freedom of religion in Edinburgh, part of a popular movement under Mr Humes with a petition to parliament of over two thousand and forty seven

⁵⁴¹ M.G.H. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present* (London, 1991), pp. 82-83.

⁵⁴² M.L. Haas, *The Ideological Origins of Great Power Politics, 1789-1989* (New York, 2007), p. 93.

⁵⁴³ *The Scotsman*, 28th June and *Morning Chronicle*, 30th June, 1823.

signatures, including ninety eight ministers.⁵⁴⁴ Both of these meetings relating to Spain had the same sentiment, that the Spanish people had the right to choose their own destiny and that foreign intervention, namely by the French, was not acceptable.

Even more extraordinary, during a common council meeting about the fall of the Spanish patriot Riego, “for the purpose of considering the propriety of erecting a statue to the memory of Don Rafael del Riego, the patriot of Spain, in Moorfields...Mr Slade (a cavalry commander in the Peninsular War) said he had a petition to present relative to this subject”. But Mr. James, a former Royal Navy officer, said “no good reason he thought could be given for erecting a monument to Riego, and he observed that no such testimony of regard had been shown towards ... British heroes”.⁵⁴⁵ The erection of a statue was not a common practice, even the most famous monument in Britain today, Nelson’s column, was not built until 1843. Thus, if anything, it shows that various people regarded Riego as a truly remarkable man.

Not only is there substantial evidence of political public meetings but also several of these actively supported the constitutional government by collecting money to send to Spain. A popular meeting in Manchester entitled, *Spanish Independence* gives a clear idea of the leaders of a new committee and their aims.

“On Tuesday a very numerous meeting of the committee for aiding and assisting in the cause of Spanish independence took place at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. Amongst those present, we observed Lord Erskine, General

⁵⁴⁴ *The Scotsman*, 9th July, 1823.

⁵⁴⁵ Sir John Slade (1762-1859) long established army career from 1780 to 1859, serving in the Peninsular War as a cavalry commander and on his death it was said that he was ‘the oldest living member of the army save one’. Bartholomew James (1752-1828) naval officer and writer who joined the Royal Navy in 1765 to 1803 and later until his death, was in command of the sea fencibles on the coast of Cornwall. By a Spanish Officer, *Memoirs of the life of Don Rafael Del Riego* (London, 1823). The York Herald and General Advertiser, 20th December, 1823. E. M. Lloyd, ‘Slade, Sir John, first baronet (1762–1859)’, rev. Roger T. Stearn, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 200[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25706>, accessed 21 March 2013] J. K. Laughton, ‘James, Bartholomew (1752–1828)’, rev. Nicholas Tracy, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14595>, accessed 21 March 2013]

Fergusson, Mr Hume, Mr Hobhouse, Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Davis, & co - Mr. Lambton was called to the chair. The object of the meeting was to take into consideration the appointment of a day for calling a meeting of the public, with the view of subscribing for the assistance of the Spanish in their struggle of liberty”.⁵⁴⁶

Many of those listed as attendees are the same actively concerned political figures, some of whom had served in Spain during the Peninsular War, sighted in the meetings previously examined, showing a continued interest in the situation in Spain. There were however new associates who joined the ranks of supporters for Spanish independence and also for self-interest with commercial reasons. Richard Davis had a particular concern in being a member of the committee because in 1810 he had *possession of all the Spanish wool in the kingdom* and made a small fortune of over £200,000.⁵⁴⁷ James Fergusson too had his reasons for joining the committee; he had served throughout the entire Peninsular War with high commendations for his bravery and valour. Once again, this meeting was largely attended by politicians associated with the Whigs and with links to the Peninsular War. The meeting had in excess of four hundred attending and managed to raise a substantial sum of £1,000 for the committee.

A large number of fundraisers were trade unionists; the Manchester district alone contributed £1,000 to the cause of liberty in Spain. One prominent figure in attendance was John Doherty, a leading figure in the strike by spinners in 1818 and later becoming the leader of the

⁵⁴⁶ Thomas Erskine, 1st Baron Erskine (1750-1823) Whig Member of Parliament for Portsmouth 1790 to 1800, 1801 to 1806 and Lord Chancellor 1806-1807. James Fergusson (1787-1865) joined the army in 1800 and later in life became the Governor of Gibraltar from 1855 to 1859. Sir Abraham Hume, 2nd Baronet (1749-1838) Tory Member of Parliament for Peterfield from 1774-1780 and Hastings 1807-1818. He was also one of the founding members of the Geological Society and the British Institution. John Lambton, 1st Earl of Durham (1792-1840) also known as ‘Radical Jack’, a Whig Member of Parliament for County Durham from 1812 to 1828 and Lord Privy Seal from 1830 to 1833. Thorne, *The History of Parliament*, Volume III-IV, pp. 574-576, 710-713 & 262. *Morning Chronicle*, 28th May and *The Leeds Mercury*, 31st May, 1823.

⁵⁴⁷ Richard Hart Davis (1766-1842) Whig Member of Parliament for Colchester from 1807 to 1812 and Bristol from 1812 to 1831. He joined the Society of Merchant Venturers in 1803, which had merchant houses in Bristol and London. Thorne, *The History of Parliament*, Volume I, pp. 574-576.

Manchester Spinners Union.⁵⁴⁸ Another important and influential person who attended was William James Clement who had purchased *The Observer* and the *Morning Chronicle* and in many ways helped to publicise such meetings in his newspapers.⁵⁴⁹

Trades Unions in Birmingham, it was said, could not provide money but would make two thousand stands of arms for the cause.⁵⁵⁰ Up until this point few outside the parliament or the reading public had much to say about Spain; however, from the examples shown it is clear that various working and middle class individuals saw some affinity with the Spanish people. This is not to say that they were socialists in the modern sense but what is interesting is that they were thinking about the plight of another country's populace as well as their own bread and butter issues, in their thoughts being political rather than shared aims.

Another meeting reported in *The Morning Post*, added further that, "recently also a similar dinner had been given to the Duke of San Lorenzo, the Spanish minister, and a liberal subscription was collected on that occasion".⁵⁵¹ Support did not just come from gentlemen this is illustrated in a letter of thanks, in the *Morning Chronicle*, to the "ladies of London, who have contributed to the lawful freedom and independence of the Spanish monarchy".⁵⁵² Although the amount of money raised and the intended use are not specified, it nevertheless shows that there was significant support for the constitutionalist cause.

⁵⁴⁸ John Doherty (1798-1854) born in Ireland, started work as a cotton spinner at the age of ten and moved to Manchester in 1816. He was one of the leaders of the 1818 spinners strike and was imprisoned for two years. He was an active member of the Manchester Spinners Union and became head of the union in 1828, he then formed the General Union of Cotton Spinners which collapsed after six months of strike action. Later in the 1830's he became more involved in general trade unionism, radical journalism, bookselling and printing. R.G. Kirby & A.E. Musson, *The Voice of the People: John Doherty, 1798-1854: Trade Unionist, Radical and Factory Reformer* (Manchester, 1975), pp. Vii, 416-417.

⁵⁴⁹ William James Clement (1790-1852) purchased the *Observer* in 1815. In 1817 he received money from the government to support their views and in 1821 bought the *Morning Chronicle*, the most outspoken opposition newspaper of the day. Griffiths, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, p. 159.

⁵⁵⁰ *Morning Chronicle*, 28th May, 1823.

⁵⁵¹ *The Morning Post*, 12th December, 1823.

⁵⁵² *Morning Chronicle*, 4th October, 1823.

It was still however members of the parliament who organised a committee to help the liberals in Spain. Many of the members previously mentioned, were also affiliated with the London Greek committee, supporting Greek independence from the Ottoman Turks and founded by Edward Blaquiere and Sir John Bowring.⁵⁵³ Both these men had good reasons for supporting the Spanish liberal movement and the progression of the constitution. Blaquiere, a vocal supporter of liberalism, had travelled to Spain in 1820 and by 1822 written *An Historical Review of the Spanish Revolution*, which stressed the “triumph of virtue as well as of freedom” for the Spanish people.⁵⁵⁴ He also believed in commercial benefits stating that “each country has many wants which the other can best supply”, as Britain was the most industrious and Spain the most agriculturally productive countries in Europe.⁵⁵⁵ This agreed with Bowring’s intentions to increase his own business, Bowring & Co. the shipping of herring to Spain and the import of wine from the country to Britain.⁵⁵⁶

However for all this interest the Spanish committee accomplished little to help the liberal cause in Spain but would later find itself raising funds for Spanish exiles in Britain after the restoration of Ferdinand VII later that year (chapter four). What will become evident in the next chapter on Spanish exiles is that considerably more funding was raised for the Spanish exiles that came to Britain after the reestablishment of Ferdinand in 1823.

⁵⁵³ F. Rosen, ‘London Greek Committee (act. 1823–1826)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/95072>, accessed 26 March 2012]

⁵⁵⁴ Edward Blaquiere (1779–1832) joined the Royal Navy in 1794 and fought in the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars. F. Rosen, ‘Blaquiere, Edward (1779–1832)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57497>, accessed 28 June 2013]. E. Blaquiere, *An Historical Review of the Spanish Revolution: including some accounts of Religion, Manners and Literature in Spain* (London, 1822), p. 16

⁵⁵⁵ Ibad, pp. 172–173.

⁵⁵⁶ Sir John Bowring (1792–1872) in 1811 he joined the London branch of Milford & Co. who supplied the Duke of Wellington’s army in the Peninsular War, which led to Bowring travelling to Spain from 1813 to 1814 on behalf of the company. In 1823 he became secretary of the London Greek Committee and later became political editor of the *Westminster Review*. G. Stone, ‘Bowring, Sir John (1792–1872)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3087>, accessed 28 June 2013]

All this evidence suggests that a portion of Britain's parliament and participatory public were avidly devoted to and interested in the affairs of Spain during the constitutional revolution. From the list of guests involved in such meetings, a class identification of the people involved in supporting the constitutional government can be established. Those citizens identified here were either involved in writing for newspapers, monthly reviews and journals, former members of the Army who had fought in the Peninsular War and more radical and liberal members of the Whig Party.

The End of the Spanish Revolution and French Intervention

Ferdinand had accepted the constitutional government but was patiently waiting for an opportunity to retain control of the country once again. In July 1822, such an opportunity arrived with Ferdinand's Royal Guard, under General Pablo Morillo, who attempted a coup d'état in Madrid to seize power; *The July Days*. This coup failed but in secret Ferdinand managed to gain the support of the French King Louis XVIII to eliminate the existing regime by any means.⁵⁵⁷ The Congress of Verona, in October 1822, the last of the meetings of the Holy Alliance, was aimed at discussing the independence of Greece but matters soon turned to Spain.

British foreign policy changed with the tragic suicide of Viscount Castlereagh. The new Foreign Secretary George Canning, labelled as a progressive Tory, observed that, "both the King and the Cortes were equally bad and the Spanish constitutionalists very foolish" a view held by many moderates.⁵⁵⁸ Adding his own policy to British foreign affairs, he was more solicitous about what detrimental effect Spanish affairs and French intervention would have on British interests and the balance of power in Europe. While Canning was adjusting to his new office, the Duke of Wellington was sent to Verona. The cabinet knew of the gratitude that

⁵⁵⁷ Jarrett, *The Congress of Vienna and its Legacy*, p. 314.

⁵⁵⁸ Ward & Gooch, *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919, Volume 2: 1815-1866*, p. 57.

Europe had for Wellington and chose him to present a strong front for British interests and for Spain.⁵⁵⁹

Klemens Von Metternich was concerned about Russia's promise to send four hundred thousand troops to crush the revolution in Spain but the congress supported the idea of French intervention. This was acceptable to Ferdinand too, who had been sent letters from the members of the Alliance justifying their intentions of armed assistance.⁵⁶⁰ Britain detached itself from the congress, not only over Spain, but the talks over Spain's American colonies; this led to Wellington formally leaving before the end of the conference.⁵⁶¹

The French Army under the command of the Duke of Angouleme, *The Hundred Thousand Sons of St. Louis*, and elements of the Spanish Army, *The Army of the Faith*, marched into Spain on 4th April 1823.⁵⁶² Faced with this onslaught the constitutional government fled to Seville and then Cadiz, the only significant battle of the restoration was the Battle of Trocadero, 31st August 1823. A month later the city of Cadiz fell and Ferdinand's second restoration began.⁵⁶³

Opinions changed very quickly after the French militarily supported Ferdinand in restoring the old regime. Most of the emphasis of the British reading public was drawn away from commentary on the Spanish to heavy criticism of the French for intervening. *The Times* newspaper commented on the change of the language used by Spanish newspapers in relation to the division of the Spanish nation, "The speculations of the Spanish newspapers begin to

⁵⁵⁹ H.W.V. Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning 1822-1827: England, The Neo-Holy Alliance and the New World* (London, 1966), pp. 69-73. Chapman, *The Congress of Vienna*, pp. 72-73.

⁵⁶⁰ R. Gildea, *Barricades and Borders: Europe 1800-1914* (New York, 1987), p.67. Clarke, *Modern Spain 1815-1898*, pp. 56-57.

⁵⁶¹ G.A. Kertesz, *Documents in the Political History of the European Continent 1815-1939* (Oxford, 1968), p.25.

⁵⁶² Louis Antoine, Duke of Angouleme (1775-1844) eldest son of King Charles X of France, fought against Napoleon across Europe during the Napoleonic Wars and was in exile in Britain before returning to France to serve King Louis XVIII. Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age*, p. 60.

⁵⁶³ C.W. Fehrenbach, 'Moderados and Exaltados: the Liberal Opposition to Ferdinand VII, 1814-1823', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 50 (1970), pp. 67-69.

take an interesting turn...the language now used is this, the French party is gradually losing ground in this kingdom; and for some time past the English party have been gaining ground".⁵⁶⁴ This shows that the constitutional government of Spain was clearly seen to have British political influences, whether the Spanish actually used this terminology or *The Times* newspaper was bending the truth to pacify British supporter's opinions, this was a held view late in 1822.

An anxious reader of the *Morning Chronicle* wrote to the editor under the initials T.B. and made a clear definition between the rival factions

"I perceive with satisfaction and delight, the noble feeling of indignation that is displayed by every class of individuals, against the projected attack by the French government on the liberties of the Spanish people...If, then, there be any men in England who have any real feeling for the success of the Spaniards, I call upon them to come forward, boldly and fearlessly, and volunteer their services to assist them in destroying the common enemy".⁵⁶⁵

Much of this hostile sentiment towards the French can be explained by anxieties caused by recent memories of the French Revolution and Peninsular War fresh in the minds of British people. Making it predictable that French intervention in Spain was poorly received.⁵⁶⁶ This opinion is confirmed in *The Times* where it was reported; "neither the English people nor the English government approves of the invasion of Spain; all that can be expected from the latter is that it does not move in defence of the Spaniards".⁵⁶⁷ This once again states disapproval but confirms that the English government (the word English commonly being used to represent British) was believed to be unwilling to act in Spain's defence. It would have been out of the

⁵⁶⁴ *The Times*, 10th October, 1822.

⁵⁶⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, 20th December, 1822.

⁵⁶⁶ Colley, *Britons; Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, p.25 & 418.

⁵⁶⁷ *The Times*, 15th March, 1823.

question for Britain to go to war to defend the principals of only part of the Spanish nation, and moreover against Spain's rightful monarch.

Spanish affairs altered once again with the second restoration of Ferdinand and likewise so too did British opinions. What certainly comes to the forefront is the more moderate and conservative opinions of the day. King George IV saw "with joy the rights of legitimate royalty" restored in Spain by the French Army.⁵⁶⁸ Also, in parliamentary questions, Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister, was asked, "would he have ministers plunge the nation in war, for the purpose of supporting that which turned out to be only a very small proportion of the Spanish people?"⁵⁶⁹ This is evidence of the conservative views of some in Britain regarding developments in Spain, which had been over shadowed by the search for more radical comments, and reiterates perceptions, once again, that the revolution was not popular as was evident by its defeat.

At this stage a number of Britain's politicians realised that their overenthusiastic perceptions of the constitutionalists in Spain were not justified, and that the evidence from Spain made them rethink their opinions. A reader of the *Liverpool Mercury* explained his latest opinion of Spain; "at this moment satisfactorily established, which ought to convince the most sceptical, that the constitution finds no favour with the mass of the Spanish people".⁵⁷⁰ He added that it would not have been possible for Ferdinand and the French to have marched into Madrid if there was not the support from the Spanish to restore their king.

Another reader, this time from *The Examiner* newspaper, expresses his discontent at the situation in Spain.

⁵⁶⁸ Haas, *The Ideological Origins of Great Power Politics, 1789-1989*, p. 93.

⁵⁶⁹ *The Sheffield Independent*, and *Yorkshire and Derbyshire Advertiser*, 7th February, 1824.

⁵⁷⁰ *Liverpool Mercury*, 13th June, 1823.

“According to this regal logic, the immense majority of the Spanish people are truly a despicable set of bastards, who allowed a small minority to overthrow their beloved monarchy, and suffered themselves to be lorded over by a faction, without daring to throw off the yoke, till a foreign army of 100,000 men had *emboldened them!*”⁵⁷¹

Contrary to most sentiments this British observer clearly saw the irony that the Spanish people were just as bad for following or being led by a liberal oligarchy as accepting an autocracy under Ferdinand’s regime. Statements of this nature make the constitution seem weak in its popular support, but was this the case? Reinforcing the idea that the British public’s assessment of Spain was potentially wrong, this statement from two Spanish lawyers in the constitutional government, Senores Domingo de la Vega Mendez and Juan Oliver y Garcia, must have convinced some of; “the victorious refutation of the opinion which supposes that the Spanish people did not desire that system of liberty”.⁵⁷² A statement written in a biography of Ferdinand, with the power of hindsight in 1824, by Michael Joseph Quin, emphasised similar sentiments that the constitution was only “known in that city (Cadiz) and amongst the army...The time which intervened between that evacuation and the arrival of the king was too short to allow the people to be sufficiently instructed in the new institution”.⁵⁷³ It was self-evident by this stage that the liberal system of government did not represent the people and

⁵⁷¹ *The Examiner*, 25th January, 1824.

⁵⁷² Domingo Maria Ruiz de la Vega Mendez (1789-1871) a lawyer who became a professor at the University of Granada, later elected a deputy of the Cortes. Upon the restoration of Ferdinand in 1823 was exiled and lived in Britain, only returning to Spain in 1833 and joining the Liberal government. Juan Oliver y Garcia (1789-) a lawyer elected as a representative of the province of Malaga from 1822 to 1823 and later an officer of the Ministry of Accounts in the Liberal government of 1834. Both men were Presidents of the Congress of Deputies of Spain, the lower house of the Spanish *Cortes Generales*, from December 1822 to February 1823. The *Morning Post*, 7th November, 1823.

⁵⁷³ Michael Joseph Quin (1796-1843) journalist for the *Morning Herald*, writing many articles for the *Morning Chronicle* and *Dublin Review* on foreign policy and later editor of the *Monthly Review* in 1825. He wrote a book about his experiences in Spain in 1823 called *A Visit to Spain* and translated a biography on Ferdinand’s life in 1824. Quin, *Memoirs of Ferdinand VII King of The Spain’s*, p.118.

that, for those in Britain who had supported or were admirers of the constitution, they had to rethink their perceptions of the political nature of Spain and national support.

William Cobbett made further attacks on the Spanish institutions with a direct assault against the Spanish church. His explanation of the fall of the constitutionalist regime in Cadiz was that “the priests had persuaded them to prefer slavery to liberty; and that the drones of priests had wonderful weight with Ferdinand’s people, because the drones used to feed the lazy nation, at the convent doors”.⁵⁷⁴ This shows the religious dogmas held by Cobbett and of several British citizens concerning Spanish Catholicism, believing that Spain would continue to suffer from tyranny as long as the church had a hold on the people. Additionally there was frustration that the Spanish could not see the improvements which came with the constitution. This criticism of Spain seems to be a common narrative across the field of this study. When it was realised that the Spanish could not live up to the aspirations of social and political progress placed on them by the British, this inevitably resulted in negative opinions. Additionally, foreign issues were admixed with British psychology and with France's intervention, to a number of Briton’s this seemed like an attack on British liberties.

The belief that French involvement in Spain was an attack on British liberties, or freedom to trade, is illustrated by this irritated reader’s statement on British merchants’ trade with Spain,

“the Bourbon faction chooses to say, you English shall not carry on your accustomed and legalized, and mutually beneficial intercourse with the ports of Spain; keep your goods at home, or carry them to some other market, where as yet we permit their sale”.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷⁴ *Cobbett’s Weekly Political Register*, 27th December, 1823.

⁵⁷⁵ *The Bristol Mercury*, 11th August, 1823.

This statement is conclusive of many British sentiments and true opinions of this episode of Anglo Spanish relations. That the *Black Legend* still held sway in criticisms of the monarchy, being Bourbon and French, and the dogmas of European powers, such as France, interrupting British liberties to trade. With the end of the constitutionalist government, Britain waited to observe what Ferdinand would do, once again, to restore his absolutist authority. This will be examined in the next chapter (chapter four) alongside the influences of Spanish exiles in the formulation of British perceptions of Spain until Ferdinand's death.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear from the evidence in this chapter that the newspapers in Britain and in Spain had an impact on the way in which information travelled and could influence political opinions. The interaction between the information in the Spanish press and that publicised in the British papers is important. Before, Spanish correspondence was handled with great suspicion compared to intelligence from British sources; this shows a progression in perceptions of the idea of truth and trust in the Spanish. The use of Spanish sources in the newspapers added some validity to a British understanding of the events in Spain. However, in the Spanish Revolution, the British reading public were just as confused over the actions of the constitutionalists, as the nature of popularity for their cause by the Spanish was largely used to justify support. In many cases it is only after the event that a level of understanding is reached.

In reaction to Ferdinand, British opinion did not change; some supported him but the majority having a low opinion of this Spanish monarch. Although there was uncertainty about the events in Spain, it is clear that the perception of Ferdinand's reign did not change, and that the *Black Legend's* idea of a Spanish monarchy, with wicked intention, with the aid of the Catholic Church, to suppress the people was still strongly believed by Britons. It is very apparent that British support for the constitutionalist cause was instigated largely, in political circles, by

members of the Whig party, former officers from the Peninsular War, and various members of the press. Although a few Whigs and radicals voiced their opinion when they could, the majority of the government felt little need to. Through the lack of evidence itself of opinions widely supportive of the liberals in Spain among more moderate and Tory members of the government, it can be concluded that it is oversimplified to say that British support was overwhelmingly for the constitutionalists. The real reason for support of the constitutionalists resides in the fact that Britain's political class believed itself to be the model; politically, economically and spiritually for other states to adopt. The Spanish people's voice, or perceived opinion, that Ferdinand should rule them in the manner in which he saw fit, then who in Britain could say otherwise.

Chapter Four: Spanish Exiles in Britain 1808 to 1838

Several of the most recognised figures throughout history have succumbed to periods of exile, due to wars, revolutions and religious reform. The earliest examples in humanity are found in the bible, from Adam and Eve's banishment from the Garden of Eden too the exodus of the Jews from Egypt. Napoleon Bonaparte, the man who defined an epoch of history, spent the last 7 years of his life on the islands of Elba and St. Helena.⁵⁷⁶ The two great liberators of South America, Simon Bolivar and San Martin, spent many years and their last days in exile.⁵⁷⁷ In relation to Spain, King Ferdinand VII was expatriated in France during the Peninsular War and his brother Don Carlos Count of Molina, in Portugal and Britain. Other Spanish royalists would find themselves in the same situation but the majority of exiles who arrived in Britain were inclined to be supporters of the constitution or politically affiliated to the Spanish Liberals.

It has been argued that these Spaniards had an influence on British perceptions of their country. Llorens work focuses on literature and analysing the works of romantic writers and their interactions with the literary society in Britain.⁵⁷⁸ Henry Kamen has argued, in the case of Spanish exiles that "The exile is a disinherited person, but uses his deprivation to reclaim his identity and his distinctive culture".⁵⁷⁹ In Spanish literature the liberal exiles have received historical recognition, forming a crux in the rise of liberalism and constitutionalism of the monarchy.⁵⁸⁰ Howarth gives great insight into the Spanish in Britain but too often examines the handful of individuals centred in Whig aristocratic circles like that of the Hollands.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁶ F. Giles, *Napoleon Bonaparte: England's Prisoner: The Emperor in Exile 1816-21* (London, 2001).

⁵⁷⁷ Lynch, *Simon Bolivar: A Life*, pp. 273-274. & *San Martin: Argentinean Soldier, American Hero*, p. 204.

⁵⁷⁸ Llorens, *Liberales y románticos*.

⁵⁷⁹ Kamen, *The Disinherited*, p. 2.

⁵⁸⁰ R.S. Mantero, *Liberales en el exilio* (Madrid, 1975). J. V. Suanzes-Carpegna, *La Monarquía Doceañista (1810-1837): avatares, encomios y denuestos de una extrana forma de gobierno* (Madrid, 2013).

⁵⁸¹ Howarth, *The Invention of Spain*, pp. 32, 41 & 63.

However some historians have not engaged with British supporters and views of the Spanish community which emerged after 1823.

This chapter will therefore examine how Britons perceived these exiles and their interaction with them. Did Spanish exiles have an impact on Britain's understanding of Spain, the Spanish and Ferdinand? This study answers questions about Spanish exiles in Britain, the size of their community, its organisation and the support provided by the British public and government. The main focus is the Spanish Liberal exiles; the vast majority in Britain falling into this category, the thesis will also look at the Spanish Royalists, notably the Carlist supporters.

Establishing what is meant by exiles and the way in which they have been perceived in British history and in the historiography is important for an understanding of this chapter. The terms *exiles*, *émigrés* and *refugees*, are often used to describe a body of people displaced or banished from their native lands for various reasons and resident in another country.⁵⁸² In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, many became expatriates because of their political and religious beliefs, in Britain due largely to the changes in attitudes to Catholicism. After 1553, when the Catholic Queen Mary ascended to the throne, approximately eight hundred English Protestants, noblemen and clergymen, became refugees on the continent.⁵⁸³ Later, notable British monarchs such as Charles II, James II and the Stuart pretenders to the throne lived in exile.⁵⁸⁴ Robert Willmott states that during the Age of Revolution “the typical exile was not the defeated minister or landowner but the expectant revolutionary”.⁵⁸⁵ This is not entirely correct as many

⁵⁸² A.K. Kaminsky, *After Exile: Writing the Latin American Diaspora* (Minnesota, 1999), pp. 2-3. S.A. McClennen, *The Dialectics of Exile: Nation, Time, Language and Space in Hispanic Literatures* (Ashland, 2004), pp. 16-17.

⁵⁸³ M. Walzer, Revolutionary Ideology: The Case of the Marian Exiles, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (Sep., 1963), p. 645. C. H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 18.

⁵⁸⁴ D. Worthington, *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603-1688* (Boston, 2010). M. Harper, *Adventurers & Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London, 2004). E. Corps, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge, 2004).

