War for Sale

Peninsular War Veterans' Memoirs in the Long Nineteenth Century (1808-1914)

Matilda Greig

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
of the European University Institute

Florence, 06 December 2018

European University Institute
Department of History and Civilization

War for Sale

Peninsular War Veterans' Memoirs in the Long Nineteenth Century (1808-1914)

Matilda Greig

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
of the European University Institute

Examining Board

Professor Lucy Riall, European University Institute (Supervisor)
Professor Regina Grafe, European University Institute (Second Reader)
Professor Philip Dwyer, University of Newcastle, Australia
Emeritus Professor John Horne, Trinity College Dublin

Researcher declaration to accompany the submission of written work
Department of History and Civilization - Doctoral Programme

I Matilda Greig certify that I am the author of the work War for Sale: Peninsular War Veterans' Memoirs in the Long Nineteenth Century (1808-1914) I have presented for examination for the Ph.D. at the European University Institute. I also certify that this is solely my own original work, other than where I have clearly indicated, in this declaration and in the thesis, that it is the work of others.

I warrant that I have obtained all the permissions required for using any material from other copyrighted publications.

I certify that this work complies with the Code of Ethics in Academic Research issued by the European University Institute (IUE 332/2/10 (CA 297).

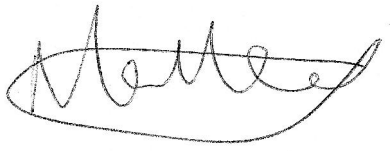
I declare that this work consists of 104,740 words.

Statement of inclusion of previous work:

I confirm that chapter 4 draws upon an earlier article I published: Matilda Greig, 'Accidental Authors? Soldiers' Tales of the Peninsular War and the Secrets of the Publishing Process', History Workshop Journal 86 (2018), pp. 224-244.

I confirm that chapter 7 draws upon an earlier article I published: Matilda Greig, 'Traduire la guerre au XIXe siècle: réinventions et circulations des mémoires militaires de la guerre d'Espagne, 1808-1914', Hypothèses 20 (2017), pp. 347-356.

Signature and date:



13 November 2018

For Walter Greig, who told me war stories.

Abstract

This is a study of the development of war writing in the nineteenth century, showing how the authorial impulses of veterans from the Napoleonic Wars interacted with a booming publishing industry across Europe to forge a new relationship between ex-soldiers, the book market, and the cultural representation of war. Focussing on the hundreds of military memoirs written by British, French, and Spanish veterans of the Peninsular War (1808-1814), I propose a new methodology for the study of these sources, departing from the current state of literature with a deliberate emphasis on their public, political, and commercial aspects.

Beginning with the political aims of the old soldiers who wrote these books, I examine their attempts to re-write history, reform the army, and defend themselves from controversy. Using evidence from the archives of publishing houses, I reveal the immense and frenzied editing, printing, and marketing activity which was concealed behind the facade of a simple soldier's tale, challenging us to start thinking about soldiers as professional authors, aiming to influence the broader writing of the story of war. I then explore the afterlives of these war memoirs, following the books once they outlived their authors. In the hands of later editors, family members, and commercially-minded publishers, many memoirs changed dramatically, selling an updated idea of the experience of war. I also consider the widespread phenomenon of reprinting and translation, which carried soldiers' tales far beyond their home countries and into new languages, appropriating them into the memory-making processes of other nations. Throughout, the comparison with Spain acts as a counterweight to the more heavily-studied France and Britain, allowing me to challenge prevailing ideas about the origins and format of military autobiography in Europe, as well as to explore the development of still-persistent divisions between the different 'national' narratives of the same war.

Contents

Acknowledgements

I would first of all like to thank the Student Awards Agency for Scotland and the European University Institute for the grants which supported this research, as well as the Department of History and Civilization at the EUI, which funded archival trips around Europe in the hunt for vital sources. My sincere gratitude is also due to my supervisor Lucy Riall, whose guidance and support has been consistent and invaluable, to Regina Grafe, who acted as second reader, Spanish expert, and general inspiration, and to my external examiners for their comments.

There is a long list of people without whom this thesis would not have taken the form it has, or been finished at all, and to them I would like to offer my heartfelt thanks. To the other professors in the History Department at the EUI, many of whom read drafts and offered advice; to Renaud Morieux at Cambridge, to whom I owe the original idea to study Napoleonic memoirs; to David Hopkin in Oxford and Eric Storm in Leiden, who supported early forays into this topic during my MA; to Charles Esdaile and Arsenio García Fuertes, who gave me lists of Spanish *manifiestos*; to Fernando Durán López, who advised me on Spanish archives and printing; to Carlos Recio Dávila, who answered questions on Latin America; to Jean-Yves Mollier, Sudhir Hazareesingh and Patricia Sorel, who kindly gave me information on French archives; to Philip Dwyer, for his gracious feedback on my first-year ideas; to Maartje Janse at Leiden, who helped me with the title of this thesis; to Guillaume Grandgeorge at Éditions Picard, who went out of his way to search catalogues and send scans; to the archival staff at IMEC, the University of Reading, the John Murray Archive, the Archivo Real y General de Navarra and others, who expertly guided me through collections and unearthed amazing additional documents I had not expected to find; to Gaël Sánchez Cano, Déborah Dubald, and Simon Dumas Primbault, who corrected translations, proofread, and performed selfless miracles with my writing in French for an article on which Chapter 7 is partly based; to Maria Haag, who knows how many terrible Sunday coffees at IT-IT fuelled these pages; and to the rest of my fellow PhD researchers at the EUI, who commented on chapters, shared their knowledge, and created an unforgettable and wonderful atmosphere – thank you.

Finally, to my brother and my parents, a special thanks for everything.

List of figures and tables

Abbreviations

ADBR	Archives Départementales du Bas-Rhin
ADMM	Archives Départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle
AGMS	Archivo General Militar Segovia
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional
AHM	Arquivo Histórico Militar
ARGM	Archivo Real y General de Navarra
BL	British Library
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
BNP	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal
CAMT	Centre des Archives du Monde du Travail
CUL	Cambridge University Library
IMEC	Institut Mémoires de l'Édition Contemporaine
JMA	John Murray Archive
NLS	National Library of Scotland
URSC	University of Reading Special Collections

Note on language

Quotes from memoirs and archival material have been preserved in their original form, meaning that small errors of type and early nineteenth-century forms of accentuation and orthography are not mistakes in the text.

Place names, ranks and titles mentioned in the main text will be written in their English forms, where these exist. A small glossary of military terminology and jargon is provided below.

Bivouac – A temporary encampment, usually with little or no shelter

Calibash (calabash) – A gourd, in this case used as a wine flask

Ensign – Lowest commissioned officer rank

Hussar – Soldier in a light cavalry regiment

Junior officer – Commissioned officer with the rank of Captain or lower

Oilskins – Heavy waterproof cloth

Ordre du jour – Military dispatch

Pioneers – Small units of infantry soldiers trained in heavy work and engineering

Private – Enlisted man, lowest military rank

Pronunciamiento – Coup d'état, military rebellion

Senior officer – Commissioned officer with a rank higher than Captain

Watch-cloak – Heavy greatcloak worn by sentries for warmth

Fig. I. Map of Spain and Portugal: William O'Connor Morris, *Wellington, soldier and statesman, and the revival of the military power of England* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904). No known copyright restrictions.

Introduction

Three Armies, Three Historical Traditions, Three Hundred Different Memoirs, and What to Do with Them

This thesis is the study of some very awkward sources. More specifically, it is the study of the nearly three hundred autobiographies published during the nineteenth century by soldiers who had fought in the Peninsular War (1808-1814), one of the most colourful and chaotic campaigns of the Napoleonic period. It was a war fought on the battlefields of Spain and Portugal by allied Spanish and British armies against an invading French force, but also in the towns, mountains and farmlands of both countries, where ordinary civilians and roaming bands of guerrillas resisted, disrupted, and terrorised the occupying French army – causing the entry of the word 'guerrilla' into the both English and French dictionaries for the first time. It has been seen as a triumph of self-liberation for Spain; a proud military victory for Britain; and a humiliating defeat for France, with Napoleon himself once admitting that 'cette malheureuse guerre d'Espagne a été une veritable plaie, la cause première des malheurs de la France.'[1] It was, all in all, a profoundly memorable war, not least for the soldiers who marched through its heat and its cold, sweated through its fevers, witnessed its horrors, committed its atrocities, fought, bled, lost, laughed, lived, and survived. It provoked, in fact, an unprecedented outpouring of autobiographical writing from soldiers of all ranks, as veterans from all three countries sat down to make sense of their experiences in ink. These memoirs, published in their hundreds over the course of the nineteenth century, became a phenomenon which established itself in Europe as both a well-recognised and well-satirised literary genre. Contemporaries complained jokingly of a curious affliction, 'scribblomania', which appeared to have gripped the ranks of retired military men and compelled them to put pen to paper, and as the years went on, a booming printing industry and an increasingly literate public continued to eat up reprints and revised editions of these rich, powerful stories of war.

Valuable as they are, however, these books pose thorny problems for historians. War memoirs, as this body of loosely autobiographical military writing is usually called, are often written

[1] qu. L. Montroussier, 'Français et Britanniques dans la Péninsule, 1808-1814: étude des mémoires français et britanniques', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 348 (Apr.-June, 2007), p. 131.

long after the events they describe took place, with the narratives they contain warped by everything from bias and political motivations to lapses in memory, embellishment, and outright fabrication. In shuffling memories of their lives into a cohesive, written narrative, veterans necessarily obscured or over-exaggerated parts, drew on other published works, and on occasions borrowed liberally from tropes in popular folklore.[2] Even where patchy memory and artistic licence end, everything from trauma to libel law, laziness and lack of time may have artificially shaped the narrative which remains. It is therefore very difficult to distinguish 'truth' from fiction within soldiers' accounts of their feelings and experiences; it is even difficult to retrace correctly the chronology of their campaigns, as place names are often misremembered or misspelt and dates blurry. Perhaps unsurprisingly, war memoirs have been widely labelled as 'unreliable', with historians' mistrust not limited to books from the Napoleonic period but also applied to those from the conflicts of the twentieth century.[3]

To 'unreliable', we might well add 'unrepresentative' and 'uneven'. Peninsular War memoirs were only written and published by a small fraction of the soldiers who had participated in the conflict: just around 245 authors out of the more than half a million total troops dispatched to the Peninsula in the armies of Britain (which included Portuguese regiments), France, and Spain.[4] Within these figures, 103 memoirs were authored by British soldiers, 103 by French soldiers, and 58 by their Spanish counterparts. Leading experts in the field contest that no comparable Portuguese memoirs exist at all.[5] In fact, I have identified several, and suspect that many more may exist unpublished or as ephemeral material stored in archives in Portugal, but locating them was beyond the reach of this study (for more details, see the *Appendix*).

---

[2] On popular folklore in particular, see D. Hopkin, 'Storytelling, fairytales and autobiography: some observations on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French soldiers' and sailors' memoirs', *Social History* 29, 2 (2004), pp. 186-199.

[3] Alan Forrest, for example, is a leading scholar on Napoleonic soldiers who distrusts memoirs: see A. Forrest, *Napoleon's Men: The Soldiers of the Revolution and Empire* (2002), Ch. 2. For the problems of memoirs as a genre, see: M. Hewitson, '"I Witnesses": Soldiers, Selfhood and Testimony in Modern Wars', *German History* 28, 3 (2010), pp. 310-325; Y. N. Harari, 'Military Memoirs: A Historical Overview of the Genre from the Middle Ages to the Late Modern Era', *War in History* 14, 3 (2007), p. 307.

[4] Statistics for overall troop numbers compiled from K. Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army: Recruitment, Society and Tradition, 1807-15* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 16-17, 128-129; C. Esdaile, *The Spanish Army in the Peninsular War*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 211; J.-C. Lorblanchès, *Les Soldats de Napoleon en Espagne et au Portugal (1807-1814)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2007), pp. 428, 454.

[5] C. Esdaile, *Peninsular Eyewitnesses: the Experience of War in Spain and Portugal 1808-1813* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Military, 2008), p. x.

Fig. II. British memoirs: dates first published (1808-1914)

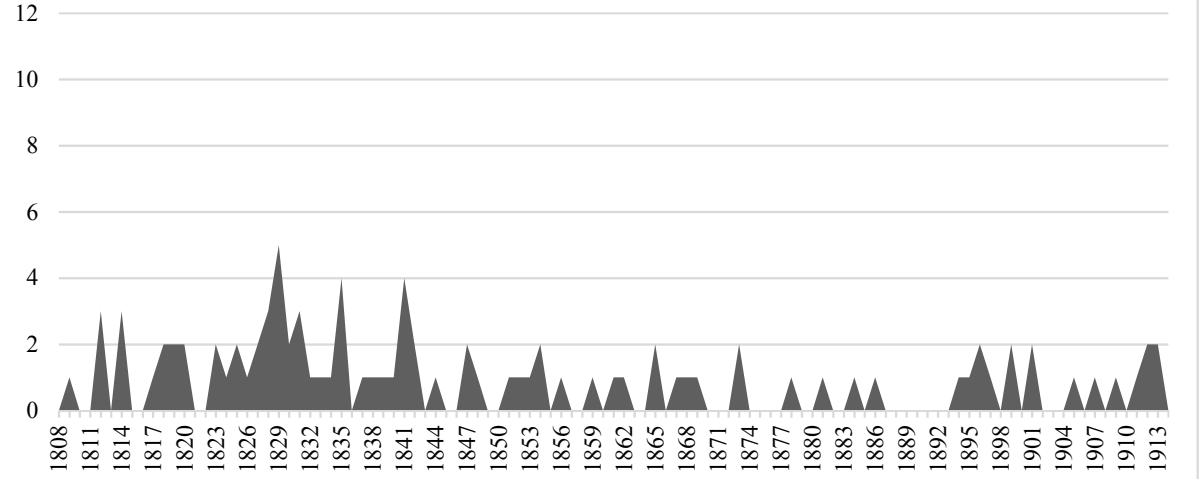


Fig. III. French memoirs: dates first published (1808-1914)

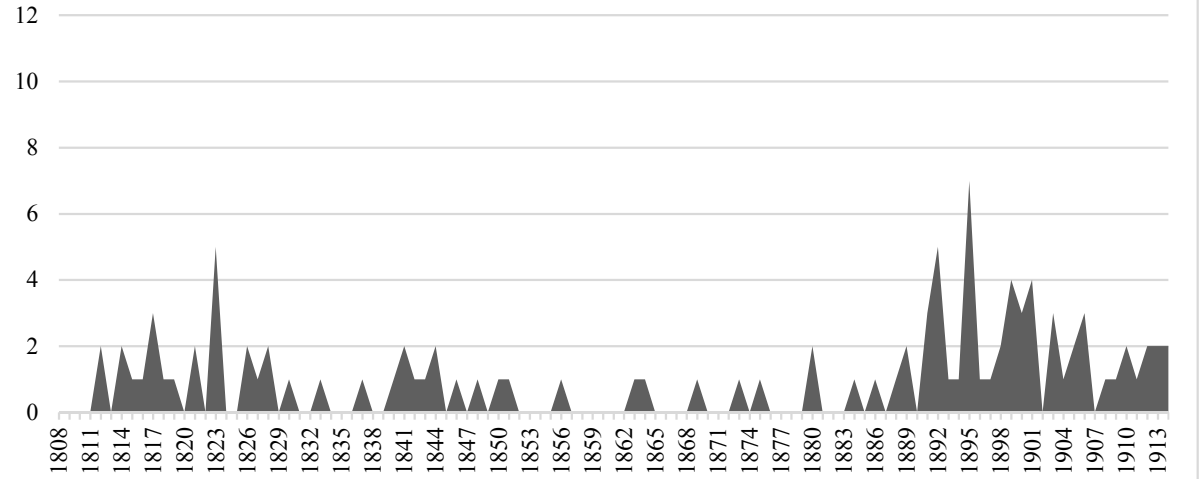
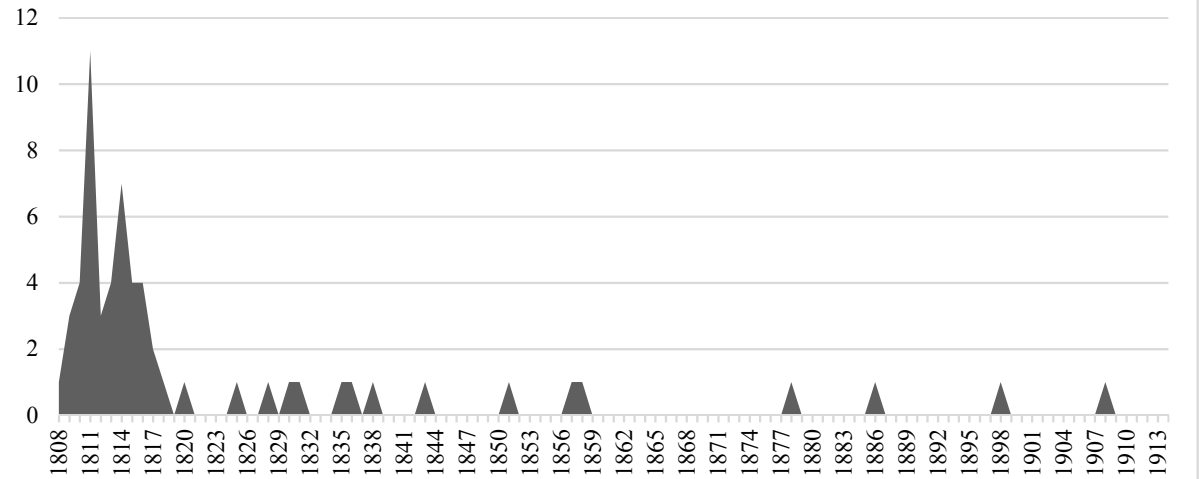


Fig. IV. Spanish memoirs: dates first published (1808-1914)



Moreover, the asymmetry in the numbers of memoirs published in France and Britain versus those in Iberia is a potential problem mirrored in myriad other ways. Spanish memoirs were mostly published at different times to French and British ones; they were not translated in the same languages nor reprinted in the same places; they often did not contain the same long, colourful life-stories that northern European audiences were used to – they usually did not even look the same. In fact, even British and French memoirs, which shared more similarities, were individually incredibly diverse, covering a whole spectrum of styles of writing from dry military histories to descriptive travel guides and exaggerated tales of romantic escapades, and they were all sold at different prices, by different booksellers, in different cities, at different times. Memoirs from the Napoleonic period were printed throughout the entire nineteenth century, and continue to be discovered and reprinted to this day (see *Figs II, III* and *IV*).[6] To make studying them at all manageable in terms of bulk, I have placed a chronological limit of 1914 on the date of publication, focussing on what is often termed the 'long nineteenth century', from one devastating European war to another, as my area of analysis.

Peninsular War memoirs therefore pose a serious range of methodological questions, issues that have not yet been confronted in the existing historiography, which is itself broad, disparate and sharply divided by language. This thesis is my attempt to answer them, to provide a field guide on 'What to Do with War Memoirs'. It is also an attempt to challenge the dominant 'northern' European and Anglophone reading of the Napoleonic period, question the role of soldiers in the production of war writing, and contribute to broader questions about the construction of memory and the representation of war at a crucial time in modern history. It is my argument that these memoirs as a group, unwieldy and awkward as they may be, made a deep impression on nineteenth-century culture, memory, and literature, leading up to and even influencing the attitudes of people towards war in 1914.

Answering these research questions has required adopting a new blend of analytical approaches which build upon but also depart from the typical methodologies of the field, and before starting upon the main content of the thesis, it is important to set these out clearly. Beginning with a critical overview of the existing historiography on this topic, this introduction will therefore explore the three fundamental analytical concepts which have structured this thesis

[6] For example, *The notebooks of Captain Coignet: soldier of the Empire, 1799-1816* (London: Frontline Books, 2016), or *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade in the Peninsula, France and the Netherlands, from 1809 to 1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

and informed my methodology: namely, soldiers as authors; books as objects; and the 'problem' of Spain.

A diverse, divided literature

French and British war memoirs from the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period have long been recognised as potentially rich and interesting sources, with seminal work done as early as 1913 by Charles Oman to gather together a list of British military memoirs published on the topic.[7] Even more comprehensive work was carried out in the 1970s by Jean Tulard for French memoirs, resulting in an annotated bibliography of more than 2,300 books which has since been revised and updated several times.[8] Spanish veterans' writings, by contrast, have historically received much less attention as a group, with no dedicated bibliographies having been compiled. Neither have Spanish war memoirs served as the main source material for many historical studies of the period, although studies of autobiography in nineteenth-century Spain have sometimes touched upon soldiers' writings in passing.[9] As a result, the literature on Napoleonic war memoirs which can be surveyed here is almost exclusively based on British and French material, and draws its wider conclusions from British and French patterns.

Traditionally, the use of war memoirs has been as a straightforward source of facts for military histories of the wars, including Oman's own *A History of the Peninsular War* (1902). Even today, military history continues to dominate large parts of historical interest in the Napoleonic period, with memoirs occasionally used to provide examples of battlefield tactics, numbers of casualties, or anecdotal evidence about the famous generals of the time, but never becoming the focus of the investigation.[10] This has changed in the last few decades, with a considerable number of studies being carried out by historians who take war memoirs, alongside soldiers' letters and diaries, as vital sources for the cultural, social, and literary history of the period. The

---

[7] C. Oman, 'Appendix III. Bibliographies of English Diaries, Journals and Memoirs of the Peninsular War', *Wellington's Army, 1809-1814* (London: Edward Arnold, 1913), pp. 375-383. This list was revised by R. Burnham and published as an appendix ('British Memoirs of the Napoleonic Wars') to R. Muir et al., *Inside Wellington's Peninsular Army 1808-1814* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2006).