⁵⁸⁵ E. Said, *Reflections on Exile: And Other Literary and Cultural Essays* (Harvard, 2000), p. 138.

nobles and European royal families found themselves as exiles during the French Revolution and proceeding Napoleonic Wars.⁵⁸⁶

Principally in the case of Spain, many *Dons* and high ranking members of society associated with the Cortes of Cadiz and the constitution found themselves in this predicament. The use of comparative studies on exiles shows particular patterns emerge in categorising these individuals and the formulation of a community. Gardner establishes three different types common to most exile communities, the *ministers*, *definite* and *possible* exiles, representing the leaders or inner circle of the group, followers such as servants, women and children and those back in their native country in communication with the exile communities.⁵⁸⁷ Norton's study also stresses two points important for the survival of a community in exile. First, to establish links with friends and supporters to maintain the livelihood of a community and secondly political support from Members of Parliament to lobby on behalf of the exile communities and fight for repatriation.⁵⁸⁸ The upper echelons of these groups are important. However this chapter, when possible, will also take into account the influence which other members of the exile community had on Britain.

Like most exiles and those sympathetic to their movement, the Spanish tended to write books and memoirs to increase awareness of their cause and plight.⁵⁸⁹ Historiography in recent years has concentrated on the impact of Spanish literature and culture on Britain. By only drawing on material generated by the exiles this can be problematic, as Williams' remarks, "émigré writing, one should also note, has often produced not literature but propaganda".⁵⁹⁰ Important to this thesis is to investigate the effect which information had on opinion and whether Spanish

⁵⁸⁶ D. Greer, *The Incidence of Emigration During the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1951), p. 22.

⁵⁸⁷ G. Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660-1690* (Edinburgh, 2004), pp. 10-20.

⁵⁸⁸ M.B. Norton, *The British-Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England 1774-1789* (London, 1974), pp. 66-76.

⁵⁸⁹ S. Burrows, *French Exile Journalism and European Politics 1792-1814* (New York, 2000), pp. 100.

⁵⁹⁰ R. C. Williams, 'European Political Emigrations: A Lost Subject', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Apr., 1970), p. 145.

exiles influenced Britain's public perceptions of the events in Spain. Additionally, "Even when they became politically impotent, the émigrés often retained a hold over public opinion by becoming experts on events in their homeland".⁵⁹¹ In respect to the wider use of newspapers in this thesis, and that the sources of this information can be questionable, Spanish exiles can offer some explanation for particular views which are stated about Spain.

In fictional literature, exiles are usually viewed as *strangers, alien and unfamiliar*, in some cases lost causes become romanticised and people sympathise with the tragedy of a lonely existence in a foreign country.⁵⁹² When interpreting sources about Spanish exiles it is important to view them with scepticism. One factor is clear, that they usually escape to amicable countries, where they feel safe, gain support for their repatriation and are free to express their opinions.⁵⁹³ This shows that the Spanish viewed the British as being sympathetic to their cause, evidence that Anglo-Spanish relations heightened and were reinforced during the 1820's.

Spanish Exiles Before 1823

The Spanish formed a minority group of exiles in Britain during the first decade of the 19th century. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars saw the largest communities numbering one hundred thousand French refugees.⁵⁹⁴ Mass emigration meant Britain could engage these people in a military role; foreign émigrés raised regiments to fight with the British against the rising tide of French incursion in Europe. The earliest Spanish exiles to travel to Britain arrived during the outbreak of the Peninsular War and increased after the restoration of King Ferdinand VII in 1814, but only comprised of a number of individuals. The best-known

⁵⁹¹ H. Levin, 'Literature and Exile', in his *Refractions: Essays in Comparative Literature* (New York, 1966), pp. 62-81.

⁵⁹² A. Coulson, (ed.), *Exiles and Migrants: Crossing Thresholds in European Culture and Society* (London, 1997), p.3. J. Cherbuliez, *The Place of Exile: Leisure, Literature and the Limits of Absolutism* (Massachusetts, 2005), pp. 14, 41 & 70.

⁵⁹³ Y. Shain, 'The Shifting Character of Loyalty: The Dilemma of Exiles in Times of War', *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Apr., 1990), p. 324.

⁵⁹⁴ M. Weiner, *The French Exiles, 1789-1815* (London, 1960), p. 37.

Spanish exile in 1810 was Jose Maria Blanco y Crespo, better known as Joseph Blanco White. Blanco was ordained to the priesthood in Seville but due to the outbreak of the war, as well as religious doubts, decided to flee to Britain.⁵⁹⁵ Once in Britain he entered the Anglican Church and embraced Unitarian views. Blanco also wrote extensively on the subject of religion and Spain, edited *El Espanol*, a monthly Spanish magazine in London from 1810 to 1814 and contributed numerous articles to newspapers and periodicals.⁵⁹⁶ Historically it is the views of Blanco White which have been used extensively by historians, leading to a misrepresentation of his influence and opinions.

Those who favoured Ferdinand could also discover themselves becoming exiled. General Francisco Ballesteros, Captain-General of Andalucía and Commander of the 4th Army, was outraged with the appointment of Arthur Wellesley, in 1812 as commander and chief of the Spanish armies. He commanded his men to instigate a military uprising, after no response; this led to the Cortes ordering his arrest and deportation to Ceuta in Africa. He returned to Spain in 1820 to fight for the revolution, surrounded the royal palace and forced Ferdinand to sign the constitution; once again in 1823 he fled, this time to France.⁵⁹⁷ Additionally *Afrancesado* or Spaniards who supported and collaborated with the French regime of Napoleon became exiles in France by 1814. Many supported the French because they were Spain's natural ally, compared to Britain geopolitically, and shared some political ideology.⁵⁹⁸ It has been estimated that as many as four to twelve thousand Spaniards lived in France after the Peninsular War.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁵ For more information on Blanco White see footnote 399, Chapter Two.

⁵⁹⁶ R. Briggs, *Tropes of Enlightenment in the Age of Bolivar: Simon Rodriguez and the American Essay at Revolution* (Tennessee, 2010), p. 66.

⁵⁹⁷ Francisco Ballesteros (1770-1832) Spanish soldier, served in the War of the Pyrenees, 1793, later serving with distinction in northern Spain during the French invasion in 1808 and later rose to the rank of general, exiled after mutiny. Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon*, p. 140.

⁵⁹⁸ A.J. Joes, *Guerrilla Conflict Before the Cold War* (Westport, 1996), pp. 109-110.

⁵⁹⁹ M. Artola, *Los Afrancesados* (Madrid, 1989). J. L. Tabar, *Los Famosos Traidores. Los afrancesados durante la crisis del Antiguo Régimen: 1808-1833* (Madrid, 2002).

Following the restoration of Ferdinand, Spanish Guerrilla leaders, who had been incorporated into the main Spanish Army, rose in opposition to the suspending of the constitution. Juan Diaz Porlier, *El Marquestito, The Little Marquis*, staged a revolt in La Coruna, in 1815, and was subsequently captured, found guilty and hung that same year.⁶⁰⁰ Francisco Espoz Y Mina, one of the most famous Guerrilla leaders also staged a revolution in 1814, but managed to survive retribution by entering into exile in Britain and France.⁶⁰¹ Many individuals, who survived would re-emerge during the Spanish Revolution in 1820, to play an important part in this conflict (see chapter five). The British newspapers commented in various articles about the number of disaffected Spaniards after the restoration of Ferdinand.

Not until 1820 did any significant news about exiles appear in the British press, most likely due to increased British attention to the revolution. A letter originating from the *Paris Journal*, expressed a new sense of relief among Spanish exiles. “the Spanish exiles are returning homeward from every part of the continent, with an activity which seems to prove a general understanding that a revolution in Spain is not far distant “. ⁶⁰² This hints at an established network of Spanish dissidents dispersed across Europe with an effective communication system relaying information.

Constitutional Exiles 1823

The greatest influx of Spanish exiles to Britain was in 1823, after the demise of the Spanish constitutional revolt beginning in the latter part of 1819. Most of those individuals who fled to

⁶⁰⁰ Juan Diaz Porlier (1788-1815) born in South America, Cartagena, served with his uncle who was a naval officer around Havana. Transferred to the army and ended up in Spain with the army of Extremadura, raised a guerrilla force to fight the French and became a major general at the end of the war. Esdaile, *Fighting Napoleon*, p. 188.

⁶⁰¹ Francisco Espoz Y Mina (1781-1836) Spanish Guerrilla chief in the Peninsula War supported the restoration of the constitution from 1820 to 1823 and in 1830. Later, during the Carlist War, commanded the Royal Army of Biscay in 1835. F. Bamford, (ed.), *The Journal of Mrs. Arbuthnot 1820-1832, Volume 1, February 1820 to December 1825* (London, 1950), p. 213.

⁶⁰² *The Bury and Norwich Post*, 15th March and *The Lancaster Gazette*, 18th March, 1820.

Britain were members of the Cortes established in 1820, following the restoration of Ferdinand VII for a second time. Many of these men and their families were no longer safe. The *Morning Chronicle* gives us an insight into the proceedings in Spain. “The present Spanish Governor, D’Aunoy, an old officer of the Walloon Guards, had issued orders for the arrest of the whole classes—all the members of the Cortes—all the municipal authorities—all the corporations, i.e. city companies—all the militiamen”.⁶⁰³ Among the discussions of Britain’s political classes this was entirely recognised. Mrs Arbuthnot, a political hostess on behalf of the Tory party and close friend of the Duke of Wellington and the late Viscount Castlereagh, wrote in her diary, “The first step taken by Ferdinand was to publish a decree annulling every act of the constitutional government from the time of its commencement in 1820 and banishing all who had held office to a certain distance from Madrid”.⁶⁰⁴ This reasserts two facts, that Ferdinand chose revenge against those who questioned his authority and important figures in the Spanish state would be arriving in Britain.

The first news of the arrival of members of the Cortes appeared in early November 1823, as the *Morning Chronicle* reported

“The deputies of the late Spanish Cortes, M. Ruiz de La Vega, M. Oliver, M. Zulueta, the Count de Palma, Count de Castijon, M. Fischer, and other patriots...Most of the individuals who have sought asylum are persons of rank, family, fortune, ability, and merit, and can derive no advantage in this country, in which they are entire strangers, from any talents they may possess”.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰³ *Morning Chronicle*, 11th November, 1823.

⁶⁰⁴ Harriet Arbuthnot (1793-1834) a social observer, diarist and close friend of the Duke of Wellington. Married to Charles Arbuthnot (1767-1850) Tory Member of Parliament for East Looe from 1795 to 1796, Eye from 1809 to 1812, Oxford from 1812 to 1818 and St Germans from 1818 to 1827. Also ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1804 to 1807. Bamford, (ed.), *The Journal of Mrs. Arbuthnot 1820-1832*, p. 265.

⁶⁰⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, 10th November, 1823.

Domingo María Ruiz de la Vega Méndez, Juan Oliver y García and Juan Pedro Zulueta had all been Presidents of the Cortes, from 1822 to 1823. This article also states that Count Castejon was a highly respectable major-general; Mr. Fischer had served with honour within the British service during the Peninsular War.⁶⁰⁶ The *Morning Chronicle*, an opposition paper, aside from arguing the notoriety of these highly esteemed individuals, was also trying to identify the need for assistance in Britain for new exiles without directly inferring this.

Other prominent Spanish Liberals, General Espoz Y Mina and his supporters arrived at Plymouth at the end of November.⁶⁰⁷ A member of this party was a good friend of the Duke of Wellington, Don Miguel Ricardo de Alava. Alava had fought against the British at Trafalgar only later to become one of Wellington's most valued aides-de-camp in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo. On his arrival in England the duke made every possible effort to house his friend.⁶⁰⁸ Pablo de Mendíbil who fled to London in 1823 became the first Professor of Spanish at King's College, London. He was proficient in linguistics having an extensive knowledge of literature, writing a newspaper for Spanish exiles, *Leisures of Emigrated Spaniards* from 1824 to 1827.⁶⁰⁹ José Canga-Argüelles, the Minister of Finance of the Cortes, was exiled due to the financial reforms he intended to impose on Spain and became the author of a collection of books published in Britain.⁶¹⁰ Spaniards already in Britain equally found themselves exiled, for instance, the Spanish constitutionalist ambassador to Paris, Duke of San Lorenzo, arrived for

⁶⁰⁶ Ruiz, Ruiz & Bilbao, *Estado Y Territorio en Espana, 1820-1930*, pp.405-406. *Morning Chronicle*, 10th November, 1823.

⁶⁰⁷ *The Hull Packet*, 8th December, 1823.

⁶⁰⁸ Bamford, (ed.), *The Journal of Mrs. Arbuthnot 1820-1832*, p. 213.

⁶⁰⁹ Pablo de Mendíbil (1788-1832) T. Wild, "Pablo de Mendibil: A Spanish Exile", *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, Volume5, Issue 19, 1928, pp. 107-120.

⁶¹⁰ José Canga-Argüelles (1770-1843) member of the Cortes in 1812, on the restoration of Ferdinand in 1814, Arguelles went in to internal exile in Valencia. In 1820 was in the Cortes again, appointed Minister of Finance, fled to England in 1823 and returned to Spain in 1829 never to appear in public life again. He published in London, *Elementos de la Ciencia de Hacienda*, Elements of the Science of Finance in 1825, *Iccionario de Hacienda*, Dictionary of Finance, in 1827 and *Observaciones sobre la guerra de la Peninsula*, Observations on the Peninsular War, which argued the importance of the Spanish effort in winning the Peninsular War. P. F. Cuevas, *Un Hacendista Asturiano; Jose Canga Arguelles* (Oviedo, 1995).

his own protection during the French invasion of Spain in 1823, consequently he was renounced by Ferdinand and so remained in exile.⁶¹¹

A year later, in 1824, more reports of Spanish exiles were appearing; a group of twenty two Spanish refugees arrived in England under the protection of Captain Stuart and transferred into the care of Sir William Parker Carroll. Carroll had fought with the Connaught Rangers in the invasion of Buenos Aries, then in the Peninsular War where he eventually held the rank of general in the Spanish Army commanding the Spanish Hibernia Regiment until 1817.⁶¹² He was reported to be “gratified in the opportunity of rendering a service to these unfortunate exiles, many of whom had fought and bled by his side”. The individuals mentioned in this group were

“Don Juan Arejula, who was physician to the king when he was removed from Madrid to Cadiz (educated at Edinburgh), Conde de Faboada a Grandee of Galicia, where he has estates worth 8,000L. per annum; Don Ramon Billalba, a Liet-General, and Captain-General of Madrid when the Duke of Angouleme took possession of that city; Don Alvaro Flores Estrada and his son, who is well known in England as a highly-accomplished literary character, and who was the author of the Declaration against France in the year 1808, at which time the English government emancipated three thousand Spanish prisoners, then in our prison ships, who were afterwards sent armed to Spain, under the command of Sir Parker Carroll; Don Ramon Adan, a member of the Cortes, and his wife; Don Rodrigo de Aranada, who was Mayor of Madrid when Ferdinand swore an

⁶¹¹ Bamford, (ed.), *The Journal of Mrs. Arbuthnot 1820-1832*, p. 212.

⁶¹² Sir William Parker Carroll (1776-1842) joined the British Army in 1794 was a Captain in the 88th Foot, Connaught Rangers. Returned to Britain in 1817, he was made Colonel of the 18th Foot and later lieutenant. Governor of Malta in 1822 and Corfu in 1829. WO1/241, Letter to Colonial Doyle, Downing Street, 9th July, 1808. A. L. Rodriguez, William Parker Carrol and the Frustrated re-establishment of the Irish Brigade in Spain (1809-11) *Military History Society of Ireland*, Vol. 26, pp. 151-170.

oath to the constitution, and who handed him the book to take the oath; he has left seven daughters in that city. Don Jose M. Peon, Colonel and Premier Adjutant of the Staff of the Spanish Army; Don Juan Cuadra, a merchant of Santander in Cantabria, who lent 50,000L. To Ferdinand as a personal debt, and who has lost much more by confiscation. There are also three Lieut. Colonels, five Captains, three Lieutenants, and two Civilians, they have since left the George Inn, for the Metropolis, they expressed themselves most grateful for the kind attention shown them, and Captain Stuart's hospitality on board the *Phaeton*".⁶¹³

From this extract it is self-evident there were many prominent figures of the Spanish state, some having connections with the British Army in the Peninsular War or affiliation to Britain, this being a key factor in affecting their decision to seek asylum in the country. The quantity of money involved in their estates is an indication of their wealth, the living standards they were accustomed to and an indication by the newspaper of the allowance to be subsidised to them by the British public or even the government while they are resident here.

The British held fortress of Gibraltar was a closer and safer alternative for many Spanish exiles, by the end of 1823, an order to expel Spanish refugees from Gibraltar was granted which caused one British reader to write. "Whether the harsh treatment of the Spanish exiles originated with the commander of the garrison of Gibraltar, or was the result of an order from Downing-Street, it was certainly disgraceful in the extreme".⁶¹⁴ Confirmation in a letter from Gibraltar printed in *The Oriental Herald and Colonial Review*, remarked that the Spanish exiles "have been ordered out of the garrison in the most arbitrary and cruel manner" and placed the

⁶¹³ *Morning Chronicle*, 1st November and *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 11th November, 1824. C.R. Braun, Alvaro Florez Estrada: Compromised Liberalism in Nineteenth Century Spain, *The Independent Review A Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 13, Num 1, Summer 2008, pp. 81-98.

⁶¹⁴ *Morning Chronicle*, 11th November, 1823. *Morning Chronicle*, 8th December, 1823.

blame personally on General Sir George Don, the Governor of Gibraltar.⁶¹⁵ Don wrote many letters to the British government complaining of Spaniards using Gibraltar as a base to start revolutions in Spain. He observed that they acquired weapons and frequently, both Spanish Royalist and constitutionalists, would skirmish with British soldiers on picket duty.⁶¹⁶ In retrospect, these exiles were rebels and harbouring such individuals in close proximity to Ferdinand's Spain as to cause offence, could not be tolerated by British officials.

An explanation for these actions could have been the growing concerns of the Royalist ambassador in London, Francisco Cea Bermudez, with his discussions with the British government.⁶¹⁷ It was reported that Bermudez, who was due to depart from London to assume the role of Secretary of State of Spain, strongly argued that the government was allowing and assisting Spanish exiles.⁶¹⁸ According to many of the British newspapers, by 1824 the community of these exiles within the country totalled approximately a modest three hundred to over four thousand five hundred.⁶¹⁹ The second figure being more accurate if we consider that many Spanish nobles who travelled to Britain also brought their wives, children, servants and supporters, and that the figure of three hundred refers to the initial number of noblemen who were continuously mentioned.

⁶¹⁵ General Sir George Don (1756-1832) army officer and governor, Governor of Jersey 1806 to 1814 and Gibraltar from 1814 to 1832. J.R. Musteen, *Nelson's Refuge: Gibraltar in the Age of Napoleon* (London, 2011). *The Oriental Herald and Colonial Review*, Vol. 1 January to April, 1824 (London, 1824), p. 180.

⁶¹⁶ CO 91/119, Search of seagoing ships for arms, Spanish refugees, 1826-1831

⁶¹⁷ Francisco Cea Bermúdez (1779-1850) a diplomat of the Cortes of Cadiz negotiated the Treaty of Friendship with Russia in 1812. Ambassador in Constantinople from 1820 to 1823, London in 1824 and First Secretary of State from 11th July 1824 to 24th October 1825. J. Green & N.J. Karolidis, *Encyclopaedia of Censorship* (New York, 2005), p. 240.

⁶¹⁸ *Morning Chronicle*, 3rd August and *Jackson's Oxford Journal* 7th August, 1824.

⁶¹⁹ *The York Herald*, 6th December, *The Hull Packet*, 8th December, 1823. *The Scotsman*, 13th December, 1823. *Caledonian Mercury*, 13th September, 1824.

British Public Support

As soon as there was an increase in Spanish exiles in Britain, the press, in particular, started to publish articles on their plight to inform their reading public. In most cases, they encouraged the public to donate whatever they could to support their ‘Spanish cousins’. *The Times* commented

“We are sure we do not appeal in vain to British generosity, when we present to its notice the numerous Spanish exiles now in London, who are destitute of even the necessaries of life...The public will therefore learn with satisfaction, that a committee, composed of persons of the first respectability, is forming”.⁶²⁰

This committee organised the raising of funds so the Spanish exiles could live in comparative comfort in London. The list of gentlemen who were the main contributors to this committee, printed in a range of newspapers, numbered forty five men. Many on the list were members of groups aiding and assisting the cause of Spanish independence and on the committee to raise funds to support the Liberal government against the threat of the Royalist and French in 1823.

The members of this committee, after the fall of the Trienio Liberals (see chapter 3), moved their efforts to aiding Spanish exiles. As the *York Herald* described them,

“on principles of humanity, independently of every political consideration, the noblemen and gentlemen, whose names are annexed, have already commenced a subscription to alleviate, as far as practicable, the deep distress in which these unhappy strangers are involved”.⁶²¹

⁶²⁰ *The Times*, 22nd November, 1823.

⁶²¹ *The York Herald*, 6th December, *The Hull Packet*, 8th December, 1823.

Noticeably in the group was Lord Holland, one of Britain's greatest Hispanophiles, the Marquis of Lansdowne a great Whig champion in the House of Lords for Catholic emancipation and Lord Ellenborough, uncharacteristically, being a Tory member of the House of Lords.⁶²² William Wilberforce the active campaigner for the abolition of slavery and associated with many charitable works also became involved.⁶²³ Finally, General Thomas Graham, Lord Lynedoch, a notable Peninsular War veteran, and Lord Russell, uncle to Lord John Russell, the future Whig leader, and in 1811 present at Cadiz, were also concerned.⁶²⁴

This collection of gentlemen had titles or sat in parliament; the vast majority affiliated to the Whig opposition. It had long been the care of the churches, in both Britain and Spain, to administer to the sick, infirmed and destitute with additional help of donations from wealthy members of the community. Charities existed in Britain as early as the late seventeenth century with friendly societies and the number of like-minded organisations rapidly increased in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Charity work to aid foreigners was unusual because of the general belief that *charity was supposed to begin at home*.⁶²⁵ Therefore this committee and its works were unique for the time by aiding foreigners.

Funding was not only confined to London but as *The Scotsman* illustrates many across Britain pledged their support of money for the Spanish exile community. "We offer our services to receive and transmit to London or to pay over to the managers in Edinburgh, any sums destined

⁶²² Edward Law, Lord Ellenborough (1790-1871) Tory Member of Parliament for St. Michael's 1813 to 1818, after gaining a seat in the House of Lords spent most of his career as President of the Board of Control from 1828 to 1835. Strong friend of the Duke of Wellington, unofficial assistant and part of his government of 1828. For information on Lord Holland and the Marquis of Lansdowne see footnote 80 & 425, Introduction and Chapter Two, Thorne, *The History of Parliament: IV*, pp., 389-391 & 783-78.

⁶²³ For information on William Wilberforce see footnote 359, Chapter Two.

⁶²⁴ Lieut. Col. George William, Lord Russell, (1790-1846) army officer, in numerous cavalry regiments from 1806 to 1810, aide-de-camp to Sir George Ludlow 1807, General Graham 1811 and Wellington 1812 to 1819. Radical Whig Member of Parliament for Bedford from 1812 to 1830. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: V* pp. 70-73. For more information on Lord Lynedoch see footnote 164, Chapter One.

⁶²⁵ B. Harris & P. Bridgen, (eds.), *Charity and Mutual Aid in Europe and North America Since 1800* (New York, 2007), pp. 3, 11 & 146. M. Daunton, (ed.), *Charity, Self-Interest and Welfare in Britain: 1500 to the Present* (London, 1996), pp. 5-7.

for this object".⁶²⁶ Contributions came from various individuals; £2,1s.from a tradesman at Douglas Castle; £24, 8s.from the friends to the Spanish cause at Irvine £2,2s., from a citizen of Leith; £3,3s.from an anonymous lady and many others accumulating in £36, 7s. A Mr Henry Whittle wrote to the editor of the *Examiner*, enclosing one sovereign or twenty shillings and had these words to say on the matter

“Sir- I have read the account of the situation of a Spanish emigrant contained in your paper of yesterday, and my heart bleeds at the recital; the more so, as I am convinced from personal observation, that by good government Spain might yet become great and her people happy”.⁶²⁷

This statement is quite presumptuous, assuming that the Spanish people would be happier with a liberal government.

Another letter in the same newspaper by a T.G.W., subscribed 3 sovereigns and a list of eleven other names and anonymous contributions amounting to £15. 6. 0. Further contributions were made to *The Times* of £50 from Sir Francis Burdett a reformist Whig Member of Parliament for Westminster.⁶²⁸ Also from a J.L.R £5, S.P.D. Richmond £2, Mr Marshall £5, Mr Baugh Allen £2, Mrs Belzoni £10, raising in total £74.⁶²⁹ There were a number of societies and meetings dedicated to the deliberation of Spain but very few were directly involved in assisting Spanish exiles. One such event was a grand concert, fancy or dress ball, held at the Royal Gardens, Vauxhall, on Thursday, 20th July 1826. This concert was in aid of raising new funds and the refugee committee was in dire need of more assistance.⁶³⁰ The list of patrons shown

⁶²⁶ *The Scotsman*, 13th December, 1823.

⁶²⁷ *The Examiner*, 29th August, 1824.

⁶²⁸ Sir Francis Burdett (1770-1844) reformist Whig Member of Parliament for Boroughbridge from 1796 to 1802, Middlesex from 1802 to 1804, 1805-1806 and Westminster from 1807 to 1837. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume III*, pp. 302-314.

⁶²⁹ *The Times*, 14th Demember, 1825.

⁶³⁰ *The Times*, 18th July & *The Morning Post*, 19th July, 1826.

included many of the members of the committee themselves and also The Duke of York, Clarence, Sussex, Gloucester and their wives.⁶³¹

These funds contributed to supporting Spanish exiles; there was however great distress still felt amongst the community which is illustrated in the following article in the *Examiner*. A Spanish refugee officer at a loss to know how to proceed due to poverty, attempted to commit suicide in the village of Newington, near Sittingbourne, he was denied his chance when, “The inhabitants, with a liberality that did them honour, immediately entered into a subscription for his relief, after which, he made his way to London”.⁶³² It was not only money which was provided to the Spanish exiles but shelter, Newton’s Hotel near Leicester Square, being an area where many exiles lived and also conversed with each other.⁶³³ Many Spanish exiles found themselves living in Somers Town in north London situated in St. Pancras.⁶³⁴ They soon established businesses in this small community. Julian Ocio, a chocolatier established a confectioner’s shop at 68, Clarendon Street, Somers Town. The great revolutionary Don Rafael Del Riego’s brother, Don Miguel Del Riego former Canon of the Cathedral in Oviedo, permanently settled in London as a bookseller and was a close friend of Richard Ford who would later travel extensively in Spain.⁶³⁵ Rafael Riego’s wife, Maria Teresa Del Riego also

⁶³¹ Prince Frederick, The Duke of York (1763-1827) army officer. Prince William, The Duke of Clarence (1765-1837) the future King William IV. Prince Augustus Frederick, The Duke of Sussex (1773-1843) Prince William Frederick, Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh (1776-1843) Son of William Henry, younger brother of George III. E.A. Smith, *George IV* (London, 2000).