[8] J. Tulard, *Bibliographie critique des mémoires sur le Consulat et l'Empire* (Geneva: Droz, 1971); A. Fierro, *Bibliographie critique des mémoires sur la Révolution* (Paris, 1988); Tulard, *Nouvelle Bibliographie Critique des Mémoires sur l'époque napoléonienne, écrits ou traduits en français* (Geneva: Droz, 1991).

[9] See in particular J. D. Fernández, 'Textos autobiográficos españoles de los siglos XVIII, XIX y XX. Bibliografía', *Anthropos,* no. 125 (Madrid, 1991), pp. 20-23; idem, *Apology to apostrophe. Autobiography and the rhetoric of self-representation in Spain* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1992).

[10] See for example the work of Christopher Hall, Rory Muir, David Gates, and Richard Glover.

depth and variety of this recent body of literature is striking. Memoirs have been part of studies on everything from soldiers' post-war imperial adventures[11] to their depictions of violence[12] and testimonies to intimate male friendship.[13]

The overriding theme of these recent cultural histories, however, has been the search for evidence of various types of 'identities' within the writings of Napoleonic soldiers. In particular, valuable revisionist work has been carried out on the subject of national identity, challenging the idea prevalent in both Franco- and Anglophone literature in the 1980s and 90s that the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars encouraged the spread of popular nationalism, and that conscripted soldiers (wearing national uniforms, fighting alongside men from other parts of their country, and encountering new, sometimes hostile foreign cultures), might have formed the vanguard of a new wave of patriotic 'Britishness' or 'Frenchness' defined against an enemy.[14] In doing so, many recent studies have exposed the more prosaic motives for service detailed by soldiers in their own writings, from discipline, fear, and the promise of plunder or promotion, to religion, attachment to battalion comrades, or simply a desperate desire to eventually return home.[15]

Others have underlined the nuanced descriptions of the 'Other' in soldiers' memoirs, highlighting the evidence that tolerance and admiration were just as prevalent as xenophobia.[16]

---

[11] C. Wright, *Wellington's Men in Australia: Peninsular War veterans and the making of Empire, c1820-40* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); J.-C. Lorblanchès, *Soldats de Napoléon aux Amériques* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012).

[12] The leading expert on depictions of violence in the Napoleonic period is Philip G. Dwyer: see Dwyer, '"It still makes me shudder": Memories of Massacres and Atrocities during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', *War in History* 16, 4 (2009), pp. 381-405; idem, 'Violence and the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars: massacre, conquest and the imperial enterprise', *Journal of Genocide Research* 15, 2 (2013), pp. 117-131.

[13] B. J. Martin, *Napoleonic Friendship: Military fraternity, intimacy, and sexuality in nineteenth-century France* (Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press; Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2011).

[14] See A. Forrest, 'La formation des attitudes villageoises envers le service militaire: 1792-1814', in P. Viallaneix and J. Ehrard (eds.), *La bataille, l'armée, la gloire, 1745-1871: Actes du colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand*, vol. 1 (Clermont-Ferrand: Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, 1985), p. 173; A. Poitrineau, 'Fonctionnarisme militaire ou catharsis guerrière? Les facettes de la gloire, au temps de la Grande Nation, d'après les actes et les écrits des soldats de l'Empire', in Viallaneix and Ehrard, *La bataille, l'armée*, p. 212; L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).

[15] See J. A. Lynn, *The Bayonets of the Republic: Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France, 1791-94* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984); A. Forrest, *Napoleon's Men: The Soldiers of the Revolution and Empire* (London and New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2002); L. S. James, 'For the Fatherland? The Motivations of Austrian and Prussian Volunteers during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', in C. G. Krüger and S. Levsen (eds.), *War Volunteering in Modern Times* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 40-58; M. J. Hughes, *Forging Napoleon's Grande Armée: Motivation, Military Culture and Masculinity in the French Army, 1800-1808* (New York: New York University Press, 2012).

[16] J. E. Cookson, 'Regimental Worlds: Interpreting the Experience of British Soldiers during the Napoleonic wars', in A. Forrest, K. Hagemann and J. Rendall (eds.), *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790-1820* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009),

Still others have emphasised the multi-national nature of both the British and French armies, and argued that foreign conscripts might choose from a 'menu' of potential identities to suit their situation.[17] This approach is particularly characteristic of the books recently published in Palgrave Macmillan's *War, Culture and Society* series, such as those by Catriona Kennedy (2013), Marie-Cécile Thoral (2011) and the editors Alan Forrest, Karen Hagemann and Jane Rendall (2009), who argue that 'this was a world in which the membership of a nation was simply one of a number of possible identities, including the membership of an estate, the freedom of a town, and the privileges of members of a guild.'[18]

A second major trend in recent studies of Napoleonic memoirs has been an interest in *how* soldiers depicted their wartime experiences, with cultural historians often borrowing approaches from literary history and using close textual analysis to unpick the narrative styles and structures chosen by the authors. Frequently, this has revealed the extent to which broad external literary trends influenced veterans' writing, from centuries-old examples of picaresque novels to the booming contemporary genre of travel-writing and the developing tropes of sentimentalism, romanticism and the Gothic.[19] David Hopkin has also emphasised the percolation of oral culture and folklore into veterans' written work, arguing that soldiers often resorted to motifs from fairytales to explain their experiences, and populated their tales with stereotypical figures from military storytelling culture.[20]

Recent cultural history studies of Napoleonic memoirs, therefore, have concentrated on the concepts of identity, experience, and representation, seeking answers to the questions of what war was like for the soldiers of the time, what groups they claimed to belong to, and how they made sense of their memories through narrative. Few have engaged critically with how to

---

pp. 23-24, 34; C. Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Military and Civilian Experience in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 34.

[17] Foreign recruitment: K. Linch, 'The Politics of Foreign Recruitment in Britain during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', in N. Arielli and B. Collins (eds.), *Transnational Soldiers: Foreign Military Enlistment in the Modern Era* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). M. Rowe's discussion of a 'menu of potential identities' in 'France, Prussia, or Germany? The Napoleonic Wars and shifting allegiances in the Rhineland', *Central European History* 39, 4 (Dec., 2006), pp. 623-626. Also T. Hippler, 'Les soldats allemands dans l'armée napoléonienne d'après leurs autobiographies: micro-républicanisme et décivilisation', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 348 (2007), pp. 117-130.

[18] A. Forrest, K. Hagemann and J. Rendall, 'Introduction', in Forrest et al., *Soldiers, Citizens*, p. 4.

[19] C. Steedman, *An Everyday Life of the English Working Class: Work, Self and Sociability in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.*

[20] Hopkin, 'Storytelling, fairytales and autobiography'; D. M. Hopkin, '*La Ramée,* the archetypal soldier, as an indicator of popular attitudes to the army in nineteenth-century France', *French History* 14, 2 (2000), pp. 115-149.

approach memoirs as sources, mostly including a disclaimer on the books' potential unreliability before proceeding to rely on quotes from their content regardless, or focussing mainly on letters and diaries. Neither have many historians taken much notice of the huge period of time over which these memoirs were published, nor the fact that many evolved through multiple later editions, often quoting indiscriminately from modern versions or making no note of the context in which the books were produced. Comparisons have often been made with the eighteenth century, as historians pursue questions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars as great ruptures, or not, with the past – but few studies have explored the legacy of this period to the long nineteenth century which came after.

One notable exception is the work of Philip Dwyer, who in two articles published in 2010 and 2011 has argued that memoirs' very unreliability as creatively written sources is in fact a virtue, allowing us to examine how veterans deliberately contested or perpetuated broader narratives about the war.[21] Including analysis of how French memoirs were published over time, Dwyer focusses on their use in different political contexts, especially in fostering a 'culture of war' under the Third Republic. Dwyer's articles, however, fall short of discussing the role of the publishing industry itself in the different uses of memoirs over time; nor does he depict the soldiers who wrote them as authors with more commercial aims than simply to carve out their own small place in history. Moreover, he utilises quite a strict definition of 'memoir' which excludes anything straying in to the realms of histories or private journals, reflecting a familiar rigidity in the broader literature which has contributed to the neglect of Spain. Dwyer's is a study of French memoirs only, and the tendency to focus on a single topic or nationality, and predominantly northern or western European ones, is part of a broader set of limitations within the existing literature on war memoirs. Southern Europe rarely figures as the subject of these studies, and the Peninsular War itself has often been marginalised.

Indeed, the limited number of studies on Peninsular War memoirs specifically which do already exist are characterised by many of the same problems. These studies are, overwhelmingly, based on British and French sources, and again mainly concerned with what the memoirs can tell us about soldiers' experiences of the war. Two articles by Laurence Montroussier-Favre in 2007 and 2013, for instance, compare fourteen of the most famous memoirs by British and

[21] P. G. Dwyer, 'Public Remembering, Private Reminiscing: French Military Memoirs and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', *French Historical Studies* 33, 2 (2010), pp. 232-258; idem, 'War Stories: French Veteran Narratives and the "Experience of War" in the Nineteenth Century', *European History Quarterly* 41, 4 (2011), pp. 561-585.

French officers, concentrating on the memoirists' views of 'the Other' and of war itself. Both articles make a very similar argument: that British and French soldiers saw each other 'more as adversaries than as enemies', recognizing a mutual respect for the rules of regular warfare, interacting fraternally between battles, and sharing a profound hostility towards the Spanish and Portuguese.[22] Montroussier-Favre does not explore the methodological issues of using memoirs as sources, nor discriminate between memoirs published at the end of the war and those produced in the late twentieth century.

Similarly, Gavin Daly's recent study of 90 personal accounts by British soldiers in the Peninsula is largely concerned with analysing their content, also arguing that British troops felt a sense of cultural superiority while travelling through Spain and Portugal.[23] Daly goes further than Montroussier-Favre by exploring the relationship of memoirs to other literary genres, particularly that of travel literature, but is more concerned with linking veterans' writings to broader currents in Georgian Britain than tracing the fortunes of the books or the authors themselves.

Where scholars *have* included Spanish war memoirs, these are few in number and often treated as an awkward counterpart to what are seen as the much richer French and British versions. Peninsular War specialist Charles Esdaile, for instance, has recently produced an expanded history of the war which aims to showcase the experiences of ordinary people, illustrated by anecdotes from a wide range of eyewitnesses.[24] Only several of these are by Spanish veterans, though, and not all were memoirs published before 1914, with Esdaile also noting his opinion that no comparable Portuguese memoirs can be said to exist. A rare Spanish-language article on Peninsular War memoirs by Marion Reder Gadow and Pedro Luis Pérez Frías, moreover, uses only two sources from Spanish veterans, instead mostly basing its analysis of travellers' descriptions of Andalusia on the memoirs of British and French soldiers, and travelogues written by civilians.[25] The authors echo the common complaint that Spain simply did not

[22] L. Montroussier, 'Français et Britanniques dans la Péninsule'; L. Montroussier-Favre, 'Remembering the Other: the Peninsular War in the Autobiographical Accounts of British and French soldiers', in Forrest et al., *War Memories*, 59-76.
[23] G. Daly, *The British Soldier in the Peninsular War: Encounters with Spain and Portugal, 1808-1814* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
[24] C. Esdaile, *Peninsular Eyewitnesses: the Experience of War in Spain and Portugal 1808-1813* (Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen and Sword Military, 2008).
[25] They use Galiano and Girón. M. Reder Gadow and P. L. Pérez Frías, 'Memorias de Guerra y Crónicas de Viajeros, dos visiones de la Guerra de la Independencia y de Andalucía', *Baetica: Estudios de Arte, Geografía e Historia* 32 (2010), pp. 419-448.

produce many autobiographical sources for the Peninsular War, or at least none which provide anything like the same level of description of enemy armies, landscape, and local people.[26]

Words such as 'comparable' and 'the same level of description' underscore the frustration of trying to fit Spanish war memoirs into a pattern and a definition which have been dictated by studies of books from northern Europe. Scholars looking for Spanish sources have expected to find the same book-length, sometimes multiple-volume works that have been so well catalogued for Britain and France, and barring a couple of exceptions, they have therefore come up empty-handed. One important exception is the work of Fernando Durán López from the University of Cadiz, work which is so far unacknowledged by any of the existing literature mentioned above. In an article published in 2003 as part of a guide to archival sources for the Peninsular War, Durán López identifies a list of 114 Spanish memoirs written directly as a response to the conflict, arguing for a flexible interpretation of the autobiographical genre which would allow the inclusion of books more concerned with general history than personal development, as well as what he calls 'memorias justificativas': self-justificatory writings which take the form of apology or testimony, but are still fundamentally concerned with the narrative of the author's life.[27]

Not all of these 114 Spanish memoirs were written by veterans. Nor does Durán López look much further beyond the literary studies approach which he advocates for these sources, or make a comparison with memoirs in other languages. However, his work suggests that we can now start moving beyond the outdated trope of Spanish backwardness or incomparability that continues to plague the historiography of this period. Properly incorporating Spanish sources into our comparisons may require us to bend our definitions a little, to include things which we might not otherwise have categorised as 'memoirs', but the benefits of doing so include the opportunity for a much better definition of the European war memoir genre in the nineteenth century, and a much clearer understanding of its development over time.

Indeed, challenging the existing definitions and analytical approaches brought to bear on these sources promises other important possibilities. Contextualizing memoir publishing over space and time, for instance, and delving deeper into the motivations of their authors, will help to

[26] Reder Gadow et al, 'Memorias de Guerra', pp. 439-440.
[27] F. Durán López, 'Fuentes autobiográficos españolas para el estudio de la Guerra de la Independencia', in Francisco Miranda Rubio (ed.), Fuentes Documentales para el Estudio de la Guerra de la Independencia (Pamplona: Ediciones Eunate, 2003), pp. 47-120. See also F. Durán López, *Catálogo comentado de la autobiografía española (siglos XVIII y XIX)* (Madrid: Ollero & Ramos, 1997).

link what we already know is an incredibly rich body of source material to broader questions about print culture in the nineteenth century and war writing as a genre, questions to which these Peninsular War memoirs should actually be considered intrinsic. Building upon the important work already done by cultural historians on how war was depicted, I will explore how war was sold, and how it changed, through this commercial process, over the decades which followed. I will argue, in fact, that these war memoirs have a relevance which did not stop at the end of the nineteenth century but continued powerfully until at least the start of the First World War, and that our understanding of that great conflict's origins might also be improved by exploring the way war was written about in the century beforehand. In doing so, I will confront George Mosse's influential argument that the writings of a small number of patriotic volunteers from the Revolutionary Wars lay at the heart of the origins of the 'myth of war experience' which convinced so many to sign up to fight in 1914.[28]

My methodological approach is characterized by three main analytical concepts: soldiers as authors, books as objects, and Spain as productively different. To make these clear, I will explore each one in greater depth, at the same time giving an overview of the structure and argument of the thesis.

Officer Who?

Why does a veteran sit down to write a memoir of his experiences in war? What age is he when he does so? What rank did he hold in the army, and how literate is he? How much time passes between the time at which he wrote the memoir, and when it is published?

These are fundamental questions for any study of war autobiography, yet for memoirs from the Napoleonic period at least, only the first is usually considered. Writing was a search for meaning, according to Martyn Lyons: it 'fulfilled an inner need'; it was an attempt to 'construct order out of chaos and to organise the confusing experience of exceptional upheavals like war.'[29] Torn between memories of horror and glory, as George Mosse has written, the need to

[28] G. L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), esp. Ch. 2.
[29] M. Lyons, *Readers and Society in Nineteenth-Century France: Workers, Women, Peasants* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 75; M. Lyons, *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 181.

find meaning was 'greatest among veterans', who wrote to assuage the pain of a diminished importance in peacetime society and a gnawing nostalgia for the companionship of war.[30] Reflecting back on exciting wartime experiences could also be a pleasant pastime for veterans, John Cookson and Alan Forrest have argued, depicting legions of bored soldiers on inactive duty or in stifling retirement at home.[31]

Issues such as age, rank, background, and timing, meanwhile, tend to be neglected. While the editors of individual memoirs may investigate the author's biography to a greater extent, few place these details in a wider context, and very rarely do social histories of Napoleonic soldiers cross over into the cultural histories of their writings. The result is analysis which often stems from an unwritten assumption that veterans were old men when they decided to compose a memoir: perhaps they had children for whom they wanted to write, or as they became frailer they wished to relive the glories of their younger days; they had probably already told and re-told these stories many times to friends and family, and embellished upon them as time went on; they might well still carry some trauma from the war for which writing would serve as catharsis. They were, above all, old military men, still defined all those years later by a career which might in reality only have occupied a decade of their lives.

This is an image which has been perpetuated since the Napoleonic wars by novelists from Balzac and Stendhal to Hugo and even Arthur Conan Doyle. It has even been reinforced by the veterans themselves in the way they wrote their prefaces, emphasising their lack of literary experience or ambition and their greater familiarity with the sabre than the pen. However, a careful look at the biographies of the men who wrote memoirs about the Peninsular War shows immediately that this stereotype applies only to a minority of them. These 245 men represented only a tiny fraction of the number of soldiers who actually fought in this war, yet they were a deeply diverse bunch, with broad differences between the nationalities but also heterogeneity running within each.

Interestingly, the 'private, nostalgic old man' trope fits best to memoir-writers from the French army. The majority of French veterans who wrote memoirs did so in later life, and more than two thirds of their memoirs were only published after their death: an average of forty-two years afterwards, in fact, and in one case a whole ninety-eight years later. Most had been born in the

[30] Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers,* p. 6.
[31] J. E. Cookson, *The British Armed Nation 1793-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); A. Forrest, 'Honourable Villains: Veterans of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', *Mittelweg 36* 24, 5 (2015), p. 42.

late eighteenth century and had grown up in the midst of the Revolution, often joining the army as young men during the Napoleonic Empire. Their wartime experiences were, for many French veterans, synonymous with their youth, and sometimes also limited to that period, as when the French army was disbanded in 1815, most of the hundreds of thousands of French soldiers returning home were either put onto inactive duty or forced to take up a new career. Many therefore spent most of their adult lives in political circumstances quite different to that about which they were writing, as both the Restoration and July monarchies shied away from any kind of official celebration of the deeds of the Napoleonic army.[32]

For a host of possible reasons, therefore, from fear of being seen as Bonapartist in a hostile political climate to a simple desire for privacy, French writers were the least likely to want to publish their memoirs. One French veteran, for instance, left a letter addressed to his wife and son in which he claimed that the memoirs he had written were 'pour vous, uniquement pour vous', while another underlined in the opening pages that his notes were destined only for his children and their mother, despite then later going on to publish the memoir in his old age.[33] French writers were also likely to be of aristocratic background, and were mostly high-ranking officers, statistics which are surprising given the reputation of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic armies as being newly meritocratic.

Spanish authors shared the same predominance of aristocratic backgrounds and high-ranking officers, perhaps even more so than in the French case. It seems that in Spain, not a single enlisted man or subaltern officer made the same steps towards publication. On average, Spanish veterans were even older than their French counterparts when their memoirs were published. In fact, as I shall argue in Chapter 3, these were very much 'eighteenth-century men', for whom the Peninsular War often represented the height of their military careers, not the beginning. To illustrate this, no Spanish writer was born after 1788, in comparison to 12 French and 25 British authors in the other countries. Crucially, however, their old age did not match with the same apparent interest in privacy. On the contrary, Spanish veterans overwhelmingly published their memoirs within their lifetimes, usually very soon after the war. Instead of dedicating their memoirs to their families, they loudly addressed governing Juntas, their countrymen, the

[32] On this, see N. Petiteau, *Lendemains d'Empire: les soldats de Napoléon dans la France du XIXe siècle* (Paris: La Boutique de l'Histoire, 2003).
[33] J. S. Vivien, *Souvenirs de ma vie militaire (1792-1822)* (Paris: Hachette, 1905); A.-A. de Vanssay, *Fragments de mémoires inédits écrits en 1817 sous le titre de 'Souvenirs Militaires d'un Officier de Dragons pendant les Campagnes de la Grande Armée des Années 1804 à 1811, Armée d'Espagne* (Mortagne: Danpoley, 1864), p. 77.

Spanish nation, and even Europe as a whole. These memoirs were published in the context of a country undergoing rapid changes in government, with three civil wars, constant tension between rival political factions, and a heavily politicised army making frequent *pronunciamientos* or declarations in favour of one side or another. Rather than shying away from the glare of public opinion, the authors of the texts actively sought it out: established careers, hard-won honour, and even lives might be on the line.

British memoirists, by comparison, were strikingly young, with a significant number of them choosing to publish their memoirs in their twenties or thirties rather than in old age. The majority were junior officers rather than senior officers, and more enlisted men wrote memoirs in the British Army than in either of the other two. As in Spain, this meant that the majority of them were alive when their memoirs were printed. Rather than being concentrated in a wartime flurry of pamphlets, however, British memoirs had their publication heyday in the 1820s and 1830s, and took quite a different form: long, often novelistic tales of wartime adventures which found an enthusiastic reading audience at home and set out to target ordinary consumers or military enthusiasts much more than the brokers of political power. Narrators often cast themselves as eyewitnesses to momentous events, wise storytellers with exciting tales to tell. 'It has been my lot to have lived through the greater part of one of the most eventful centuries of England's history,' wrote the affable Captain Gronow, 'and I have been thrown amongst most of the remarkable men of my day; whether soldiers, statesmen, men of letters, theatrical people, or those whose birth and fortune – rather, perhaps, than their virtues or talents – have caused them to be conspicuous in society at home or abroad.'[34] Unlike their French counterparts, British writers benefitted from ongoing opportunities to serve in the military, with many veterans going on to hold important posts in the administration of the Empire.

No single face, or emblematic profile, can therefore be used to characterise veterans who wrote memoirs about the Peninsular War. They had diverse geographical and social backgrounds, different regimental attachments, short or long military careers, and varied military ranks. Their lifetimes spanned more than a century, from the first writer born in 1741 to the last to die in 1888. We cannot deny the myriad private, personal motives which these veterans may have had for first sitting down to write their autobiographies, nor can we do much more than guess. But soldiers who published memoirs in their lifetimes also made a conscious decision to make

[34] R. H. Gronow, *Selections from the Reminiscences of Captain Gronow* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1862), p. iii.

public something many of their comrades kept hidden. Why was this? We need to explore these possible motives, political, historical, compassionate, or commercial as they may have been. We need to be open to the idea that these seemingly simple soldiers may actually have been talented authors, more professional writers than military men at all, and that these rich records of war experience come to us not from direct eyewitnesses but skilful storytellers well aware of the expectations of the public they addressed.

Recognising the almost equal division between those whose memoirs were published within their lifetimes and those who died leaving their writings, unpublished, in the hands of family members, is a frequently neglected yet vital step in doing so, and has greatly informed both the methodology and the structure of this thesis. In Part I, I explore the aims and strategies of the former group, beginning in the first chapters with the most traditional way to approach these sources: a close textual analysis of the memoirs themselves, analysing authors' depictions of 'the Other' to unpick the ways they set out to represent both the war and their experience of it as soldiers. Copies of the first editions of memoirs were available to read either online or in the national libraries in London, Paris and Madrid, and I read 52 in full, prioritising those which had a particular commercial success (more than one edition).[35]

Following recent trends in book history, I also examined the paratext of these memoirs, considering prefaces, dedications and title pages as equally part of the author's self-presentation.[36] Wanting to contextualise and challenge these methods, however, I also consulted the archives of publishing companies, as well as family archives and state collections where commercial records were missing.[37] Transactions and traces of correspondence between veterans and publishers (especially in the case of Britain, where veterans were most active as professional authors) revealed a group of men who not only wrote as if to influence the public record, but also worked hard behind the scenes to ensure they succeeded.

---

[35] See 'Memoirs published during the author's lifetime' sections for British, French, and Spanish memoirs in the Bibliography.

[36] A foundational text is G. Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); an excellent recent example is R. J. Griffin (ed.), *The Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

[37] Research was undertaken in: Archives Départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg; Archives Départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, Nancy; Archivo General Militar, Segovia; Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid; Arquivo Histórico Militar, Lisbon; Archivo Real y General de Navarra, Pamplona; Centre des Archives du Monde du Travail, Roubaix; Institut mémoires de l'édition contemporaine, Caen; John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; Reading University Special Collections, Reading.

What equally stands out, however, is that these books nearly always outlived their authors. Nearly half of all the memoirs, after all, were only first published after the author had already passed away, while many of those already published continued to be reprinted and translated abroad. In Part II, therefore, I move on to the travels and transformations of these books, considering them as objects with lives of their own.

The secret lives of books

Having challenged the way we think about the authors of war memoirs as a group, I want now to also grapple with how to think about the mountain of books they produced. And it was indeed rather a mountain: 264 first editions, many sold in the thousands of copies, then multiplied by several later editions, plus reprints abroad, and sometimes even translations.[38] Plus, this metaphorical mountain of books sits astride a period of more than one hundred years, and reaches both sides of the Atlantic. Its edges blur into other genres, so it is hard to see where Mount Memoir ends and Mount Novel or History begins.

In the second part of the thesis, therefore, I set out to answer a different set of research questions: can we say, first of all, that this large output of war memoirs constituted a genre in its own right? Did they sell well, and who might have read them? Moreover, who else was involved in the publication of these books, and how did the way in which they were presented and packaged change over time? Looking outside national frameworks, were these memoirs translated or reprinted abroad, and how did this contribute to breaking down borders in a broader sense?

To do so, I used a mix of methodology from cultural and literary history – content analysis, plus contextualising memoirs in a broader landscape of nineteenth-century literary genres – but particularly also from book history. Over the last five decades or so, book historians have increasingly recognized the collaborative aspects of authorship and publishing. From Don McKenzie in the 1960s and 70s to the *Histoire du Livre* school of Darnton and Chartier in the 1980s and 90s and the work of Pierre Bourdieu, texts have begun to be widely regarded as mediated products whose meanings depend not only on content or the original intentions of the

[38] See Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

author but, perhaps more importantly, on their material form, their historical and social setting, their communication in a 'circuit' of editors, publishers, booksellers and shippers, and even the education and mood of the reader who at a given point holds the finished book in their hands.[39] Recently, Martyn Lyons' *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* (2010) underlined the changeable and multi-author nature of texts, challenging the tendency to 'assume that literary texts are static and immutable, whereas they are constantly re-edited over time, in different versions and formats and at different prices. Each re-incarnation of a text targets a new public, whose participation and expectations are guided not just by authors but by publishing strategies, illustrations and all the other physical aspects of the book.'[40] The author, it is constantly underlined, is not the sole creator of a text, nor does the text, once written, remain fixed in time.

The consideration of the influence of other actors in the production of a book – and particularly upon the way it develops later, sometimes over the course of several lifetimes – is especially pertinent to the study of autobiographical texts, where the pretence to direct, unmediated confession from author to reader is so often conflated with reality. The intervention of external people and forces is, of course, present in the original publication process, as Chapter 4 will show, but it is especially important when the book is made public or re-released after the author's death. Some of the most significant and immediate interventions often came from the people closest to the author himself. In his study of middle-class Victorian men's autobiographies, for example, Robbie Gray has underlined the 'invisible but strategic role of women as producers and editors of family chronicles,' with the wives and daughters of Victorian businessmen discreetly compiling, editing and adding to the 'autobiographical' writings of their husbands and fathers before presenting them as a public memorial to the deceased.[41] At another remove, the authorial role of publishers and their ghostwriters could also have a secret but dramatic effect on the whole presentation of a seemingly personal account. An article from 2003 by David Finkelstein, for instance, reveals the extent of the artifice behind British officer and explorer John Hanning Speke's (1827-1864) best-selling account of his journeys in search of the source of the Nile, underlining that in fact the finished book, first published around the time of author's death, was very much the product of the

[39] D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History,* 2nd edn (London and New York: Routledge, 2013 [2005]), pp. 11-14, 22-23, 25-26.
[40] Lyons, *A History of Reading and Writing,* p. 3.
[41] R. Gray, 'Self-made Men, Self-narrated Lives: Male Autobiographical Writing and the Victorian Middle Class', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 6, 2 (2001), p. 296, also p. 292.

publisher's imagination. Battling with Speke's curious, illegible, childish work, publisher William Blackwood and his ghost-writer John Hill Burton (1809-1881) entirely reconstructed the structure of the narrative and tilted its ideological framework, transforming what had been a rambling scientific account of the Nile river into the exciting and manly adventure tale of the heroic explorer Speke as he faced harrowing journeys and savage native tribes.[42]

Despite both their similarities to Victorian autobiography or exploration travel-writing and their often lengthy run of different editions, however, soldiers' war memoirs have rarely been studied from the same critical perspective. As discussed above, the large majority of studies of the Napoleonic era which focus on or use military memoirs as sources quote later or modern editions of the texts fairly indiscriminately, comparing without context autobiographies written immediately after the war with those discovered and published only in the late twentieth century, and giving little sense of the book's complex trajectory as a material and commercial object.[43] Few consider in any detail the potential influence of later editors, whether family, friends, or industry professionals with an eye to the expanding late-century audience. The same criticism could equally be extended to many First World War studies of autobiographical material, including the fascinating work of Joanna Bourke.[44] The tendency is endemic – the problems of war memoirs are neglected or excused rather than faced head on.

By contrast, my aim is to make a virtue of these methodological 'problems'; to use them as starting points for analysis. The large size of the source base, for example, spread over a period of a hundred years, necessitates a study which examines the reasons for this spread and the question of change over time. It means thinking about the commercial aspects of memoir publishing, as well as its international dimension. As stressed in the previous section, it also means paying attention to the significant division between posthumously- and non-posthumously-published books: in the second part of the thesis, therefore, I will concentrate mostly on those printed or re-printed *after* the authors' death.

---

[42] D. Finkelstein, 'Unraveling Speke: The Unknown Revision of an African Exploration Classic', *History in Africa*, 30 (2003), pp. 117-132.

[43] Among others: Hippler, 'Les soldats allemands'; Montroussier, 'Français et Britanniques dans la Péninsule'; Esdaile, *Peninsular Eyewitnesses*; Reder Gadow and Pérez Frías, 'Memorias de Guerra'; Dwyer, 'War Stories'; Hughes, *Forging Napoleon's Grande Armée*; Daly, *The British Soldier in the Peninsular War*; Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.*

[44] For example, J. Bourke, *An intimate history of killing: face-to-face killing in twentieth century warfare* (London: Granta, 1999).

The second part consequently draws even more than the first on the archives of publishing companies and publishers' catalogues, used to find figures for sales, print runs, and royalties, details of contracts signed by editors, and private correspondence discussing the extent of the changes to be made. Archive availability, however, has meant that some chapters deal mainly with British and French memoirs, with a focus on the publishers responsible for the largest number of memoirs (see Chapter 5). It seems that very few comparable collections of archival material exist in Spain – no ledgers, correspondence, or copies of contracts which might give more information about how Spanish memoirs were produced seem to have been preserved, or at least made public. This assertion is supported by my correspondence with Spanish experts in the field, enquiries made to various archives, and careful searches through the catalogues of, among others, the Biblioteca Central Militar, the Archivo Histórico Militar in both Madrid and Segovia, the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Toledo, and the Real Biblioteca. Few individual publishers responsible for Spanish memoirs seem to have left any collections of documents, and even publishers operating in the early twentieth century, responsible for later reprints of memoirs, have sparse records available.[45]

The main exceptions are the documents relating to a historical 'commission' headed by Francisco Cabanes, and the family archives of Francisco Espoz y Mina, recently donated in part to the Archivo Real y General de Navarra in Pamplona, which contain a little information on the role played by the veteran's wife in editing his memoirs after his death. I also looked into the biographies of South American publishers involved in reprinting Spanish memoirs abroad, and traced a few rare translations of Spanish memoirs through the information on title pages and in international library catalogues such as WorldCat.

In general, however, it appears that just as Anglophone historians looking for British- or French-style 'memoirs' in Spain have usually come up empty-handed, expecting to find identical Spanish archival records may be equally misguided. Indeed, the author of one of the only bibliographies of Spanish autobiographical material from the Peninsular War has written that 'Las imprentas y editoriales españolas del XIX, sobre todo las de la primera mitad del siglo, no han dejado archivos ni datos de ese tipo,' and that 'tampoco había un depósito legal como el de Francia u otros países, donde quedasen registradas tiradas, etc.' In fact, with the pamphlets and self-justificatory *manifiestos* of the early nineteenth century the most probable

[45] For example, the archive of Mariano Escar in Zaragoza, who printed a Spanish translation of a French memoir for the centenary celebrations of the siege of Zaragoza in 1908, was largely destroyed in 1937. See L. Serrano Pardo, *Mariano Escar: Maestro del Arte de Imprimir* (Zaragoza: Navarro & Navarro, 2001), p. 111.

situation is 'que se imprimiesen a cuenta del autor en casi todos los casos, no por una iniciativa mercantil del impresor.' It is possible, Durán López has suggested, that by searching through private notarial *protocolos* one might find documents revealing the conditions of production and sale of these works, but this lies beyond the reach of this thesis.[46]

As a whole, therefore, this thesis loosely follows the red thread of a book's journey through time: from the original author and the act of writing to first publication, subsequent intervention by editors, and wider circulation and change. Within this framework, however, the imbalance of source material and the different national patterns of memoir production create a certain tension within the comparison, something which merits a closer examination before we start.

The 'Spanish problem' and the issue of comparison

It is worth stressing that in this thesis I have not taken the Spanish case as an anomaly which fails to fit into existing British and French patterns, but rather as a separate pattern in its own right, and also a lens through which we can usefully challenge the 'established' northern European tropes. My definition of 'war memoir', for example, has been consciously broad, encompassing any printed books or booklets with some autobiographical aspect written by veterans, in order to include the large number of political wartime pamphlets produced by Spanish officers. Usually called *manifiestos*, these sources are already known to historians, but have rarely been studied as part of a broader military autobiographical genre which includes northern European productions.[47]

Incorporating these pamphlets not only challenges our conceptions about what war memoirs looked like or what their authors typically set out to do, but it also provokes fresh thought about the possible roots of the autobiographical genre in Europe. As will be explored at greater length in Chapter 3, Spanish *manifiestos* could be better understood within the broader context of a cheap popular press and an ongoing pamphlet war – and might owe their origins to a bureaucratic style of writing developed more than two hundred years earlier in the heyday of

[46] Private correspondence to the author, printed with permission.
[47] As well as the work of Durán López, there exists a broader study in French that touches on *manifiestos* as part of a wartime pamphlet war: J. Battesti-Pelegrin, 'Nommer l'innommable: à propos de la rhétorique des « proclamas » populaires pendant la Guerre d'Indépendance', *Les Espagnols et Napoleon: Actes du Colloque International d'Aix-en-Provence 13, 14, 15 Octobre 1983* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1983), pp. 205-228.

the Spanish empire. Furthermore, as expanded upon in Chapter 7, tracing the circulation patterns of Spanish memoirs prompts us to explore different spheres of influence, looking overseas to Spanish America and considering the southern Atlantic as an equally important market for Napoleonic war writing.

Throughout the thesis, therefore, I have adopted a flexible comparative approach which both highlights the asymmetry between Britain, France, and Spain and explores its implications for our wider understanding of the war memoir genre. It is perhaps worth highlighting that in doing so, I have used Britain, France, and Spain (the 'nations') as the main unit of comparison. The terms are not entirely anachronistic – all three existed as basically coherent political units at the time, despite enduring internal divisions. Moreover, these are terms used both by all the existing historiography *and* the soldiers themselves, who frequently denote their enemies and allies by national labels in their memoirs. To balance this more traditional 'national' approach, I have also used methodology from transnational history, exploring the physical circulation of both authors and books across borders, as well as the idea of a transnational literary genre of war memoirs in which ideas and styles did not remain restricted by national book markets.

The presence of these transnational aspects amidst others which remained firmly 'national' (the general trends in how soldiers from each country depicted the history of the war, for example, or the subsequent separation of national historiographies), represents a central paradox which I have had to confront. The recent popularity of transnational history as a discipline has quite rightly challenged the once unopposed hegemony of area studies, and made vital advances towards understanding phenomena which extend beyond, and between, national borders. It has gone hand in hand with revisionist trends in cultural history, suggesting that 'national identity' in the nineteenth century was more a construct of the elite than a reality for the ordinary person, who might instead feel greater loyalty to a region, town, guild, family or religion. The effect has often quite naturally been to assume that transnational analysis weakens the firm, black borderlines we once saw around nations on a map of Europe. Yet in the case of Peninsular War memoirs and their historiography, the opposite has been the case. As will be explored throughout the thesis and especially in Chapter 7, even the crossing of war writing into other languages actually *strengthened* these borders, leaving us with what is still today a war with at least three different names: the Peninsular War in English, *la Guerre d'Espagne* in French, and *la Guerra de la Independencia* in Spanish (plus, interestingly, either *Guerra Peninsular,*

Guerra da Independência, or *as Invasões Francesas* in Portuguese).[48] Despite our best efforts, the nation is inescapable – and this thesis is not only a story about the writing and selling of war, but also the nationalisation of it

[48] A. Ventura, 'Guerra Peninsular, Guerra da Independência, Invasões Francesas', in J. Couto (ed.), *Guerra Peninsular 200 anos* (Lisbon: BNP, 2007) p. 17.

Part I.

AUTHORS

Chapter 1.

Veterans as Veterans: The Language of War

As the smoke cleared and the besieging French forces were recalled from the ruined, defiant city of Zaragoza in summer 1808, its leader General Palafox sent invitations to three artists in Madrid. Come to Zaragoza, requested the general, 'to study the ruins of the city and depict the glorious deeds of its people.'[1] The artists obeyed, travelling north to see for themselves the devastation wrought by the French bombardments and to hear for themselves the already evolving legends of the townspeople who had resisted the siege. Two of them, Juan Gálvez and Fernando Brambilla, worked together as a team, spending the next few years producing a series of thirty-six high-quality prints portraying scenes of combat, ruined buildings, and the heroic actions of the defenders (see *Fig. V*). These prints, accompanied by detailed historical descriptions, were published between 1812 and 1813 in Cadiz with the title *Ruines de Zaragoza.* The work fulfilled the original brief perfectly, commemorating the extraordinary events of a siege which had already etched itself into the patriotic mythology of the war.[2]

The third artist, however, published nothing after his travels through Spain. Francisco Goya, already established and celebrated as a court painter and engraver, returned to Madrid deeply affected by the violence and suffering he had witnessed during the early months of the Peninsular War. He did not begin work on the subject until two years later, in 1810, when for at least five years he worked to complete a huge series of drawings and copper prints, boldly entitled 'Fatal consequences of the bloody war in Spain with Bonaparte.'[3] The prints were unique, graphic, and bitterly critical. Goya showed a world turned upside-down by indiscriminate violence, where plunder, rape and random executions were commonplace; where bodies lay unburied in piles in fields or strewn among broken furniture in ruined houses;

---

[1] In the words of Francisco Goya in a letter to the Secretary of the San Fernando Academy, qu. J. Vega, 'The Dating and Intepretations of Goya's "Disasters of War"', *Print Quarterly* 11, 1 (Mar., 1994), p. 5.
[2] J. M. Matilla, 'Estampas españolas de la Guerra de la Independencia: Propaganda, Conmemoración y Testimonio', *Cuadernos dieciochistas* 8 (2007), p. 259.
[3] P. Bouvier, '"Yo lo vi". Goya witnessing the disasters of war: an appeal to the sentiment of humanity', *International Review of the Red Cross* 93, 884 (Dec. 2011), pp. 1110-1112

Fig. V. 'Bateria del Portillo', Juan Gálvez and Fernando Brambilla, *Ruinas de Zaragoza: estampas del primer Sitio de Zaragoza* (Cadiz: Academia de Bellas Artes, 1812-13), p. 15. No known copyright restrictions.

where wounded soldiers were patched up by doctors only to stumble out onto the field once more until they expended their usefulness; where moral norms blurred and each side committed atrocities of equal ferocity, to the extent that it became hard to know whether the broken bodies strung up on trees were French or Spanish, soldier or civilian, perpetrator or victim. Yet Goya never published the prints, most likely fearing repercussions under the repressive post-war rule of Ferdinand VII.[4] They would not appear to the public until 1863, when the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando produced a first edition under the new title *Los Desastres de la Guerra* (The Disasters of War).

In the meantime, Goya set about producing the two paintings which have since become metonymy for the Peninsular War: *The Second of May* and *The Third of May,* both completed in 1814 with the support of the newly restored regency government. Although the lines of good and bad were clearer in these paintings (the Spanish civilians are heroes and then martyrs for their cause, while the French troops are violent invaders and then faceless executioners dealing out punishment), the same note of ambiguity persisted, with Goya departing from traditional battle imagery by not sanitising the conflict, instead showing the brutality, losses, and fear on both sides.[5] Yet these too may not have been made public during the artist's lifetime, possibly displayed during a celebratory parade for Ferdinand VII in 1814, but first publicly acknowledged in 1834 when in storage at the Prado in Madrid.[6]

The timing of Goya's wartime works means that despite his fame, he could not have had much impact on the way veterans of the Peninsular War, especially Spaniards, wrote about their experiences. Indeed, Spanish officers participating in the storm of wartime *manifiesto*-writing only rarely touched upon the sights and sounds of battle or the broader consequences of war. However, both Goya's prints and paintings and many of the memoirs published by British and French veterans contained a similar ambiguity about warfare, a blurring of rightness and wrongness, a refusal to sanitise or glorify all types of violence, and a showcasing of civilian casualties, all of which was not only unusual for the time, but which also made the patriotic

[4] Vega, 'Dating and Interpretations', pp. 5, 11, 17; Bouvier, '"Yo lo vi"', pp. 1110-1112; A. E. Smith, 'La recepción de la primera edición de Los desastres de la Guerra de Goya (marzo, 1863) en el Madrid del joven Galdós', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 86, 4 (2009), pp. 459-460.
[5] A. Leader, 'Third of May 1808: Execution of the Citizens of Madrid', *Salem Press Encyclopedia* (2013) [serial online], accessed 5 Mar. 2018.
[6] Leader, 'Third of May 1808'.

narratives that had been systematically built up around the recent conflict much more difficult to sustain.

In both cases, later editors and publishers baulked at these undertones. When Goya's *Disasters of War* was first published in 1863, for example, the editors brushed away much of the horror of indiscriminate violence by claiming that it was the work of a patriot carried away by his own imagination.[7] After all, it would certainly have struck a very dissonant note in the dominant story of a heroic people's war of independence if the supposedly heroic people could hardly be distinguished from the evil occupiers amid a fog of destruction and misery. In the same way, British and French editors in the late nineteenth century would snip and streamline war memoirs to support narratives of military glory, encouraging a new generation to sign up and fight ardently in the wars of the future.