⁶³² *The Examiner*, 6th June, and *The Leeds Mercury*, 12th June, 1824.

⁶³³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 13th September, 1824. *The Scotsman*, 15th September, 1824.

⁶³⁴ Llorens, *Liberales y romanticos*, p. 64.

⁶³⁵ Richard Ford (1796-1858) a writer and traveller, who wrote a handbook for travellers in Spain in 1845 after travelling the country from 1830 to 1833. R.E. Prothero, *The Letters of Richard Ford 1797-1858* (New York, 1905). I. Robertson, *Richard Ford 1796-1858: Hispanophile, Connoisseur and Critic* (London, 2004). Later he contributed papers on Spanish art to the *Quarterly Review*. Llorens, *Liberales y romanticos*, p. 64. E. Jordi, *antoni puigblanch* (Barcelona, 1960), p.192. J. Cartwright & F.D. Cartwright, *The Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright Vol. II* (London, 1826), p. 248. By a Spanish Officer, *Memoirs of the Life of Don Rafael Del Riego* (London, 1823), p. 13.

travelled to Britain and worked with Don Miguel in a wine shop in Camden Town which he also owned, but she unfortunately died of illness in June 1824.⁶³⁶

There was some disparagement by members of the British public against other nations who criticised Britain's generosity to Spanish exiles. A private correspondence written to *The Times* stated that,

“M. De Bouville (Vice-president of the French assemble) spoke with great bitterness of the conduct of England in receiving the Spanish exile, forgetting, no doubt, (as a good Royalist ought not), that England likewise admitted, protected, and supported French emigrant Royalists”.⁶³⁷

The author, more than likely, is trying to agitate the readership of *The Times* and gain more support for the Spanish exiles by the alleged rhetoric of this French politician. Britain was still weary of the French and for the most part after the collapse of the constitutional government in 1823 British opinion was very hostile and bitter to French intervention in Spain.

A member of the refugee committee wrote to the editor of *The Times* complaining of a lack of support from Spanish merchants in Britain. “They are very numerous and very affluent. But, with one or two honourable exceptions, no name among the many prosperous establishments connected with the Peninsula appears as a subscriber”.⁶³⁸ A reason for these Spanish merchants not subscribing was so that they did not create any tension with the prosperous market they had in Spain, as the Spanish ambassador in Britain would be aware of liberal support, and that the merchants may not have supported the liberal regime. The majority of people who had an interest in Spanish affairs and could afford to subsidise the committee did so but the extent to

⁶³⁶ *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* Vol. XII, 1824, p. 375.

⁶³⁷ Louis Jacques Grossin of Bouville (1759 – 1838) French politician, member of the constituent assembly of 1789, Member of Parliament in 1815 to 1816 and 1820 to 1827, Vice President, a member of the ultra-right and vocal advice against the Spanish constitutionalist. A. Robert and G. Cougny, *Dictionnaire des parlementaires*, vol. ii. (1890). *The Times*, 1st January, 1827.

⁶³⁸ *The Times*, 22nd August, 1826.

which this support did in fact help many Spanish exiles is debatable. By 1827 the committee's funds had expired but fortunately this coincided with the British government's arranged pensions to accommodate the more influential Spaniards who were exiled.⁶³⁹

The Duke of Wellington's List and Renewed Support

Historians' research on the subject of Spanish exiles has revealed many new insights on the subject but the role of the British government has been neglected and it is only in the realm of primary sources where information can be established. By November 1824 the government decided to take control of the situation and arrange to pay pensions to various Spanish exiles. It was agreed in the cabinet that this issue would not go to a vote in parliament and shortly a list of candidates was penned. The Duke of Wellington, because of his connections with Spain, was appointed to take charge of the proceedings, hence the name, The Duke of Wellington's List.⁶⁴⁰ The payment of pensions was through the Treasury and the funds were provided from the Foreign Office. Wellington's Secretary, Fitzroy Somerset, who had been an aide-de-camp to Wellington in the Peninsular War organised the paper work.⁶⁴¹

Only a small number of the most prominent Spanish nobles would form this list which amounted to over hundred Spanish noblemen who the Duke of Wellington personally selected. Regrettably only the accounts remain with which to assess these pensions, there are no named individuals before 1832.⁶⁴² The selection was first based on those who had "rendered any service to our army, diplomacy, or other transactions in any manner or at any time". Others were selected on the basis of their wealth and character and granted a weekly allowance. Those

⁶³⁹ *The Examiner*, 30th September, 1827.

⁶⁴⁰ Letter from the Duke of Wellington to the Right Hon. Frederick Robinson, 14th March, 1825, in A.R. Wellesley, (ed.), *Supplementary Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur, Duke of Wellington, K.G. Vol. II., January 1823 to December 1825* (London, 1867), p. 425.

⁶⁴¹ FitzRoy James Henry Somerset, later 1st Baron Raglan (1788-1855) Tory Member of Parliament for Truro from 1818 to 1820 and 1826 to 1829. J. Sweetman, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea* (London, 1993).

⁶⁴² T1/4285 Spanish Refugees.

selected were divided into six classes; the most important would receive 25s a week and the lesser 10s a week.⁶⁴³

Wellington on receiving information about the Spanish refugees, wrote to Robert Peel the Home Secretary, stating that

“to tell you the truth, I very strongly suspect that the recent influx of Spaniards from Spain is to be attributed to the allowances paid by the Foreign Office, in addition to the list made by me, and to the injudicious measures of the committee”⁶⁴⁴.

Ever sceptical, the duke’s fears were also measured by the comments made in the *Morning Chronicle*, pointing to the fact that, “Spaniards, who had a rightful claim, flocked to this country, to be supported in idleness; and that, with the same view, even several Englishmen had been suddenly transformed into Spanish Dons!”⁶⁴⁵ Even though it was agreed on the need to support the Spanish, it would seem that the old ideas of the *Black Legend* still had a bearing on attitudes; that Spaniards could not be trusted and that the nature of Spanish nobles was that of the lazy Don.⁶⁴⁶ What could these nobles do? They could not be depended upon to serve in the British Army or work for the state as technically they were rebels, this being a great insult to Ferdinand and his administration. Ultimately they had to rely on the kindness of the government, of the committee and of friends in Britain for support.

⁶⁴³ Letter from the Duke of Wellington to the Right Hon. Frederick Robinson, 14th March, 1825, in Wellesley, (ed.), *Supplementary Despatches*, p. 426. *The Times*, 23th October, 1824. *Morning Chronicle*, 1st November and *Berrow’s Worcester Journal*, 11th November, 1824.

⁶⁴⁴ Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850) Tory Member of Parliament for Cashel 1809 to 1812, Chippenham from 1812 to 1817, Oxford University 1817 to 1829, Westbury 1829 to 1830 and Tamworth from 1830 to 1850. Chief Secretary for Ireland from 1812 to 1818, Home Secretary 1822 to 1827 and 1828 to 1830, Prime Minister 1834 to 1835 and Chancellor of the Exchequer 1834 to 1835. Letter from the Duke of Wellington to the Right Hon. Robert Peel, 26th November, 1824, in Wellesley, (ed.), *Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur*, p. 350.

⁶⁴⁵ *Trewman’s Exeter Flying Post*, 5th August, 1824.

⁶⁴⁶ Colley, *Britons; Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, pp. 86-89.

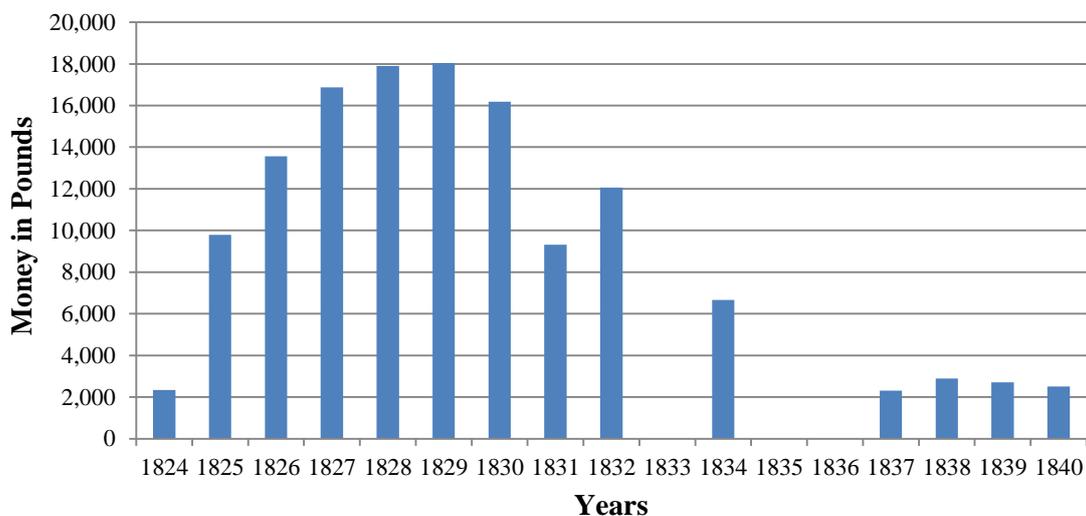
The vast majority of Spaniards who did not meet the criteria of the duke's list were left at the mercy of the committee for assistance. From figure 3.1/3.2 we can see that the duke's list lasted from 1824 to 1840, and the amount awarded each year changed quite considerably. This illustrates that the exiled community was not static, with the arrival of new refugees and movement to other locations such as France, or back to Spain. An indication that the number of nobles on the Duke of Wellington's List increased over the years is commented on in *The Standard*. It wrote, "of the original number the noble duke selected, three hundred and seventy as so entitled, and these were supported by government at an expense of £18,000 a year" this

Figure 3.1: Money per Year Allocate to Spanish Exiles by the British Government 1824 to 1840.

Year	Money	Year	Money	Year	Money
1824	£2,337	1830	£16,180	1836	
1825	£9,785	1831	£9,320	1837	£2,314
1826	£13,568	1832	£12,055	1838	£2,897
1827	£16,866	1833		1839	£2,705
1828	£17,899	1834	£6,670	1840	£2,505
1829	£18,040	1835			

Note: The years 1833, 1835 and 1836 were not present in the National Archives Spanish Refugees T1/4285.

Figure 3.2: Money per Year Allocate to Spanish Exiles by the British Government 1824 to 1840.



amount corresponds with the amount shown in Figure 3.1 for 1828.⁶⁴⁷ The chief reason why such a large figure arises in 1828 could be that the committee monetary support for the Spanish exiles was simply over stretched; therefore the government stepped in to help.

A total sum of £18,000 annually in 1828 and 1829 for three hundred and seventy exiles, equates to an average of £4 per person a year. Refugees as indicated previously were divided into six different classes with varying amounts of funding; it is unlikely that this money would have covered this number of refugees. If the upper classes received 25s a week at four weeks per month, over a year this would equate to £60 a year and for the lower classes, at 10's a week, £24 a year. Therefore in the year 1828 there is a possible range of twenty five to sixty two refugees, seeming a more likely number than that suggested by *The Standard*. Although the sum of money for each year changes dramatically, the average sum of money per month hardly changes, showing that this very small group stayed constant. By the late 1830's the figure had decreased to between three to eight individuals and by 1838 with four individuals funded.⁶⁴⁸

The figure on the duke's list changed dramatically in the late 1830's with a sharp decrease but surprisingly there is a marked increase in the year 1832. In that year King Ferdinand VII declared an amnesty too many exiles, one would therefore expect that the sum of money would decrease, yet this was not the case. This large payment could be to allow those exiles still on the list to return home, paying for travel expenses and the settlement of debts in Britain. In 1832 the first names of exiles appear in the Treasury accounts, the letters and documents before, presumably lost. Assorted names are repeated in a number of letters in 1832 but then disappear, suggesting they departed to Spain, as it appeared to be safe to return to a more liberal government. Evidence provided in the fact both Andres de Robledo and Don Antonio Gomez

⁶⁴⁷ *The Standard*, 26th November, 1828. T1/ 4285, Spanish Refugees.

⁶⁴⁸ The four names given are Don Ramon Alvarez, Don Jose Cameros Family, Don Visarite Albriten and Don Rafael Venderias. T1/ 4285, Spanish Refugees, 23rd January, 1838.

Campillo are listed as holding offices in the province of Teruel in Aragon by 1833, Robledo as a customs officer and Campillo as a subordinate administrator with propriety worth three thousand Reales.⁶⁴⁹

Another reason for changes in the numbers of exiles is that they arrived in Britain at different times. Francisco Espoz Y Mina had been exiled in France after 1823 and in 1830 returned to Spain to lead an unsuccessful revolution against Ferdinand's government resulting in a return to exile, this time in Britain.⁶⁵⁰ Reports were occurring particularly from the French newspapers about the increased activities of revolution in Spain and the number of refugees fleeing across the Pyrenees.⁶⁵¹ As a result in 1830 the French government was supporting over two thousand eight hundred and sixty seven Spanish refugees due to these new revolts.⁶⁵²

It was not just liberal revolts which occurred in Spain but also the ultra-royalists, known as *Carlists*, were causing insurrection. They supported the idea that Ferdinand's brother, Don Carlos, should be the head of the Spanish state. The first Carlist revolt began in Catalonia, known as the *Revolt of the Aggrieved*, in 1827.⁶⁵³ This second threat was weak as Don Carlos, supported his brother as the legitimate monarch of Spain.⁶⁵⁴ Therefore most of the exiles which arrived in Britain in the late 1830's supported the Carlist. This, including Don Carlos himself, further proving that the government did not discriminate against Spanish exiles, due to their political preferences.

⁶⁴⁹ M. Ferrer y sou, *Estado de los empleados que componen la real hacienda de espana: En fin de 1832* (Madrid, 1833), pp. 57 & 303. T1/ 4285, Spanish Refugees, 15th & 31st December 1832.

⁶⁵⁰ *The Sheffield Independent*, and *Yorkshire and Derbyshire Advertiser*, 11th September, 1830.

⁶⁵¹ *The Standard*, 3rd September, 1830.

⁶⁵² Of the five thousand three hundred and seventy five foreign emigrés who reserved official support from the French government in 1830, two thousand eight hundred and sixty seven were Spanish. M.A. Williams, Angel de Saavedra's Dealings with the French government, 1830-1833, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studeies*, Vol. 37, Num.2 April 1960, pp. 106-114. Llorens, *Liberales y romanticos*, p.23.

⁶⁵³ Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War in Spain, 1835-1838*, p. 9.

⁶⁵⁴ Carr, *Spain 1808-1975*, p. 136. Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age*, p. 66.

Though the committee for the relief of Spanish exiles had fewer powers over funding than previously, there were still those who supported the Spanish community. Charitable groups such as the Church of England and Catholic circles continued to help exiles. The Rev William Johnson Fox, a leading figure with the Unitarians in London and editor of the *Monthly Repository* a Unitarian Journal, printed in the *Examiner* his plans to hold two sermons. One such was on Sunday 12th October 1828, at the Unitarian Chapel, South Place, Finsbury, in aid of acquiring funds for Spanish and Italian refugees.⁶⁵⁵

In November 1828 an advertised meeting was held at the London Tavern, “to consider of the best means of affording immediate relief to suffering refugees of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, who are surrounded with the horrors of wretchedness and starvation”.⁶⁵⁶ This meeting had numerous attendants, including many Members of Parliament such as, Dr Stephen Rumbold Lushington, Secretary to the Treasury, and Douglas Kinnaird a radical and friend of John Hobhouse a member of the committee.⁶⁵⁷ Additionally, Sir John Doyle and Sir John Bell, who both had served in the Peninsular War, Pierre César Labouchere, a Dutch merchant banker, and James Joseph William Freshfield a lawyer.⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁵ R. Garnett & E. Garnett, *The Life of the Rev. W.J. Fox: Public Teacher and Reformer* (London, 1910). *Examiner*, 5th October, 1828.

⁶⁵⁶ *Examiner*, 16th November, 1828.

⁶⁵⁷ Stephen Rumbold Lushington (1776–1868) Tory Member of Parliament for Rye from 1807 to 1812, Canterbury 1812 to 1830 and 1835 to 1837, Secretary to the Treasury from 1823 to 1837. Douglas James William Kinnaird (1788-1830) cricketer and radical Member of Parliament for Bishops Castle from 1818 to 1830. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: Volume IV*, pp. 472-475 & 340-341,

⁶⁵⁸ Sir John Milley Doyle (1781-1856) army officer, commissioned in 1794, served in the Peninsular War from 1809 to 1814 and joined the Portuguese service reaching the rank of brigadier. Later in Portugal was forced in to the service of Dom Pedro and arrested on a number of occasions. Sir John Bell (1782-1876) army officer commissioned in 1805 and served throughout the Peninsular War, from 1828 to 1841 Chief Secretary to the Government of the Cape. H. M. Stephens, ‘Doyle, Sir John Milley (1781–1856)’, Rev. James Lunt, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8004>, accessed 16 June 2012]. G. C. Boase, ‘Bell, Sir John (1782–1876)’, rev. James Lunt, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2016>, accessed 16 June 2012].

The meeting was successful in raising a total of £1,188 17s. 6d.⁶⁵⁹ A ladies committee was even mentioned, by one of the supporters of the Spanish exiles, for the welfare of families and particularly women and children.⁶⁶⁰ Tradesmen from the city of London also assembled to raise funds for Spanish exiles which over several months amounted to upwards of £4,350.⁶⁶¹ Other methods of support were suggested, a reader of *The Times* newspaper, a C.C.W., recommended that

“if the committee for relieving them could form a depot where the humans and charitable might send articles of castoff clothing, bedding, &c., as were no longer required by them. By this method, I conceive, considerable relief might be afforded to the sufferers, attended with little or no expense to the donors”.⁶⁶²

The upper classes in society arranged social occasions for the benefit of Spanish exiles, in December 1828, a grand ball at Brighton and a concert at the Guildhall.⁶⁶³

These illustrations by the public toward Spanish exiles gave Britons an enormous sense of pride. As this reader of the *Caledonian Mercury* confesses

“it has long been the pride and boast of our country that it offers a free, unconditional asylum to the destitute and the oppressed: that the victims of tyranny or political vicissitude abroad, when they flee for refuge to our hearths, are not only safe under the protection of our equal laws, but many also reckon on the humane and generous hospitality of our government”.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁵⁹ *The Scotsman*, 22nd November, 1828.

⁶⁶⁰ *The Leicester Chronicle*, 22nd November, 1828.

⁶⁶¹ *The Times*, 3rd September, *Morning Chronicle*, 4th December, *The Examiner*, 7th December & *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 8th December, 1828.

⁶⁶² *The Times*, 17th November, 1828.

⁶⁶³ *The Standard*, 6th December, 1828.

⁶⁶⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 22nd November, 1828.

This suggests that those who helped the Spanish exiles including politicians who believed that Britain was a refuge of those oppressed by their own and foreign powers, which was proven in this case and also during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars. Supporting foreign exiles, particularly those enemies of the King of Spain, was a dangerous expedient and the fact that they gained a substantial number of supporters is a testament to British views on Spanish liberalism. By supporting this exiled community it was hoped that they would remember this generosity, which they received in Britain and hopefully return to Spain under better circumstances. This was proven during the Carlist War as a number of key ministers under the infant Isabelle where members of the duke's list or found support from the committee.

Spanish Exiles' Influence on British Opinions

This study is also concerned with assessing the types of information the reading public possessed to judge their Spanish counterparts. Newspaper reports from within Spain diminished due to a lack of intercourse between the two countries. With the publication of Spanish books in Britain the period in question offers an abundance of information. However those with disposable incomes, active in public debate and politics, had a greater access to the new Spanish literature being published than those on the breadline. In 1815, Samuel Rogers a writer of the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *Edinburgh Review* commented that the library of the Holland family had one of the largest collections of Spanish books, this being an exceptional example. The Hollands' being well-known *Hispanophiles* and frequently invited Spanish literati to their social gatherings.⁶⁶⁵

During the Peninsular War and also in the aftermath, many British newspapers devoted several pages to advertising and literary reviews of a number of new publications concerning

⁶⁶⁵ Samuel Rogers (1763-1855) poet and wrote many articles for the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Review*. E. Tangyee Leon, *The Napoleonists; A Study in Political Disaffection 1760-1960* (New York, 1970), p.167. Howarth, *The Invention of Spain*, p.41.

Spain. A book called, *Cabinet of Political and Literary Curiosities of Spain and the Indies*, a Spanish work published in Britain, was suggested by *The Times*, that, “it will be a pleasure to us to find the love of Spanish literature so diffused among our countrymen that accomplished writers in that language can obtain readers”.⁶⁶⁶ By 1826 a catalogue called *The Spanish and Portuguese Books: with Occasional Literary and Bibliographical*, wrote of itself as “probably, the first catalogue of a copious and select Spanish library ever published in England”.⁶⁶⁷ It was a very comprehensive catalogue with over four hundred pages of titles including publications by Spaniards in both Spain and Britain.

The vast majority of publications were well beyond the purchasing power of the ordinary city or country labourer, costing on average at least £2.⁶⁶⁸ A typical wage of a city labourer was 14d a week; therefore it would take four months to purchase a book without paying any other living expenses.⁶⁶⁹ At the end of the aforementioned catalogue, an advert for the Royal Foreign Subscription Library of C. & H. Senior’s states that “to comply with the wishes of a large body of their patrons; and beg to announce that they have established a Foreign Circulating Library upon an extensive and most efficient scale”.⁶⁷⁰ An annual subscription to this library allowing the member to borrow up to fourteen volumes was ten guineas falling to a lower rate of six shillings for one volume, once more unaffordable to most men and women.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁶ *The Times*, 19th September, 1818.

⁶⁶⁷ Vicente Salvá y Pérez, *A Catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese Books: with Occasional Literary and Bibliographical* (London, 1826), p. III.

⁶⁶⁸ Barker, & Burrows, (eds.), *Press, Politics and the Public Sphere in Europe and North America, 1760-1820*, p.104.

⁶⁶⁹ G. Clark, Farm Wages and Living Standards in the Industrial Revolution: England, 1670-1850, *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 54, Issue 3, August 2011. pp. 495-497.

⁶⁷⁰ Pérez, *A Catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese Books*, pp. 738-739.

⁶⁷¹ Griffiths, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, p.24.

Exiles such as Count Giuseppe Pecchio, an Italian politician and historian involved in the liberal revolution in Naples in 1820 also published material on Spain.⁶⁷² His book, *Anecdotes of the Spanish and Portuguese Revolutions*, was described by *The Times* as,

“The most faithful, and at the same time most interesting, picture of the present state of Spain that has hitherto appeared in this country...with all the accuracy of an eye-witness whose feelings are in union with the noble efforts of the friends of rational liberty”.⁶⁷³

Books and articles of this nature prompted an increase in British political awareness and interest in Spain as is illustrated by a number of periodicals and monthly pamphlets devoted to Spanish literature and politics.

One such periodical was *The Historical Memoir on the Literature and Social State of Spain*, which the *Bristol Mercury* described as

“very imperfectly acquainted with Spanish literature and manners. Some peculiarities of the latter, and the decline of the former, precisely at the time when other nations were advancing with hasty strides in the career of improvement, have caused Spain to be perhaps less known to her neighbours than the far distant empires of Asia. Even the frequent and constant intercourse created by the war of 1808, and the existence of the British army in the peninsula, was not sufficient to give us a tolerably correct idea of the Spaniards”.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁷² Count Giuseppe Pecchio (1785- 1835) Italian liberal exile, who came to Britain in 1823 as a Professor of Italian at the University of London, who was also interested in Portugal and had many connections. J. Emerson, C. Pecchio & W. H. Humphreys, *A Picture of Greece in 1825* (London, 1826), pp. 58-60.

⁶⁷³ G. Pecchio, *Anecdotes of the Spanish and Portuguese Revolutions* (London, 1823). *The Times*, 31st March, 1823.

⁶⁷⁴ *Bristol Mercury*, 20th March, 1826.

The Morning Post also described this pamphlet as “An intelligent pamphlet...From such a source it is highly satisfactory to draw cheering expectations in the present situation of affairs”.⁶⁷⁵ This highlights the fact that Spain, until British intervention and only in the latter years, since the Peninsular War, had been sidelined in terms of the exchange of literature.

By the end of the Peninsular War many reports and letters from the Army did not give an extensive overview of Spain. This is evident from the old perceptions of the *Black Legend* of the Spanish religious character and the lack of observations about developments in political and social changes in Spain. The compiling of catalogues and availability of Spanish books in libraries is a clear indication that Spanish literature was becoming ever popular and that British publishers saw a demand for this material.

Most of this literature was aimed at informing the reading public of Ferdinand VII character, which was unfamiliar in Britain, aside from generalised views. *The Royal Cornwall Gazette* published a number of articles on the *Biographical Memoir of Ferdinand VII. King of Spain*, during his captivity in France.⁶⁷⁶ Later in 1824, *The Memoirs of Ferdinand VII. King of the Spains*, from an unknown author was translated and published in London by Michael Quin, the author of a previous book on his own travels to Spain in 1823.⁶⁷⁷ Both works had an unknown author due to the fact that the Spanish ambassadors in Britain were watchful of Spanish exiles and potentially could affect their future prospects of returning to Spain.

The forward to *The Memoirs of Ferdinand VII* states they wished to protect their friends and connections in Spain from “the vengeance of the new government”.⁶⁷⁸ The restrictive laws placed upon the publication of radical ideas, causing offense to the Spanish ambassador in

⁶⁷⁵ *The Morning Post*, 30th September, 1823.

⁶⁷⁶ *Royal Cornwall Gazette, Falmouth Packet and Plymouth Journal*, 7th November, 1818.

⁶⁷⁷ Quin, *The Memoirs of Ferdinand VII. King of the Spain 's*.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibad.

Britain, meant it was unwise to publicise one's name.⁶⁷⁹ A possible clue to the Don who wrote this memoir is that in 1824 Quin published the *Memoires Autographes de Don Augustin Iturbide*, or more widely recognised as *Emperor Augustine I of Mexico* until 1823.⁶⁸⁰ In that year Iturbide was deposed as emperor and settled in exile in Britain with his family, where he wrote this book.⁶⁸¹ Iturbide would have had just cause to criticise Ferdinand as he fought assiduously for the independence of Mexico from the Spanish.

Both works authenticity is questionable and the biased opinions against Ferdinand must also be considered. They do show however the growing interest of the British reading public in the king of Spain. The authors could have been exiles, recognising the need to describe the unprincipled nature of their king to justify their political position.

Whatever the truth, *The Memoirs of Ferdinand VII* were reviewed in a number of journals causing readers to comment on their verdict. As one review in *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, wrote, “in studying his life, it is difficult to know whether to pity him as the most unfortunate or to despise him as the most contemptible sovereign upon record”.⁶⁸² The book emphasises how from infancy Ferdinand was, a *slave* to his parents Charles IV and Maria, to Godoy and to Napoleon, and was surrounded throughout his life by unprincipled men.⁶⁸³ This review states that these descriptions create a figure that readers could sympathise with and shows a level of compassion to Ferdinand which was rarely written about. Alternatively the same reviewer later writes that, “He became the instrument of the most ignorant and bigoted

⁶⁷⁹ Ellis & Ghobhainn, *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820*, p.129.