To be able to understand how war narratives changed over time, I will therefore begin at the beginning: with the content of these original war memoirs, especially those published within the authors' lifetimes, and explore the 'language of war' utilised and promoted by veterans in the early nineteenth century. What type of vocabulary did these writers use to describe their wartime experiences, what was mentioned and what was not, what was given space, and how did this differ from previous war writing? Going beyond the text itself, was the act of publication ever an attempt to engage with political or military policy on a public level, to affect the decisions of other soldiers, or to shape the way future wars were carried out? In sum, can original Napoleonic memoirs be entirely credited with paving the way for a positive myth of war experience in the early twentieth century, as George Mosse argued in *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (1990) – or was their influence in fact more nuanced, more quietly troubling?

i. A Soldier's Life for Me?

Despite a series of reforms and developments over the course of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, which saw the military profession become more meritocratic and open in Britain, France, and to a lesser extent Spain, sharp differences remained between the life of an officer and that of the ordinary private. This produced a bias which is present in Peninsular

[7] Smith, 'La recepción', p. 463.

War memoirs, mainly authored by those with an officer's rank. In Spain in particular, it is almost entirely high-ranking officers' narratives alone which are left to us. Within each country, too, authors were split by social background, political leaning, and success after the wars – a wealth of internal and external factors which might affect the perspective of the writer and his likelihood to portray his war experience in a more positive or more negative way. Added to this is the basic asymmetry of the corpus of sources. As will be explored in much greater depth in Chapter 3, Spanish memoirs mainly served quite a different purpose and took quite a different form than their British and French counterparts, one of the consequences of which was that they included much less detail about the daily life of the author at war. Nevertheless, what actually emerged from the memoirs of British, French and Spanish Peninsular War veterans was a largely uniform and positive language about the experience of soldiering as a profession, with many of the same subjects and tropes common to all three sides.

First of all, war was glamorous, attested veterans from across the board. Rapturous descriptions of brightly-uniformed men with glittering weapons, performing well-oiled manoeuvres on a sunlit field for the purpose of a military review attended by the Emperor, littered the memoirs of French veterans in particular, with others underlining the spectacle of military movements and how pleasant it was to don the officer's coat and ride about on a well-groomed horse.[8] More importantly, being part of the military often meant receiving adoring acclaim from society; it meant being 'an object of notice and respect' despite one's youthfulness or foreignness, wrote the British officer Moyle Sherer of his time in Portugal.[9] The entrance of troops into a town could be the cause of great celebration, with the regimental Spanish chaplain Lino Matías Picado Franco emphasising the rousing, musical spectacle offered to the inhabitants of Zaragoza by the entrance of General Duran and his corps.[10] British veterans also frequently claimed to have received many a joyful reception in Portugal and Spain, with Charles Vane, the Marquess of Londonderry, writing that 'the common people, with some remarkable exceptions, were all enthusiastic in the cause; in Madrid this was particularly the case, as their expressions of joy, at beholding a British uniform, abundantly testified.'[11]

[8] D.-C. Parquin, *Souvenirs et Campagnes d'un Vieux Soldat de l'Empire*, 2 vols (Paris: Administration de la Librairie, 1843), vol. 1, pp. 3-5.
[9] M. Sherer, *Recollections of the Peninsula, by the author of Sketches of India,* 2nd edn (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1824), p. 5.
[10] L. M. Picado Franco, *Memorias sobre la Reconquista de Zaragoza* (Madrid: Imprenta de Repullés, 1815), p. 67.
[11] C. W. Vane (from now Marquess of Londonderry), *Narrative of the Peninsular War, from 1808 to 1813* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828), p. 175.

Veterans' accounts of this enthusiastic reception naturally included the alleged adoration of women, who in some cases waved and cheered from balconies whenever British troops passed through a town.[12] All in all, as Londonderry put it, the army changed 'from being an object of something like abhorrence to its own countrymen, and of contempt to the troops of other nations, [and] rose to command, as well as to deserve, the esteem of the former, and the respect and admiration of the latter.'[13]

Being a soldier also meant serving under wise, legendary commanders, emphasised many veterans, citing famous names such as General Palafox, 'el idolo de los buenos españoles'; General Castaños, 'este sabio y prudente general'; Marshal Ney, 'toujours brave et vrai soldat'; and Wellington, 'looked up to with a degree of enthusiastic devotion, which it may not, perhaps, be easy for a common reader to understand.'[14] And it meant being part of an elite, professional army, whose achievements would be etched in to history. As Philip Dwyer has put it, even those French veterans who were highly critical of Napoleon and doubted the legitimacy of the war 'were nevertheless proud of their achievements and often dwelled on events of particular episodes that highlighted their martial exploits, sometimes drawing parallels with "the most heroic antiquity has produced."'[15] British veterans too, especially higher-ranking officers, frequently used repetitive superlative language to describe their troops. Describing Paget's mounted hussars, for instance, Major Leith Hay wrote that 'the élite of no army could produce three more brilliant regiments of their class'; later, describing Crawford's brigade leaving Lisbon in 1809, he equally felt that 'three finer battalions never took the field,' in both cases citing the soldiers' appearance, equipment, and 'really gallant spirit' or 'distinguishedly military air.'[16]

Potential recruits were not just expected to be drawn in by the promise of being part of an illustrious greater whole, however. The army also provided plenty of room for individual

[12] J. Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade, in the Peninsula, France, and the Netherlands, from 1809 to 1815, by Captain J. Kincaid* (London: T. and W. Boone, Strand, 1830), p. 232.
[13] Londonderry, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* pp. 4-5.
[14] F. García-Marín, *Memorias para la historia militar de la guerra de la revolución española, que tuvo principio en el año de 1808, y finalizó en el de 1814* (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Miguel de Burgos, 1817), pp. 65, 71; J.-B. Drouet d'Erlon, *Vie Militaire écrite par lui-même et dédié à ses amis* (Paris: Gustave Barba, 1844), p. 65 (included here despite being published posthumously as it was released almost immediately after his death with seemingly very little editing); Londonderry, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* p. 523.
[15] P. Dwyer, 'War Stories: French Veteran Narratives and the "Experience of War" in the Nineteenth Century', *European History Quarterly* 41, 4 (2011), p. 575.
[16] A. Leith Hay, *Narrative of the Peninsular War by Major Leith Hay,* 2 vols (Edinburgh: Daniel Lizars; London: Whittaker, Treacher and Arnot, 1831), vol. 1, pp. 86, 137. Also Londonderry, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* pp. 192, 197, 205.

success and development, starting with the promise of personal glory, the chance to make a name for oneself through heroic deeds on the battlefield. Several writers were explicit about the role the wars had played in their rise to fame, emphasising that a humble background was no obstacle to progression: a 'rags to riches' narrative beloved by storytellers for centuries and even personified in Napoleon's own rise through the ranks of the French army. The guerrilla general Francisco Espoz y Mina, for instance, began the memoirs he wrote on his deathbed with the admission:

> Dificilmente mi nombre hubiera sonado entre los de mis contemporáneos á no ser por el cúmulo de circunstancias y sucesos que tuvieron lugar en Europa, y mas principalmente en mi patria, á principios del siglo XIX. Ni por la posicion de la casa de mis padres, ni por la educacion que me dieron, ni por la carrera ú ejercicio á que me dedicaron, en el cual puedo asegurar que era práctico consumado á la edad de veinte y seis años, ni menos por natural inclinacion hasta entonces, habria abrazado el partido de las armas.[17]

Mina was unusual among Spanish veterans, however, for having indeed come from an unassuming rural background and risen to renown during the Peninsular War – most Spanish writers were of staunch aristocratic origins, and had already established their careers before the conflict began. His words were echoed by many French and British veterans, though, who often deliberately made space in their memoirs to commemorate their comrades' individual acts of heroism, and to emphasise the example set by such deeds for others to follow. One such example was the tribute given by Londonderry to 'the memory of the brave youth, Ensign Thomas, of the Buffs, who refused to resign the standard of his regiment except with life, and whose life paid the forfeit of his devoted gallantry.' Despite Thomas's youth and low rank, wrote Londonderry, 'his name will be recorded in the list of those, of whom England has just cause to be proud; and his example will doubtless be followed by others, as often as the chances of war may leave them only a choice between death and dishonour.'[18]

Veterans from both Britain and France repeatedly talked of their military careers as some of the best years of their lives.[19] 'Ce souvenir me rechauffe dans mes vieux jours et fait battre encore mon coeur,' wrote Jean-Baptiste Drouet d'Erlon in the opening pages of his memoirs,

---

[17] Nb. All quotes from memoirs will be cited with the original spelling and orthography, including small errors of type and antiquated forms of accentuation. F. Espoz y Mina, *Memorias del General Don Francisco Espoz y Mina,* ed. J. M. de Vega, 5 vols (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1851-52), vol. 1, p. v.
[18] Londonderry, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* p. 539.
[19] E.g. Leith Hay, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* p. xii.

adding revealingly that 'c'étaient mes premières armes, j'ai presque dit mes premières amours.'[20] Soldiering, veterans frequently suggested, meant the promise of excitement and adventure, a frightening but exhilarating experience. The constant element of risk merely added to the thrill, and British veterans in particular repeatedly used the words 'pleasurable', 'exhilarating', and 'excitement' when describing the idea of danger. A vivid example of this comes from Captain Moyle Sherer's memoir:

> [Receiving news of the battle of Talavera,] we all gathered round our fires to listen, to conjecture, and to talk about this glorious, but bloody, event. We all naturally regretted that, in the honours of such a day, we had borne no share; and talked long, and with an undefined pleasure, about the carnage. Yes, strange as it may appear, soldiers, and not they alone, talk of the slaughter of battle-fields with a sensation, which, though it suspends the lively throb of the gay and careless heart, partakes, nevertheless, of pleasure. Nay, I will go farther: in the very exposure of the person to the peril of sudden and violent death, cureless wounds, and ghastly laceration, excitement, strong, high, and pleasurable, fills and animates the bosom: hope, pride, patriotism, and awe, make up this mighty feeling, and lift a man, for such moments, almost above the dignity of his nature. Such moments are more than equal to years of common life.[21]

Sherer's memoir is structured very much like a travelogue, with lots of detail about the road taken, the landscape through which he passed, and the people who inhabited it. He tried consistently to put forward the idea that the life of the soldier is inextricably bound up with foreign travel, exploration, and active employment, being sharply dismissive of those who do not appreciate the experience in its entirety. 'He who could stand on the solitary field of Waterloo, without imagining to himself his gallant countrymen, and their fierce opponents; or who could pass the Rubicon, without seeing the cohorts of Caesar, and their daring leader, should return to his parlour and his newspaper,' he wrote.[22] Sherer's writing therefore emphasised explicitly what many other British and French memoirs implied: war was a place of intense, exciting emotions; a special, unique, almost ahistorical experience, which bettered you and set you apart.

Soldiering was therefore a profession for a restless spirit, a bold youth: a real career, in fact, provided of course that you had the calling for it. 'L'état militaire est un rude métier à apprendre, surtout dans la cavalerie', wrote the officer Denis-Charles Parquin, '...mais il faut

[20] Drouet d'Erlon, *Vie Militaire,* p. 2.
[21] Sherer, *Recollections of the Peninsula,* p. 40.
[22] Sherer, *Recollections of the Peninsula,* p. 27.

être doué d'une certaine vocation pour traverser sans trop peine les premiers moments de cet apprentissage. Je serai cru, je l'espère, quand je dirai que j'avais un goût prononcé pour l'état militaire.'[23] In many veterans' writings, the military profession was depicted as a reflection of an innate personal calling, leading to an acceptance of many of the discomforts or disadvantages which came along with the job.

This sense of belonging which the army offered was increased tenfold by the sense of camaraderie and fraternity which seems to have been strongly felt by nearly all British and French veterans. It is worth noting that many of these men would have entered the army as teenagers, with the British army in the Peninsula mostly enlisting young men aged fifteen to nineteen.[24] Anyone dissatisfied with his own family life might find a second, masculine family in the army, with the high-ranking officers new 'fathers' and soldiers nearer one's own rank brothers in arms.[25] Indeed, the word 'brother' is used repeatedly by British officers to describe their comrades.[26] It was a common trope for veterans to mention and mourn the loss of comrades, to stress how happy they were within regimental communities, and to regret it whenever they had to leave them. 'We lived united,' wrote John Kincaid, whose memoir is perhaps the archetype of a narrative portraying war as a manly adventure, 'as men always are who are daily staring death in the face on the same side, and who, caring little about it, look upon each new day added to their lives as one more to rejoice in.'[27]

This was all despite the fact, of course, that in reality the Napoleonic army was absolutely not a solely masculine space, with women present not only as camp followers, laundresses, and prostitutes, but also as wives, selected in the British Army at least by what was apparently a highly sought-after and emotional ballot to accompany their husbands to Spain.[28] Women did

---

[23] Parquin, *Souvenirs et campagnes,* p. 7.
[24] According to research by E. Coss, qu. J. Hurl-Eamon, 'Youth in the Devil's Service, Manhood in the King's: Reaching Adulthood in the Eighteenth-Century British Army', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 8, 2 (Spring, 2015), p. 168.
[25] N. Petiteau has suggested the importance of Napoleon as a father figure and bringer of glory to the motivations of soldiers elsewhere in the RANW, so perhaps without him in the Peninsula they were particularly lost. N. Petiteau, 'Survivors of war: French soldiers and veterans of the Napoleonic armies', in A. Forrest, É. François and K. Hagemann (eds), *War Memories: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in Modern European Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 48.
[26] Sherer, *Recollections of the Peninsula,* pp. 32, 39; G. Gleig, *The Subaltern* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T. Cadell, 1825), p. 2; R. H. Gronow, *Reminiscences of Captain Gronow, formerly of the Grenadier Guards, and M.P. for Stafford: being Anecdotes of the Camp, the Court, and the Clubs, at the close of the last war with France* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1862), p. 3.
[27] Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* p. 94.
[28] See Gleig, *The Subaltern,* pp. 7-19; J. Donaldson, *Recollections of an eventful life, chiefly passed in the army* (Glasgow: W. R. McPhun, 1824), pp. 101-108.

play a role in veterans' narratives, but as we shall see later, it was mostly a passive or abstract one: mentioning a woman either provided the opportunity to underline one's virility through sexual conquest, or to emphasise one's heroicism through rescue from sexual violence. In general, however, when veterans depicted daily life as a soldier, they dwelled heavily on the idea of war as a place of masculine, fraternal escapism.

Key to this illusion of the army as an idealised masculine space were the simple, daily pleasures of life on campaign, from the availability of quantities of alcohol (an aspect common to all three sides) to the jovial discourse to be had around a camp fire (an idea of indomitable gaiety being particularly present in French accounts) and the atavistic appeal of sleeping in the open, at one with Nature.[29] The latter was an aspect heavily underlined by the British veterans whose memoirs were among the most commercially successful: in particular, the officers Sherer, Gleig and Kincaid. All three often devoted considerable page space to depicting these magical moments of calm, with Gleig's description of his first night making camp in the countryside a vivid example:

> … the very circumstance of being called upon to sleep under the canopy of heaven, the wrapping myself up in my cloak, with my sabre hanging on the branch of a tree over my head, and my dog couching down at my heels, - these things alone were sufficient to assure me, that my military career had actually begun.
>
> When I looked around me again, I saw arms piled up, and glittering in the light of twenty fires, which were speedily kindled, and cast a bright glare through the overhanging foliage. I saw men, enveloped in their great-coats, stretched or sitting around these fires in wild groups; I heard their merry chat, their hearty and careless laugh; now and then a song or a catch chanted by one or two…[30]

Often, as here in Gleig's words, the appealing glow of warmth and light and company was joined by a gendered undertone which suggested, once again, that war was a masculine space which created tough, 'hearty', 'careless' men, immune to discomfort and danger, free of the normal (implicitly feminine) shackles of society. Indeed, Jennine Hurl-Eamon has argued that by and large the British Army 'fostered a culture of youthful irresponsibility' where male

---

[29] For example, J. de Miranda, *Diario de la defensa y evacuación del castillo de la villa de Alba de Tórmes en el mes de noviembre del año de 1812* (s.l.: s.n., [1818]), p. 7; J. J. de Naylies, *Mémoires sur la Guerre d'Espagne, pendant les années 1808, 1809, 1810 et 1811* (Paris: Magimel, Anselin et Pochard, 1817), p. 73; Sherer, *Recollections of the Peninsula,* pp. 4, 100.
[30] Gleig, *The Subaltern,* p. 34.

independence and excess were celebrated, rather than seen as antithetical to adult manhood, which at home in the civilian world was defined by self-control, domesticity, and marriage.[31] In the relative wilderness of Spain, it was not mastery of the domestic sphere but rather the total rejection of it through which British boys could be hardened and made into men. As Sherer put it, sleeping rough soon inures 'many a youth, to whom the carpeted chamber, the curtained couch, and the bed of down, have been from infancy familiar.'[32]

This stoic, martial manliness was supposed to endure even – and especially particularly – when conditions became a little less pleasant. Higher-ranking officers, such as Leith Hay, often praised their troops' hardiness in bad weather conditions:

> It continued to rain without intermission, and nothing could be more comfortless and wretched than the situation of the troops; still there was an uncomplaining appearance, that bespoke them well calculated to endure hardship and privation. No murmur of dissatisfaction escaped from the soldier, either at the exposed state of his quarters, or the inclemency of the weather. He appeared to be cheerful and resigned, and, smoking his cigar, seemed in the midst of a scene which custom or nature had rendered familiar.[33]

Junior officers, meanwhile, presented humorous descriptions from the soldiers' own point of view, often using a direct address which allowed the reader to picture themselves in the author's place. Kincaid's memoir, for instance, included a guide of sorts for readers at home about what happens when an army stops for the night, a guide which occupied a long seven pages of dense description, and emphasised the now familiar grumbling, warlike type of manliness:

> There are several degrees of comfort to be reckoned in a bivouac, two of which will suffice.
>
> The first, and worst, is to arrive at the end of a cold wet day, too dark to see your ground, and too near the enemy to be permitted to unpack the knapsacks or to take off accoutrements; where, unincumbered with baggage or eatables of any kind, you have the consolation of knowing that things are now at their worst, and that any change must be for the better. You keep yourself alive for a while, in collecting material to feed your fire with. You take a smell at your empty calibash, which recalls to your remembrance the delicious flavour of its last drop of wine. You curse your servant for not having contrived to send you something or other from the baggage, (though you know that it was impossible). You then damn the enemy for being so near you,

[31] Hurl-Eamon, 'Youth in the Devil's Service', pp. 163-165.
[32] Sherer, *Recollections of the Peninsula,* p. 42.
[33] Leith Hay, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* p. 28. See also Miranda, *Diario de la defensa,* pp. 9-10.

> though probably, as in the present instance, it was you that came so near them. And, finally, you take a whiff at the end of a cigar, if you have one, and keep grumbling through the smoke, like distant thunder through a cloud, until you tumble into a most warlike sleep.[34]

From 'rosy-cheeked, chubbed youths', therefore, war created 'old campaigners', veterans of their trade, tough soldiers who thrived in the dangerous, difficult conditions of the war in the Peninsula.[35] They were separated from the soft, civilian world at home by more than the distance over which they had travelled – entering the army had caused a lasting transformation, almost a rebirth, which was as addictive in the short term as it caused problems for life after the campaigning ended. As Kincaid put it, 'We had been born in war, reared in war, and war was our trade; and what soldiers had to do in peace, was a problem yet to be solved among us.'[36]

This nostalgia for their time in the army which is strongly present in many of the most successful British and French memoirs, and the attractive picture of the experience of war which their authors create, certainly seems to support Mosse's argument that the writings of Revolutionary and Napoleonic-era soldiers contributed in part to the formation of a positive myth surrounding it. There is no doubt that veterans participated in the construction of a rosy legend about the experience of warfare, with even the titles of their works often centring on ideas of adventure or fond reminiscences. Yet to focus on the positive aspects of soldiering put forward alone would be to neglect a vast subterranean lagoon of cloudier, more dubious aspects, negative and troubling elements of warfare which even the most positive soldiers did not shy away from portraying.

The first, and perhaps least serious, of these negative aspects of the war experience was the soldier's eternal gripe: hardship and suffering on campaign. Present even in Spanish memoirs from the Peninsular War, this theme encompassed a wide variety of daily irritations, from bad roads and severe weather conditions to inhospitable sleeping quarters, lack of pay (sometimes delayed for months at a time[37]), malnourishment, fatigue, and low-quality kit (epitomised, it

---

[34] Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* p. 44.
[35] Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* p. 11.
[36] Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* p. 296.
[37] J. Senén de Contreras, *Sitio de Tarragona, lo que pasó entre los franceses [y] el general Contreras que la defendió, sus observaciones sobre la Francia, y noticia del nuevo modo de defender las plazas* (Madrid: Imprenta de Ibarra, 1813), p. 10.

seems, in the recurring trope of losing or simply wearing through one's shoes during a march[38]). Complaints such as these had long been one of the most enduring and repetitive features of the war writing genre, with the memoir of a Swiss foot soldier in the Irish War of the Three Kings (1689-91) being littered with descriptions of bad food, sickness and rain, and the account of an English lieutenant from the same period protesting not only at being footsore but also at having literally lost the shirt from his back.[39]

For some Peninsular War authors, the stops to make camp at night may have held a certain primitive pleasure, but these stops were often few and far between. 'We were on our legs from day-light until dark', wrote one officer; 'we marched all night, both men and horses suffering dreadfully from cold, fatigue, and hunger,' wrote another.[40] Travelling all around Spain and Portugal to reach cities under siege, join up with other wings of the army, or retreat from an advancing enemy, was actually what soldiers spent most of the their time doing, and it usually meant undertaking rapid forced marches through all extremes of weather, from excessive heat to driving rain or freezing snow. 'Le temps étoit détestable;' wrote sub-lieutenant Joseph de Naylies of one such march: 'le sol étant formé d'une terre très-grasse, les chevaux enfonçoient jusqu'aux jarrets.'[41] Later, they were 'assaillis par une tempête épouvantable; les hommes et les chevaux étoient renversés, et des tourbillons de neige nous déroboient les objets à quatre pas de distance.'[42] Soaked to the skin, wading through 'stinking mud', avoiding holes 'deep enough to swallow up a mule', soldiers rarely even had comfortable beds to look forward to.[43]

All these privations combined were enough to transform the hardy, martial-looking men of the ideal described above into little more than zombies. Indeed, reviewing his troops near the start of the war, the Spanish lieutenant-colonel Venegas compared them to 'cadáveres ambulantes', some barefoot, some naked, and all 'desfigurados, pálidos y debilitados por el hambre más canina.'[44] However bad it was for officers, moreover, it was undoubtedly worse for ordinary

[38] Donaldson, *Recollections of an eventful life,* pp. 189-190, 192; Londonderry, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* p. 302.
[39] P. Lenihan and G. Sheridan, 'A Swiss Soldier in Ireland, 1689-90', *Irish Studies Review* 13, 4 (2005), pp. 481-484.
[40] Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* pp. 11-12; Londonderry, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* p. 225.
[41] Naylies, *Mémoires sur la Guerre d'Espagne,* p. 35.
[42] Naylies, *Mémoires sur la Guerre d'Espagne,* p. 37.
[43] Quotes from Donaldson, *Recollections of an eventful life,* pp. 123-124. Also present in: Londonderry, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* p. 212; Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* p. 125; Drouet d'Erlon, *Vie Militaire,* p. 64.
[44] F. X. Venegas, *Contestación al Manifiesto del Excmo. Sr. Duque del Infantado* (s.l., s.n., 1810), pp. 16-17.

soldiers, and the rarer accounts of the war written by veterans of rank-and-file origins do tend to be much more critical.

It seems that French soldiers in particular had invented a motto underlining their discontent, and left it inscribed as graffiti on the walls of the buildings in which they were billeted. In one account, it ran: 'Guerre d'Espagne! ... la mort du soldat, la ruine des officiers, la fortune des généraux'; in another, transcribed by a British officer, 'La Guerre en Espagne est la Fortune des Generaux, l'Ennui des Officiers, et le Tombeau des Soldats'; in yet another, from a memoir published in the early twentieth century, 'Espagne, trésor des généraux, ruine des officiers, tombeau des soldats'; but the message was the same.[45] The cruelty and carelessness of commanding officers was a common complaint, but the petty tyranny of lower-level officers was also much begrudged, with Donaldson in particular giving multiple instances of needless mistreatment, bullying, and hypocrisy by his superiors.[46]

Beneath many of these complaints lay a quiet reproach that the army was not a meritocracy, but instead allowed entirely unsuitable men to buy their way into positions of power. Donaldson put this bluntly in his memoir, noting that when an ensign joined his regiment in Jersey 'by purchase', this was 'a method by which many a numskull acquires a rank in the service, and of course a right to tyrannise over men far superior to himself, - when, if he was left to his own merit, he would never rise even to the humble station of corporal of the pioneers,' but even officers like Kincaid made similar statements about undeserved promotions.[47]

Veterans made various other complaints throughout their memoirs – the physical disabilities left by being wounded in battle, for instance, or the lack of initial instruction given to new recruits – but in most cases, these gripes were included in order to emphasise a positive aspect of warfare. Scars were reminders of heroic battles against the enemy, or proof of the veteran's manly stoicism in bearing them in silence; lack of early training was supplanted by an

[45] Parquin, *Souvenirs et campagnes,* p. 254; Sherer, *Recollections of the Peninsula,* p. 189; N. Marcel, *Campagnes du Capitaine Marcel du 69e de Ligne, en Espagne et en Portugal (1808-1814),* ed. L. M. A. V. Var (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1913), p. 110.
[46] See especially Donaldson's descriptions of tyranny by the commanding adjutant overseeing his regiment's repair of Fort Matagorda opposite Cadiz: Donaldson, *Recollections of an eventful life,* pp. 123-131.
[47] Donaldson, *Recollections of an eventful life,* p. 99; see also Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* pp. 18-19.

incredible patriotic devotion, or served as a point of comparison against which later professionalism could be highlighted.[48]

What could not be as easily dismissed, however, was the real elephant in the room: the fact that the essential job of the soldier was to kill, or be killed, and that just as much as the experience of war was made up of camaraderie, excitement, and adventure, it was composed of violence and horror. The uncertainty of ever returning home, or even living beyond the next day, weighed uncomfortably in some narratives even as it was disguised as exhilarating in others. Equally, the difficult experience of losing friends and comrades almost at a daily rate, many in futile attempts to take towns under siege, manifested in various scattered ways in veterans' memoirs. Some, especially the French, made angry complaints against the army hierarchy for poor decision-making: 'Tous ces mouvements imprévus et irréfléchis nous firent perdre bien de braves gens,' wrote Rogniat, and only 'pour la stérile gloire de chasser l'ennemi de quelques parties de l'enceinte qu'il allait être forcé d'abandonner sans coup férir.'[49]

In fact, a blend of admission, evasion, and denial is widely characteristic of both British and French veterans' treatment of the trickier aspects of soldiering (while Spanish veterans hardly touched on any of these aspects at all), and it demonstrates a level of tension in even the most pro-war narratives which necessarily complicates Mosse's argument. These narrative 'coping strategies' for horror, death, and violence are in fact so present in veterans' memoirs that they need to be explored in greater detail if we are to understand to what extent these authors really presented a thoroughly romanticised, rather than realistic, depiction of war.

ii. Battle – The Reality of War?

The battlefield might seem to be the natural location for writers to begin to expose the darker realities of warfare. Yet the most common way for veterans to describe battle in the Peninsular War was not to describe it at all. Battles appear in most Spanish, French, and British accounts as brief episodes scattered within the narrative, where the author usually quotes the result, gives

[48] Wounds: F. Espoz y Mina, *Breve Extracto de la vida del General Mina* / *A Short Extract from the life of General Mina* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1825), pp. 104-107; Mina, *Memorias,* vol. 1, p. vi. Lack of training: A. Alcala Galiano, *Recuerdos de un Anciano* (Madrid: Luis Navarro, 1878), p. 92; García-Marín, *Memorias,* pp. 49-50. No early instruction: Gronow, *Reminiscences*, pp. 1-2.
[49] J. Rogniat, *Relation des sièges de Saragosse et Tortose par les Français, dans la dernière Guerre d'Espagne* (Paris: Magimel, 1814), pp. 24-25.

the number of troops killed, wounded, or captured, and perhaps makes a cursory judgement on the ferocity of the fighting: 'a warm skirmish', for example, or a 'sanguinary but most interesting battle.'[50] Veterans who had commanded corps or regiments tended to reference the movements of their troops on the battlefield as if acting out strategy on a board. This description by Espoz y Mina of an engagement in late 1810 is a representative example:

> Se enredó la batalla extraordinariamente, llegando á entremezclarse con frecuencia unas y otras tropas, y volviendo y revolviendo sin cesar de un punto á otro y de una á otra posicion.[51]

This distanced, bird's-eye view of the battlefield allowed some veterans to simply skip over the real details of the action, and may have been inspired by the fact that many writers seem to have set out to mirror the dry tone of contemporary military history, which detailed troop movements and the results of engagements without descending into anything more impressionistic.

Among British veterans, this dissociation often resulted in the use of a string of euphemisms which depicted battle as a gentlemanly game of strategy, with its own detailed, unwritten rules:

> Large bodies of the enemy's infantry approached, and, after desultory fighting, succeeded in penetrating our position, when many hand-to-hand combats ensued. Towards the afternoon, officers and men having displayed great gallantry, we drove the enemy from the ground which they courageously disputed with us, and from which they eventually retreated to Bayonne.[52]

The description above comes from Rees-Howell Gronow, a society dandy whose very popular memoirs, published in the 1860s, described the veterans' life in politics and public appearances as much as they did at war – something reflected in his polite acknowledgement of the enemy's equal courageousness, as if elegantly accepting victory in a duel. It was a style also shared by other popular memoirists from decades earlier, however, and the effect was to comically trivialise the act of combat, with violent engagements becoming merely 'quarrels on a large scale,' to paraphrase Kincaid.[53]

The idea of war as a high-stakes game was particularly pronounced in the memoirs of the Marquess of Londonderry, whose *Narrative of the Peninsular War* (1828) was among the first

---

[50] Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* p. 214; Leith Hay, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* p. 163.
[51] Mina, *Memorias,* vol. 1, p. 90.
[52] Gronow, *Reminiscences,* pp. 25-26.
[53] Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* pp. 48-49.

long, historical British accounts to be published. Lots of space is given to discussing tactics in this memoir, with much use of counterfactuals and speculation, and many attempts to explain to the reader what options were available to the commanding officers, and what the stakes were. Midway through his description of Moore's campaign, for example, he made a summary of how things stood:

> Our army had suffered no disasters; it had never come into contact with the enemy; it was now in the very centre of Spain, and the eyes not of Spain only, but all of Europe, were upon it, - what would be the consequence were it to abandon the capital without striking a blow, and quit the field before a single encounter had taken place? No doubt the game was a deep one; but it was the last which England had to play, and it appeared desirable in the eyes of the army to play it boldly.[54]

Londonderry made great use of gambling metaphors, often writing that 'the die was cast', and that the results of such and such a battle would depend entirely on how it landed.[55] The effect, once again, was to gloss over the individual experiences of the soldiers on the battlefield, and to suggest that war was a clean-cut thing whose results (with victories and defeats recorded in statistics, rather than names) relied on a mixture of fate and the skill of the gambler.

Both tactics reflected the endurance of a way of writing about war that dated back to the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in which battles were games of strategy, skill, luck and resources, and death, if it came, was to be celebrated as a gallant sacrifice for a public cause. According to Sharon Alker, ideals of aristocratic honour had experienced a new popularity in the late sixteenth century, and during the seventeenth century had been reconfigured into a language of 'stoic heroism' which permeated the numerous private military memoirs and brief accounts of battles produced in response to the English Civil War and the Thirty Years War.[56] This language was grounded in the concepts of 'fortitude' and unity: soldiers were represented as a mass, rather than as individuals (except in the deaths of commanders), and unified in their valiant and courageous behaviour. Death and violence were part of the narrative, but cloaked in the 'descriptive language of historical fact', with little to no reference to soldiers' emotional responses, unless it was to describe the uncontrolled (and

[54] Londonderry, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* pp. 174-175.
[55] Londonderry, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* pp. 181, 269.
[56] S. Alker, 'The Soldierly Imagination: Narrating Fear in Defoe's Memoirs of a Cavalier', *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 19, 1-2 (Autumn, 2006), pp. 46-47, 55n6.

therefore contemptible) fear or rage on the faces of the enemy.[57] Quotes from memoirs dating back to the English Civil War which coolly describe soldiers being 'engaged' then retreating 'in disorder', or joke that although an officer had been killed on the field, 'he had endeavoured to disswade them from that attempt', underline the long roots of the same style in many Napoleonic memoirs.[58]

The way most Peninsular War veterans wrote about what it was like to take part in a battle, therefore, was to not really write about it. In this, they followed a long-standing tradition in war writing. However, there was one striking exception to this rule, an aspect of warfare which had changed in the Napoleonic period and which seems to have prompted a discernible shift in the way veterans later described their experiences: the bombardments of troops on the battlefield by artillery. This shift manifested in two different ways: graphic, abrupt descriptions of deaths caused by cannon balls, and attempts to convey to the reader the overwhelming sensory experience of a battle in which field guns took part.

Following decades of experimentation and innovation in the wake of the Seven Years' War (1756-63), the use of artillery had undergone a significant tactical shift under Napoleon. Now lighter, more accurate, and more mobile than ever before, cannons could be moved as quickly as infantry and were accompanied by a dedicated corps of artillery cavalry drivers, meaning that they could follow troops around the battlefield and provide support against threatening enemy regiments whenever needed. In the past, field guns would concentrate on destroying the enemy's own artillery and economise on ammunition wherever possible; during the Napoleonic campaigns, by contrast, guns rained heavy and continuous fire on the area occupied by masses of enemy troops, killing men and undermining morale. Napoleon's tactical aim was to deliver a 'single smashing blow whenever possible', according to Bruce McConachy, reducing to a minimum how long an enemy force could resist.[59] Intense, relentless and destructive, therefore, the bombardments veterans of the Peninsular War had experienced were a new phenomenon, and they chose to reflect this in their writing, demonstrating a new willingness to show the reader what battlefield violence was really like – quite literally guts and all.

[57] Alker, 'The Soldierly Imagination', pp. 48-52, 57.
[58] From *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow* (1698), qu. Alker, 'The Soldierly Imagination', p. 48.
[59] B. McConachy, 'The Roots of Artillery Doctrine: Napoleonic Artillery Tactics Reconsidered', *The Journal of Military History* 65 (Jul., 2001), pp. 633-634.

Graphic, horrifying descriptions of injuries and deaths witnessed by the author were an unmistakeable part of many Peninsular War accounts, and in the majority of cases, they related to the violence dealt to the human body by artillery fire, with the destructive potential of cannon balls a particular recurring trope. These descriptions of deaths often seemed to come out of nowhere, inserted as a strange juxtaposition within sections of text which might otherwise take a much lighter tone or deal with different subjects. The same Gronow who dismissed war as a gallant affair above, for instance, made a startling transition in another part of his memoir between humour and gore:

> The sensation of being made a target to a large body of men is at first not particularly pleasant, but "in a trice the ear becomes more Irish and less nice." The first man I ever saw killed was a Spanish soldier, who was cut in two by a cannon ball.[60]

Kincaid, also the author of many a paragraph about war being a gentleman's game, often did the same thing. In one incident, shortly after an ironic, joking description of French soldiers trying unsuccessfully to flee over a bridge in which Kincaid goes to great length to *avoid* explicitly relating the violence which took place, he goes on to give a shocking description of another soldier being killed:

> Just as Mr. Simmons and myself had crossed the river, and were talking over the events of the day, not a yard asunder, there was a Portuguese soldier in the act of passing between us, when a cannon-ball plunged into his belly – his head doubled down to his feet, and he stood for a moment in that posture before he rolled over a lifeless lump.[61]

Incidentally, Kincaid's narrative then moved briskly on to the events of the next day – 'March 13th. Arrived on the hill about Condacia...'

This matter-of-fact description of gore, accompanied by a complete lack of sentiment, has many possible explanations. Philip Dwyer, who has highlighted this phenomenon in the memoirs of French veterans, suggests that this nonchalance could be a psychological survival strategy, or simply another remnant of the old 'aristocratic warrior culture', where it was not considered 'masculine' to let slip one's emotions surrounding death and loss.[62] However, this does not explain the graphic use of detail. Perhaps instead these descriptions were heirs to

[60] Gronow, *Reminiscences,* pp. 4-5.
[61] Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* p. 52.
[62] Dwyer, 'War Stories', p. 569-571.

another preceding literary trend, dating back at least to the seventeenth century, where wartime pamphlets depicted atrocities in horrid detail in order to generate emotional responses, whether this was martial fervour, stoicism, pity or anger.[63] Yet here the victims were not helpless innocents but soldiers, whose deaths were anonymous and recorded without obvious outrage. Another possibility is that some authors simply relished the element of explicit violence and deliberately included it to shock or titillate their readers at home. Regardless, it seems to represent a significant departure from previous war writing for veterans to discuss the individual deaths of any soldiers other than leading commanders or personal friends, or to discuss these deaths so explicitly, and the recurring mention of cannon balls in these incidents suggests that authors were reflecting a broader shift in what battles actually looked like.

This shift was mirrored to an even greater extent in the accounts of individual veterans from all three countries who, in contrast to many of their colleagues, actively addressed the sensory experience of battle in their memoirs. These writers tried to explain to the reader the complex whirl of sensations which one experienced during a battle, emphasising its sounds, its silences, and the undeniable spectacle of it all. This was still an era where the public would gather eagerly at vantage points near battlefields to be entertained by the action: at the battle of Vitoria, wrote Kincaid, 'the hills behind were covered with spectators.'[64] The difference in these memoirs was that the reader was no longer given a bird's-eye view of the battle, nor even a spectator's hillside view, but rather a description of the battle from its most intimate angle, through the eyes and the senses of the soldier who took part in it.

Such descriptions once again focussed heavily on the effects of artillery bombardments. As Joseph Donaldson wrote of his first battle, at Fort Matagorda:

> I could scarcely define my feelings during the action; but, so far from feeling fear when it first commenced, and the silent gloom of the night was broken by the rapid flash, and reverberating thunder of the cannon, I felt a sensation something resembling delight; but it was of an awful kind – enthusiasm, sublimity and wonder, mixed with a sense of danger – something like what I have felt in a violent thunder storm.[65]

---

[63] J. Richardson, 'Atrocity in Mid Eighteenth-Century Literature', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 33, 2 (Spring, 2009), pp. 93-96.
[64] Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* p. 217; see also D. W. Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998), p. 13.
[65] Donaldson, *Recollections of an eventful life,* p. 149.

In the way both Donaldson and several other British veterans described it, battle had its own weird, sublime beauty, being a thing of both chaos and fascination, which dwarfed the individual participant. In less poetic terms, French and Spanish veterans made the same point: battle was a totally bewildering, overwhelming sensory experience, from the deafening crash of artillery fire and the drilling of musketry, to the blinding flashes of light caused by explosions, vision sometimes obscured by the darkness of night or early morning, driving rain, and of course the heavy shroud of smoke created by the gunfire which, as one officer described, might one moment be blown aside to reveal a whole corps of enemy soldiers.[66]

This chaos could be strangely mesmerising for some, or for others ghastly, with several authors repeatedly using the imagery of hell itself opening up. 'La plaza del Dos de Mayo pareció un infierno,' wrote General Luís María Andriani in his memoir published in 1838, with powder, smoke and heavy fire from the enemy filling the square.[67] 'The scene that ensued furnished as respectable a representation of hell itself as fire, and sword, and human sacrifices could make it,' wrote Kincaid of the storming of Badajoz.[68] Others talked of 'el fuego devorador', 'aquel fuego volcánico', or 'un feu meutrier' coming from the guns of the opposing side, sweeping away ranks of soldiers and forcing a jumbled retreat.[69] You might only know what was happening amidst all this chaos, Sherer underlined, when the soldiers nearest to you started to move or fall.[70]

Descriptions of the sensory and personal experiences of battle had some precedent in war memoirs from the late eighteenth century, such as William Thomson's *Memoir of the Late War in Asia* (1788) or Samuel Ancell's *A Circumstantial Journal of the Long and Tedious Blockade and Siege of Gibraltar* (1783).[71] However, the focus on artillery fire seems to be a new invention by Peninsular War or Napoleonic memoir-writers in general. Many of these memoirs contained strong influences from the travel-writing genre, describing the features of towns and landscapes to allow readers for whom Spain and Portugal were relatively unknown to imagine

---

[66] Sensory descriptions, for example, in Miranda, *Diario de la defensa,* p. 44; Leith Hay, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* pp. 149, 152; Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* pp. 105, 109, 141; Sherer, *Recollections of the Peninsula,* pp. 159-60.
[67] L. M. Andriani, *Memoria justificativa de la Defensa de Sagunto en 1811 por el General Andriani en refutación de un pasage de la historia de la guerra de la Independencia en España que dió á luz de 1835 á 1837 el Excmo. Sr. Conde de Toreno* (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Eusebio Aguado, 1838), pp. 44-45.
[68] Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* p. 133.
[69] García-Marín, *Memorias,* pp. 96-97; Rogniat, *Relation des sièges,* p. 10.
[70] Sherer, *Recollections of the Peninsula,* pp. 159-161.
[71] Alker, 'The Soldierly Imagination', pp. 67-68.

themselves there: in the same way, perhaps this was a deliberate attempt to familiarise readers already well-versed in campaign literature with a previously unknown aspect of warfare.