⁶⁸⁰ A. Iturbide, M.J. Quin & J.T. Parisot, *Memoires Autographes de Don Augustin Iturbide* (London, 1824).

⁶⁸¹ Agustín Cosme Damián de Iturbide y Arámburu or Augustine I of Mexico (1783-1824) was a general, who at first suppressed the revolts in Mexico and then fought for the independence of Mexico against the constitutionalist and republicans. In 1821 he was proclaimed president of the Regency in 1821 and later Emperor from May 1822 to March 1823. After remaining in exile in Britain, in 1824, he returned to Mexico to relinquish his crown but was arrested and executed. W. Beezley & M.C. Meyer, (ed.), *The Oxford History of Mexico* (Oxford, 2010), p. 253. L.D. Langley, *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1850* (Yale, 1996), p. 206.

⁶⁸² *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, Vol. XII, (London, 1824), p.171.

⁶⁸³ Quin, *The Memoirs of Ferdinand VII. King of the Spain's*, pp. 7-8.

faction in the country”, placing the blame for the decline of the perceived state of Spain squarely on Ferdinand. This attitude was also affirmed by a critique in *The Literary Chronicle*, commenting that, “the world has known many bad kings, but we much doubt if it ever witnessed one as contemptible as Ferdinand VII”.⁶⁸⁴ This state equates to the detested views held by British writers on the Spanish monarchy centuries before, such as Ferdinand’s predecessors like Philip II, and lends itself to the rhetoric of the *Black Legend*, blaming the personal actions of the king of Spain for the countries undoing’s and its violent effect on Protestant nations.

Counter to this, in the newspapers there were no comprehensive comments made about Ferdinand and the Spanish government in the late 1820’s. A reason could be that more pressing internal issues took precedence; interest in Spain was waning so little needed to be reported. One reader of the *Morning Chronicle* assessed Ferdinand's situation after the revolution in 1823, writing that “King Ferdinand has two leading objects of hatred in his mind...the first is, the Spanish people, and next, the people of England. If they had but two necks, and within his grasp, he would off with their heads at one blow”.⁶⁸⁵ But why would Ferdinand have such a hatred of Britain and what was the purpose for penning such a statement? The aim of this piece could be to arouse a reaction from the readers of the *Morning Chronicle* stimulating opinions on the king of Spain, possibly from a disaffected Spaniard or supporter of the constitution in Britain. If this was the reason it was unfounded. Ferdinand was not a popular figure in Britain, whether due directly to the comments and books written by Spanish exiles is debatable, as the authorship of many works remained anonymous, but certainly British opinion did not improve in the 1820’s.

⁶⁸⁴ *The Literary Chronicle*, 27th December, 1823.

⁶⁸⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, 6th December, 1824.

One of the few direct descriptions of Ferdinand and his court are to be found in the writings of Henry David Inglis, a Scottish traveller who wrote *Spain in 1830*.⁶⁸⁶ He travelled extensively across northern Spain through to Madrid, where he personally saw Ferdinand on numerous occasions but never had the opportunity to talk with him. Before Inglis described Ferdinand and his court he wrote that “there is perhaps no European Court about which so little is known, as the Court of Madrid,- nor any European sovereign whose character and habits are so little familiar to us, as those of Ferdinand VII”.⁶⁸⁷ This is evidential from other sources used in this thesis and arguably weakens the negative perceptions of Ferdinand as few in Britain made a substantial contribution to increase the knowledge of this Spanish monarch. Additionally Inglis, in conversation with many Spaniards with differing political views, from liberals to hard lined royalist, summarised that “all speak of him (Ferdinand) as a man whose greatest fault is want of character; as a man not naturally bad; good tempered; and who might do better, were he better advised”.⁶⁸⁸ This reasserts once again that it was a terrible education and manipulative advisers which had affected the king but as a person he was agreeable.

Inglis also described the physical nature of Ferdinand, on seeing the royal procession, as being more like a “lusty country gentleman, not the meagre figure he appears in Madame Tassauds’ exhibition... his countenance is fat and heavy; but good natured”.⁶⁸⁹ Madame Tassauds, who had made the death masks of many prominent French nobles and revolutionaries during the French Revolution, fled in exile in Britain and travelled with her exhibition across the length and breadth of country in the 1810’s and 20’s before establishing her museum on

⁶⁸⁶ Henry David Inglis (1795-1835) traveller and writer. Inglis wrote many books about his travellers through France, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Bavaria but his book, *Spain in 1830* was regarded as his best work but was a commercial failure at the time. Before his death, in 1835, he also wrote *Rambles in the Footsteps of Don Quixote* but was only fully published in 1840. W. C. Sydney, ‘Inglis, Henry David (1795–1835)’, rev. Elizabeth Baigent, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14400, accessed 3 Aug 2012]

⁶⁸⁷ H.D. Inglis, *Spain in 1830* (London, 1831), pp.112-113.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibad, p. 119.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibad, p, 115.

Baker Street in London in 1835.⁶⁹⁰ During one of these tours, Inglis must have seen the bust of Ferdinand which dated from his time in Valence in France in 1813, showing Ferdinand some thirteen years previously and explaining the changes in appearance. Additionally from a pamphlet of the exhibition in 1823, it described how “we need say no more of Ferdinand than this- he restored to Spain that most abhorred of all tribunals- The Inquisition”.⁶⁹¹ Once again, this pamphlet, showing the rather stereotypical view of Ferdinand and is untrue as Ferdinand did not reintroduce the inquisition after his 1823 restoration.⁶⁹²

This in a larger context shows there was insufficient information on Ferdinand and Spain after 1823 and does not reflect the historical perceptions which historians enjoy today. The ensuing decade from 1823 to 1833, has commonly been known as ‘*The Ominous Decade*’, with a transition in the political and social life of Spain.⁶⁹³ This decade was marked by the final collapse of the empire in South America, economic reform, domestic stability and the question over who would rule after Ferdinand. The Americas were abandoned by the Spanish and left to defend themselves against the insurgents, which ultimately augmented their independence. Many Spanish exiles from the Americas reinvested their wealth in Spain and families like the Gironia helped the resurgence in the Catalan textile industry.⁶⁹⁴ Likewise reforms were mobilised to embark upon self-rejuvenation, initiated by a stronger central government which could rely on provincial *diputaciones* to collect taxes.⁶⁹⁵ By the end of Ferdinand’s rule improvements were recognised across Spain. The Commercial Code of 1829 helped to start the

⁶⁹⁰ K. Berridge, *Waxing Mythical: The Life and Legend of Madame Tussaud* (London, 2007), pp. 278-283.

⁶⁹¹ M. Tussaud, *Biographical and Descriptive Sketches of the Whole Length Composition figures and Other Works of Art Forming The Unrivalled Exhibition of Madame Tussaud* (London, 1823), pp. 30-31.

⁶⁹² J. Perez, *The Spanish Inquisition: A History* (London, 2006), p. 100.

⁶⁹³ R.J. Goldstein, (ed.), *The War for the Public Mind: Political Censorship in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Westport, 2000), p. 176. D.T. Gies, (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 381.

⁶⁹⁴ J. Harrison, *An Economic History of Modern Spain* (Manchester, 1978), p. 44.

⁶⁹⁵ R. Barahona, *Vizcaya on the Eve of the Carlism: Politics and Society, 1800-1833* (Reno, 1989), pp. 99-100.

rejuvenation of foreign trade which steadily increased by 2.4% for the next few decades.⁶⁹⁶ However from British newspaper and journal evidence from the 1820's these social and political changes are not apparent and shows that Britain was only interested in Spain during conflicts involving and effecting British interests of trade and European peace.

Shubert has argued that after the fall of the liberal government the counter revolutionary force, unlike the French Revolution, came from the lower-class and not the nobility.⁶⁹⁷ The peasants had grievances about Ferdinand's government but to assume that they would support an alternative system is unfounded, in fact this led to anti liberal sentiments.⁶⁹⁸ The Spanish Revolution of 1820 demonstrated to Ferdinand that the Army was untrustworthy leading to significant changes in its structure. Many officers were severely questioned on their political allegiances, many liberals being removed or having to pledge, *love for my royal person, rights and government*. The establishment of guards units, who had remained loyal to the crown, was increased with the addition of provincial grenadiers. The remainder of the Army was founded on the People's Police and Loyalist Volunteers reflecting the loyalty of the peasants against liberalism.⁶⁹⁹ This is concurrent with the feelings expressed in British newspapers with the fall of the liberal government that the liberal movement was not popular (see chapter three).

Remarkably in 1823 after the revolution Ferdinand decided not to re-establish the inquisition. This was due to Ferdinand's fears of revolution, not from liberal elements but, the growing ultra-royalist extremists who started to support Ferdinand's brother, Don Carlos would later form the Carlist. Instead of the inquisition the church organised *committees of faith* to

⁶⁹⁶ D.R. Ringrose, *Spain, Europe, and the 'Spanish Miracle', 1700-1900* (Cambridge, 1996), p.68. J. P. Luis, *L'utopie reactionnaire, Epuration et modernisation de l'Etat dans l'Espagne de la fin de l'Ancien Regime, 1823-1835* (Madrid, 2003), p. 214. B. G. Inchausti, Spain, *European Accounting Review*, Volume 2, Issue 2, 1993, pp. 353-361.

⁶⁹⁷ J. T. Elias, *La Guerra de los Agraviados* (Barcelona, 1967).

⁶⁹⁸ Shubert, *A Social History of Modern Spain*, pp. 89-92.

⁶⁹⁹ Christiansen, *The Origins of Military Power in Spain, 1800-1854* (Oxford, 1967), pp.30-31.

safeguard religious purity.⁷⁰⁰ However, this threat was unfounded due to the fact that Don Carlos' support of a royalist institutional practice, that Ferdinand was the rightful king, prevented him from advocating those that regarded him as the future of Spain.⁷⁰¹ The real change in Spanish politics began with the question of succession to the throne. In 1829, Ferdinand married his 4th wife, Maria Cristina of Naples, who it was said won the heart of the king providing an heir to the throne in the form of a daughter Isabella, the cause of problems in the future of Spain with the Carlist War, which will be the focus of chapter five.⁷⁰²

Even with the perceptive threat to Ferdinand's rule, as Inglis wrote with confidence in 1830, "it is a general belief in England, that the King of Spain seldom trusts himself out of his palace; at all events, not without a formidable guard: but this idea is quite erroneous; no monarch in Europe is oftener seen without guards than the King of Spain". This view is verified when Inglis out walking past Ferdinand with just his Valet outside the palace walls in the Retiro, adding that "the King walked like a man who had nothing to fear" even with the news in the *Gaceta de Madrid* that the refugees had passed the frontier.⁷⁰³

The influence of the Spanish exiles on British perceptions of Ferdinand and Spain has resulted in many historians debating their importance. In terms of changing views the Spanish contributed to what some in Britain already knew or perceived about Ferdinand and his government, as being overbearing on the Spanish populace and adding their support to Britain's, to encourage a more liberal Spain. The real influence of exiles was not through literature but the connections made through social interaction, which would affect future relations with Spain. Most notable was the number of Spanish exiles who formed the Spanish government under Cristina and Isabella during the Carlist War. There was certainly an increase

⁷⁰⁰ E. Peters, *Inquisition* (California, 1989), p. 282. Perez, *The Spanish Inquisition: A History*, p. 100.

⁷⁰¹ Carr, *Spain 1808-1975*, p. 136. Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age*, p. 66.

⁷⁰² Pierson, *The History of Spain*, p. 96.

⁷⁰³ Inglis, *Spain in 1830*, pp. 116-118.

in written works, with the republishing of old texts from the Peninsular War, culminating in an explosion of literature in the Carlist War.

Amnesty and Royalist Exiles

With a change in the political landscape of Spain after the death of Ferdinand VII and the establishment of his infant daughter Isabella as sovereign, the government under the regency of Maria Cristina was more liberal and many of the former constitutionalist exiles in Britain returned home to Spain. A general amnesty had been decreed by Ferdinand in 1832, to the many Spanish exiles dispersed across Europe. The exiles in Britain however who wished to return, found many difficulties in their passport applications as some were still under suspicion.⁷⁰⁴ Many of the exiles were relieved to return to their homeland but apprehensive that they were still under mistrust by the Spanish authorities and would be persecuted as suspected British spies.⁷⁰⁵

The Spaniards resident in Britain for upwards of ten years gladly returned home but before leaving, thanked their British guests. Don Martin Serrano, later to join the Cortes and become a judge of the Supreme Court of Valencia, wrote on his departure to the Duke of Wellington, “before quitting these hospitable shores without expressing to your grace the deep feelings of gratitude and respect I do and must ever entertain”.⁷⁰⁶ A number of constitutionalists established advantageous positions on their return to Spain, having formed beneficial associations with Britain. Don Miguel Ricardo de Alava, Wellington’s valued friend became the Spanish ambassador in London from 1834 to 1835.⁷⁰⁷ Juan Alvarez Mendizabal, who had

⁷⁰⁴ *Morning Chronicle*, 15th November, 1832.

⁷⁰⁵ Lord Fitzroy Somerset to Wellington, 21st November, 1833. J. Brooke & J. Gandy, (ed.), *The Prime Minister’s Papers: Wellington Political Correspondence I* (London, 1975), pp. 353-354.

⁷⁰⁶ *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, Vol VI: July to December, 1836, p. 665. Don Martin Serrano to Wellington, 20th May, 1834. Brooke & Gandy, (ed.), *The Prime Minister’s Papers: Wellington Political Correspondence I*, pp. 537-538.

⁷⁰⁷ Bamford, (ed.), *The Journal of Mrs. Arbuthnot 1820-1832*, p. 213.

supported the revolution in 1820, was of even greater import, as he later became the leader of the Liberals or *Progesistas*, becoming Prime Minister of Spain from 1835 to 1836 and was also instrumental in seeking British support for Isabelle.⁷⁰⁸ Other exiles helped to improve the productivity of Spain; Jose Bonplata studied the latest mechanical innovations in Britain and took his knowledge back to Spain to help the Barcelona textile mills.⁷⁰⁹

Not all exiles were allowed to return to their homeland. Lord Fitzroy Somerset, the Duke of Wellington's secretary commented on the situation of Francisco Espoz Y Mina,

“I am not surprised at Mina's being omitted in the amnesty. You may remember that he entered Spain, in 1830, at the head of a constitutional force and was defeated and abandoned on the heights of Vera”.⁷¹⁰

Following a change in circumstances in Spain and the outbreak of civil war between the Liberal government of the infant Isabella and the followers of Don Carlos, in 1835 Mina returned to command the Liberal army in Biscay. With the return of Liberal émigrés this meant a turn of events culminating in the Royalists, under the pretender to the throne Don Carlos, seeking exile in Britain. The British government agreed to the transportation of Don Carlos and his followers and in June 1834 he sailed from Portugal on board the *Donegal* and arrived in Portsmouth on 18th June. It was hoped that Don Carlos would renounce his claims to the Spanish throne for his guaranteed safety and a substantial pension of £30,000 a year from the Spanish government.

⁷⁰⁸ Juan Alvarez Mendizabal (1790-1853) merchant, banker and military administrator in the Peninsular War. He was a member of the Masonic Teller Sublime and an active freemason. A leading Spanish liberal who had been resident in London since 1823, vied with Palmella for invitations to Holland House. Holland asked Grey to recognise Isabella immediately and to allow British volunteers to fight in Spain. P. Janke, *Mendizabal and the Establishment of Constitutional Monarchy in Spain* (Madrid, 1974). F.M. Gilabert, *La desamortizacion Espanola* (Madrid, 2003), pp. 37-39.

⁷⁰⁹ Harrison, *An Economic History of Modern Spain*, p. 58.

⁷¹⁰ Lord Fitzroy Somerset to Wellington, 21st November, 1833. Brooke & Gandy, (eds.), *The Prime Minister's Papers: Wellington Political Correspondence 1*, pp. 353-354.

On 1st July, he reneged on his promise, shaved off his moustache and used a Mexican passport to travel across the channel to France and then in to Spain.⁷¹¹ An aggrieved reader of *The Liverpool Mercury*, complained of Britain's support to one of Don Carlos' companions in exile at Portsmouth, General Moreno, who had previously ordered the execution of Mr Boyd, a British subject in Spain. This reader goes on to say, "it therefore becomes a question whether government ought not to bring him to trial for the offence, and if guilty to condign punishment".⁷¹² On the north coast of Spain, in the Bay of Biscay, a Carlist stronghold, many British subjects suffered injustices of this type causing the British ambassador to speak frequently about them.⁷¹³ From the few comments made by Don Carlos, he was seen to be comparable to Ferdinand, as a man who could not keep his word and was not acting in the best interests of the Spanish people. It will become clear in the next chapter that the Carlist War divided politicians and the reading public.

Conclusion

At the end of the Carlist War, the Marquis of Londonderry, asked a question in parliament about previous Spanish exiles, stating that the Spanish government should repay all the pensions paid to them by the British government in the year 1824 to the last return in 1833.⁷¹⁴ Whether the debt was refunded to Britain is unknown, but the help given to known exiles, who would later become important ministers in Spain during the Carlist War, reinforced political

⁷¹¹ Brett, *The History Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War 1835-1838*, pp. 19-20. FO 323/6 Spain. J. Backhouse, Under-Secretary of State. Mission to Don Carlos at Portsmouth. Correspondence and papers, 1834 June.

⁷¹² Vicente Gonzalez Moreno (1778-1836) Spanish soldier, in the Peninsular War reached the rank of brigadier, later supported Don Carlos in 1832, was imprisoned in Portugal and arrived in England in 1834. *Liverpool Mercury*, 27th June, 1834. R.O. Oyarzun, *Historia del carlismo* (Madrid, 2008), pp. 68-70.

⁷¹³ The British ambassador in Madrid George Villiers wrote of increased hostility and incidents such as the impounding of British cargo aboard British vessels and the murder of British sailors in Carlist held ports. FO 72/440, From George Villiers, 1835 Jan.-Feb.

⁷¹⁴ Charles William Vane (1778-1854) became the 3rd Marquis of Londonderry in 1822, Member of Parliament for Londonderry from 1800-1814, served throughout the Peninsular War as adjutant general and a colonel of a number of cavalry regiments from 1813 to 1854. *The Morning Post & The Standard*, 17th March & *The Newcastle Courant*, 20th March, 1840.

relations between Britain and Spain. The extent to which Spanish exiles had an influence on Britain's politicians and the reading public is questionable. However, from the amount of column space dedicated in the newspapers to this subject, wealthy Spaniards with influential connections in Britain helped to publicise their plight, if not directly then through other avenues.

Certainly many of the patrons of the committee dedicated to helping Spanish exiles were influential men and amongst their circle this was a potent topic of conversation. Spanish Liberals were not as radical as those across Europe, allowing both members of the Tory and Whig parties' to support these exiles. This is illustrated in the absence of the word *Liberal* from the documentary evidence at the time, in preference the word *constitutionalist*.

The already established relationships between many British officers and politicians, who had served in the Peninsular War, meant that an instant connection was offered too many Spaniards, receiving generosity and kindness from men who shared a common enemy. A crucial example being the Duke of Wellington, requested by the government to organise the pensions received by many Spanish nobles and the strong bond established by housing his friend, Don Miguel de Alava. Although there is very little evidence remaining from Spanish exiles in Britain during the course of the early nineteenth century they certainly made an impact on the relations between Britain and Spain at the time and with future relations in the Carlist War.

Chapter Five: The Carlist War 1833 to 1838

The historiography of the Carlist War is very limited in scope and content in the English language, due to a lack of interest and understanding of the fundamental nature of the conflict. The historian Edward Brett states that, “in Britain, mention of the First Carlist War usually invokes a blank stare, a reference to the Spanish Civil War one hundred years later, or sometimes a confusion with the Peninsular War”.⁷¹⁵ Insufficient books and articles have devoted themselves to British involvement during the Carlist War. Political biographies about the 1830s show little indication and awareness of this liberal war but do pay lip service to a similar conflict being fought in Portugal.⁷¹⁶ Studies of the Spanish conflict which deal directly with Britain’s involvement in the Carlist War, like those of Brett and Martin Robson, detail the activities of the British Auxiliary Legion.⁷¹⁷ This Legion was raised to fight in Spain for the *Cristinos*, the Infanta Maria Cristina against the *Carlists*. Richard James's *British Public Opinion in the Carlist War*, or more correctly British public opinions on the British Auxiliary Legion, gives a great insight into the wars unpopularity with the public.⁷¹⁸ However this study is somewhat limited in the use of newspapers, mainly analysing the *Morning Chronicle* and *The Times*, and in exploring the political developments in Spain and British support for the Carlists.

Therefore the sources utilised in this thesis have rarely been made use of and give a unique insight into this somewhat forgotten period of history, of Britain’s involvement in Spain. This chapter will also consider the Britons who took an active part in parliament and in Spain to support the Carlists. Likewise, how significantly did opinions regarding Spain change

⁷¹⁵ Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War in Spain, 1835-1838*, p. 2. F. Duncan, *The English in Spain or the Story of the War of Succession Between 1834 and 1840* (London, 1877).

⁷¹⁶ Bourne, *Palmerston: The Early Years 1784-1841*, p. 402.

⁷¹⁷ M. Robson, ‘Strangers, Mercenaries, Heretics, Scoffers, Polluters’: *Volunteering for the British Auxilliary Legion in Spain, 1835* in, N. Arielli, & B. Collins, (eds.), *Transnational Soldiers: Foreign Military Enlistment in the Modern Era* (New York, 2013), pp. 182-196.

⁷¹⁸ James, *Public Opinion and The British Legion in Spain 1835-1838*, p. iii.

compared with the Peninsular War and was there a generally improved view or did opinions stagnate, representing the *Black Legend*?

The background to the conflict emerged in the 1830's over the question of succession arising after Ferdinand VII death on 26th September 1833. The old French Salic law, introduced by Spain's first Bourbon King Philip V in 1713, which had prohibited females from inheriting the throne, was revoked in 1808.⁷¹⁹ This therefore resulted in Ferdinand's fourth wife, Maria Cristina of Naples, acting as Queen Regent of Spain on behalf of their daughter Isabella.⁷²⁰ Their supporters included liberal members of the government who believed in a constitutional monarchy. In opposition to this move the *Carlists*, who supported Ferdinand's younger brother, Don Carlos, embarked upon several minor uprisings across the country. They believed in the old order of an absolutist monarch and conservative institutions such as the fundamental rights of the king and the church.⁷²¹

Compared to the Peninsular War some twenty years previously, the conflict in Spain caused great divisions between Tory and Whig supporters in the House of Commons and Lords. By the 1830's the Tories had become enervated by internal differences relating to parliamentary leadership, a number of members defecting to the opposite side of the house, leading to notable reforms like the Great Reform Act.⁷²²

Lord Palmerston, Britain's Foreign Secretary at the outbreak of the war in Spain in 1833, under the Whig government of Earl Grey, held a strong view that support for the Liberals in Spain was in Britain's best interests.⁷²³ The three principal eastern powers, Russia, Prussia and

⁷¹⁹ Coverdale, *The Basque Phase of Spain's First Carlist War*, p.95.

⁷²⁰ Cairns, *The First Carlist War 1833-1840*, p.6.

⁷²¹ T. Buchanan, *Britain and the Spanish Civil War* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 11-12. Carr, *Spain 1808-1975*, p.150.

⁷²² Evans, *Political Parties in Britain 1783-1867*, pp. 30-32. G. I. T. Machin, *The Catholic Question in English Politics 1820 to 1830* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 2-3.

⁷²³ Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865) Whig Member of Parliament for Newport, Isle of Wight from 1807 to 1811, Cambridge University from 1811 to 1831, Bletchingley from 1831 to 1832,

Austria, the Holy Alliance, had pledged to cooperate in containing liberal movements in Europe and supported Don Carlos' claim to the Spanish throne. In response, the Western Confederacy gave their response to the Eastern Alliance by formally signing a treaty on the 22nd April 1834, establishing the Quadruple Alliance which supported constitutional monarchies and included Britain, France, Spain and Portugal.⁷²⁴ Additionally articles within the treaty stated that Britain would assist in supplying military equipment to the Cristino forces, clearly demonstrating Palmerston's policy. At the time the Portuguese pretender to the throne Dom Miguel, had failed in his attempt to seize the throne. Don Carlos being in exile in Portugal was fortunate that the British government would transport him to England with an assurance that he would not engage in a constitutional war in Spain. However he soon ventured back to Spain to claim his throne.⁷²⁵

Politicians in Britain were divided over the conflict and supporting Don Carlos. King William IV was not enthusiastic about foreigners and particularly the French, having borne arms against them in the Royal Navy in the American War of Independence, French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars.⁷²⁶ He believed that Britain should not intervene in minor issues as it was not in the country's interest and in his opinion, "the Spanish government can find no way of making an amicable arrangement with the population of Navarre and Biscay, and I believe that it was evident that, the insurgents are not fighting for Carlos... but for their local privileges".⁷²⁷ This is intriguing because it shows a rather informed view with the power of hindsight; some

Hampshire South 1832 to 1835 and Tiverton from 1835 to 1836. Secretary of War 1809 to 1828, Foreign Secretary from 1830 to 1834 and 1835 to 1841 and later Prime Minister from 1855 to 1858 and 1859 to 1865. D.R. Fisher, (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832*, The History of Parliament Online. Bourne, *Palmerston: The Early Years 1784-1841*, p. 46. D. Judd, *Palmerston* (London, 1975), p.58.

⁷²⁴ Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War in Spain*, p. 13.

⁷²⁵ See Chapter four on Spanish exiles for more information on Don Carlos' time in Britain. Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War in Spain*, pp. 19-20.

⁷²⁶ King William IV (1765-1837) king from 1830 to 1837, the third son of George III, joined the Royal Navy aged 13 in 1778. He was made Admiral in 1798, commanding the fleet in 1813 off the coast of the Low Countries. Made Lord High Admiral in 1827 and had to resign his post in 1828 after sailing the fleet out of Britain for 10 days. He spoke in the House of Lords and was a strong advocate against the abolition of the slave trade but was for Catholic emancipation. P. Ziegler, *King William IV* (London, 1971).

⁷²⁷ C. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Lord Palmerston* (London, 1969), p. 404.

historians have argued that William IV knew very little about Spanish affairs and was a xenophobe but in this case it would seem the opposite.⁷²⁸

The Duke of Wellington's opinion of affairs in Spain was that the queen should engage in more traditional ideas, to gain the support of a larger number of the population and that liberalism would lead to her downfall.⁷²⁹ Generally, members of the Tory party wanted stability for Spain with various members supporting Don Carlos and the Whigs supported the liberal cause and a constitutional monarchy. With the collapse of Earl Greys Whig government, in 1834, attributable to his resignation followed by half the cabinet's resignation also, the king called upon Robert Peel to form a new Tory government with Wellington as Foreign Secretary.⁷³⁰

Wellington was contacted by an old friend, General Miguel de Alava, Spanish ambassador to London on the 24th November 1834. Alava was reported as intimating that the British ambassador, George Villiers, was a trustworthy candidate to represent British views, "he has identified himself with your way of thinking and hates the Carlists as much as those that hanker after the abominable code of 1812, the number of whom is fortunately very small".⁷³¹ Wellington dispatched Lord Elliot, who had previously served in the British embassies in Lisbon and Madrid. In addition Colonel Wyld, editor of Wellington's dispatches, was sent to

⁷²⁸ A. Somerset, *The Life and Times of William IV* (London, 1980). T. Pocock, *Sailor King: The Life of King William IV* (London, 1991).