Despite these shifts in the language of war used by Peninsular veterans, and their greater willingness to dwell on the horrors of the battlefield, descriptions of this aspect of war remained largely positive – in this sense, original Peninsular War memoirs can hardly be compared to some of the famously disillusioned literary works of the First World War.[72] Battle in these earlier memoirs could be violent but also exciting; it could be chaotic and disorientating but also dramatic; but on every occasion, the actual fact of killing was absent. The way Peninsular veterans presented it, battle took place in such a flurry of fear, awe and confusion that one hardly remembered the details – and to be fair, in the haze of smoke and movement, soldiers might not always have been able to see the men they shot at. But their victims remained anonymous and abstract, with veterans admitting that 'prodigious slaughter' sometimes took place; that 'the killed and wounded lay in masses so compact, that full seven thousand bodies occupied the space of a few hundred feet', but never dwelling for long, or without euphemism, on the process of it.[73]

Perhaps this avoidance of the act of killing was the result of an insouciance born from sheer familiarity with death, as many of the veterans themselves would have us believe, or, again, a lack of vocabulary to put into words what they had experienced, or simply a natural wish to avoid talking about it. Whatever the reason, it was universally missing from soldiers' narratives, with the experience of battle instead depicted in a curious mix of dissociation, euphemism, humour, romantic imagery, and gore. Where true, troubling horror lay, in fact, was in the aftermaths of battle, where violence bled outwards from traditional military spaces and entered a wider, civilian world.

iii. A State of War: Burial, Executions, and Atrocities

Besides the daily pleasures and hardships of war and the experience of battle, descriptions of violence which occurred outside the battlefield or after the battle occupied a large amount of page space in Peninsular War veterans' memoirs, and it was here that veterans finally began to

[72] Cf. P. Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).
[73] Londonderry, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* p. 538.

address some of the more negative aspects of their wartime experiences. Aspects such as burial, executions, irregular warfare and atrocities committed against civilians are very rarely discussed by studies of Napoleonic-era war memoirs, and ignored by grand narratives which claim that this period produced a wholly positive 'myth' of what it was like to go to war, yet they were dominant and provocative features of many of the memoirs in this study.

One simple, troubling element of warfare was a soldier's fate after death, something which may have been a more uncomfortable thought for some veterans than death itself. It was not normal to create cemeteries for the soldiers killed on the battlefields of the Napoleonic Wars, nor to maintain or even to dig individual graves. After the battle of Waterloo in 1815, for example, the dead were buried in a mass grave and mostly forgotten.[74] Many soldiers met an even more ignominious fate, simply left to rot where they had fallen, stripped of their clothes and armour, until in the decade following the wars, the bones of men and animals from Napoleonic battlefields were collected and shipped to Yorkshire to be ground down into fertilizer.[75] According to David Lloyd, it was only during the Boer War at the end of the nineteenth century that a royal society was founded in Britain to locate and tend to the graves of individual soldiers, and even then, those located away from the main centres were frequently forgotten.[76]

Particularly disturbing was witnessing the plunder of bodies of comrades on the battlefield, some as soon as they had fallen. Captain Elzéar Blaze described the death of a fellow officer, Fleuret, killed in the first volley of fire during a battle, noting that as Fleuret was shot, the bullets ripped open the material in which he had hidden his money for safe-keeping, and soldiers leaped upon the corpse to collect the loot. 'C'était horrible de voir les soldats se précipiter sur ce cadavre pour y chercher un butin sanglant,' he wrote.[77] Other veterans underlined how discomforting it was to think of the ongoing neglect of soldiers' bodies, left exposed to the elements for years. Revisiting an old battlefield several years later, for instance, Sherer explained that the victims had never been buried: 'at every step, human bones, bleached by the sun and wind, lay scattered in my path. It was painful and humiliating to carry the mind back to the slow decay of the manly bodies which once covered them – bodies, in which the

[74] Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism,* p. 21.
[75] Hynes, *The Soldiers' Tale,* p. 17.
[76] Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism,* pp. 21-23.
[77] E. Blaze, *La Vie Militaire sous l'Empire, ou Moeurs de la Garnison, du Bivouac et de la Caserne, par E. Blaze, Auteur du Chasseur au Chien d'arrêt,* 2 vols (Paris: Moutardier/Desforges, 1837), vol. 2, pp. 363-364.

full tide of youth, and health, and spirits, was stopped suddenly, and for ever, and which had lain all exposed to the wolf of the mountains, and the eagle of the rock.'[78] Even when bodies had been properly buried, Kincaid noted, wolves sometimes tore them from their graves.[79] There is little of the same bravado here that was so prevalent in veterans' treatment of danger and death elsewhere, but instead, even in some of the most positive memoirs, nagging senses of futility, lack of dignity, and grief.

The same discomfort was true of veterans' descriptions of the public executions of deserters or rule-breakers which took place publicly, with troops ordered to watch. Noting these events was a way for veterans to criticise the army to which they belonged, however implicitly. Gronow, for instance, complained about what he alleged was a sentence of 800 lashes given to a soldier convicted of making sham Spanish dollars out of pewter spoons:

> ... he received this terrible sentence, and died under the lash. Would it not have been better to condemn him to be shot? – It would have been more humane, certainly more military, and far less brutal.[80]

Violence which happened within the army was harder to forget, and could be disagreed with. Elzéar Blaze spent an entire chapter debating the morality and oddity of army discipline, criticising the hypocrisy and inconsistency of the army command, and expressing his pity for the condemned soldiers, writing that 'les pauvres malheureux que j'ai vus à genoux dans cet instant fatal m'apparaissent tous comme des fantômes.'[81]

Harder still to pass over lightly was the violence committed *by* soldiers against civilians. In general terms, British and Spanish accounts divided from French ones in their lamentation of the burden placed upon the Spanish population by marauding, travelling and (in both the British and Spanish view of France, illegitimately invading) armies. Sherer, for instance, describing the Portuguese villagers forced to flee their homes to facilitate Wellington's 'scorched earth' policy around the Lines of Torres Vedras, argued that the soldier's suffering in war was little compared to that of the local population:

---

[78] Sherer, *Recollections of the Peninsula,* p. 195.
[79] Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* p. 84.
[80] Gronow, *Reminiscences,* pp. 16-17.
[81] Blaze, *La Vie Militaire,* vol. 2, pp. 353-354.

> For what, let me ask, does the soldier suffer, compared to the wretched inhabitant whose country is made the theatre of war? The soldier's wants are all provided for: he is fed and clothed; he sleeps, too, in comparative tranquillity; for, wrapt in his watch-cloak, he reposes in a camp, surrounded by arms and comrades, and ever-prepared for resistance, which may indeed bring with it death, but a death always honourable, seldom unrevenged. But to see our dwellings burnt, our daughters insulted, and our families driven forth houseless, this is misery, this is the curse of war; and if as men we are roused up to resist and die, our death is aggravated by all the horrors of acute mental suffering and fearful anxiety.[82]

French veterans, by contrast, were rather less disposed to be sympathetic to a local Spanish population which had, by many accounts, risen up against them in a 'war of extermination' in which any French soldier found alone or vulnerable would be tortured and killed in the most horrible way. According to his own memoirs, guerrilla general Francisco Espoz y Mina had proclaimed a 'war of Extermination, without quarter' against the invaders in Navarre in 1811, and there is no question that French soldiers were the targets of sustained and vicious attacks, a topic which recurs again and again in French memoirs.[83]

'Nous avons perdu en Espagne plus de monde en détail, par les assassinats, que sur les champs de bataille,' wrote Naylies, emphasising that a French soldier alone, or even ten French soldiers, could not place their trust in Spanish people, and especially not in their religious leaders. 'Le cri de *vengeance* se fit entendre des Pyrénées à Cadix, et les armées françaises se virent entourées d'autant d'ennemis qu'il y avoit d'habitans en Espagne.'[84] No village would comply with French requisitions, wrote Rogniat, and so their troops starved, alone in a wasteland of abandoned houses and farms stripped bare.[85] 'Cette vaste solitude avoit quelque chose d'effrayant,' added Naylies; 'Le silence qui régnoit aux approches d'un village, ou d'un bourg, n'étoit jamais interrompu par la voix d'un être vivant; seulement quelques coups de fusil, portant la mort dans les rangs, nous avertissoient que nous étions entourés d'ennemis, d'autant plus à craindre qu'ils se rendoient invisibles, et qu'ils étoient à l'abri de nos coups.'[86] The guerrillas themselves lived in the shadows of these narratives, represented by silences, wastelands, lightning that made dry heather burst into flame near an encampment in the middle

[82] Sherer, *Recollections of the Peninsula,* p. 119. Londonderry also mentioned his sympathy for these people, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* pp. 434-435.
[83] Mina, *Breve Extracto,* pp. 26-27.
[84] Naylies, *Mémoires sur la Guerre d'Espagne,* pp. xiv, 60-61.
[85] Rogniat, *Relation des sièges,* pp. 2, 19.
[86] Naylies, *Mémoires sur la Guerre d'Espagne,* p. 68.

of the night, and deep, dark, unknowable forests which promised ambush at any moment.[87] Cannon balls and gunfire may have held little terror for the idealised, manly soldier – but the spectre of a Spanish *guerrillero,* bent on vengeance, and invisible in his native landscape, elicited a frank admission of the author's fear.

As well as exposing cracks in authors' stoic facades, the guerrillas threatened the illusion the same authors had spent the majority of their memoirs painstakingly constructing: that warfare had rules and limits and could be won if you were clever, strategic, or brave enough. Guerrillas and hostile villagers who refused to face the French on open or equal footing, executed their prisoners and murdered unarmed men stripped away the facade that the war they were fighting was civilized, or that in some way it had its own logic, however brutal, beyond simple chaotic violence.

In the eyes of contemporaries, having broken the international laws of war by taking up arms despite not being authorised combatants, guerrillas (and the ordinary people attached to them) forfeited their rights to fair treatment.[88] As a result, the war descended sharply and rapidly into a cycle of atrocities and reprisals, in which the French soldiers at least matched the guerrillas in ferocity. Hundreds of men accused of being guerrillas were brought before French tribunals in Spain and sentenced to death; hundreds more were executed without trial, among them many innocents. In July 1811, for example, eight men whose sons were reputed to be with Mina were executed in Olite; in January 1809, a hundred people from Chinchón were chosen and killed at random in reprisal for the murder of two or three French soldiers.[89] This was not the action of undisciplined troops, either, but sanctioned by French commanders, with some senior officers gaining notoriety for their brutality: General Kellerman, for instance, became known as the 'hangman of Valladolid.'[90] French veterans did allude to these reprisals in their memoirs, but they did so with very little guilt, instead decrying the guerrillas as rebels, bandits, even 'vultures', and making frank admissions of the burning of Spanish villages or the killings of Spanish peasants as retribution for the murder of French soldiers.[91] As Blaze wrote defiantly in his memoirs, 'On écrirait des volumes sur les atrocités commises de part et d'autre dans cette

[87] Lightning: Vanssay, *Fragments,* p. 15.
[88] A. Dworkin, 'The Laws of War in the Age of Asymmetric Conflict', in G. Kassimeris (ed.), *The Barbarization of Warfare* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), p. 223.
[89] C. Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), pp. 257-258.
[90] Esdaile, *The Peninsular War,* p. 258.
[91] Vanssay, *Fragments,* p. 12; Naylies, *Mémoires sur la Guerre d'Espagne,* p. 66.

malheureuse guerre; mais je puis affirmer, sans crainte d'être démenti par personne, que nous avons toujours été bien moins cruels que les Espagnols.'[92]

Furthermore, instead of provoking greater self-reflection about the shadowy morality of the guerrilla war in Spain, French veterans' descriptions simply contributed to a broader fascination with it in nineteenth-century literature, with the romanticised figure of a ferocious, patriotic and heroic *guerrillero* having caught the imagination of the French reading public.[93] In posthumously published French memoirs from the late nineteenth century, therefore, descriptions of the violence carried out by guerrillas increased in gore and detail, featuring images of slain French soldiers hung from trees by the road, decomposing and maggot-ridden, sometimes with their genitals cut off and placed in their mouths.[94] Such images could have been copied directly from Goya's *Desastres de la Guerra,* particularly plates 31 ('Fuerte cosa es!'), 36 ('Tampoco'), 37 ('Esto es peor'), and 39 ('Bárbaros!'), though refashioned in these memoirs to make it abundantly clear who were the perpetrators, and who the victims (see *Fig. VI*). Ironically, according to Dwyer, it was actually the *Grande Armée* which hung Spanish rebels from olive trees along the road.[95] Ultimately, rather than forcing readers to confront the violent reality of irregular warfare, French depictions of guerrillas were quickly absorbed into a romantic fiction of the war, where reprisals and atrocities took on a certain dark glamour.

In comparison, what struck a stronger note of discord in veterans' narratives from all three sides was what happened in the aftermath of urban sieges. Although both the British and French armies were supposedly bound by strict codes regulating soldiers' conduct with civilians and prescribing harsh punishments for those caught looting, raping or killing, as in the case of reprisals against guerrillas, the laws of war were often also set aside after the fall of a town under siege.[96] Plunder, rape, and the massacre of civilians happened on a massive scale in these situations, with the French storming of Tarragona in June 1811 resulting in the deaths of around

---

[92] Blaze, *La Vie Militaire,* vol. 1, p. 138.
[93] L. Trenard, 'Images de l'Espagne dans la France napoléonienne', in G. Dufour (ed.), *Les Espagnols et Napoléon: actes du colloque international d'Aix-en-Provence, 13, 14, 15 octobre 1983* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1984), p. 190.
[94] For example, S. Larreguy de Civrieux, *Souvenirs d'un Cadet (1812-1823)*, ed. L.-M.-S.-P. Larreguy de Civrieux (Paris: Hachette, 1912), pp. 11-12; Marcel, *Campagnes,* p. 43.
[95] P. G. Dwyer, '"It Still Makes Me Shudder" Memories of Massacres and Atrocities during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', *War in History* 16, 4 (2009), p. 396.
[96] 'On a march we were very severe, and if any of our men were caught committing an act of violence or brigandage, the offender was tried by a drum-head court martial, and hanged in a very short time': Gronow, *Reminiscences,* p. 18; Dwyer, '"It Still Makes Me Shudder"', p. 386.

Fig. VI. Plate 37: 'Esto es peor', Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Los Desastres de la Guerra* (1810, first published 1863).
CCO 1.0.

15,000 civilians, and the British capture of San Sebastián in 1812 seeing half the population killed, to name just two occasions.[97]

Unlike in the case of guerrilla reprisals, however, veterans widely made note of these scenes of carnage. Gleig dedicated five pages to recounting his exploration of empty, blackened and burnt-out San Sebastián a few days after its surrender, the streets strewn with rotting corpses, the ruins of buildings, broken household objects, and shell cases, naming it the most 'appalling picture of war' he had ever witnessed.[98] Tarragona, meanwhile, had been purposely designed by Marshal Suchet as a violent warning to the rest of Spain, the Spanish governor Juan Senén de Contreras claimed, having made the *alcaldes* and *corrégidors* of neighbouring places walk through the ruined city 'pour leur faire voir les cadavres dont elles étoient remplies, ayant eu soin de faire préalablement jeter dehors ceux qui étoient dans les maisons, et défendu d'en enlever aucun.'[99] Entering another city in the aftermath of a siege, the French officer Rogniat gave a similar, extended description of the ruins:

> La ville présentait un spectacle hideux: plusieurs quartiers étaint bouleversés par les mines, et n'offraient plus que des ruines parsemées de membres mutilés. Les maisons même, que les explosions et les incendies avaient épargnées, étaient dégradées par les bombes et les obus. L'intérieur des maisons était percé de communications; les murs étaient crénelés, les portes et fenêtres barricadées; les rues étaient encombrées de traverses nombreuses. La malpropreté, le mauvais air, la misère, l'encombrement de plus de cent mille ames, dans une ville qui n'en contenait ordinairement que quarante mille; les privations inséparables d'un long siége, tous ces fléaux réunis excitèrent une épidémie affreuse, qui consumait ce que la guerre épargnait. Au milieu des ruines et des cadavres dont les rues étaient jonchées, on voyait errer quelques habitants, pâles, maigres, décharnés, qui semblaient devoir bientôt suivre les morts qu'ils n'avaient plus la force d'enterrer. D'après le tableau des recensements faits avant et après ce siége extraordinaire et terrible, il est constant qu'il périt en cinquante-deux jours cinquante-quatre mille individus de tous âges et de tous sexes, c'est-à-dire, les deux tiers des militaires, et la moitié des habitants ou réfugiés.[100]

[97] Dwyer, '"It Still Makes Me Shudder"', pp. 386-387.
[98] Gleig, *The Subaltern,* pp. 84-89.
[99] J. Senén de Contreras, *Rapport du Siège de Tarragone, de l'Assaut et de la Prise de cette place* (London: Henry Hay, 1813), p. 71.
[100] Rogniat, *Relation des sièges,* p. 45.

At times, Rogniat had written earlier, it seemed that they were fighting for no more than a cemetery.[101]

The normal follow-up to descriptions of these horrific scenes, however, was the familiar displacement of blame. The atrocities had been committed by the enemy, pointed out many veterans, or by the 'wretches' who follow armies around and cause the most devastation and plunder.[102] When the guilt of the author's own army was inescapable, authors – who were mostly officers – placed the blame on their men, arguing that it was impossible to control them, especially once alcohol had been found.[103] Others depicted the looting done by their own regimental comrades while on the road as an entertaining game, a victory scored against local figures of fun, like the poor 'señor Pedro', most important man in the village, and his 'hideuse Senora' robbed by Naylies and his companions after having been forced to give them shelter.[104] Still others defended their actions by arguing that plunder was simply a wartime necessity, an evil upon which soldiers' survival depended.[105]

Another recurring feature of descriptions of the aftermaths of sieges was the violated bodies of women, which was no doubt a reflection of real events, but which also served as an opportunity for veterans to make redemptive actions, to alleviate or displace the guilt of the horrors they were describing. Kincaid, for example, alleged that in one town 'we found the body of a well-dressed female, whom they had murdered by a horrible refinement in cruelty. She had been placed upon her back, alive, in the middle of the street, with the fragment of a rock upon her breast, which it required four of our men to remove.'[106] Although the woman was already dead, the soldiers still removed the stone – a humanitarian narrative echoed in many other accounts. In the aftermath of the taking of Badajoz, Gleig alleged, many officers 'risked their lives in defending helpless females.'[107] The same trope was used by many French veterans, who portrayed themselves helping defenceless women, taking steps to limit the violence, and

[101] Rogniat, *Relation des sièges,* p. 39.
[102] Camp followers: Gleig, *The Subaltern,* p. 216. The French: Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* pp. 52-54, 64.
[103] Londonderry, *Narrative of the Peninsular War,* p. 213; Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* pp. 113, 138.
[104] Naylies, *Mémoires sur la Guerre d'Espagne,* p. 55. See also Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* pp. 21-22, 30.
[105] Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* pp. 24-25, 89-90.
[106] Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade,* pp. 65-66.
[107] Gleig, *The Subaltern,* p. 80.

refusing rewards for their actions – a 'humanitarian narrative' no doubt meant to suggest that while war was horrible, some men within it could be noble.[108]

No veterans were explicit about their personal acts of violence, therefore, but in large numbers they referred obliquely to a sense of their own side's guilt: an entirely new feature of war writing. 'Quaeque ipse miserrima vidi, et quorum pars magna fui', quoted the French military engineer Rogniat in his introduction, which roughly means, 'most wretched things which I have seen, and of which I was a great part.'[109] As mentioned earlier, war literature dealing graphically with atrocities had long roots back to at least the seventeenth century. However, this literature had undergone a seismic shift in the eighteenth century, with descriptions of violence against civilians taking on a newly imaginative dimension and dwelling more than ever on the suffering and the distress of the innocent victims, who were often beautiful women or children, being treated with a gratuitous cruelty, often while their family members were made to watch.[110] This was the result of a convergence of several different developments, according to John Richardson, including the gradual democratising or nationalising of war, with combat becoming the competition of masses of people, not great princes or families, and the ordinary soldier's actions (including his violent actions) mattering more. 'The citizen soldier of a national army is more responsible,' writes Richardson, 'and more to blame than the conscripted military servant of a great prince.'[111] At the same time, the popularity of sentimental literature affected the way war could be written about: 'the suffering victims of atrocity narratives are close cousins of the suffering victims of other sentimental texts, and derive some of their character traits from them.'[112]

The important difference between this eighteenth-century style of writing and Peninsular War narratives, however, was that the guilt was no longer firmly placed with a *foreign* perpetrator. Before the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, 'the atrocity being represented [was] almost without exception perpetrated by the enemy, usually depicted as a barely human monster.'[113] In Peninsular War accounts, by contrast, the atrocities had been committed by the author's own army, by the men he personally commanded, perhaps even by himself, and they had been committed for human, banal reasons: drunkenness, hunger, lack of discipline. Grappling with

[108] Dwyer, 'War Stories', p. 574; Dwyer, '"It Still Makes Me Shudder"', pp. 400-401.
[109] Rogniat, *Relation des sièges,* p. iv. From Aeneid, book 11.
[110] Richardson, 'Atrocity', pp. 94-95, 103.
[111] Richardson, 'Atrocity', pp. 95-96.
[112] Richardson, 'Atrocity', p. 96.
[113] Richardson, 'Atrocity', p. 110.

violence against civilians, one of the oldest and most negative realities of war, British and French Peninsular War veterans in particular revolutionised the war writing genre by admitting their own part in it. They showed, for the first time, that horrific acts could be committed by soldiers who were just as frightened, ordinary and human as their victims – war was no longer a game of princes and monsters, but men.

iv. Memoirs as More than Testimony

Peninsular War veterans who wrote military autobiographies therefore made powerful choices about what their narratives would contain, choosing to show war in both its rosier and its darker aspects. They tried to explain to contemporary audiences, in fact, that the reality of war experience is a mix of the two: both fascination and disgust, pleasure and hardship, pride and guilt. Yet this was not solely a literary shift, an interesting change in the way war was written about and an increase in how forthcoming veterans were willing to be about their experiences, but also the symptom of a growing activism by veterans as authors, using their writings to shape how war was perceived and undertaken. It is with exactly this idea of choice, as authors in control of their manuscripts, that I want to view Peninsular War veterans and their written production. All too often, studies of war writing carry a tendency to regard military writers as little more than helpful eyewitnesses, with their accounts being perhaps reliable or unreliable, but essentially still passive testimony which begins and ends with the words on the printed page. The veteran as author is consequently forgotten; there is no sense that veterans were actively trying to shape emerging narratives of the war in which they had taken part. Yet to examine Peninsular War veterans whose memoirs were published during their lifetimes, at least, it becomes quickly evident that they represented not a group of nostalgic or traumatised old men, sitting quietly at home, but rather a cohort of active, politicised and sometimes demonstrably influential public actors.