⁷²⁹ C. Greville, *The Greville Memoirs* (New York, 1875), p. 210.

⁷³⁰ William Lamb, 2nd Viscount Melbourne (1779-1848) Whig Member of Parliament for Leominster 1806, Portarlington from 1807 to 1812, Peterborough from 1816 to 1819, Hertfordshire from 1819 to 1826, Newport Isle of Wight 1827 and Bletchingley from 1827 to 1828. Chief Secretary for Ireland 1827 to 1828, Home Secretary from 1830 to 1834, Leader of the House of Lords in 1834 and from 1835 to 1841 and Prime Minister in 1834 and from 1835 to 1841. Fisher, (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832*, The History of Parliament Online.

⁷³¹ George William Fredrick Villiers, 4th Earl of Clarendon (1800-1870) British embassy at Saint Petersburg from 1820 to 1823, Commissionership of Customs from 1823 to 1831 and appointed as British ambassador to Spain from 1833 to 1839. P. Mandler, *Aristocratic Government in the Age of Reform: Whigs and Liberals, 1830-1852* (London, 1990). R.J. Olney & J. Melvin, *Wellington Political Correspondence II: November 1834-April 1835* (London, 1986), p. 74.

attempt to negotiate peace in Spain, however no resolution was forthcoming. Unfortunately for the Tory government they lost power and this resulted in a return of the Whigs, in April 1835.⁷³²

The general opinion in the newspapers at the start of the conflict, in 1833, was overwhelmingly in support of Don Carlos as having a legitimate claim to the throne. The *Ipswich Journal* underlined this view in stating that “the pretensions of a prince who has long been regarded by a very large proportion of the Spanish people as the legal successor to the throne”.⁷³³ *The Morning Post* also agreed that “Don Carlos, as it appears to us, is at this moment the rightful King of Spain, according to the only law of succession which the Spanish people of the present age, or of several past ages, have been taught to acknowledge”.⁷³⁴ What is evident about British perceptions of the Spanish monarchy is that a rather old conservative attitude of a male monarchy inheriting the throne was more preferable than a female and especially one in her minority.

This is in part due to a British understanding of the nature of the popularity of the conservative monarchy and less extensive support of Liberals in Spain with the legacy of the failure of the Spanish Revolution in 1823. Also the *Berrow's Worcester Journal* gives a reason for the support of Don Carlos and the predicted outcome of a conflict. “The power of the priesthood is so great, and they are so devoted to Don Carlos, that fears are entertained whether the queen will be able to keep down that formidable party”.⁷³⁵ This illustrates that there was still a

⁷³²Edward Elliot, Lord Elliot (1798-1877) travelled to Spain from 1835 to 1836 and helped to establish the Lord Eliot Convention which aimed to stop the execution by firing squad of prisoners in the Carlist War. Tory Member of Parliament for Liskeard from 1826 to 1832 and East Cornwall from 1837 to 1845. Fisher, (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832*, The History of Parliament Online. Colonel William Wylde (1788-1877) joined the Royal Artillery in 1803, fought in Holland and part of the army of occupation of France. In 1834 became the Military Commissioner in Don Pedro's army in Portugal and between 1834 and 1835 was in the service of the Queen of Spain's Army. Wylde Family 1831-1923, Durham University Library, archive and special collections GB-0033-WYL. H. Maxwell, *The Life and Letters of George William Frederick Fourth Earl of Clarendon* (London, 1913), p. 89.

⁷³³ *Ipswich Journal*, 20th April, 1833.

⁷³⁴ *The Morning Post*, 17th October, 1833.

⁷³⁵ *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 3rd January, *The Aberdeen Journal*, 9th January, 1833.

perceived notion in Britain, by many, that the church still restrained the country under its autonomy.

Not everyone agreed with the supporters of Don Carlos, a number of more liberal newspapers called his actions and those of his supporters as an *insurrection*.⁷³⁶ The Duke of Wellington wrote to Viscount Mahon, on the 29th November 1833 mindful that,

“our newspapers are like public men; each goes his own way. *The Standard* objects to Don Carlos because he was a Roman Catholic! *The Guardian* takes up the cause of the queen for no reason at all; while *The Morning Post* supports sometimes the one and sometimes the other”.⁷³⁷

This great lack of consensus by the vast majority of British newspapers and politicians shows once again that the absence of definitive information about the nature of domestic affairs in Spain encouraged many to abstain from publicly making an opinion.

However, in 1834 the support for the Carlists was gaining momentum and particularly with claims that the majority of the Spanish populace supported the Carlists. *The Morning Post* announced in April 1834, with information from an unknown source in Spain that Spanish opinion was “decidedly in favour of the claims of Don Carlos”.⁷³⁸ *The Aberdeen Journal* added that “the news from Spain are unfavourable to the queen” after reports that the Carlists had taken Vittoria.⁷³⁹ These sentiments written about the Carlists give the impression that they were not a revolutionary force but were reasserting the status quo against more radical liberals. Even the *Morning Chronicle*, a known supporter of the Whigs, criticised their support for the queen’s

⁷³⁶ *The Caledonian Mercury, The Leeds Mercury, The Sheffield Independent, and Yorkshire and Derbyshire advertiser*, 19th January, 1833.

⁷³⁷ Philip Stanhope, Viscount Mahon (1805 to 1875) Tory Member of Parliament for Wootton Bassett from 1830 to 1832 and Herford from 1832 to 1852. Under Foreign Secretary from 1834 to 1835. Fisher, (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820-1832*, The History of Parliament Online. Brooke & Gandy, *Wellington Political Correspondence I: 1833- November 1834*, p. 364.

⁷³⁸ *The Morning Post*, 1st April, 1834.

⁷³⁹ *The Aberdeen Journal*, 2nd April, 1834.

forces and the intention to intervene in what many saw as a Spanish internal affair which needed no foreign intervention. The *Morning Chronicle* stated that “the Whig Ministers...It is of no consequence to them that the Spanish people are opposed to these innovations; still they persevere in their plans of reform”, again confirming the unpopularity of intervention in Spain by some in Britain.⁷⁴⁰

Overall it is evident that the newspapers generally supported the Tory government’s policy of neutrality in the emerging Carlist War and some even supported the claim of Don Carlos as the rightful monarch of Spain. Contrary to historians’ ideas of the newspapers after the Great Reform Act, being more critical of the party in power, the majority of the newspapers fell in line with the government’s foreign policy at this juncture.⁷⁴¹ The newspapers would soon change their opinion when a new Whig government came to power however; having a strong policy in regard to the Carlist War and the sectary of liberalism in Western Europe against a strong conservative backlash.

British Intervention in 1835

Although the Tory policy of neutrality did not manifest itself due to the agreement of the Quadruple Alliance Treaty, in the words of Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister in January 1835, “the common law lawyers were taken upon the possibility of blockading the Carlist ports of Spain by his Majesty's ships”.⁷⁴² Edward Ellice, Private Secretary to Lord Durham, Ambassador to Russia, in early 1835, stated that, “non-intervention is of course the result and I am disposed to think the right one”.⁷⁴³ However events progressed expeditiously, the Whig

⁷⁴⁰ *Morning Chronicle*, 20th September, 1834.

⁷⁴¹ A. Burns, & J. Innes, (ed.), *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780-1850* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 163. H.L. Smith, *All Men and Both Sexes: Gender, Politics, and the False Universal in England 1640-1832* (Pennsylvania, 2002), p. 174. Aspinall, *Politics and the Press 1780-1850*, p.2.

⁷⁴² Olney & Melvin, *Wellington Political Correspondence II*, p. 399.

⁷⁴³ Edward Ellice (1810-1880) Private Secretary of John George Lambton Lord Durham, during his diplomatic mission to Russia in 1832. Liberal Member of Parliament for Huddersfield in 1837 and St Andrews Burghs

government under Lord Melbourne first suspended the Foreign Enlistment Act on the 10th June for two years, which now allowed British soldiers to serve in foreign armies.⁷⁴⁴

The Whigs came under criticism from the newspapers because of this policy of intended intervention in the war in Spain. *The Morning Post* concluded that, “the Whigs imagine that ten or twelve millions of Spanish Carlists will allow their chains to be riveted in this manner? Will they submit to foreign dictation of this kind?”⁷⁴⁵ *The Morning Post* believed that the government’s policy of helping the Liberal administration was participating in a war against the wishes of the majority of the Spanish people. Thomas Thornton the parliamentary reporter for *The Times* additionally wrote that “whether England should accede to such an enterprise...we shall not here offer an opinion; to any active participation in the land warfare, this whole kingdom would at once object”.⁷⁴⁶ The majority of the newspapers agreed that Palmerston’s policy on Spain did not reflect the views held by the political reading public and went against the wishes of the nation.⁷⁴⁷

Britain had rarely interfered in the internal affairs of neighbouring countries, unless it had dire consequences to its own interests, British policy was certainly favourable to Liberal governments in Western Europe. However, this illustrates that public opinion, expressed through the media of the newspapers, had a modest effect on the decision making of governmental policy towards foreign affairs. In addition it also shows that the newspapers aim was to question government rhetoric, in this case disagreeing with their policy. Likewise that

from 1837 to 1880. Bourne, *Palmerston*, p. 402. Fisher, (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820-1832*, The History of Parliament Online.

⁷⁴⁴ Foreign Enlistment Bill passed in June 1819, aimed to prevent the enlisting or engagement of British subjects to serve in Foreign Service, and equipping vessels in a warlike purpose. House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, London. Foreign Enlistment Bill, May 1819.

⁷⁴⁵ *The Morning Post*, 6th June, 1835.

⁷⁴⁶ Thomas Thornton (1786-1866) Parliamentary reporter for *The Times* from 1824 and served with the paper for 40 years. Griffiths, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, p. 561. *The Times* 10th June, 1835.

⁷⁴⁷ James, *Public Opinion and The British Legion in Spain 1835-1838*, p.3. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Lord Palmerston Vol. I*, p. 346.

political discussion outside of Westminster could be far removed from the reality of the formulation of cabinet agendas.

Persuasive opinions were voiced by opponents of intervention to voice stronger opinions and the newspapers were quick to add to the debate and criticise government policy.⁷⁴⁸ *The Times* suggested that, “it is from no other motive to assist the queen of Spain in making an unjust war upon the Basques... and the possibility at least have a European war created (sic)”⁷⁴⁹ In this statement the paper understood that by entering the war this could cause a further European conflict, as the Quadruple Alliance would come into conflict with the Eastern Alliance. Additionally the repealing of the Foreign Enlistment Act raised an important question, *The North Wales Chronicle* comments

“Why suspend the Foreign Enlistment Act for one side of the question and not for the other? Why not allow British subjects to enlist for the Queen or Don Carlos, according to their taste - their principles or their views of their own personal advantage has more to do with the promotion of even Liberal principles than any generous disinterestedness of sentiment”⁷⁵⁰

British officers had already volunteered to aid Pedro in the civil war in Portugal, with four thousand stands of arms and two thousand four hundred men. In addition British officers were involved in helping the crown forces during this conflict and as the war in Spain escalated soldiers travelled from neighbouring Portugal to fight in the armies of Don Carlos.⁷⁵¹

In reaction to the newspapers’ criticism of his party’s policy Palmerston was keen to control information about foreign policy in the newspapers and the transmission of intelligence from British representatives in Spain. He was a personal friend of fellow Whig Sir John Easthope

⁷⁴⁸ Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War in Spain*, p. 189.

⁷⁴⁹ *The Times*, 26th June, 1835.

⁷⁵⁰ *North Wales Chronicle*, 16th June, 1835.

⁷⁵¹ Bourne, *Palmerston: The Early Years 1784-1841*, p. 398.

who was the owner of the *Morning Chronicle* and was also acquainted with the editor, John Black.⁷⁵² With the newspapers' commercial success in jeopardy in 1834, the historian Bourne has stated that Palmerston, "instructed his missions abroad to give the *Chronicle* as much or even more information than *The Times* and he tried to help it compete with that paper in the rapid transmission of foreign news".⁷⁵³ The British ambassador in Spain, George Villiers, had a generous sum of money from the secret service, over £600 a year, to pay informants for information and constant correspondence.⁷⁵⁴

Information from such sources was helpful in assessing the need for British intervention in Spain. One of George Villiers' informants, Colonel Hyde wrote that

"in answer to your first question as to the necessity for foreign aid to put an end to the war. My opinion is that, if it is thought necessary for the welfare of Spain that the rebellion should be suppressed immediately, there is not the slightest chance left of accomplishing it by other means than foreign intervention; and that the force that enters should consist of fifty thousand men at least. With regard to the opinion of the army, it has changed very much of late. Many being tired of the war, and more I believe of the activity of their general, and all seem now to look forward to the entrance of a foreign force as a matter of necessity".⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵² Sir John Easthope (1784-1865) Whig Member of Parliament for St Albans from 1826 to 1830, Banbury from 1831 to 1832 and Leicester from 1837 to 1847. He bought the *Morning Chronicle* off William Clement in 1834 for £16,500 and employed men such as Charles Dickens to write for him. John Black (1783-1855) was a good friend of John Perry and due to his ill health became editor in 1817 until he was asked to resign in 1843. D.F. Bostick, Sir John Eastope and the *Morning Chronicle*, *Victorian Periodical Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (summer, 1979), pp. 51-53. Griffiths, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, pp. 112 & 216. F. D. Barrows and D. B. Mock, *A Dictionary of Obituaries of Modern British Radicals* (London, 1989), p. 135-136. E.M. Palmegiano, *Perceptions of the Press in Nineteenth Century British Periodicals: A Bibliography* (London, 2012), p. 259. L.J. Hume, *Bentham and Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, 2004).

⁷⁵³ Bourne, *Palmerston: The Early Years 1784-1841*, p. 486.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

⁷⁵⁵ Although there is no certainty whom Mr Hyde was the most likely candidate is James Chicheley Hyde (1789-1867) he was commissioned as a lieutenant in the Horse Artillery, in 1806 with the Bengal Army he

In addition to these opinions Mr Hyde thought that foreign intervention would convince the Carlists to halt their resistance to the Spanish government. Intelligence of this nature prompted the government to implement its policy of intervention and to raise a force to fight in the war for Queen Isabella.

The Duke of Alva in London was eager in raising a British Auxiliary Legion to fight for the queen and the Spanish government and employed Colonel Luis Fernandez de Cordoba to arrange this.⁷⁵⁶ The *Liverpool Mercury* reported that “A Spanish officer of high distinction has arrived in London, commissioned by the queen regent to levy a corps of twenty thousand men in this country and Belgium”.⁷⁵⁷ Within twelve days of the Foreign Enlistment Bill being repealed recruitment of officers for the British Auxiliary Legion commenced.⁷⁵⁸ One of the first to be solicited by Cordoba was Sir George De Lacy Evans as Commander of the Legion. Evans was a veteran of the Peninsular War, serving on Wellington’s staff with Alava, and was a radical Member of Parliament for Westminster with sympathies for the Spanish liberal cause.⁷⁵⁹

British political opinion and interest regarding the Carlist War was extensive, with the increase in the number of men enfranchised after the Great Reform Act 1832 and the creation of new newspapers to handle the latest political ideas of radicalism in Britain.⁷⁶⁰ A growth in

fought in India from 1809 to 1818. Later, as a captain, he was aide-de-camp to Major General Thomas Hadwicke from 1820 to 1823. Fisher, (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820-1832*, The History of Parliament Online. The Annual Register, Vol. IX (London, 1809), p.187. V.C.P. Hodson, *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834* (London, 1946), p. 540. Extract of a letter from Colonel Hyde to Mr. Villiers, Vitoria, 13th May, 1835.

⁷⁵⁶ Luis Fernandez de Cordoba (1798-1840) Spanish general and diplomat, ambassador to Portugal 1831 to 1833 and commander of the queen’s army until 1836. Kriegel, (ed.), *The Holland House Diaries 1831-1840*, p. 220. *The Examiner*, 14th June, 1835.

⁷⁵⁷ *Liverpool Mercury*, 12th June, 1835.

⁷⁵⁸ British Foreign Legion: Terms and Conditions of Service, yourarchives.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.php?title=British_Foreign_Legion:_Terms_and_Conditions_of_Service, 19th November, 2011. The Morning Post, 21st April, 1835. Caledonian Mercury, 21st May, 1835. The Morning Post, 25th May, 1835.

⁷⁵⁹ Sir George De Lacy Evans (1787-1870) he entered politics as a radical; by 1831 he was Member of Parliament for Rye, lost his seat and contested Westminster which he finally won in 1833 to 1841. E. M. Spiers, *Radical General: Sir George de Lacy Evans, 1787–1870* (London, 1983).

⁷⁶⁰ Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain Vol 1*, p. 31.

interest in Spain was facilitated with the publication of books and articles on the country. With a new war over succession, historians started to publish books about the Spanish War of Succession in the early 18th century, making comparisons with this new conflict.⁷⁶¹ More notable was the fact that former generals of Wellington's army started to publish their memories and dispatches.⁷⁶² Two of Wellington's general's in the Peninsular War being examples of such, David Baird and Thomas Picton, their memoirs and recollections were first published in the 1830's.⁷⁶³

In addition a number of officers and soldiers' Peninsular War writings were also published in the 1830's; alongside recent details from intelligence officers in Spain monitoring the movements of Don Carlos. Six of the most prominent sources, which have been used in this thesis to describe opinions of Spain in the Peninsular War, were published from 1833 to 1837 (see footnote).⁷⁶⁴ Therefore these sources will be examined in this chapter to see if they say more about the time they were published than the actual events that occurred in the Peninsular War.

In reaction to this expansion of literature, Henry Southern a prominent writer on Spain at the time, commented on the popularity of Spain in his book *The Policy of England towards Spain*. Southern wrote,

⁷⁶¹ L. Mahon, *History of the War of the Succession in Spain* (London, 1832). W. Walton, *Spain! or Who is the Lawful Successor to the Throne?* (London, 1834).

⁷⁶² *Caledonian Mercury*, 21st April, 1834.

⁷⁶³ D. Baird, *The Life of General, the Right Honourable Sir David Baird* (London, 1832). T. Picton, *Memoirs of Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Picton, Vol. I & II* (London, 1835).

⁷⁶⁴ Surtees, *Surtees of the 95th Rifles*, first published in 1833, Ross-Lewin, *With the Thirty-Second in the Peninsular and Other Campaigns*, first published in 1834, Cadell, *The Slashers*, first published in 1835 and in 1837, Patterson, *The Adventures of Captain John Patterson*, Shaw, *Personal Memoirs and Correspondence of Colonel Charles Shaw & Memoirs of a Sergeant: The 43rd Light Infantry During the Peninsular War*. Also two notable contemporary accounts of Spain were published at this time; L. Badcock, *Rough Leaves From a Journal Kept in Spain and Portugal: During the Years 1832, 1833, and 1834* (London, 1835). M.B. Honan, *The Court and Camp of Don Carlos* (London, 1836).

The Spanish question certainly occupies the public mind. No man who lives in society and reads the newspapers or frequents the clubs of London, can fail to be aware of this –but if he analyses what he hears, he will admit that it is not the Spanish part of the question that creates this general interest...It is the fate of our countrymen who compose the Auxiliary Legion, and their constant correspondence with the newspapers - it is the communications from San Sebastian, and not from Madrid, which keep alive the public feelings.⁷⁶⁵

This statement does illustrate one key element, that the public's interests was not so much in Spanish foreign affairs but British influences and actions in Spain. Likewise the sources of information that most of the reading public in Britain assimilated gave a clouded picture of developments, especially from a Spanish perspective. This attitude will be confirmed in the following sections with comments on the British Auxiliary Legion actions in the Carlist War.

The British Auxiliary Legion in Spain 1835

The British Auxiliary Legion sometimes referred to as the 'Spanish Expedition' or the 'Spanish Mercenaries' by the newspapers, arrived in Spain in July 1835 with a contingency of just over four thousand troops.⁷⁶⁶ General Evans proceeded in late August with the remainder of the force, bringing the total of the Legions force to seven thousand seven hundred troops. They settled into their billets in the convents of San Sebastian and commenced training, as they were not allowed this privilege in Britain due to being classed as a foreign Legion. The Carlist War unlike the Peninsular War, some twenty years before, was fought on very different

⁷⁶⁵ Henry Southern (1799-1853) Editor of *The Retrospective Review* and a publisher from 1820 to 1828 of sixteenth and seventeenth century literature. D.A. Kent & D.R. Ewen, (ed.), *Regency Radical: Selected Writings of William Hone* (Michigan, 2003), p. 433. H. Southern & G.W.F. Clarendon, *The Policy of England Towards Spain: Considered Chiefly with reference to "A Review of the Social and Political State of the Basque Provinces, and a Few Remarks on Recent Events in Spain, &c. by an English Nobleman"* (London, 1837), pp. 2-3.

⁷⁶⁶ *The Morning Post*, 28th July, *The Blackburn Standard*, 29th July, 1835. *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 6th August, 1835. *The Morning Post*, 28th September, 2nd October, 1835.

principles. The British Auxiliary Legion predominantly operated from its base in San Sebastian, in the north of Spain in the Basque country and Navarre. To a greater extent the war involved small scale actions with fewer large scale battles and sieges as the Peninsular War.⁷⁶⁷

Early news of the Legion was positive “the men of the British Auxiliary Legion here (Santander) appear to have behaved extremely well, the only fault to be found with them being that they were too ardent”, and in their first skirmishes with the Carlist they “acted with great courage and firmness”.⁷⁶⁸ However, the Legion only raised seven thousand seven hundred men and not the fifty thousand troops which Villiers and Colonel Hyde suggested could bring an end to the conflict. Consequently the failure to recruit would affect the Legions value as a combat force.

The initial opinion of the conflict by soldiers involved in the fighting was generally in support of a British policy of intervention. John Francis Bacon, a staff officer in the British Auxiliary Legion wrote that “Great Britain recognised no other sovereign of Spain than Isabel II” and consequently “had Great Britain aided Charles (Don Carlos), it would have been acting *hostilely* to our unfortunate ally (Isabella)”.⁷⁶⁹ This can be explained further by General George Evans, still acting as Member of Parliament for Westminster, citing a speech by Viscount Palmerston, as a reason why Britain was involved in the war for greater political reasons. “We will embrace...to join the four great powers of the West of Europe, namely, France, England, Spain and Portugal, in one alliance - we will unite them for the attainment of one common and general object”.⁷⁷⁰ The Reverend Thomas Farr, attached to the Royal Marines of the Legion and a liberal supporter, similarly thought too many people in Britain criticised Lord

⁷⁶⁷ Black, *War in the Nineteenth Century: 1800-1914*, pp.43-44. W.H. Bowen & J.E. Alvarez, (ed.), *A Military History of Modern Spain: From the Napoleonic Era to the International War on Terror* (London, 2007), pp. 23-24.

⁷⁶⁸ A. Somerville, *History of the British Legion and War in Spain* (London, 1839). *The Examiner*, 13th September, 1835. *The Sheffield Independent*, and *Yorkshire and Derbyshire Advertiser*, 12th September, 1835.

⁷⁶⁹ J.F. Bacon, *Six Years in Biscay* (London, 1838), p. 272.

⁷⁷⁰ D.L. Evans, *Memoranda of the Contest in Spain* (London, 1840), p. 17.

Palmerston's Spanish policy which benefited both British and Spanish interests.⁷⁷¹ Britain was honouring its alliances with Spain, securing peace and, in a larger context, the balance of power in Europe.

Charles William Thompson, an officer in the 9th Regiment of the British Auxiliary Legion, had an interesting conversation with a Spanish captain about the views in Britain towards the war. "He was very curious as to what we thought of the war, and whether in our opinion it was just or unjust. I replied of course that we all thought it a base and infamous war on the part of Don Carlos... He fully agreed with me".⁷⁷² Evidently, once again, opinion in Britain of Spain was important to the Spanish so they could judge the reception and acknowledgement for the war and the backing of Britain. However, would these views alter as the situation changed and continued?

As was apparent, Britain would endeavour to be involved in the Carlist War. A number of newspapers nevertheless had their apprehensions about how British forces would succeed and be treated by the Spanish. A reader of the *Ipswich Journal* under the name *An Englishman* conveyed to the editor of his worries.

"They are told that the Spanish people will receive them with open arms, and that, the glorious struggle ended, they will be liberally rewarded. The first promise is untrue, the second impossible. All Spaniards naturally detest foreigners, and in addition to this the great bulk of the people are hostile to the queen".⁷⁷³

⁷⁷¹ T. Farr, *A Traveller's Rambling Reminiscences of The Spanish War; with a Reputation of the Charges of Cruelty Brought Against General Evens and the British Legion and A Defence of British Policy* (London, 1838), p. x. Somerville, *History of the British Legion and War in Spain*, p. 469.

⁷⁷² C.W. Thompson, *Twelve Months in the British Legion, by an Officer of the Ninth Regiment* (London, 1836), pp. 170-171.

⁷⁷³ *Ipswich Journal*, 18th July, 1835.

Showing that the opinion of this reader, like many, was that the Spanish were not to be trusted and believed that the British Auxiliary Legion was an unwelcome force working against the wishes of the majority of the Spanish people. This reader may have had some personal information from a friend in Spain to justify their political stance against the legions intervention on the side of the *infanta*.

This would ultimately cause problems in how the Legion was received and is reminiscent of many sceptical observations made by soldiers during the beginning of the Peninsular War. An example of this was in a letter to the editor of the *Cornwall Gazette*, reminding its readers of “the manner, in which the English were treated in Portugal, cannot yet be effaced from our memories, and can we expect better treatment from the Spanish? “. ⁷⁷⁴ This demonstrates an unchanged view of the Spanish which was influenced by having knowledge of the experiences of Peninsular War soldiers and the recent conflict in Portugal.

A small contingent of British officers and adventures had fought on the side of the Liberals in the Portuguese Civil War or of the two Brothers which ended in 1834; many were now fighting in the Carlist War. ⁷⁷⁵ This previous conflict had similarities with the Carlist War, Dom Pedro Emperor of Brazil fought a civil war against his younger brother Dom Miguel for the Portuguese crown. In 1828, Don Miguel declared himself king and nullified Portugal’s liberal constitution, leading Don Pedro, with Portuguese liberals and British support to reclaim the crown of Portugal. Ultimately the Liberals won, reinstated the constitution with Don Pedro’s daughter Maria da Gloria as queen in 1834. ⁷⁷⁶ If the Liberals had won in Portugal with British soldiers help, then there was a belief that the same could be achieved in Spain, and, in a larger

⁷⁷⁴ *The Cornwall Royal Gazette, Falmouth Packet and Plymouth Journal*, 11th September, 1835.