Some veterans set out to use their memoirs to change conditions for the next generation of soldiers. Joseph Donaldson's *Recollections of an Eventful Life, chiefly passed in the army* (1824), for instance, contained a consistent emphasis on improving meritocratic promotion and rewards, a strong advocacy against corporal punishment, and a detailed plea for better

equipment for troops, particularly oilskins and laced boots.[114] Others used their writings to inspire and reassure fresh recruits, many of whom might be the veterans' own children or grandchildren. In April 1845, for example, George Gleig wrote to his publisher, Messrs Longman and Co, to ask them to send him an extra copy of his book *Lives of the Most Eminent British Military Commanders* (1831), so that he might give it to his son, soon embarking for Canada with his regiment.[115]

However, publishing a memoir which criticised government or army policy at all may have been difficult, especially in the wartime years, with censorship an active force at work. The sudden surge in publication of Spanish *manifiestos* from 1812 onwards, for example, related strongly to the declaration of freedom of the press by the Cadiz constitutionalists that same year. Beforehand, as one Spanish officer complained, 'la falta de libertad de Imprenta, aumentado las dificultades de la publicacion de este Manifiesto, ha impedido el que saliese á luz, como debia, en la epoca misma en que se escribió.'[116] The French officer Rogniat was even more explicitly critical of the censorship which had been in place during Napoleon's reign: 'dans ce temps-là, on ne pouvait publier aucun mémoire militaire, sans une permission que je sollicitai vainement, de peur de blesser l'amour-propre irascible, et la politique ombrageuse de l'homme célèbre qui gouvernait alors la France.'[117]

Even as the century went on, strongly taking one political position or another had serious consequences for several veterans in France and Spain. The French officer Denis-Charles Parquin, for example, was placed under police surveillance during the July Monarchy for his association with Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte and other anti-government conspirators.[118] Following his participation in two failed coups on behalf of Louis-Napoleon, first in Strasbourg in 1836 and then in Boulogne in 1840, Parquin was arrested and condemned by a Parisian court to twenty years' imprisonment in the citadel of Doullens. It was in prison in 1843 that he wrote his memoirs, a multi-volume work complaining about the post-war treatment of Napoleonic veterans and expressing his pride in having served in Napoleon's army.[119] Two years later, still

[114] Donaldson, *Recollections of an eventful life,* esp. pp. 191-197.
[115] Gleig to Longman, 7 Apr. 1845, MS 1393 2/62/48, Records of the Longman Group, Reading University Special Collections (URSC), Reading.
[116] Venegas, *Contestación,* p. 3.
[117] Rogniat, *Relation des sièges,* p. iv.
[118] Letter to the French Minister of the Interior, 4 Jul. 1839, 3 M 33, Dossiers collectifs (1839), Surveillance d'individus suspects, Police générale et administrative 1800-1870, Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg.
[119] See Parquin, *Souvenirs et campagnes,* pp. 7, 18, 318.

imprisoned, he died of heart disease, but his memoirs were reprinted in four new editions at the turn of the century and translated to German, where they were published in pre-war Berlin.[120]

Another veteran who used his autobiographical writings as part of a wider political programme was the famous guerrilla leader Francisco Espoz y Mina. Having supported the Liberal government which ruled Spain from 1820 to 1823, he led an army in defence of the government when French troops invaded the country in order to return the Spanish royal family to power. Defeated in 1823, Mina was forced in to exile and brought by a British ship to England, where he was welcomed with great popular acclaim, and wined and dined by some of the most important families in London.[121] Records of his correspondence recently donated by his family to the regional archive in Pamplona, however, show that from the very beginning of his exile in Britain, Mina was in close contact with a network of like-minded Spanish émigrés and English sympathisers, all of whom encouraged him to maintain an active media presence in support of the liberal cause. 'If I may venture to offer an opinion,' wrote the British Peninsular War veteran George Lloyd Hodges to Mina in January 1824, 'I think it would be desirable, for the public interest to be kept alive; and the most cautious and prudent way for that to be done is through the public press.' He went on to recommend *The Globe and Traveller* as 'a paper much read, moderate and liberal in its principals and edited by Colonel Farners, a man I know well disposed and anxious to serve you and your cause.'[122]

More than engaging with newspapers, however, Mina's friends wanted him to write a war memoir. Shortly after Mina landed in England in late 1823, Charles Doyle, a British officer in whose regiment Mina had enlisted at the very start of the Peninsular War, wrote to him in Spanish encouraging him to publish a history of the recent campaign against the French:

> Mi ocurri qui pudiera Usted llevar un bolsillito, publicando la ultima Campaña suya contra los Franceses, desde su entrada en España hasta el dia que se embarco usted en Barcelona. Enbiame su Diario, yo lo pondre en Ingles y no me cabe duda que la venta del tul diario pondria una buena cantidad en su faltriquera que en estos tiempos no haria mal.[123]

[120] Edited by Captain A. Aubier, the second and third editions were printed in Paris by Berger-Levrault in 1892 and 1903. A new edition by Albert Savine was printed by Louis-Michaud in Paris in 1910; a fourth, different edition by Tallandier in Paris in 1911. It was translated to German by Ernst von Werlhof and printed in Berlin by Siegismund in 1910.
[121] For example, the Fishmonger's Company and Lord and Lady Holland. AP_ESPOZ_MINA, box 18, no. 1, Archivo Real y General de Navarra (ARGN), Pamplona.
[122] Hodges to Mina, Jan. 1824, AP_ESPOZ_MINA, box 18, no. 1, ARGN.
[123] Doyle to Mina, 6 Dec. 1823, AP_ESPOZ_MINA, box 18, no. 1, ARGN.

As well as keeping Mina's name – and the liberal cause – in English and perhaps international newspapers, Doyle suggested, such a book would also raise a good sum of money for the exiled and impoverished general.[124] It seems that Mina took Doyle's advice, at least to the point of writing up a history of his Navarrian volunteer regiment in the Peninsular War, but this manuscript was never published.[125]

Instead, what Mina produced was a more explicitly autobiographical memoir, a small book published by the London firm Taylor and Hessey which contained both a Spanish and an English version of the text, printed side by side. The *Breve Extracto de la vida del General Mina* (or *A Short Extract from the life of General Mina*, as it was also titled) appeared in early 1825 and gave a detailed account of Mina and his guerrilla band's cunning and patriotic efforts to thwart French occupation in the northern parts of Spain during the war. Upon its release, several British papers, including *The Times* and *The Examiner,* reported that any profits from the sale of the book would be going to the families of other Spaniards in exile, and encouraged the public to buy it in support, with *The Times* assuring readers 'that in purchasing and perusing it, they will at once gratify their thirst for information, and indulge their feelings of charity – amuse their minds, and improve their hearts.'[126] Several journalists were explicit that writing a memoir was the avenue through which Mina could best help his countrymen: 'he cannot give them money, or find them employment, for he is a stranger and an exile, like themselves', stated *The news of literature and fashion, or journal of manners and society* on 15 January 1825, 'but he has written a brief outline of his illustrious career, and Messrs Taylor and Hessey have published it for him, for the advantage of the exiles.'[127] 'Thus will the military history of this celebrated Officer tend to ennoble the exile, and to relieve the distress of those whom, for want of other arms like his own, he could not secure in their national rights, or defend on their native soil,' added the *Times*.[128]

Work was also done behind the scenes to ensure that the memoir reached the right people, with copies being sent to influential politicians, including the Duke of Gloucester and Lord

---

[124] Mina's correspondence from the 1820s contains many letters describing his destitute state in exile, despite initially receiving a sum of £500 from the Spanish Committee, a group of pro-Liberal British grandees.
[125] Ms. 'Recuerdos Historicos sobre la Guerra de Navarra en 1808. Ydèa General de la Division de Voluntarios de este Reino. Y sucesos Principales de la vida Militar y Politica del General Espoz-Mina', AP_ESPOZ_MINA, box 17, no. 3, ARGN.
[126] *The Times*, 11 Jan. 1823, qu. *The Examiner*, 16 Jan. 1825, AP_ESPOZ_MINA, box. 17, no. 1, ARGN.
[127] *The news of literature & fashion or journal of manners & society, the drame, the fine arts, literature science &c,* 15 Jan. 1825, AP_ESPOZ_MINA, box. 17, no. 1, ARGN.
[128] *The Times,* 11 Jan 1825, AP_ESPOZ_MINA, box. 17, no. 1, ARGN.

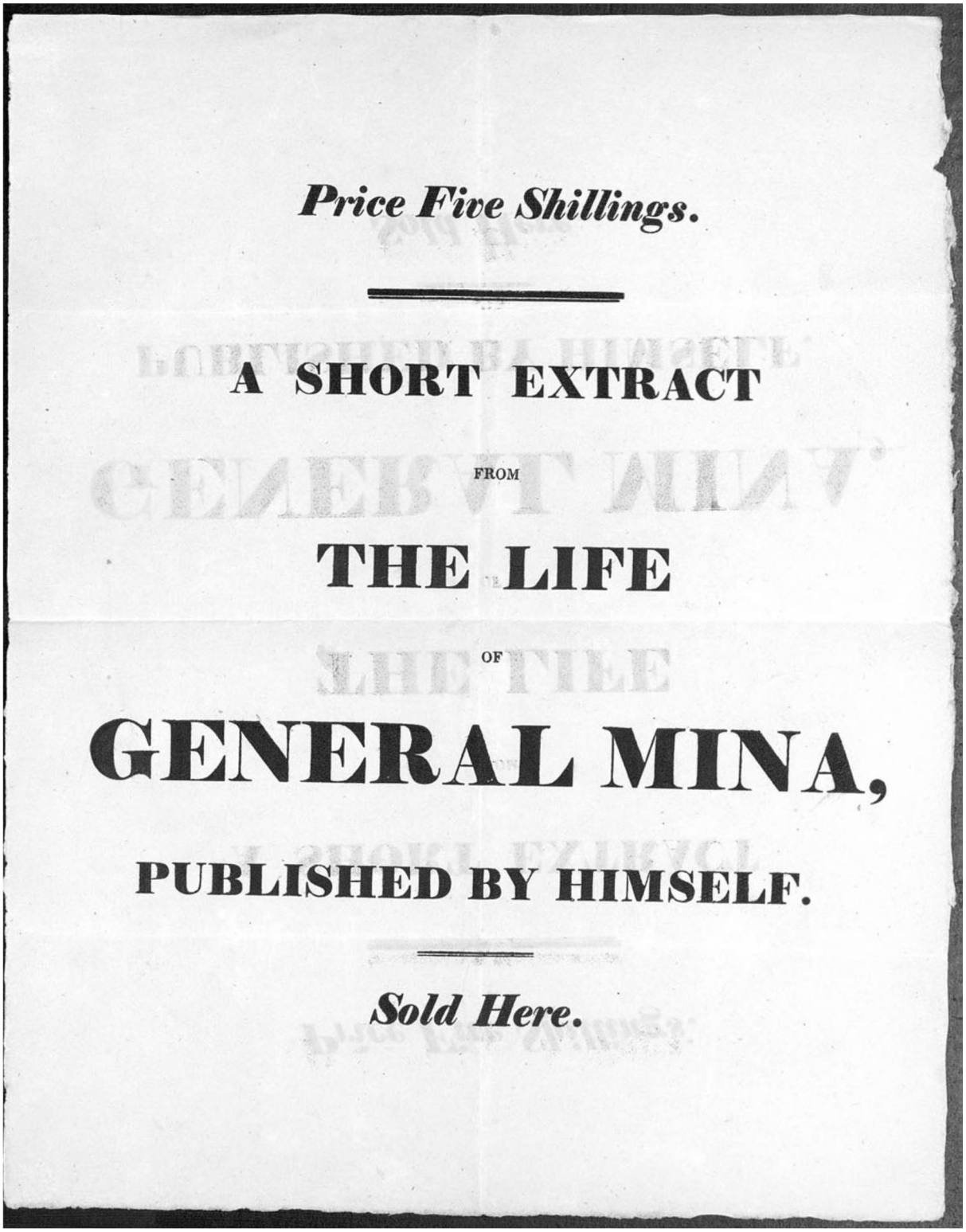


Fig. VII. Poster advertising Mina's short memoir for sale in Britain: 1_AP_ESPOZ_MINA, box 17, no. 1, ARGN. Reproduced with permission.

Lansdowne, as well as to Mina's international network of sympathisers, many of whom exhorted Mina to go on to publish a full-length set of memoirs, a work he did not actually complete before he died.[129] 'Quant à notre opinion sur le premier pas à faire, pour éveiller les esprits et afin de rappeler l'attention de l'Europe sur l'état de l'Espagne,' wrote Edward Blaquière, an Irish Peninsular War naval officer and author, 'nous sommes tous d'accord, sur la nécessité de faire paraitre au plutôt possible, vos propres mémoires, et dont vous parlez dans l'Avant-Propos de la Brochure. Je suis convaincu mon général, qu'il n'existe un meilleur mode de servir la cause de votre Patrie dans ce moment critique.'[130] Not only were the sales of a Peninsular War memoir used in this case for a political charitable cause, therefore, but it was also written for deeply political reasons, meant to influence European perceptions of the meaning of the war, and prompt sympathies for the ongoing liberal cause.

Working with secret, often international networks of other soldiers and exiles, therefore, both French and Spanish veterans used their war memoirs to pursue serious political ends – in the case of both Parquin and Mina, in fact, the end goal being the replacement of the current government in their home country. Several British writers used many of the same tactics to disseminate their memoirs and bolster the influence of the message contained within: dedicating one's memoir to a high-ranking commander, for instance, was a common strategy, which at least meant that the recipient would be presented with a gift copy, and usually required them to give their permission for the book to bear their name.[131] Other veterans' writings reached even grander audiences. The military engineer John Thomas Jones, for instance, sent, upon request, a copy of his technical work *Memoranda relative to the Lines thrown up to cover Lisbon in 1810* (1829) to the King of Bavaria, in return for which the king presented Jones with a large map of the kingdom.[132]

In general, however, British veterans seem to have tried to influence military policy at home by working with rather than against the government. Particularly successful in this regard was General Sir James Shaw-Kennedy, who was personally invited by the British government to be the president of a newly-formed commission on the subject of national defence policy. The

[129] See letters acknowledging receipt of these copies from Gloucester, 4 Jun. 1825, and Lansdowne, 21 Jan. 1825, AP_ESPOZ_MINA, box 18, no. 1, ARGN.
[130] Blaquière to Mina, 18 May 1825, AP_ESPOZ_MINA, box 18, no. 1, ARGN.
[131] For example, Kincaid dedicated *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade* to his 'To Major-Gen. Sir Andrew Barnard, K.C.B. Colonel of the First Battalion Rifle Brigade, and its leader during a long and brilliant period of its history'.
[132] J. T. Jones, *The Military Autobiography of Major-Gen. Sir John T. Jones, Baronet, Knight Commander of the Bath, late of the corps of Royal Engineers, aide-de-camp to the King. Twelve copies only printed for family perusal* (London: s.n., 1853), pp. 289-290.

invitation was the direct result of a successful pamphlet Shaw-Kennedy had written about the attempted assassination of Napoleon III by an Italian revolutionary, entitled *Notes on the Defences of Great Britain and Ireland* (1859), and setting out 'a general systematic plan for the permanent defence of the Country.'[133] Suffering from poor health, however, the veteran confided in his publisher that he had declared himself unable to take up the government's offer, but 'that in a third edition of my pamphlet I should bring forward further proofs, and also enforce the arguments I had already used.'[134] Although this episode did not arise directly from the publication of a war memoir (Shaw-Kennedy's more autobiographical notes on Waterloo and the Peninsula were only published in 1865, shortly after his death), it underscores once again the much broader landscape of veterans' lives as political actors, involved through their writings in both the conduct and the memory of war.

v. Conclusion

Veterans are paradoxical figures in the construction of war memory, their testimonials able to both affirm and undermine a positive narrative of what war is really like. Soldiers are pivotal to how we think about and talk about war, yet their role is so often under-explored, limited to analyses of *what* they said about their war experiences, and not *why.* This is especially the case for Napoleonic veterans. Mosse is one of the few cultural historians to have suggested that the writings of veterans from the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars had a lastingly positive effect on the construction of an image of war in the long nineteenth century, although even he gives very little explanation of how this influence might have taken place beyond the initial publication of some patriotic texts.

In this chapter, I have tried to challenge this state of literature in several ways. First, I have shown that while many Peninsular War veterans, at least, *did* portray the experience of war in strikingly positive terms, their narratives as a whole also contained a large amount of darkness and doubt, nuanced elements deliberately included by soldiers who made creative decisions as the authors of their texts. There were striking continuities between these memoirs and war writing from centuries before, particularly in the positive language of aristocratic stoicism,

[133] Shaw-Kennedy to Murray, 11 May 1859, MS.40641, John Murray Archive (JMA), National Library of Scotland (NLS), Edinburgh.
[134] Shaw-Kennedy to Murray, 22 Jul. 1859, MS.40641, JMA, NLS.

suggesting that war was a gentleman's game won by strategy and courage: a tradition of 'high diction' which persisted well into the twentieth century.[135] At the same time, Peninsular War memoirs, especially British and French ones, contained several important shifts in the language used to describe war, from a newly graphic and sensory approach to descriptions of battles, perhaps provoked by a change in the use of artillery, to a willingness to expose both the scale and horror of atrocities committed against civilians, as well as the author's implicit guilt.

These memoirs focussed in with new attention on violence in all its forms, whether intimate, faceless, personal, collective, horrific, glorious, or mundane. The nineteenth century would be an age in which war was labelled *disastrous*, in which its human consequences would be shown to stretch far away from the battlefield and include psychological and emotional aspects. It was an age in which readers were given, more than ever before, a 'soldier's eye view' of what war was like, even if this view was in fact partly fiction. Original Peninsular War memoirs may not have conveyed the stark disillusionment with warfare that we know from early twentieth-century war literature, but the myth they set out to propagate was certainly not without ambiguity. Both positive and negative, veterans' writings struck low notes of dissonance against the patriotic narratives swirling around them at the time.

Yet veterans also acted to influence the way the war was understood to a much greater extent than simply by recording their thoughts. In this chapter I have also suggested that despite sometimes dramatic differences in the style and content of Spanish, French, and British examples, the shared aim of Peninsular War veterans whose memoirs were published during their lifetimes was not, as is often argued, the wish to deal with private trauma or a search for meaning, but rather an active desire to affect things in the public sphere. While it is always fascinating to look at the content of Napoleonic war memoirs, we also need to continue asking *why* and *how* memoirs were composed in a particular way – and to start to move beyond the traditional answers of 'stylistic choice', 'trauma', or 'recovery'.

Indeed, although this chapter falls under the heading 'Veterans as Veterans', I have used it in order to lay the foundations for a challenge to exactly this concept. Over the course of the next three chapters, I want to showcase several of the different ways in which we can categorise the small group of men who sat down to write military autobiographies after the Peninsular War.

---

[135] J. Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), p. 15.

Instead of thinking of them as soldiers above and beyond all, I will concentrate on veterans who wrote memoirs to change the academic record of history; veterans who wrote to save their own political careers or even to get out of jail; and, perhaps most importantly and most radically, veterans who wrote because they were good at writing, experienced in publishing, and keen to make a profit. The reality of veterans and war writing in the early nineteenth century is much more political, much more public, and much more commercial than has hitherto been thought.

Chapter 2.

Veterans as Historians: Controlling the Record

As the nineteenth century unfolded, new wars, combined with turbulent politics, cycles of boom and repression in the press, and little official commemoration for the soldiers of the Napoleonic Wars in any of the three countries, made fertile ground for Peninsular War veterans to feel worried that their stories had not been, and would not be, properly told. It is common to find in memoirs printed soon after the war both expressions of dismay that little history was being written about a period of such intense significance, and calls for other veterans to pick up their pens to contribute. Moreover, the unease that had settled among these veterans was not quick to dissipate, as even by the second half of the century there were echoes of the same appeal. Composing a series of retrospective articles about his life for the review *La América* in the 1860s, for example, the ex-cadet and Liberal statesman Antonio Alcalá Galiano criticised what he saw as a continuing lack of serious philosophical consideration of the 'espiritu' of the war and a worrying tendency to generalise, despite the fact that people with vastly different political opinions had ostensibly fought together for a common cause from 1808 to 1814.[1]

This unease was exacerbated by the evident appreciation among many veterans for the power of the printed word to shape memory, and by the recognition that myth-making was an ongoing process continuing long after the event itself. Especially in Spain, there was a widespread fear that subjective criticism could easily become transformed into objective fact through repetition if not addressed. The danger from one rumour could persist for decades, magnified exponentially if an influential historian were to repeat it. For example, General Luís María Andriani (1773-1856) tackled just such a fear in his memoir of 1838.[2] Made a prisoner of war by the French after his forced surrender at Sagunto (26 October 1811), he was unable to immediately publish his own side of the story. Upon his release he hastily produced a *Manifiesto* (1815), yet more than two decades later, a critical mention of the episode in a famous history of the Peninsular War by the Count of Toreno opened the wound afresh,

[1] A. Alcalá Galiano, *Recuerdos de un Anciano*, ed. A. Alcalá Galiano (Madrid: Luis Navarro, 1878), pp. 83-84.
[2] L. M. Andriani, *Memoria justificativa de la Defensa de Sagunto en 1811 por el General Andriani en refutación de un pasage de la historia de la guerra de la Independencia en España que dió á luz de 1835 á 1837 el Excmo. Sr. Conde de Toreno* (Madrid: Eusebio Aguado, 1838).

prompting Andriani to write again to refute it.[3] 'No es el Conde el inventor de este sarcasmo, es el eco que le repite', he noted, but in this case the echo could be as dangerous as the original noise, especially if most of Toreno's readers were unlikely to check their facts elsewhere.[4] As Andriani captured it perfectly in his opening lines:

> Muchos serán los que dicha historia lean, pocos los que otras consulten. Resultará, pues, queden los más imbuidos del error que en ella se vierte, y aunque el tiempo desvanezca las impresiones que un suceso produce, cuando este se consigna en una historia se perpetúa, y cuantas veces se lee aquellas se reproducen y renuevan.[5]

History seemed something organic and unpredictable, easily seizing on a false description and producing myriad offshoots that then started to take root. At the same time, readers were seen as passive and uncritical, carried along by the strongest waves. Even worse, as another Spanish officer underlined, the documents and archives which testified to the truth – and the actors who had survived to corroborate it – could at any moment be swept away by the coming of a new war.[6] For those veterans with the means to write and publish, therefore, fighting the historical tide could sometimes feel like a matter of urgency.