⁷⁷⁵ M.E. Rodriguez, *Under the Flags of Freedom: British Mercenaries in the War of the Two Brothers, the First Carlist War, and the Greek War of Independence (1821-1840)* (2009), p. 65.

⁷⁷⁶ Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War in Spain, 1835-1838*, p. 13.

political setting that most of Western Europe would have liberal regimes to counterbalance the conservative institutions in the east.

However returning to the conflict in Spain, *The Times* newspaper commented that, “Nothing can be better than the way in which these men (the Legion) are treated here. In fact it is too good, and will make establishing anything like discipline amongst them an arduous task in any circumstances”.⁷⁷⁷ *The Times* and other publications would be proven wrong in subsequent years; soldier's endeavours would speak of a different tale, hardship and a sense of neglect by the Spanish government. Even with criticism from the outset of the war, the government, the Legion and some of the British reading public had confidence that British assistance would facilitate a conclusion to the war. Nevertheless there were divisions in military support as many would continue to aid the Carlists.

Carlist Supporters

British support for the Carlists has received little attention but is critical to an understanding of British opinions and the role which newspapers played in the war. The Duke of Wellington received early reports of British vessels supplying the Carlist forces. One such incident involved the Sloop the *Isabella Anna* carrying “six hundred barrels of gunpowder ...together with twenty seven officers”, this ship was captured at Santander and its crew imprisoned.⁷⁷⁸ This trend continued with various ships like the *Paddy* being “seized at Santander for having contraband articles of war on board”, in 1836.⁷⁷⁹ Arguably these merchants were providing arms for commercial reasons rather than on political grounds but sent a clear message that Britons were willing to help the Carlist.

⁷⁷⁷ *The Times*, 27th July, 1835.

⁷⁷⁸ FO84/177 George Villiers to the Duke of Wellington, Madrid, 11th February, 1835.

⁷⁷⁹ FO72/457 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, Madrid, 30th January, 1836.

Compared with the Peninsular War a larger contingent of British journalists travelled to Spain to report on the events of the Carlist War. Many of these men came to the attention of George Villiers and the Spanish authorities because of their tendency to visit the Carlist lines and so were under suspicion of being Carlist spies. One reporter for the *Morning Herald*, Mr Michael Burke Honan, resident in Madrid for two years from 1834 to 1836, was known to have been “extremely hostile to the queen’s government”.⁷⁸⁰ Honan had travelled extensively through the territory held by the Carlists, visited Don Carlos’ headquarters and had written on the great achievements of the Carlist movement. However, returning from France, after being extradited from the country by the Spanish police, he returned to Madrid and conversed with Villiers about seeking British protection. The Prime Minister of Spain, Juan Alvarez Mendizabal, wrote to Villiers stating that Honan had “produced strong feelings of indignation in the public, and from the fear of some unknown happening to him it was suggested that he should leave the country”.⁷⁸¹ Strong inducements led Honan to be transported by the authorities to the Portuguese border and hence never returned to Spain.

Other reporters and officers also acquired Villiers’ attention. The first was Charles Lewis Gruneisen, who was appointed sub-editor of *The Morning Post* in 1833, and managed the papers foreign affairs. In March 1837 he was sent as a special correspondent attached to the Carlist army, where he received the distinguished order of Charles III from Don Carlos for his engagement in battle.⁷⁸² Additionally Gruneisen caused so much anger among the Cristinos that various generals even claimed that he caused more damage with the pen than the Carlists

⁷⁸⁰ Michael Burke Honan (-1836) was in correspondence with the *Morning Herald* in Madrid from 1834 to 1836 and was noted for his Carlist predilections. FO72/458, George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 12th March, 1836.

⁷⁸¹ For more information on Juan Alvarez Mendizabal see footnote 733, Chapter Four. H. J. G. H. Carnarvon, *The Policy of England Towards Spain* (London, 1837), p. 69.

⁷⁸² Charles Lewis Gruneisen (1806-1879) one of the first war correspondents for *The Morning Post* in Spain from 1837 to 1838. A.P. Baker, ‘Gruneisen, Charles Lewis (1806–1879)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11705>, accessed 25 Aug 2012]

did with the sword.⁷⁸³ The second adventurer and soldier was Captain Henningsen, an Anglo-American who joined the service of Don Carlos in 1834 and became a captain in the bodyguard of General Tomas de Zumalacarregui.⁷⁸⁴ Both were taken prisoner by the queen's troops in October 1837, while trying to return to England and it was only due to intervention of Palmerston that Gruneisen was not shot as a Carlist spy.⁷⁸⁵

A third gentleman which Villiers wrote about in this letter was Mr Ivers also from *The Morning Post*. As it was the duty of the British ambassador to report on British subjects in Spain, Mr Ivers was found dead on November 1836 near Lerma. By all accounts from the vice consul of Santander, while travelling back to Britain due to his Carlist sentiments, Ivers had gone mad, drank himself half to death with brandy and was left by the rest of his party at the side of the road.⁷⁸⁶ What these individuals show is that there were a handful of British supporters for the Carlists in Spain and that those with connections to the British press were perceived to be a threat to the queen's forces, testifying to the importance which war correspondents could have on public opinions through the newspapers.

In the darker hours of the British Auxiliary Legion a number of officers and men abandoned the service of the queen's forces and deserted to join the Carlists. *The Morning Post*, known for its support of the Carlists, printed in June 1836, a proclamation from Don Carlos to the soldiers of the British Auxiliary Legion. It stated that "If you join our army, which fights for the right and legitimate claim which I have on the crown of Spain, you shall have everything that a soldier requires".⁷⁸⁷ In early 1836 the Legion had relocated to winter quarters in Vitoria

⁷⁸³ Griffiths, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, p. 280.

⁷⁸⁴ Charles Frederick Henningsen (1815-1877) an Anglo American writer and mercenary. In 1835 he briefly returned to Britain before departing to Spain as a lieutenant- colonel in the Royal Expedition, fighting gallantly before being captured. R. Bullen & F. Strong, *Palmerston I: Private Correspondence with Sir George Villiers (After Fourth Earl of Clarendon) as Minister to Spain 1833-1837*(London, 1985), p. 735.

⁷⁸⁵ FO72/484 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 4th November, 1837.

⁷⁸⁶ Mr Ivers had been for several month's resident at Madrid as the correspondent of the Morning Post newspaper. FO72/463 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 26th November, 1836.

⁷⁸⁷ *The Morning Post*, 21st June, 1836.

and while there many found reasons to desert. Fever and a typhus epidemic amongst the ranks, placed over one third of the Legion out of action, due to this Vitoria gained the name of the *city of death*.⁷⁸⁸

Furthermore, the officers were assured a promotion in rank and bounty money for recruiting men, arms and horses to the Carlist cause. This is in many ways similar to the inducements that the Spanish Royal Army under General Morillo offered to the British Volunteers fighting for Bolivar in the South American Wars of Independence (see chapter two). However, in response to these rumours General Evans issued a proclamation stating that “All British subjects who shall be found with arms in hand, aiding or assisting the insurgents, will be considered as rebels to his majesty the king of England, and liable to the penalty of death”.⁷⁸⁹ This still did not stop disaffected soldiers from joining the Carlists, or returning to Britain, as there are many reports of several members of the Legion being shot, in one case over a dozen in a day, for deserting to the enemy.⁷⁹⁰

During the second year of British intervention, in 1836, various newspapers started to question the Legion’s involvement and its effect on the Spanish population. Lord Elliott was alleged to have said, “he was quite sure, if the queen’s government were supported by the agency of foreign troops, it would soon become distasteful to the people”.⁷⁹¹ *The Essex Standard* suggested that British interference had “only irritated the Carlists portion of the Spanish people, and made Carlos at the present moment stronger than ever”.⁷⁹² *The Morning Post*, or Mr. Gruneisen had a similar attitude, “but it was to be remarked that Don Carlos, who, on arriving in Spain, had but 5,000 men under arms, could now muster 40,000, that fact should convince

⁷⁸⁸ Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War in Spain*, p. 61.

⁷⁸⁹ *The Blackburn Standard*, 13th July, 1836.

⁷⁹⁰ Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War in Spain*, pp. 40 & 100. Somerville, *History of the British Legion and War in Spain*, pp. 64, 87, 125 & 191.

⁷⁹¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 29th August, 1835.

⁷⁹² *The Essex Standard and Colchester, Chelmsford, Maldon, Harwich and General Country Advertiser*, 22nd April, 1836.

the government of the necessity of keeping aloof from the contest".⁷⁹³ Carlism was clearly a popular movement in many parts of Spain particularly in the north, and these figures are quite accurate, more so than many in Britain had imagined.⁷⁹⁴

To add to these sentiments in Britain was what Howarth described as a romanticism of the Carlists emerging at this time. The Basques or *Carlistas* were being compared to the highlanders and old Tory politics of the Jacobite cause, with a patriotic royalist Celtic connection.⁷⁹⁵

Added to the fact that the British Auxiliary Legion was suffering severe illness infecting the Legion's camp they were also under strength and many soldiers had departed from Spanish service or deserted to the Carlist cause. A letter written under the name of John Bull stated the distress of hearing about the treatment of the Legion and that "without the open assistance of neutral England and France the cause of the two Queens (Maria Cristina and Isabella) is at an end".⁷⁹⁶ The British Legion did play their part in bringing an end to the war and demonstrated the belief by Britain's military officials that even in the services of a foreign ally they should be fully appreciated.

Inevitable comments made about the Legion in Britain caused attention to be directed to criticism of General Evans, the commander of the force. Evans came under attack on numerous occasions for his conduct during the war from newspapers like the *Morning Chronicle*, damning his 'lack of military ingenuity' and yet they also credited that "never were troops better led and better conducted".⁷⁹⁷ As the *Examiner* described the Tory press,

⁷⁹³ *The Morning Post*, 6th June, 1836.

⁷⁹⁴ Cairns, *The First Carlist War 1833-1840*, p. 48.

⁷⁹⁵ J. McGarry, (ed.), *Northern Ireland and the Divided: The Northern Ireland Conflict and the Good Friday Agreement in Comparative Perspective* (Oxford, 2001), p.182. M. J. Chodakiewicz, & J. Radzilowski, (ed.), *Spanish Carlism and Polish Nationalism: The Borderlands of Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Charlottesville, 2003), p.36. Howarth, *The Invention of Spain*, pp. 52-53.

⁷⁹⁶ *The Morning Post*, 1st February, 1836.

⁷⁹⁷ *The Morning Post*, 12th March, 1836. *Morning Chronicle*, 30th May, 1837. Hollis, *The Pauper press*, p.27.

“The Tory writers expatiated with delight on the difficulties with which General Evans had to contend and described them as utterly overwhelming...but Tory insults have not blunted the edge of our countrymen’s arms in Spain; and their swords have been so wielded that the foulest malice can breathe no tarnish on them”.⁷⁹⁸

The *Examiner* is clearly claiming that the Tory press is not evaluating events in Spain objectively and allowing British political judgement to blur their opinion of Evans and the British Auxiliary Legion. Colonel Evans’ political reputation was not impaired as he succeeded in retaining his seat as Member of Parliament for Westminster in the election of 1836, a seat which was highly contested.⁷⁹⁹

Spanish Army: the Queens and the Carlists Forces

Similar to their Peninsular War counterparts, soldiers’ of the Legion also commented and criticised Spain’s military abilities. British officer’s impressions regarding the Spanish Army, both Carlist and Cristinas, must first be taken in context. In the Peninsular War the British Army was a force of liberation against the French invasion, fighting alongside the Spanish. However, during the Carlist War the British Auxiliary Legion was under the pay and control of the Spanish government and also several British officers were employed by the opposition, in the service of Don Carlos. Therefore British soldiers in Spain, whether fighting for the queen or pretender, were facing in battle Spaniards and so their observations must be understood in this context. First the views of the queen’s forces will be examined, secondly the Carlists and finally were there any differences in the perceptions of Spain’s military prowess in the Carlist War compared to the Peninsular War.

⁷⁹⁸ *Examiner*, 16th October, 1836.

⁷⁹⁹ Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle, 25th April, 1836. M. Baer, *The Rise and Fall of Radical Westminster, 1780-1890* (London, 2012), pp. 28-30.

British officers in the Legion had mixed feelings about the quality of the queen's army and observed that many of the more experienced generals and officers had sided with the Carlists early in the conflict.⁸⁰⁰ The lack of confidence in the Spanish Army is shown in Charles Thompson discussions with one Spanish officer. While discussing the differences between national characteristics of officers involved in the war the Spanish officer observed that "the French and English officers possess a sense of honour; the Spanish has none".⁸⁰¹ Thompson does not clarify this any further, however it was traditionally believed that all Spaniards possessed a great sense of honour. The reason may prevail in the nature of the conflict, a civil war, and that the officer class in the queen's army were less proficient in their duties. Thompson's views reflect the overriding air of pomposity which is evident in the perception that British officers were superior, similar to their Peninsular War counter parts.

Colonel Charles Shaw of the 6th Scotch Grenadiers of the British Auxiliary Legion, a Peninsular War veteran and formerly in the service of Dom Pedro commanding the Scotch Fusiliers, had a comparable view of the queen's soldiers.

"As for the Spanish soldiers, though they may have to encounter dangers, difficulties, and defeat, yet their military qualities, of long and patient endurance, of sobriety, and calm courage, only remain in the back ground, until called forth by some officer of ability, to enable them to claim with pride their descent from those famous lansquenets, whose very name was synonymous with glory and victory".⁸⁰²

⁸⁰⁰ A. Alison, *History of Europe: From the Fall of Napoleon in 1815 to the Accession of Louis Napoleon in 1852* (London, 1871), pp. 171-172. Cairns, *The First Carlist War 1833-1840*, p.48.

⁸⁰¹ Thompson, *Twelve Months in the British Legion, by an Officer of the Ninth Regiment*, pp. 170-171.

⁸⁰² Charles Shaw (1795-1871) joined the Army in 1813 and fought in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo. With the outbreak of the Portuguese Civil War joining the service of Dom Pedro, before joining the British Auxiliary Legion in 1835. Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War in Spain*, p. 218. C. Shaw, *Personal Memoirs and Correspondence of Colonel Charles Shaw; A Narrative of the War for Constitutional Liberty in Portugal and Spain* (London, 1837), p. 203.

In the Spanish case, *lansquenets* means a sixteenth or seventeenth century mercenary or *servant to the land*; this may equate to the officers reminding the common Spanish soldiers in retrospect of the glory of the Spanish Tercio's during the *Golden Age* of Spanish rule, reminding them of noble qualities. Shaw could be commenting on the positive nature of Spanish pride too, which was viewed as bombastic in character and that they possess good soldierly qualities like discipline and sobriety. However it would take an officer with good leadership skills to remind them of their abilities.

Both these statements compare to views held by many of the Peninsular War veterans some twenty years before; that the Spanish soldier was proficient in his duty, nevertheless the lack of good leadership or confidence undermined their abilities. This in fact seems to go against the perceived idea of the Spanish seeing themselves as superior to other nations in every way and makes them more affable.

In contrast to these criticisms, one point which Villiers found to be a contrast from the way in which wars had been conducted in Spain previously was in this letter to Palmerston in April 1837.

“The minister of war did not dissent from these opinions, but it appears that the government are resolved to allow the war to be conducted by the generals and not to exercise any direct interference - public opinion has doubtless been strongly pronounced against former government for attempting to direct the campaigns from Madrid, and it may have produced bad effects”.⁸⁰³

This meant that soldiers not statesmen conducted the military aspects of the war but in turn this would allow several Spanish generals at the end of the Carlist War to take control of more than

⁸⁰³ FO72/479 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 18th April, 1837.

just military matters. A fine example of this was General Baldomero Espartero, who became Prime Minister in 1837 and Regent of Spain in 1840.⁸⁰⁴

A main criticism of the Spanish government, by those in Spain and in the parliament in Westminster, was the treatment of the British Auxiliary Legion. George Villiers wrote to Palmerston on a number of occasions about the lack of resources and money being paid to the Legion. Less than a year into the service to the Spanish Crown forces by the Legion, complaints were forwarded by members directly to the Spanish government. For example in March 1836, Colonel Wylde and General Mac Dougall (a veteran of the Peninsular War) arrived in Madrid to report to the Spanish government on the dishevelled state of the Legion. As the British ambassador observed they stated that “the men have been without bedding or clothing, the hospitals without medicines or fuel- the cavalry constantly without forage- the pay of the legion upwards of three months (sic)”.⁸⁰⁵ This is confirmed by Major John Richardson’s observations about hospitals and the alarming rates of death and even desertion.

Richardson in his personal memoirs complains about the inequalities between British and Spanish troops in relation to the hospitals. “The general complaint is the unhealthy and uncomfortable state of the hospitals...The difference is striking in the hospitals; - each Spaniard has a comfortable bed, while in many cases the English have none whatever”.⁸⁰⁶ Richardson also believed that the lack of billeting for British soldiers compared to the Spanish led to many

⁸⁰⁴ Don Joaquin Baldomero Fernandez-Espartero y Alvarez de Toro (1793-1879) Spanish general and political leader. In 1811 he was commissioned as an engineer in the Spanish Army and fought in South America under General Morillo. On Ferdinand VII’s death in 1833 he was promoted to lieutenant general fighting alongside the British Auxiliary Legion at Bilbao. In 1837 he was nominated as Prime Minister of Spain and helped to bring an end to the Carlist War. Cairns, *The First Carlist War 1833-1840*, p.14. P. Pierson, *The History of Spain* (London, 1999), pp. 99-101.

⁸⁰⁵ Colonel William Wylde (1784-1860) senior commissioner with the Queen’s army and later equerry to Prince Albert. Brigadier General Duncan Mac Dougall (1787-1862) he joined the Army in 1804, fought in the Peninsula War from 1812 to 1814, in the American War of 1814, and stayed in the British Army until joining the British Auxiliary Legion as quarter master general. Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War in Spain*, pp.214-215. FO72/457 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 7th March, 1836.

⁸⁰⁶ J. Richardson, *Movements of the British Legion* (London, 1837), pp. 161-162. D. Beasley, *The Canadian Don Quixote: The Life and Works of Major John Richardson Canada’s First Novelist* (Canada, 2004), pp. 99-100.

unnecessary deaths through fatigue and desertion.⁸⁰⁷ It would seem that history was repeating itself, this incident analogous to the Talavera campaign (see chapter one).

In that same year Colonel de Lacey, a commissioner with the queen's army complained to the Minister of War, General Rodil about the "present ineffective state of the legion in consequence of the irregularity with which it has been paid, and the unpunctual manner in which the engagements of the government have been performed".⁸⁰⁸ At the end of that year an alarming report from Brigadier Edward Godfrey confirmed the extent to which the Legion's need for help and discipline had collapsed, the soldiers being reduced to 'helping themselves' to provisions from San Sebastian. Mendizabal's response was that payment could not be made to "accounts which had not been audited", the inference being that the blame should be placed on the Legion's officers for not keeping their books in order to receive payments in an orderly fashion.⁸⁰⁹

Due in part to lack of pay and provisions, the rapid spread of illness and losses in battle, the Legion was re organised. *The Morning Post* told its readers on the 15th March, 1836. "The British legion has now been reduced to three brigades instead of five, in consequence of the disaffection of the officers and men"...I am glad to say the British legion is daily improving in health from the typhus; there are about 6,000 effective men".⁸¹⁰ However from March until April the Legion lost over forty officers and upwards of seven hundred men from sickness alone.⁸¹¹ The *Examiner* added to this concern in a report on one soldier, who had returned to

⁸⁰⁷ Ibad, pp. 181-182.

⁸⁰⁸ FO72/461 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 31st August, 1836.

⁸⁰⁹ Brigadier General Edward Lee Godfrey, Colonel of the 8th Highland Regiment of the British Auxiliary Legion later brigadier. FO72/ 463 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 10th December, 1836.

⁸¹⁰ *The Morning Post*, 19th March, *The Blackburn Standard*, 23rd March, 1836.

⁸¹¹ *The Examiner*, 17th April, *Caledonian Mercury*, 21st April, *The Belfast News-Letter*, 22nd April, 1836.

London from the Legion, and was found in Shadwell in a state of starvation begging for charity and was rumoured to be cursing the unfortunate expedition.⁸¹²

The situation did not improve in 1837, with a second collection of complaints later that year. A letter from British merchants resident in London concerning clothing and accoutrements furnished to a Colonel Carbunde noted, “demands of these individuals which still remain unsatisfied amount to about one hundred thousand pounds sterling”.⁸¹³ Villiers wrote a letter to the Minister of Finance, Alejandro Mon y Menendez in September, stating irrefutably about the lack of Spanish governmental support in paying the British Auxiliary Legion and its effect on British support.⁸¹⁴ Villiers was well aware that this would be

“sufficient to destroy all confidence in the faith of the Spanish government and indeed to indispose against the queen’s cause the majority of the people of England without whose support the British government would be unable to continue that friendly assistance to Spain which they had hitherto afforded”.⁸¹⁵

This was an example of Villiers using his diplomatic muscle, to assert the importance of British public opinion about the war and the Legion’s assistance in the conflict. This however did little to change the situation and by the end of the year the Legion would be disbanded.

Towards the end of the war many soldiers did not share such high aspirations of the Spanish Liberal government as previously thought. Robert Henderson, an officer in the cavalry of the British Auxiliary Legion, formerly an officer under Dom Pedro in the Portuguese Civil War, commented on his return to Britain, “like many others, I returned to England not over rich, in

⁸¹² *The Examiner*, 13th March, 1836.

⁸¹³ Colonel Carbunde the authorised agent of the Catholic majesty’s government in that capital and transmitted to Spain for the use of the British Legion. FO72/484 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 17th November, 1837.

⁸¹⁴ Alejandro Mon y Menendez (1801-1882) Minister of Finance from 1837 to 1838 as part of a Moderate Cabinet. R. Pousada, *Alejandro Mon y Menéndez* (Madrid, 2002).

⁸¹⁵ FO72/483 George Villiers to Menendez, Madrid, 2nd September, 1837.

consequence of the Spanish government not having up to that time paid us”.⁸¹⁶ Few soldiers of the British Auxiliary Legion gave glowing comments towards the Spanish government in terms of caring for their welfare. The British government had no responsibility in respect of monies owned to soldiers as the Legion was technically not part of the British Army and in Spanish jurisdiction.

Although the queen’s army was viewed with indifference the Carlist were viewed positively. British observers having a high opinion of the Carlist troops both the officers and other ranks. Michael Burke Honan gave a good impression of Carlist soldiers “indeed, the Spanish soldiers are the best-conducted possible, and the crime of drunkenness, which leads our men into so many scrapes, is unknown to them”.⁸¹⁷ In *Fraser’s Magazine* a report on the *Portraits of Spanish Carlist Chiefs* described many of the leaders as possessing true military skills and Colonel Soroa is attributed to be “the Napoleon of Spain”.⁸¹⁸ He was named so for his genius in planning and making his small force gain victory over much greater opponents, including the British Auxiliary Legion at Irun.

The general impression of the Carlist Army was that they were commanded by professional officers and possessed greater discipline compared to the queen’s army. One factor which aggrieved many British soldiers and politicians was the Carlist’s treatment of British prisoners. The *Poor Man’s Guardian*, a penny weekly newspaper which appealed to the working classes and challenged the government’s *taxation of knowledge*, reported the sad fate of members of the British Legion after a Carlist victory near Arragariaga on 11th September 1835.⁸¹⁹ “A battle

⁸¹⁶ Henderson, *The Soldier of Three Queens*, p. ix.

⁸¹⁷ Honan, *The Court and Camp of Don Carlos*, p. 208.

⁸¹⁸ *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country*, November 1837, pp 536-540.

⁸¹⁹ *The Poor Man’s Guardian* ran from July 1831 to December 1835 and was established by James Bronterre O’ Brien (1805-1864) Irish Chartist and reformer and Henry Hetherington (1792-1849) printer of radical publications from 1822. J. Curran & J. Seaton, *Power Without Responsibility: Press, Broadcasting and the Internet in Britain* (New York, 2010), p. 11. K. Williams, *Read All About It!: A History of the British Newspapers* (New York, 2010), pp. 89-90.

was fought, and Don Carlos gained the victory; five hundred of the British Legion and a general officer fell into the hands of the Carlists, and were immediately shot".⁸²⁰ The cruelty shown by the Carlist was also extended to the treatment of members of the French Foreign Legion and Spanish prisoners' in the queen's service, fuelling anti-Catholic sentiments for the Carlist cause.

George Villiers reported in 1836 "the horrible and disgraceful outrages which have lately taken place at Barcelona"; there General Mina was besieging a Carlist force. While the engagement was proceeding, over hundred and seventy prisoners were thrown from the ramparts to their death! In response, "the mob proceeded tumultuously to the residence of General Alvarez commanding in General Mina's absence and demanded that the Carlist prisoners confined in the different forts, should be delivered to them for instant execution".⁸²¹ Unable to stop the mob eighty five Carlists were massacred, including Colonel Jose O'Donnell, a British member of the Carlist cavalry; his body was burnt and his head carried through the streets. Later an article was printed in *The Gazette* in Spain complimenting the National Guard for their loyal conduct on this occasion.

However in talks with Mendizabal, Villiers was in fear that "it would produce a bad effect in Europe by making the government appear to sanction acts which called only for the most condign punishment as there was no doubt that they might have been prevented".⁸²² Even with British intervention, Lord Eliot negotiating with both the Carlists and the queen's forces, resulting in the Eliot Convention or Eliot Treaty signed on the 28th April 1835; fair treatment of prisoners was still being violated. This treaty did help later in the war with the transfer of British prisoners, under the Carlists, most notably Colonel Richard Lacy, the eldest brother

⁸²⁰ *Poor Man's Guardian*, 3rd October, 1835.

⁸²¹ FO72/457 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 16th January, 1836. Bullen & Strong, *Palmerston I: Private Correspondence with Sir George Villiers*, pp. 359-362.

⁸²² FO72/457 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 16th January, 1836.

of General Evans, also Captain Williams and Lieutenant Crofton.⁸²³ Conclusively the barbaric nature of the Carlist War, like many civil wars, might have demonstrated to Europe and to British perceptions that the Spanish were uncivilised.⁸²⁴

Overall the perception of Spain's military capability was divided. The queen's forces were perceived to be unable to defeat the Carlists decisively and likewise the Carlist soldiers were admired for their fighting qualities but feared for their treatment of prisoners. Although the Spanish army received little mention in the memoirs of British observers this is not evidence of less criticism and scrutiny of military practices compared to the Peninsular War so were general opinions improved? What is very evident is that the treatment of the Legion by the Spanish government caused great distress and questioned the ability of the Spanish to wage war which reflected on the government as a whole. However would the new Constitution make these sufferings worthwhile?

The Spanish Cortes and the Spanish Constitution 1837

Even with reports of the Spanish government's treatment of the British Auxiliary Legion, many in parliament were eager about the news that the Spanish government was considering reinstatement of the Constitution of 1812. On the 15th August 1836 a meeting which was sympathetic to the cause was held in the *Crown and Anchor Tavern* with Colonel Peyronnet Thompson, a Peninsular War veteran of the 14th Light Dragoons as chair, accompanied by Whig politician Edward Ruthven.⁸²⁵ The argument was raised that the "constitution was the wishes of the population of Spain and Britain, gave the Spanish people the rights to vote elected

⁸²³ Colonel Richard John James Lacy, British commissioner in the queen's army. Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War in Spain*, p. 179. FO72/483 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 26th September, 1837.

⁸²⁴ J. MacClancy, *The Decline of Carlism* (Nevada, 2000), p. 40.

⁸²⁵ Edward Southwell Ruthven (1772-1836) Whig Member of Parliament for Downpatrick from 1806 to 1807 and 1830 to 1832 and Dublin from 1832 to 1836. *The United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine Part II* (London, 1836), pp. 391-392. Fisher, (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832*, The History of Parliament Online.

representatives and that in 1823 it only disappeared due to foreign involvement”.⁸²⁶ At this time also, a list of all four hundred articles of the Constitution of 1812 was printed in a number of British newspapers.⁸²⁷ This shows a clearer interest by the newspapers in the constitution than previously during the Peninsular War and the Revolution of 1820. No newspaper however printed the articles in their entirety, instead providing an abridged version which was deemed to be acceptable to the reading public.

Another gathering in 1837 entitled *Meeting of Sympathy with the Spanish Constitution of 1812* was chaired by George Donisthorpe Thompson and attended by a number of merchants and Whig politicians whom the *The York Herald* wrote were “of greater interest to Englishmen”.⁸²⁸ Even though there were several comments against intervention, the principle of British liberalism spreading to other countries was still seen as a worthwhile exercise.

George Villiers constantly kept Palmerston informed of the debates and intentions of the Spanish government. The Spanish government under Cristina during the civil war was understood by British observers to have been generally split into two political parties. The *Moderados* or Conservative party, some of whom supported the constitution, was led by Jose Maria Queipo de Llano, 7th Count Toreno, who became Prime Minister and Minister of State in 1835.⁸²⁹ He had favourable links with Britain, arriving as one of the deputies seeking British aid in 1808 and exiled in Britain from 1814 to 1820.⁸³⁰ The other main party was the *Progresistas* or constitutionalists supported by the Queen Regent Cristina. This was led by Juan

⁸²⁶ *The Morning Post*, 16th August, *The Ipswich Journal* and *The York Herald*, 20th August, 1836.

⁸²⁷ *The Morning Post*, *Brighton Patriot* and *South England Free Press*, 23rd August, *The Standard*, 24th August, *Morning Chronicle*, 29th August, 1836.

⁸²⁸ George Donisthorpe Thompson (1804-1878) activist for the anti-slavery movement J.M. Smith & J. Stauffer, (ed.), *The Works of James McCune Smith: Black Intellectual and Abolitionist* (New York, 2007). *The York Herald*, and *General Advertiser*, 20th August, 1836.

⁸²⁹ L. Mitchell, *Holland House* (London, 1980), pp. 282-283. Christiansen, *The Origins of Military Power in Spain 1800-1854*, pp. 69-71. J. Ridley, *Lord Palmerston* (London, 1970), p.198.

⁸³⁰ Jose Maria Queipo de Llano, 7th Count of Toreno (1786-1843) in the Peninsula War he took an active part in the Junta central and the Cortes of Cadiz, supporting the Constitution of 1812. He opposed Ferdinand in 1814, with his brother in law Juan Paiz Porlier and went into exile until the revolution of 1820. After the revolution he was again an exile until in 1833. J.M.G. Leon, *En Torno A Las Cortes de Cadiz* (Cadiz, 2007), pp. 291-292.

Alvarez Mendizabal, Prime Minister of Spain and Minister of State from 1835 to 1836. He had also supported the Constitution of 1812, was a freemason and had also been in exile in Britain having a lasting friendship with many prominent Whigs like Lord Holland during this time.⁸³¹

The comments in the newspapers about Maria Cristina, the queen mother and regent, are negligible but she did not suffer from negative opinions and the language associated with the *Black Legend*. The perception to some in Britain was that she was a positive force of change in the country and distanced herself from the style of rule of her husband. It was however supposed that many in Spain were “so unwilling” because of their “pride... to be governed by a woman” that made her so unpopular.⁸³² The idea of a queen on the throne was not out of the question as it was apparent with the declining health of King William IV that his niece Princess Victoria of Kent would be the future queen of Great Britain.

Moreover an article in *The Morning Chronicle* brought to the attention of its readership that Cristina was more liberal and even religiously tolerant. While addressing the University of Louvain, she enjoyed, “the admission of Protestants to civil functions from which they were hitherto excluded...Christian charity to extend civil tolerance to the Protestants, whom she could consider in no other light than that of citizens”.⁸³³ This did lead to Spanish bishops protesting, but to a British observer this would have made the queen regent an attractive ally compared to the intolerant Catholic Don Carlos.

One of the main points raised was that the Spanish were eager to obtain the backing of other constitutional countries and Villiers assured the British government that the Spanish wished to live in “harmony with the system which is obtained in other constitutional counties of Europe

⁸³¹ Archer, *The Wars of Independences in Spanish America*, p.306. L.S. Fernandez, *Historia General de España y América: Del Antiguo Al Nuevo Regimen: Hasta la Muerte de Fernando VII, Volume 12* (Madrid, 1981), pp. 384-385.

⁸³² *The Morning Post*, 27th November, 1835.

⁸³³ *The Morning Chronicle*, 16th February, 1835.

to avoid all revolutionary”.⁸³⁴ As Villiers pointed out to Palmerston in February 1837 about the new constitution “one great advantage over the Constitution of 1812 that it consists of only eighty four articles whereas the latter had nearly four hundred. I don’t foresee the probability of much opposition”.⁸³⁵ With fewer laws this made the Constitution more manageable and clear to both foreign observers and more importantly the Spanish people.⁸³⁶

The constitution was contested as many moderates believed that this was an inappropriate time to implement a constitution and reform in Spain, as Villiers wrote “that the Cortes should dedicate all their attention to the putting an end to the civil war”.⁸³⁷ Some articles caused doubt in the Cortes and principally Article 11 which stated

“the minister of grace and justice proposed an addition that no one should be persecuted for his religious opinions. This was opposed in a long rambling historical speech by Mr. Arguelles, who dwelt upon the evils of toleration, and who ridiculed the idea that a minister of the crown should be the first to propose its adoption in Spain”.⁸³⁸

This shows that objections were not going to change rapidly in Spain but that debates on central issues such as religion were being discussed. The real effect of the constitution to religion as Ringrose states was the sale of real estate transactions of church lands to freeholds, which led to the Constitutional actions to be known as the ‘Bourgeois Revolution’ for purchases of land.

⁸³⁴ FO72/462 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 13th October, 1836.

⁸³⁵ Bullen & Strong, (eds.), *Palmerston I: Private Correspondence with Sir George Villiers*, p. 605. FO72/478 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 24th February, 1837.

⁸³⁶ FO72/482. La Reina Gobernadora, *Constitucion de la Monarquia Espanola, A 18 de Junio de 1837* (Madrid, 1837)

⁸³⁷ FO72/479 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 8th April, 1837.

⁸³⁸ FO72/479 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 8th April, 1837.

This process begun as early as the 1790's, was evident during the Trienio Liberal but it was in the 1830's that a marked change in land ownership was realised.⁸³⁹

By the end of 1837 the news from Spain was much improved. Don Carlos' army had retreated into the Basque Provinces and was a broken force, peace looked imminent and the first meeting of the Cortes under the Constitution of 1837 was progressing well. In a report in November Villiers commented on the present state of Spain, the Constitution of 1837 and what the future might be for the country. "The door has not been shut against its further improvement and there is no doubt that it will be affected for the general wish of the country tends towards moderation".⁸⁴⁰ Further evidence that Spain was becoming more organized was that, according to Villiers in the same correspondence, in the last twelve months there had been no outcry against the constitution. With these sentiments the end of the war was in sight.

The Church and Religion

Religion had a limited role in the narratives of the British comments on Spain in the 1830's compared to those during the Peninsular War; this could be due to a number of factors. In Britain, Catholicism and its link with a national invasion seemed less likely and a discussion on Catholicism in parliament had taken place with Catholic emancipation through the Catholic Relief Act 1829. This is shown in the sentiment in the *Caledonian Mercury*, which reported, "yet, strange as it may appear...the Tories themselves are the admirers, the friends, the well-wishers, nay, with advice, money and arms, the supporters of Don Carlos, Catholic despot and champion the inquisition".⁸⁴¹ This is a bold statement to link Tory support directly to the

⁸³⁹ Ringrose, *Spain, Europe, and the 'Spanish Miracle', 1700-1900*, pp.180 &327. J. Cruz, *Gentlemen, Bourgeois and Revolutionaries: Political Change and Cultural Persistence Among the Spanish Dominant Groups, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 4-5.

⁸⁴⁰ FO72/484 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 19th November, 1837.

⁸⁴¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 28th April, 1836.

inquisition but it does raise the point that British conservatives did view the Carlist cause in a favourable light.

Another, rather strange example is in *The York Herald* which wrote a story entitled *The Discovery of a Spanish Carlist Inquisition in London*. A remarkable report from the Bow Street office described a Spanish lady, Senora Josefina Carillo d'Alborros, from Cadiz, paying a visit to a friend's house late at night when an unknown man told her that her friend was elsewhere and offered to guide her there. Josefina was taken to a secret location where a court of black hooded men questioned her about allegations of preventing a loan to Don Carlos. She was sentenced to death but she never heard from her assailants again and nothing transpired. *The York Herald* further suggested that this was possibly instigated by an Orange Lodge "which had shown a particular liking to the Carlist policy, are, after all their vaunted hatred of popery (sic)".⁸⁴² It could be assumed that members of the orange order, who had strong protestant beliefs, would be the most unlikely candidates to support the Carlists with their strong catholic fundamentals. In this case religious beliefs have had little to do with whether one supported the rightful ruler of Spain or Carlism in Spain and testifies to the political nature in which the conflict was seen.

Many men in the British Auxiliary Legion saw that one of Don Carlos' main supporters came from the conservative force of the church and in fact his main battle standard displayed the Virgin Mary, clearly showing his devotion to Catholicism.⁸⁴³ Major John Richardson, directly commented on this and said, "no doubt the better to accomplish the defeat of the British Auxiliary heretics!"⁸⁴⁴ It was believed in newspapers, like *The Leicester Chronicle* and *Caledonian Mercury* that Don Carlos wanted to reintroduce the inquisition to Spain.⁸⁴⁵

⁸⁴² *The York Herald*, 7th January, 1837. *The Morning Chronicle*, 27th July, 1837.

⁸⁴³ MacClancy, *The Decline of Carlism*, pp. 30-32.

⁸⁴⁴ Richardson, *Movements of the British Legion*, p. 49.

⁸⁴⁵ *The Leicester Chronicle*, 23rd May, 1835. *Caledonian Mercury*, 28th April, 1836.

This sentiment was reinforced in *The Monthly Magazine* which wrote on the *Present Crisis of Spain* and concluded that Don Carlos could not have fought a war without “the secret intrigues and powerful aid of the church”. Furthermore this article suggested that the Spanish churches immense wealth should be used for “the general welfare of the nation and its sale will soon fill the coffers of the Spanish treasury”, therefore arguing that Carlism was not helping Spain.⁸⁴⁶ This is also illustrated in the Basque’s support of the inquisition, which did not disappear so readily as in other parts of Spain, which according to a number of British observers, like Bacon, was seen as a step backwards for the country.⁸⁴⁷

The Reverend Thomas Farr argued with this disposition, in his memoirs and makes a statement about the final defeat of Don Carlos and his personal feelings on the Spanish Inquisition, he penned that “Spain once more is in a state of stupid monkish despotism; the faggots of the inquisition have been extinguished, never again to be lighted”.⁸⁴⁸ This in Farr’s view would have been justification for British involvement in the Carlist War but is also assuming the Spanish disliked this institution.

Another observer George Henry Borrow, an evangelical member of the British and Foreign Bible Society whose mission to Spain, lasted from November 1835 until 1840, published letters in the *Monthly Magazine*, and his exploits in a book. His publication in 1843, *The Bible in Spain*, was so popular at the time it outsold Charles Dickens’ *A Christmas Carol*.⁸⁴⁹ From his travels in Spain he believed that the *Popish system* of the Spanish church was to “keep people’s minds as far as possible from god and to centre their hopes and fears in the priesthood”.⁸⁵⁰ As

⁸⁴⁶ *The Monthly Magazine*, No. 140, October 1836, pp. 309-319.

⁸⁴⁷ Bacon, *Six Years in Biscay*, pp. 80-81.

⁸⁴⁸ Farr, *A Traveller’s Rambling Reminiscences of the Spanish War*, p. 281.

⁸⁴⁹ George Henry Borrow (1803 -1881) traveller and novelist. He studied law in Edinburgh but his talents lay in literature and languages which helped him on his extensive travels across Europe in 1825 passing through, France, Germany, Russia, Portugal, Spain and Morocco. M. Collie & A. Fraser, *George Borrow: A Bibliographical Study* (London, 1984). H. Jenkins, *The Life of George Borrow* (London, 2004). G.H. Borrow, *The Bible in Spain* (London, 1843), p. vii

⁸⁵⁰ Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 72.

an evangelist, of course he thought that with his distribution of the bible to the Spanish populace they would not be so dependent on the priests to interpret God's message.

The British Ambassador George Villiers, who had spent many years in Spain and having a fondness for their culture, still had an objective opinion of the Spanish church. In this letter to Palmerston, Villiers' his words are very well placed in the old ideal of the *Black Legend*;

“in Spain during three centuries the tremendous power of the church kept the people in the slavish ignorance, and they were alternately the victims of the bigoted king, of a griping aristocracy on court favourites, and time which to other nations brings improvement and prosperity only depressed the condition of the Spaniards”⁸⁵¹.

Even though many still had a jaundiced opinion of Spanish priests, the church and Catholicism, compared to the contemptuous opinions the British Army held in the Peninsular War, members of the British Auxiliary Legion hardly made any comments. This could be due to the fact that these instances were not written down.

Even some Peninsular War accounts, written in the 1830's, do not criticise the church in Spain and in some instances are very positive (see comments by Patterson on pages 62 in chapter one). *Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine* also reinforced this idea with an article called *The Spanish Priest-Foraging in Spain from the Recollections of an Old Campaigner*.⁸⁵² This article states that many British observers in the Peninsular War had a superficial impression of Spain due to the French Army having ravaged the country. For instance, a large proportion of the churches were dirty and neglected due to French troops having looted or been billeted within them, but on seeing churches, which remained untouched, their true spectacle was

⁸⁵¹ FO72/482 George Villiers to Viscount Palmerston, Madrid, 8th April, 1837.

⁸⁵² *Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine*, October 1836, pp. 168-173.

observed and the gratitude shown by many priests due to British respect of these properties was greatly received.

Of all the memoirs written at this time only one comment is made about cruelty to Spanish priests and this is not by the British but the Spanish Cristino forces. Richardson in conversation with a Spanish soldier, wrote “with tears in his eyes...he admits that he and his companions plundered the church, and drank wine out of the chalice, he swears positively that the priest was killed in a fair fight, and while fleeing with the Carlists”.⁸⁵³ As the Carlist War was a civil war, some Cristino soldiers felt uncomfortable killing their fellow countrymen and revered religious figures who became casualties of war. Likewise one of the few reported cases of theft is an officer of General Evans staff who was convicted for possession of a pair of silver candlesticks which he was given by a soldier who had stolen them from a Spanish church. He was dismissed at Vittoria, not for this act but on the charge of brawling with several Spanish officers.⁸⁵⁴

One final factor which would have influenced the Legion’s conduct was that a large body of men were recruited from Ireland which was still a predominantly Catholic country. Although there is no exact figure given, three of the ten foot regiments raised for the British Auxiliary Legion where Irish and many of the other regiments would have had Irishmen among them⁸⁵⁵ The British army during the 1830’s consisted of 42.2% Irishmen and these numbers are likely to have been reflected in the Legion as well.⁸⁵⁶ In retrospect the issue of religion played a less predominant role in the criticism and commentary of the British in Spain in the 1830’s compared to that of the 1810’s which is partly due to fewer memoirs. Although improved

⁸⁵³ Richardson, *Movements of the British Legion*, p. 141.

⁸⁵⁴ *The Morning Post*, 18th December, 1837.

⁸⁵⁵ G.A. Schwab, *Britain and the Carlist War* (Wisconsin, 1962). Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War in Spain*, pp. 33 & 38.

⁸⁵⁶ P.N. Karsten, “Irish Soldiers in the British Army, 1792-1922: Suborned or Subordinate?”, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 17. No.1 (Autumn, 1983), p. 54.

opinions are evident Britons still felt as sceptical about the possessive nature of the Catholic Church.

Bullfighting

British attitudes to the Spanish practice of bullfighting had hardly changed since the Peninsular War. A Spaniard speaking to Badcock about the cruelty of the sport and the loss of so many horses replied, “you in England sell your old horses to be worked to death, or starved in the old age, which is much worse.”⁸⁵⁷ Spaniards at this time usually fought a raging bull on horseback with a long lance, with as many horses being killed as bulls in the arena. Henry David Inglis, a Scottish traveller asked, in his book *Spain in 1830* “Could an English audience witness the scenes that are repeated every week in Madrid?” and in answer “a universal burst of shame!” However he did state that the revenue from bullfighting was extensive and was used to benefited hospitals to the sum of three hundred thousand reals.⁸⁵⁸

Badcock was also told that “some persons said they thought the taste for bull-fights was on the decline - I cannot agree with them; the amphitheatre was always crowded”.⁸⁵⁹ As Britons in Don Carlos’ service or as members of the British Auxiliary Legion spent most of their time in the north of Spain, where the sport’s popularity was prodigious; this statement could be true on both counts.⁸⁶⁰ However in 1830, Henry Inglis noted that over seventeen thousand spectators were present at a bullfight in Madrid.⁸⁶¹ Likewise George Borrow, having extensively journeyed through Spain would disagree; he saw the sport practiced in every corner of Spain and its particular popularity in Seville.⁸⁶² Inglis states “from my own observation that this

⁸⁵⁷ Badcock, *Rough Leaves from a Journal Kept in Spain and Portugal* , p. 101.

⁸⁵⁸ Inglis, *Spain in 1830*, pp. 193-194.

⁸⁵⁹ Badcock, *Rough Leaves from a Journal Kept in Spain and Portugal* , p. 101.

⁸⁶⁰ Shubert, *Death and Money in the Afternoon: A History of the Spanish Bullfight*, pp. 37-38 & 98. E. Nash, *Seville, Cordoba and Granada: A Cultural History* (Oxford, 2005), p. 130.

⁸⁶¹ Inglis, *Spain in 1830*, pp.182-183.

⁸⁶² Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, p. 460.

national entertainment is not yet on the decline”.⁸⁶³ Borrow and Michael Honan both identified that the sport was more often practiced on a Sunday, in some places only on a Sunday⁸⁶⁴. Borrow used this as an example of the stark difference between the manner in which Protestants and Catholics keep the Sabbath. In Britain many people went to church and read the bible in their homes whereas the Catholics of Spain adored the spectacle of the bull ring.

So ingrained was the idea of bull fighting in Spain that the British accounts describe the Carlist soldiers and their general’s tactics as being like the bull. Bacon comments on how the Carlist columns acted in a *toro* or bull formation, before the Siege of Bilbao in December 1836, with a small body which included Don Carlos as the *toreador*, while other detachments operated to the rear and flanks as the *picadoras*.⁸⁶⁵ Another example is Henderson’s account of the British Auxiliary Legion running away from Carlist troops in a small engagement outside San Sebastian in 1835, describing the Carlist as charging the British as if in a *little bull run*.⁸⁶⁶

Although fewer Britons in Spain saw bull fights compared to the soldiers in the Peninsular War the attitude to the sport had not changed. A fact which would have encouraged a greater dislike of bullfighting in Britain was that on the day the Foreign Enlistment Act was changed the British government also passed the Cruelty to Animals Act 1835 which prohibited bull bating.⁸⁶⁷ Clearly bullfighting and the nature in which the Spanish treated their animals was something that the majority of Briton’s could not understand and this is one clear case where British opinions did not change over the course of thirty years and could be seen as just one reason why the *Black Legend* still persisted.

⁸⁶³ Inglis, *Spain in 1830*, p.194.

⁸⁶⁴ Honan, *The Court and Camp of Don Carlos*, p. 350.

⁸⁶⁵ Bacon, *Six Years in Biscay*, p.179.

⁸⁶⁶ Henderson, *The Soldier of Three Queens*, p. 233.

⁸⁶⁷ E. Fudge, *A Left-Handed Blow: Writing the History of Animals*, in N. Rothfels, *Representing Animals* (Indiana, 2002), p.22.

Spanish Civilians

One striking difference in the memoirs written in the Peninsular War and the 1830's was the great admiration held by the Spanish for the Duke of Wellington. A number of British veterans of this war continued relationships with Spain. Lovell Badcock; who was appointed by the British government, with Lord William Russell and Colonel Hare, to monitor the activities of the Spanish Army on the Portuguese border in case they should invade Portugal, between 1832 and 1834, commented on his travels that, "the peasantry, as generally throughout Spain, inquired most particularly after the Senor Lorde (the Duke of Wellington)".⁸⁶⁸ Thomas Farr agreed also providing the following statement "not only is the Spanish government, but the Spanish nation, well aware of the noble and straightforward conduct of the Duke of Wellington, when in power, in execution of the Quadruple Treaty".⁸⁶⁹ This view was in part observed due to his interaction with Spanish noblemen, who had been employed in the Foreign Office and spoke in highest admiration of the duke. Additionally this sentiment made British travellers more welcomed in Spain because of Spanish gratitude for their British forbearers fight against the French and shows Spanish recognition that Britons were friends of their country.

Contradictory to these views, John Francis Bacon believed that the indebtedness was not forthcoming to the Duke of Wellington and his army for liberating Spain during the Peninsular War. Stating firmly in answer to this question, "None!- on the contrary, I have heard it asserted hundreds of times, that Great Britain owes an immense debt to Spain, for making that country

⁸⁶⁸ Lord William Russell (1790-1846) army officer, diplomat and brother of Lord John Russell. Joined the Army in 1806, he took part in the expedition to Copenhagen in 1807 as aide-de-camp to Sir George Ludlow. He fought though the Peninsula War becoming aide to General Graham at Cadiz in 1810 and in 1812 aide to the Duke of Wellington. Attached to the special mission to Portugal in 1832 and travelled to Spain, returning to Britain in 1834. Whig Member of Parliament for Bedford from 1812 to 1830. G. Blakiston, *Lord William Russell and his wife, 1815-1846* (London, 1972). Fisher, (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820-1832*, The History of Parliament Online. Badcock, *Rough Leaves from a Journal Kept in Spain and Portugal*, p. 2, 10 & 45.

⁸⁶⁹ Farr, *A Traveller's Rambling Reminiscences of the Spanish War*, p. 48.

her battle-field against Napoleon!”⁸⁷⁰ Although there is no evidence that the Spanish believed Britain owed them a debt of gratitude, nevertheless it is similar to the emerging sentiments that Peninsular War veterans had after this previous conflict that the Spanish had no appreciation for British support. In several cases after a war many do not have a hero’s welcome, this is not just the cause in Spain but in Britain too.⁸⁷¹ Additionally a letter received from General O’Lalor, entrusted with looking after the Duke of Wellingtons estate near Granada, wrote to George Villiers complaining that the residents in the neighbouring villages were taking property from the duke.⁸⁷² A clear example for the lack of respect, which British observers felt, that should be paid to a liberating general.

The Peninsular War had enhanced many officers’ careers and left an imprint on their opinions of the Spanish. Years later, Lovell Badcock while travelling through Castellejos de dos Casas, near Sexmiro, he remembered, “where I had passed many a night on piquet, and near which Colonel Neil Talbot, the brave and gallant commander of my then corps (the 14th Light Dragoons) was killed”.⁸⁷³ Even more remarkable he remembered an old acquaintance, Alonso, a muleteer formerly attached to his regiment.⁸⁷⁴ Similarly, Edward Costello, a member of the 95th Rifles in the Peninsular War, attaining the rank of lieutenant and adjutant by General Evans and told to raise a Rifle Regiment for the British Auxiliary Legion, in 1835, remembered all too well the area around “the River Ebro, the scene of many of my former campaigns”.⁸⁷⁵ These comments show that the Peninsular War and Spain had made a lasting impression on the memories of many young soldiers.

⁸⁷⁰ Bacon, *Six Years in Biscay*, pp. 119-120.

⁸⁷¹ As Richard Holmes writes, many soldiers had mixed feelings about the war and felt little “compassion or gratitude” when they arrived back home; “Many of Wellington’s Peninsula veterans ended their days begging on the streets of London”. R. Holmes, *Acts of War: The Behaviour of Men in Battle* (London, 2003), pp.401-402.

⁸⁷² FO72/458 George Villiers to Mendizabal, Madrid, 19th March, 1836.

⁸⁷³ Badcock, *Rough Leaves from a Journal Kept in Spain and Portugal*, p. 46.

⁸⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p.48.

⁸⁷⁵ Costello, *Rifleman Costello*, p. 246.

Overall however, this later generation of individuals seem to have had an improved understanding of Spanish society and a more tolerant approach to cultural differences. Henderson illustrates the difference within Spain using the example,

“The Basque provinces - viz., Navarre, Guipuscoa, Alava, and Biscay- are inhabited by a people who differ as widely from the Castilian, the Andalusian, or the people of any other part of Spain as the Scotch Highlanders of the time of Prince Charles Edward did from the Sussex farmer of the same day”.⁸⁷⁶

Henningsen in his memoirs also surmised, “they are a people apart, and cannot be weighed in the same balance with their neighbours: it requires a long and familiar knowledge to estimate them justly”.⁸⁷⁷ Both these comments illustrate an understanding that not all Spaniards can be judged by the standards of even their native Spain, showing the regional differences and especially differences with other countries.

Even when hostility was shown towards the British Legion they understood these grievances in a more tolerable manner. Richardson comments that, “the indifference of the Bilbao people may be attributed, in a great degree, to the length of the siege they have sustained, (nearly two years at intervals,) during which privation, and anxiety, and long disappointed hope”.⁸⁷⁸ Evidently observers, in the 1830’s, were more open-minded in their observations and tried to import to the reader a more tolerant understanding of Spain and its people.

The attitude of British men towards Spanish women was also very comparable to those expressed by Peninsula veterans, commenting on their fondness and beauty. Like their counterparts, some twenty years earlier, it would seem that the officer class certainly

⁸⁷⁶ R. Henderson, *The Soldier of Three Queens: A Narrative of Personal Adventure, Vol. I* (London, 1866), pp. 182-183.

⁸⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 39.

appreciated the common women compared to the Spanish ladies, Major Richardson comments that “the beauty of the better order of females, in Vitoria, is not striking: - the lower class, among which are some very pretty girls, have decidedly the advantage. Many of these are classically beautiful, both in face and figure”.⁸⁷⁹ However he noted that upon walking in the streets of San Sebastian that a Spanish girl spit at British soldiers.⁸⁸⁰ Badcock certainly had his eye on one lady, whom he thought worthy of writing about, who was of, “Scottish descent” and “English manners prevailed at her house” who was thought to be just slightly superior to her Spanish equivalents.⁸⁸¹ This reiterates once again that Spanish women were a favourite of British soldiers and that there was an affinity, in comments made, between Spain and Scotland.

Generalised views in Britain still persisted as *Chamber’s Edinburgh Journal* wrote on the national habits of European countries, “the French, however, are infinitely better managers, and a thousand times more respectable as a people, than the Spaniards” and “for upwards of a century it (Spain) has been in a state of greater ignorance, misery and poverty, than it was seven or eight hundred years ago”.⁸⁸² A somewhat generalised view which might not deserve any credibility, as this article gives no examples or justification for its statement, but does show a perception reminiscent of the *Black Legend* which still had an audience in Britain. With reports arriving from Spain, and particularly from Peninsular War veterans who could compare Spain over thirty years, this view can be justified.

In opposition to this was an article entitled *Some Account of the City of Madrid* in *The Saturday Magazine* giving the impression of a modern travel agent trying to sell a holiday package but perceives similar remarks to Peninsular War veteran’s descriptions of the clean nature of the country than the bias and unrepresentative *dirty* Spain of the *Black Legend*. The

⁸⁷⁹ Richardson, *Movements of the British Legion*, p. 156.

⁸⁸⁰ Ibad, p. 45.

⁸⁸¹ Badcock, *Rough Leaves from a Journal Kept in Spain and Portugal*, p. 115.

⁸⁸² Chamber’s *Edinburgh Journal*, 1st April, 1837, pp. 77-78.

streets of Madrid are described as “tolerably good” and a stranger “sees so much which he never saw before, as to enjoy, in a high degree”. Also in studying the Spanish “plebeian”, a traveller will “learn to understand properly many a chapter in Don Quixote, and gather comments on the romances of the Spanish nation”.⁸⁸³ This article was written by Henry Inglis who travelled in the footsteps of Don Quixote in Miguel Saavedra’s book and wrote *Rambles in the Footsteps of Don Quixote*.⁸⁸⁴ He however died in 1835 before his work could be published but parts of his work did appear in many magazines before being finally printed in full in 1840.⁸⁸⁵ Although somewhat whimsical, using Don Quixote as an example, it does paint a picture of Spain as a place of interest for potential travellers. The word *sobriety* is used extensively in this article and compared to a foreign traveller in the heart of London in the early nineteenth century Madrid would have the impression of being like paradise with less drunken behaviour and beggars.⁸⁸⁶

There are still certain negative attributes placed on Spanish society and this usually pointed to how inferior Spain was compared to Britain. John Francis Bacon states that,

“I doubt whether the Spanish peasantry would ever submit to the stern iron reality of English society, where a wakeful and active police is continually gathering up the stray individuals, whom misfortunes, vices or age have reduced to destitution”.⁸⁸⁷

This suggests that the Spanish had no police force when in fact they had the *Santa Hermandades* to control unruly behaviour. Bacon also suggests that if such a force existed, the

⁸⁸³ *The Saturday Magazine* No. 186, 30th May, 1835, pp. 209-214.

⁸⁸⁴ H.D. Inglis, *Rambles in the Footsteps of Don Quixote* (London, 1840).

⁸⁸⁵ W.U. McDonald, “Inglis’ Rambles: A Romantic Tribute To Don Quixote”, *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Winter, 1960), pp. 33-41.

⁸⁸⁶ J. Winter, *London’s Teeming Streets, 1830-1914* (London, 1993), pp. 100-101. F.E. Zimring & G. Hawkins, *The Scale of Imprisonment* (London, 1991), p. 51.

⁸⁸⁷ Bacon, *Six Years in Biscay*, p. 26.

peasantry would not heed this, adding to a sense that the Spanish were uncivil and could not be controlled.⁸⁸⁸ This is noteworthy, as the *Guardia Civil* or Civil Guard, Spain's answer to a national police force, was founded in 1844 under the reign of Queen Isabel.⁸⁸⁹ In Britain, by 1829, the Home Secretary, Robert Peel, introduced the Metropolitan Police Act, which founded the Metropolitan police force with new constables nicknamed *Peelers*, who were more reliant than the ad hoc forces in large cities.⁸⁹⁰

From these perceptions, Spain was for all that still undeveloped compared to Britain, which was reconfirmed by Peninsular War veterans. Edward Costello commented that “indeed, the Spaniards since my last sojourn amongst them had made very little progress towards improvement”.⁸⁹¹ The understandable reasons for this opinion, as Costello penned, was due to the *influence of foreign invasion*, namely blaming the French for the Peninsular War which caused the destruction of the economy and *civil strife* leading to a divided nation. In equal measure Costello held the *priest craft* responsible for the unchangeable nature of the environment.

Similarly, Lovell Babcock, while staying in the small village of Fuente Rubio, wrote

“the peasantry were in a wretched state. A woman with a large family entreated me to take one at least of her children away with me, as she could not maintain them all, and offered a pretty little black-eyed daughter or a ragged son, fancying the English could provide for everybody”.⁸⁹²

⁸⁸⁸ C.J. Rogers (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology, Vol. I* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 220-221. H. Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763* (London, 2000), p.7.

⁸⁸⁹ E. Rodgers (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Contemporary Spanish Culture* (New York, 2002), pp. 109-110. M.F. Moreno, *The Federalization of Spain* (London, 2001), p. 73.

⁸⁹⁰ I.K. McKenzie (ed.), *Law, Power and Justice in England and Wales* (London, 1998), p. 59. D. Taylor, *The New Police in Nineteenth-Century England: Crime, Conflict and Control* (New York, 1997), pp. 21-22.

⁸⁹¹ Costello, *Rifleman Costello*, p. 249.

⁸⁹² Babcock, *Rough Leaves from a Journal Kept in Spain and Portugal*, p. 34.

In the year Badcock was witnessing these events, in 1837, Spain was in a major crisis due to a shortage of food, explaining the reason for his observation.⁸⁹³

There was a greater understanding that Spanish society could not be compared to its British counterpart. That it was fundamentally different compared to Britain. Spain was a rural agricultural country, having no great expansion of industrialisation and was still a country which resembled eighteenth century Europe. Another key point is that most of the Britons in Spain did not see the whole country. Many spent their time in Spain attached to Don Carlos' headquarters or as part of the British Auxiliary Legion and therefore only ventured in the northern regions and the Basque country.

Conclusion

Although diversity occurred in both Spain and Britain economically, socially and politically in the 1830's, the British opinion towards Spain at the beginning of this period was analogous to that at the end of the decade. Old ideals of Spain had not vanquished as was proven with the support for Don Carlos. Politically the issue of Spain divided the British government, the Whigs favouring a Liberal government whereas the Tories supported Don Carlos' claim. Not surprising as the political attitudes in Britain, of party policy, were placed in the context of Spain. Spain also played an important role in the emergence of alliances during this period and the escalation of hostility in Europe between constitutionalists and absolutist, Spain could be seen as Britain's battleground for this larger political development.

The press during this decade changed its perceptions since the Peninsular War with less of a patriotic feeling towards the war in Spain and a greater sense of non-intervention as Britain's preferred policy. From this investigation, the press was more concerned and influenced by the

⁸⁹³ G. Tortella, *El desarrollo de la España contemporánea: Historia económica de los siglos XIX y XX* (Madrid, 1998), pp. 33-34.

Tories towards this issue. Even though there were a growing number of new newspapers, which supported more Liberal and radical ideals, and information could be received expeditiously with steam powered boats.

In relation to those who travelled to Spain, with their comments on Spanish society in general, perceptions changed minimally throughout the 1830's, however compare to views of the Peninsular War there are a number of subtle changes. As a general statement most of the Britons in the 1830's seemed to have a more open-minded approach towards the Spanish and in many instances they felt the need to explain particular differences between British and Spanish society so that the reader had a further understanding of events. This in itself is interesting, as it would seem that they are trying to combat the old perceived impressions which many Britons had towards the Spanish. A further question is why did they feel the need to do this? Why was this generation different and what caused this change? Compared to Peninsular War veterans, they were not as predisposed by the question of Catholicism and seem to rarely acknowledge their distaste for it, although the end of the inquisition in Spain may have helped formulate these views.

Likewise many of the officers in the British Auxiliary Legion were liberal supporters and possibly had a more tolerant attitude compared to their predecessors in the Peninsular War who were supports of the Whigs. However, to counteract this, those rare individuals who took part in both the Peninsular War and the Carlist War seemed to suggest that Spain in fact had declined considerably due to a sustained period of war, political indifference and a great division amongst the populace. Ultimately this affected the infrastructure of Spain but also affected the common Spaniard, in many of the regions in which the British travelled deterioration of crops and in living standards was found in many of the small villages.

Overall the attitudes and opinions towards Spain had changed but this was due to changes in attitudes in Britain with the rise of liberalism in politics and attitudes amongst those who travelled to Europe. This period would have seemed quite different in terms of opinions expressed if Britain was still subject to a Tory government and would, in all probability, have supported Don Carlos.

Conclusion

In conclusion, as the evidence has confirmed British perceptions of Spain were eclectic and divided; reflecting the sometimes unclear political culture of Spain in the Age of Revolution. Not all British opinions were in favour of liberalism in Spain. Moreover, there was a conservative force which believed in no intervention and supported the old institutions of Spain and Ferdinand VII, combating the largely Whiggish historiography of British opinions. This thesis therefore sets in context the midpoint between negative cultural perceptions of Spain as undeveloped and unenlightened in comparison to Britain, and contrastingly those who increasingly viewed Spain as a paragon of progress.

The idea of the *Black Legend* can be transposed, as some in Britain during the Carlist War, supported the Carlists who typified the old ideals of Spain. If Britain was perceived to represent improvement and Spain the old antiquated regime, why did several Britons feel obligated to support the Carlists? Does this point to the fact that it was politics and the resurrection of conservative ideas in a time of liberalism in Western Europe, not religion, which united the support of Britons to this movement? An example, if not perplexing is that Britain's views of Spain changed by understanding and advocating in Parliament and outside in the public forum, views and opinions which supported the Carlists and ideas which went against these key principals.

Throughout this investigation with incontrovertible remarks towards Spain and the Spanish people; the extent to which the *Black Legend* was still held to be true is certain but many Britons broke this pattern seeing the good in Spain. Britons realised and confirmed their own fears and superstitions of the Spanish *bogyman*, as Spain was no longer a legitimate threat to the security of Britain, diminishing as a rival to an expansion of empire. Familiarity with Spain, its people and with greater numbers of Britons interacting with the Spanish this ultimately started to

change perceptions. A clear example was the strong associations made between Scottish culture and Irish Catholics with Spain. As several regions of Ireland and Scotland were not significantly affected by the industrial revolution, they could connect with the somewhat rudimentary and rural nature of the country, the Spanish people and geopolitics. Members who were Scottish and Irish in Parliament, generally, favoured the Spanish liberals and South Americans, seeing very few differences between their culture and that of the Spanish.

Ultimately the *Black Legend* did persist in many forms, during the course of the early nineteenth century and thereafter. Both British, and particularly American, historians have shown negative cultural attitudes towards of the Spanish in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Certainly the perceived idea that King Ferdinand VII was a tyrannical absolutist monarch with the influence of the Catholic Church acting as his agent to suppress the liberties of the Spanish people was held by certain Britons to be bona fide. The narrative of Ferdinand being a villain in history is evident in British observations but on the basis of hardly any information and understanding of the person in question.

Validated or not, Catholicism was targeted as the root cause for the weak and confrontational situation within Spain, with the loss of their American colonies, internal revolution and civil war from 1814 to 1838. The negative opinions which were placed on Spain were due to its perceived image of being undeveloped and politically regressive however new enlightened ideas were emerging in the country, such as the Constitution of 1812. Additionally to the notion of the *Black Legend*, new elements were added, due to the proliferation of Britons involvement over the period of the Peninsular War, commenting on the issues of Spanish bullfighting. These actions horrified British observers and are sighted as an example of Spanish cruelty.

Furthermore those who voiced an opinion about Spain were few in number and constituted as parliamentarians and the participatory public rather than the majority of Britons. This group, however small, could still make important changes to the outcome of Anglo-Spanish relations. Editors and columnists of British newspapers cannot be underestimated in the extent of personal opinion which they communicated in their respective articles. Several leading politicians owned newspapers or were the main contributors to the funding of these operations. Hence public sentiment was very much linked to politicians' opinion amongst an esoteric group. Personal friendships helped ferment Anglo-Spanish bonds in the Peninsular War, palpably as most of the Spanish revolutionary exiles in Britain in the 1820's were freemasons and later returned to Spain to form the new government under Isabella. The public's opinion still counted but it was not considered to be of any import amongst the political elite whose opinions were informed by their own personal affiliations, ideas and policies to foreign affairs. This involved larger issues of the balance of power in Europe and South America, protecting liberal governments in Western Europe and British commercial interests.

Opinions and perceptions are not a static entity, quickly reforming, due to changes in circumstances with the relevant information becoming accessible. Opinions can also invert and come full circle. While investigating different episodes of British perceptions of both Spain and South America, a reoccurring pattern has emerged. With the development of wider enthusiastic public and parliamentary discussions about Spanish affairs, this led to the mobilisation of support, through public donations such as the Spanish Committee, and the government intervening with military aid or a policy of strict neutrality. This in part was due to newspapers enlisting help, in the form of meetings to discuss the affairs of Spain and in some instances fund raising.

Eventually opinions become increasingly sceptical and jaded due to the uncooperative support of the Spanish to the British Army and Foreign Legions. This had the effect of making many

observers in Britain start to ascertain accountability to the Spaniards failing to live up to British aspirations for Spain and the use of generalised stereotypical comments to degrade them. Interest in Spanish affairs inevitably faded, represented in reduced coverage in the newspapers. New issues superseded attentions, for instance reports on South America were overshadowed by the news of the Spanish Revolution in 1820. We can see from these patterns, British opinion habitually changed depending on circumstances in the short term. There were individuals who from the very inception had a negative attitude towards Spain and those who wrote nothing but positive comments.

In summary what does this study say about Britain in the early nineteenth century and the way in which we study perceptions and opinions? The most important aspect about British political attitudes towards Spain is that it actually says more about Britain. Britons had a high regard for their own institutions; the moral and political values for which it stood. This jingoism is typical of how members of one country view another through their own moral compass. The great differences between Britain and Spain, religiously, politically and socially, helped to ferment in people's minds, the ideas which made Britain great. Several Spanish and South American leaders hoped to gain support to change their national institutions. Ultimately Spain had affected Britain. Spain had touched the lives of many soldiers who fought and shaped their future careers. A number of young British officers cut their teeth on the battlefields and plains of Spain and attacking their ancient stone walled cities; several would become the driving force behind the Victorian war machine of empire. With the slow expansion in the Spanish and American market this increased the internal trade which fuelled the British Empire of the Victorians.

Early political careers were forged in Spain too, if it were not for the Duke of Wellington's major victories in the Peninsular War his reputation would have barred him from entering into politics and becoming the hero of the nation, not just in Britain but in Spain, where in the

1830's he was still highly regarded. The Duke of Wellington would always be identified with the country, this would even affect his politics, when a large influx of Spanish exiles came to Britain it was the Duke of Wellington who was responsible for providing pensions for the wealthiest Spaniards in order that they could live in comfort while in Britain. The destiny of Britain in the early 19th century certainly was entangled with Spain, providing the preliminary battleground to defeat Napoleon and also a platform for parliament to express their political opinions and placing the use of the word liberal in the British vernacular.

In a postmodern world of cultural history it is not fashionable to say that the social elite are how we perceive historical periods and define an era. It is clear, in this study, that those with wealth, education, links to the military, political connections and the ability to influence political opinion, namely in the newspapers, have affected our understanding of the perceptions of other countries in times of conflict. In many cases we take the views and opinions of selected individuals to represent the thoughts and wishes of the majority. A clear awakening in the last decade, post 2000, is our general knowledge of the war on terrorism and in the 2010's the political changes occurring in Africa, Ukraine and the Middle East. At present the conflict in Syria has many parallels with British opinions and perceptions of the Spanish Revolution, with an element of great uncertainty on the basic facts about other countries institutions. Has our understanding of foreign affairs, our interests in other counties and people, changed significantly over the centuries?

Appendix I

This list of individuals are those who either travelled to Spain and South America in an observational, military or political role, wrote extensively or added to Britain's perception of the Spanish in private and public circles.

Edward Blaquiere (1779-1832) joined the Royal Navy in 1794 and fought in the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars. Blaquiere was a vocal supporter of liberalism and travelled to Spain in 1820 and by 1822 had written *An Historical Review of the Spanish Revolution*. In 1823, after losing interest in Spain he set his sights on the fight for Greek independence founding the London Greek Committee with **Sir John Bowring** (1792-1872) Bowring in 1811 joined the London branch of Milford & Co. who supplied the Duke of Wellington's army in the Peninsular War, which led to Bowring travelling to Spain from 1813 to 1814 on behalf of the company. Later he became the political editor of the *Westminster Review*.

George Canning (1770-1827) Tory Member of Parliament from 1802 to 1827, Treasurer to the Navy from 1804 to 1806, President of the Board of Control from 1816 to 1821 and Foreign Secretary from 1822 to 1827. He was also leader of the Tories in the House of Commons from 1822 to 1827 and Prime Minister in 1827. Called a progressive Tory he had little opinion of the liberals in Spain and the constitution but advocated strong interests in British trade with South America, being opposed to the Foreign Enlistment Bill. He ratified commercial treaties with the newly recognised states in South America and *called the new world into existence*.

Thomas Denman (1779-1854) Whig Member of Parliament from 1818 to 1832. He contributed to the *Whig Monthly Review* and the *Critical Review*; he was also a good friend to Lord Cochrane, replacing him in the 1807 Westminster Election. He was outspoken against the Foreign Enlistment Bill in 1819 and attended numerous meetings for Spanish liberalism.

John Downie (1777-1826) commanded the Spanish Extremadura Legion in the Peninsular War and on Ferdinand's return in 1814 he was made Field Marshal, Governor of the Palaces of Seville and Captain General of Andalusia. He was also one of the main informants of Henry Wellesley during the liberal revolution of 1820.

Charles Lewis Gruneisen (1806-1879) one of the first war correspondents for *The Morning Post* in Spain from 1837 to 1838. He was appointed sub-editor of *The Morning Post* in 1833, managing the papers foreign affairs. In March 1837 he was sent as a special correspondent attached to the Carlist army, where he received the Cross of the Order of Charles III for Don Carlos for his engagement in battle. Additionally it was remarked by various Spanish generals that he caused more damage with the pen than the Carlists.

John Cam Hobhouse, 1st Baron Broughton (1786-1869) founded the Whig Club at Cambridge and later after many attempts became a radical Member of Parliament from 1820 to 1851 and Secretary of War 1832 to 1833. During his studies at Cambridge he became a great friend to Lord Byron, travelling with him to Spain, Greece and Turkey. Later in 1823 he advocated the defences of the Spanish liberal regime and later founded Spanish Committee.

Michael Burke Honan (-1836) was in correspondence with the *Morning Herald* in Madrid from 1834 to 1836 and was noted for his Carlist support and extremely hostile comments to the Cristino government. Honan had travelled extensively through the territory held by the Carlists, visited Don Carlos' headquarters and had written on the great achievements of the Carlist movement. However returning from France, after being extradited from the country by the Spanish police, he returned to Madrid and conversed with Villiers about seeking British protection.

John Fredrick Andrew Huth (1777-1864) in 1791 he was apprenticed with Spanish merchants in Hamburg under Juan Antonio Urbieto, who sent Huth to work in his house in Corunna in 1805. By 1809 Huth had his own business but moved to London because of the ravages of the Peninsular War. In 1815 John Fredrick Gruning, a Bremen merchant, went into partnership with Huth to form Fredrick Huth & Co. He was a supporter of the Constitution of 1812 and the liberal revolution in 1820. Later Huth would be instrumental in working with the Spanish government, becoming a financial agent in 1837. His descendents continued in business with Spain into the 20th century.

Henry David Inglis (1795-1835) a Scottish journalist, traveller and writer. Inglis wrote many books and articles for *The Edinburgh Review* about his travels through France, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and Bavaria but his book, *Spain in 1830* was regarded as his best work however it was a commercial failure at the time. Before his death, in 1835, he also wrote *Rambles in the Footsteps of Don Quixote*, this was only fully published in 1840.

James Richard Matthews (1784-1864) British Consul of Cadiz from 1817 to 1822. In 1823 he was under suspicion of plotting to rescue the Spanish royal family, later arrested and released with Ferdinand's second restoration. He was also one of the main informants of Henry Wellesley during the liberal revolution of 1820.

Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832) political writer, lawyer and politician, joint owner and editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, Whig Member of Parliament for Nairn 1813 to 1832. He was an outspoken supporter for the independence of South America speaking against the Foreign Enlistment Bill and contributing to the support of the Liberal regime in 1823, helping to found the Spanish Committee.

Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne (1780-1863) Whig Member of Parliament for Calne from 1802 to 1809. Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1806 to 1807, Home Secretary from 1827 to 1828 and Lord President of the Council from 1830 to 1834 and 1835 to 1841. He was also a central figure and major champion in the House of Lords on the question of Catholic emancipation. Publicly supported the Spanish liberal revolution in 1820 and later helped establish the Spanish Committee to raise funds for Spanish exiles.

Michael Joseph Quin (1796-1843) journalist for the *Morning Herald*, writing many articles for the *Morning Chronicle* and *Dublin Review* on foreign policy and later editor of the *Monthly Review* in 1825. He wrote a book about his experiences in Spain in 1823 called *A Visit to Spain* and translated a biography on Ferdinand's life in 1824.

John Parish Robertson (1792-1843) an Edinburgh merchant and author, who accompanied his father to Montevideo in 1806 and established a prominent business in Buenos Aires by 1815. He was later joined by his brother William, they expanded their operations to Chile and Peru as these countries became independent and established connections with London, Glasgow and Liverpool. He knew many of the leaders of the new Argentinean government, including San Martin and was related to Woodbine Parish the first British consul of Rio de la Plata. Later in 1828 he wrote with his brother *Letters on Paraguay; An Account of a Four Years Residence in That Republic*.

Robert Southey (1774-1843) born in Bristol and became a poet, author and reviewer. He became fluent in both Spanish and Portuguese due to his travels in these countries and from 1795 to 1797 writing *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal*. He wrote for the *Quarterly Review* and received after 1807 a yearly stipend to support the Liverpool administration. Later he wrote a Spanish novel called *Roderick, the Last of the Goths* in 1814 and started in 1823 a *History of the Peninsular War*, which the Duke of Wellington by all accounts was not enamoured with.

Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh (1769-1822) Tory Member of Parliament from 1790 to 1822. President of the Board of Control from 1802 to 1806, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies from 1805 to 1806 and 1807 to 1809 and Foreign Secretary from 1812 to 1822. He was an important member of the cabinet in the Liverpool administration, helping to formulate the congress system for the security of Europe after the Napoleonic Wars. He was also keen to strengthen Anglo-Spanish relations, defending the need to enact the Foreign Enlistment Bill in 1819.

Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865) Whig Member of Parliament from 1807 to 1836. Secretary of War 1809 to 1828, Foreign Secretary from 1830 to 1834 and 1835 to 1841 and later Prime Minister from 1855 to 1858 and 1859 to 1865. He personally had a strong attachment to Spanish liberalism and worked hard to improve Anglo-Spanish relations. He was a personal friend of fellow Whig Sir John Easthope who was the owner of the *Morning Chronicle* and instructed his consuls to give this newspaper the latest information before other newspapers.

Henry Richard Vassall-Fox, 3rd Baron Holland (1773-1840) nephew of Charles James Fox and Whig Member of the Lords, Lord Privy Seal from 1806 to 1807, in the Ministry of all the Talents, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster from 1830 to 1834 and 1835 to 1840 and cabinet member under Lord Grey and Melbourne. He travelled to Spain in 1793, meeting his future wife **Elizabeth Fox, Lady Holland** (1771-1845) on route from Italy. Later with his family he travelled to Spain from 1802 to 1805 and from November 1808 to July 1809. On this first excursion Elizabeth wrote a journal later published, *The Spanish Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland*. The Holland's frequently meet many fellow British Hispanophiles at their home, including a number of Spanish liberal exiles, notably Joseph Blanco White who became a tutor for their children.

George William Fredrick Villiers, 4th Earl of Clarendon (1800-1870) British embassy at Saint Petersburg from 1820 to 1823, Commissionership of Customs from 1823 to 1831 and appointed as British Ambassador to Spain from 1833 to 1839. While in Spain he became fond of the culture and a great art collector. General Miguel de Alava the Spanish ambassador to London after 1834 reported that he was a trustworthy candidate to represent British views. In later life he was an important member of the Cabinet, becoming Foreign Secretary on numerous occasions under the Liberal administration of Lord John Russell the founder of the Liberal party.

William Wilberforce (1759-1833) leader of the Abolishment of the Slave Trade campaign which saw the passing of the Slave Trade Act of 1807 and Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. Founder of the Church Mission Society in 1799 and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in 1824. He became an Independent Member of Parliament from 1780 to 1825 and also one of the founding members of the Spanish Committee.

Sir Robert Thomas Wilson (1777-1849) joined the army in 1794 and gained much credit while in active service in the French Revolution. During the Peninsular War he had raised and commanded a unit of Portuguese known as the Loyal Lusitanian Legion from 1809 to 1812. In 1812 he was sent to Russia as a liaison officer in the Russian Army. Later a radical Whig Member of Parliament from 1818 and 1831, dismissed from parliament in 1822 for imposing his authority on the Household Cavalry for shooting at a crowd in Hyde Park during the funeral of Queen Caroline. Wilson eventually travelled to Spain with a small expeditionary force in 1823 to defend the liberal regime but on his arrival he was arrested and took no active part in the war. In 1830 he was promoted to lieutenant-general and in 1842 Governor of Gibraltar.

Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington (1769-1852) Tory Member of Parliament from 1806 to 1809, Foreign Secretary from 1834 to 1835 and Prime Minister from 1828 to 1830 and in 1834. He commanded the British Army in Spain and Portugal from 1809 to 1814, becoming Generalissimo of all forces in Spain in 1812. Highly decorated and admired across Europe after his defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte at Waterloo in 1815, he continued to act fastidiously for British interests in Europe in a diplomatic role and supported Spain when required. He was appointed to take care of the Spanish exile elite in Britain with *The Dukes List* from 1824 to 1840. He formed a lasting friendship with **Don Miguel Ricardo de Alava** (1770-1843) during the Peninsular War, housing Alava during his time in exile in Britain from 1823 to 1833 and working closely with him when Alava became Spanish Ambassador in London from 1834 to 1835.

Henry Wellesley, 1st Baron Cowley (1773-1847) youngest brother of Arthur Wellesley and Tory Member of Parliament from 1807 to 1809, British Ambassador to Austria from 1823 to 1831 and France in 1835. As British Ambassador to Spain from 1809 to 1821 he helped his brother in his military campaigns and informed the British government in understanding the Spanish constitution and King Ferdinand VII's court.

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