Yet veterans' memoirs have generally been treated as source material for history, not historiography itself. Memoirs are seen as eyewitness testimony of great interest to those seeking a window back into the past, but not as an active attempt to write the history of more than a narrow personal experience. Philip Dwyer, for instance, has recently emphasised that none of the French Napoleonic veterans in his study 'attempt to grasp the historical context or to understand why the wars occurred in the first place – an observation that is equally valid for the memoirs of leading generals and statesmen – and few question whether it was worth it all.'[7]

Many of the Peninsular War authors in this study, however, would have firmly protested against this marginalisation. As shown in the previous chapter, these soldiers often wrote with

---

[3] L. M. Andriani, *Extracto del manifiesto de la defensa del retrincheramiento no concluído en 1811, conocido por castillo de San Fernando de Sagunto que hizo su gobernador Andriani* (Madrid: José Collado, 1815); Andriani, *Memoria*, pp. 19-21. He was chiefly annoyed by Toreno having written that his garrison surrendered hastily. Cf. Conde de Toreno, *Historia del levantamiento, guerra y revolucion de Espana,* 5 vols (Madrid: Tomás Jordán, 1835-37), vol. 4, pp. 233-244, 250-252.
[4] Andriani, *Memoria*, p. 19.
[5] Andriani, *Memoria*, p. 1.
[6] F. X. Cabanes, *Memoria acerca del modo de escribir la historia militar de la ultima Guerra entre España y Francia* (Barcelona: Brusi, 1816), p. 10.
[7] P. Dwyer, 'War Stories: French Veteran Narratives and the "Experience of War" in the Nineteenth Century', *European History Quarterly* 41, 4 (2011), p. 565.

the conscious aim of influencing military and political policy, or published narratives which cast subtle doubt on the morality of the soldier's profession. In addition, as I will explore in this chapter, several veterans took direct issue with the academic, historical record of the war, contacting and criticising the early authors of influential books on the subject. A group of Spanish veterans, in fact, rejected the role of civilian historians entirely, gaining funding and governmental support to produce their own official history of the war. The result was a book collaboratively authored by Peninsular War veterans which directly influenced later historiography, including the very name given in Spanish to the conflict.

Moreover, the content of published memoirs from all three sides can be fundamentally linked with the evolving historiography of the war. Most memoirs sided in one way or another with overarching contemporary interpretations of the war, choosing how to depict their allies and enemies, giving reasons for defeat or victory, and repeating certain tropes or phrases. Spanish veterans' marked preoccupation with the history of the war, as opposed to the experience of fighting in it, makes Spanish material just as abundant here as that from Britain and France. Strikingly, contrasts appeared between these interpretations along decidedly national lines. How British veterans argued that the war had been won was very different to how either French or Spanish veterans chose to view it, and in this we can see the roots of a separation along national and linguistic lines which has characterised the historiography of the period ever since.

i. The Problem with Academic Historians

Active engagement with the writing of the history of the Peninsular War by its veterans was most evident when it was overtly directed towards an influential author. In France, this was above all Adolphe Thiers, whose history of the Consulate and Empire was the first serious systematic study of the period, drawing on interviews with key witnesses and state archive holdings of Napoleon's private correspondence (numbering some thirty thousand documents).[8] Appearing in a series of twenty volumes under the Second Republic and into the Second Empire, and partly intended as a veiled criticism of Louis Napoleon, it painted a portrait of the young Bonaparte as the tragic hero of the Revolution, an heir to its principles yet also a budding tyrant, doomed by his own ambition.[9] A great success, it was read widely at home and abroad,

[8] N. Petiteau, *Napoléon, de la mythologie à l'histoire (Paris: Le Seuil, 1999),* pp. 100-101.
[9] Petiteau, *Napoléon*, pp. 104-105.

and through all classes of society, with Martyn Lyons identifying it as one of the most popular historical works bought by French workers from pedlars and from bookstalls at local fairs.[10]

Some veterans sought to reply to Thiers publically, though lacked the confidence to include their names. As Natalie Petiteau has demonstrated, several anonymous brochures appeared soon after the publication of the *Histoire,* sometimes signed with the moniker 'un vieux soldat', defending Napoleon from Thiers' accusation that he had not given France liberty at the same time as order.[11] Meanwhile, other French veterans hoped to privately influence Thiers to change his narrative, and did so by sending him their own memoirs. Sub-lieutenant Auguste Alexandre de Vanssay, for example, seems to have sent a summary of his military career directly to Thiers, from whom the old soldier received a polite letter in thanks, dated 10 November 1854 and included in the published copy of his memoirs.[12] The old commandant Jean-Stanislas Vivien, too, kept a copy of a letter he had written to Thiers, emphasizing his belief that the history of the last days of the empire had been wrongly written. Thiers, in Vivien's view, had drawn too faithfully on the account of Bayonne given by General Thouvenot in his *ordre du jour*, and thus misrepresented the crucial role played by Vivien's own 82nd regiment.[13]

French writers were also the target for Spanish veterans who, as Jesús A. Martínez Martín has demonstrated in his study of Madrid, often kept French works of history in their libraries alongside Spanish ones.[14] Writing from across a significant geographical and ideological border, these veterans were far less shy of outright hostility. Brigadier Francisco Xavier Cabanes, for example, wrote at the end of the war to contradict the writings of General Duhesme and argue for the 'extraordinary valour' of the Spanish troops, also dismissing the reliability of French authors in general:

[10] M. Lyons, *Readers and Society in Nineteenth-Century France: Workers, Women, Peasants* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 48.
[11] Petiteau, *Napoléon,* p. 106.
[12] A.-A. de Vanssay, *Fragments de mémoires inédits écrits en 1817 sous le titre de 'Souvenirs Militaires d'un Officier de Dragons pendant les Campagnes de la Grande Armée des Années 1804 à 1811, Armée d'Espagne'* (Mortagne: Danpoley, 1864), p. 99.
[13] J.-S. Vivien, *Souvenirs de Ma Vie Militaire (1792-1822)*, ed. E. Martin (Paris: Hachette, 1905), p. 666.
[14] J. A. Martínez Martín, *Lectura y lectores en el Madrid del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991), pp. 271-272.

> Las relaciones francesas y en especial las del general Duhesme no contienen palabra de verdad, y el lector admirará en ellas la ciencia de mentir que tienen los franceses, la que no ha contribuido poco al logro de sus designios.[15]

To Cabanes, in other words, French accounts operated with systematic bias that threatened to warp the record of the achievements of their enemies. Andriani, meanwhile, attacked General Suchet, dismissing his memoir of 1828 as partial, political and egotistical, accusing him of having exaggerated the strength of the garrison of Sagunto in order to explain away French losses during the first few failed attacks.[16] This criticism was equally directed at the Count of Toreno, who had drawn a lot of his facts from Suchet's interpretation.[17] Toreno, however, did not change his account of the battle in later editions, which reminds us of the limits that existed to the authority of veterans' writings, if not to their sense of initiative.[18]

Veterans criticized the works of historians (and sometimes other veterans), therefore, largely because these works were perceived as incomplete or inaccurate. Often, their objections were small-scale: the author in question had wrongly marginalized the role of the veteran's old regiment in their account of a particular siege, for example, or repeated an allegedly inaccurate battle report. However, there was also recurring criticism targeted at historians based on the simple fact that they were not veterans themselves, and were therefore not qualified to judge the past actions of other military men, or were ill-equipped to imagine the reality of war. A sense often emerged from veterans' writings that there was a deeper 'logic' to war which only those who had carried it out could understand, usually underpinned by references to works of military theory. Indeed, perhaps one of the reasons that there were fewer complaints levelled against the leading historians of the day by British soldiers was that one of the dominant and best-selling historical works of the time in Britain was written by a Peninsular War veteran (though not a memoir-writer), Sir William Napier, to whose influence on the narrative of the war we shall return later.[19] In another, much less widely known case, however, a group of Spanish soldiers also put the idea that they were innately more qualified to write the history of

---

[15] F. X. Cabanes, *Historia de las operaciones del exército de Cataluña. En la guerra de la Usurpacion, campaña primera* (Barcelona: Brusi, 1815 [Tarragona: 1809]), p. 8.
[16] Andriani, *Memoria*, pp. 21-22.
[17] Andriani, *Memoria*, p. 6.
[18] A. Gil Novales, 'Andriani y Escoffett, Luis María (1773-1856)', *MCN Biografías* (2011-), (http://www.mcnbiografias.com/app-bio/do/show?key=andriani-y-escoffett-luis-maria, accessed 21 Dec. 2015).
[19] O. Anderson, 'The Political Uses of History in Mid Nineteenth-Century England', *Past & Present* 36 (Apr., 1967), p. 91.

the war to the test, collaborating on a government-funded project run exclusively by military men.

ii. The Military Commission for History

It was Spanish memoirs which were the most urgently preoccupied with the need to preserve the history of the Peninsular War, and it was in Spain that soldiers made the first major attempt to write this history. This attempt was spearheaded by a lieutenant colonel hailing from a small, rural Catalonian noble family, who served in the Army of Catalonia in the first years of the war and later participated in the reinforcement of the lines of Torres Vedras in Portugal.[20] Francisco Xavier Cabanes was also a prolific writer and translator who was admitted to the Academia de Buenas Letras in Barcelona in 1816.[21] Between 1809 and 1816, he worked with 'almost obsessive interest' to plan, research and write the first official history of the war, both individually and as part of a collective effort.[22] The details of these efforts highlight a clear example of the dual role played by some veterans as both soldier and historian of war. At the same time, they show an unusual mass mobilisation of officers in the collaborative writing of history, working with remarkable independence within certain limits. Finally, this case study offers proof of the direct influence soldiers-as-historians sometimes had upon the historiography of the Peninsular War, even decades afterwards.

One year after war broke out in Spain, Cabanes started work on an ambitious account of the campaigns of the Catalonian army, publishing a first draft of his plans for the book in a pamphlet entitled *Historia de las operaciones del exército de Cataluña* (1809). His intention, clear from the detailed table of contents in this pamphlet which broke down each campaign into periods, each with three or four chapters, was to write a multi-volume work with a full chronological reach: in sum, roughly fifty-four chapters covering seven years of movements in painstaking detail.[23] By 1815, however, when the pamphlet was reprinted, Cabanes had only

[20] E. Canales, 'Militares y civiles en la conducción de la Guerra de la Independencia: La visión de Francisco Javier Cabanes', in J. A. Armillas Vicente (ed.), *La Guerra de la Independencia. Estudios,* 2 vols (Zaragoza: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2001), vol. 2, pp. 956-957, 961.
[21] For example, F. J. Cabanes, *Campaña de Portugal en 1810 y 1811, traduci da del frances al castellano y aumentada con varias notas por el Brigadier D. Francisco Xavier de Cabanes* (Madrid: Collado, 1815); idem, *Estados de la organización y fuerza de los ejércitos españoles beligerantes en la Península, durante la guerra de España contra Bonaparte* (Barcelona: Viuda & Hijos de Antonio Brusi, 1822).
[22] Canales, 'Militares y civiles', p. 966.
[23] Cabanes, *Historia*, p. 4.

completed the four periods from the year 1808, and wrote with uncertainty about the need to obtain various documents and fill gaps in his current knowledge.[24]

Despite these setbacks, Cabanes' vision seems to have remained strong. In the incomplete *Historia* (1815), he enthusiastically laid out his opinions on how military history should be written, advising the inclusion of not only the facts of what had happened, but also the motives inducing generals to act, analysis of these actions against accepted military 'maxims' (drawn both from experience and from the writings of famous theorists), and counterfactuals indicating how else these could have been done. At the same time, he complained of the lack of historical work so far undertaken to record the operations of the various Spanish armies, lamenting that many great acts would thus be lost:

> ... no hay un monumento que eternize las hazañas de nuestros hermanos, ni una memoria que nos conserve las lecciones que á costa de su sangre tuvimos lugar de obtener. Pérdid irreparable, debida á la ignorancia de aquel tiempo, y que la posteridad llorará amargamente![25]

The dispatches already published by commanders he viewed as of little value, being brief and never impartial, yet he urged other distinguished officers to publish any diaries they had kept, arguing that 'el militar como el magistrado y el político debe à su patria sus conocimientos.'[26] Military memoirs, in fact, were not only important to national memory but also to military efficiency, and France owed its success to the fact that officers wrote useful histories of the armies after each war, meaning that areas for improvement and reform were easily identifiable. Should Spain copy this strategy, it was implied, it might begin to rival its greatest enemy in the future.[27]

Although Cabanes declared himself a 'novicio en esta especie de trabajo' in the introduction to this early, ambitious work, he had clearly poured hours of planning into a project which in the end grew too large for him alone, and in this early draft we can discern the beginnings of what might be called a correspondence network among veterans.[28] One copy of the *Historia* held by the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, for instance, contains extracts from a pamphlet written by another Spanish officer in response to an early printing of Cabanes' work. Cabanes

[24] Cabanes, *Historia*, p. 3.
[25] Cabanes, *Historia,* pp. 9, 11.
[26] Cabanes, *Historia*, p. 9.
[27] Cabanes, *Historia,* p. 10.
[28] Cabanes, *Historia,* p. 7.

himself seems to have been delighted to find out about it, and particularly encouraged other military men to send him their observations on any of the periods covered.[29] Traces of the same informal networks are found scattered through French memoirs, particularly through the arteries of regimental communities. Vivien, for example, included in his memoirs a long description of conversations between the military surgeons Larrey and Blaise and the brigade commander Schwitter, who was wounded with a gangrenous leg in late 1813, and stated that this information had been obtained not from the famous memoirs of the two doctors, but from a 'Monsieur Bourgeois', Schwitter's aide-de-camp, in Paris in 1814 – this Bourgeois being an old friend from Vivien's regiment.[30] The infantry captain Nicolas Marcel also incorporated stories of the mistreatment of prisoners in Portugal that he claimed to have heard from a friend, 'Depontailler', who retired to Loches in Touraine after the war.[31]

In 1816, sallying forth again with renewed vigour, Cabanes released a new plan for the writing of a comprehensive military history, and this time he did not plan to do it alone. The *Memoria acerca del modo de escribir la historia militar de la ultima Guerra entre España y Francia* (1816) was not strictly an autobiographical memoir, but it provides a fascinating example of the potential activity of veterans in agitating for control over the writing of history.[32] The slim octavo-sized booklet, sold bound in a grey-blue paper cover, contained thirty-six close-printed pages and two large foldout plans, setting out the soldier's detailed preparations for the setting up of a commission of military men to write a full history of the war.[33] Cabanes had thought deeply about the material and commercial aspects of publishing as well as the contents of the book. The *Memoria* included chapters outlining which documents and data would be needed, and how to obtain them, rules for the formation of the Commission that would lead the writing of the history, arguments for the creation of an office space dedicated to the Commission, and the need for its work to be scrupulously revised before publication, plans for the means of publishing the history, and how the money could be raised without burdening the Treasury, and even musings about how the funds that proceeded from the sales of the finished history might be invested.

---

[29] Anon., *Observaciones, que hace, sobre la Historia de Cataluña escrita por D. Francisco Xavier Cabanes, un oficial de la division del mando del marques de Lazán comandante general de la vanguardia del exército del expresado principado,* in Cabanes, *Historia*, pp. 281-282, U/8399, Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), Madrid.
[30] Vivien, *Souvenirs,* p. 609.
[31] N. Marcel, *Campagnes du Capitaine Marcel en Espagne et en Portugal (1808-1814),* ed. L. M. A. V. Var (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1913), pp. 121-122.
[32] Cabanes, *Memoria.*
[33] R/61689 and U/8399, BNE.

As in his earlier *Historia,* Cabanes argued that this comprehensive history would serve both the poetic 'clamores de nuestra posteridad' and the practical efficiency of the military administration in the future.[34] It would be a precise and dignified masterpiece, intended far more for the edification of military men and their political contemporaries than for the entertainment of a broader popular audience.[35] Moreover, it would be a history that placed the army fully at the centre of its narrative, with the chronology of the war seen as determined by the campaigns of the various Spanish armies, rather than political change or popular resistance.

In fact, it would be a military history in more than one sense, as Cabanes also argued strongly that it should be written – and financed – by soldiers. Echoing the sentiments of many other veteran writers, he reasoned that the history of a war should only be written by those who understood its trade:

> Así como seria importune encargar la formación de un tratado de liturgia a un economista, y la de un código civil a un teólogo, así sería poco a propósito encargar la formación de la historia de la última guerra a quien no tuviese previos conocimientos militares.[36]

Recognising (with the benefit of hindsight) that the work would be too much for one man, Cabanes suggested that it should be carried out by a commission of six individuals, drawn from different branches of the army: a general officer, a senior officer, and four subalterns, who should all be able to write well, speak English and French, and combine a thorough grounding in military theory with active experience during the war. More generals would then be called in to revise the work before its publication.[37] Money for the printing could perhaps be raised from the Imprenta Real (Cabanes assuming, therefore, that the King would want to support his initiative), but it could also be raised via subscription taken among the army itself, on the promise that each subscriber would receive a finished copy for free.

For many other veterans, as we saw with Andriani above, pet projects such as this would most likely have fallen on deaf ears in the establishment. In Cabanes' case, however, events aligned neatly with an organised attempt to produce a similar history that had been developing in parallel. Early on in the Peninsular War, a sub-department called the Depósito de la Guerra was created within the central Spanish army administration, tasked with collecting information

[34] Cabanes, *Memoria,* pp. 7-8.
[35] Cabanes, *Memoria,* p. 12.
[36] Cabanes, *Memoria,* p.11.
[37] Cabanes, *Memoria,* pp. 23-24, 29.

about the ongoing war. Aside from gathering topographical and logistical information potentially useful in the war effort itself, one of the main aims of the Depósito was to conserve documents for the later study of the period.[38] In 1814, it became part of the Ministry of War, but retained its military exclusivity, with a 'Commission of Chiefs and Officers', not unlike the commission imagined by Cabanes, established by royal decree in 1816 to run its affairs.[39] Around the same time, the Depósito's general collection of information about the various campaigns turned into a concerted effort to gather material for a written history of the war. Cabanes had been named part of the Commission in 1816, and alongside two leading commanders, Antonio Remón Zarco del Valle and Francisco Dionisio Vives, transferred his efforts into compiling data and editing the work in progress.[40]

A huge and rather neglected amount of archival material documenting the process of publishing this history of the war is preserved in the Spanish Archivo Histórico Nacional, much of which is available online. Until 2004, at least, the archive had been 'prácticamente desapercibida para los investigadores', according to one of its archivists.[41] Numerous letters from the years 1816 to 1822 show Cabanes and his colleagues petitioning other Peninsular War officers for reports of their services, descriptions of events, and corrections of facts, as well as large numbers of these officers responding positively, many submitting documents from their personal archives. A list drawn up in late 1816 of all the senior officers who had replied to the official request for information earlier that year included many of the most famous names from the recent war, including Blake, Castaños, Palafox, Ballesteros, Bassecourt, O'Donnell and others.[42] Interestingly, the commissioners also specifically asked commanding officers for reports on the formation and activities of guerrilla *partidas* in their districts, an aspect of the war which, as we shall discuss again further later, was often disparaged by writers from the regular army. In contrast to the common accusation that the *partidas* had been little more than bandits and robbers, the request written by Vives pointed out that 'pues aunque no han sido tropas veteranas

[38] P. Bravo Lledó, 'El Depósito de la Guerra. Documentación en el Archivo Histórico Nacional', *Revista de Historia Militar* 115 (2004), pp. 13-14.
[39] Bravo Lledó, 'El Depósito', p. 18.
[40] Bravo Lledó, 'El Depósito', pp. 25-29.
[41] Bravo Lledó, 'El Depósito', p. 50.
[42] 'Lista, elaborada en el Depósito de la Guerra, de los Generales que contestaron a la Real Orden de 14 de mayo y 11 de junio de 1816 por la que se las pedían datos sobre la época de la Guerra de la Independencia', Diversos-Colecciones, 141, no. 14, Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Madrid.

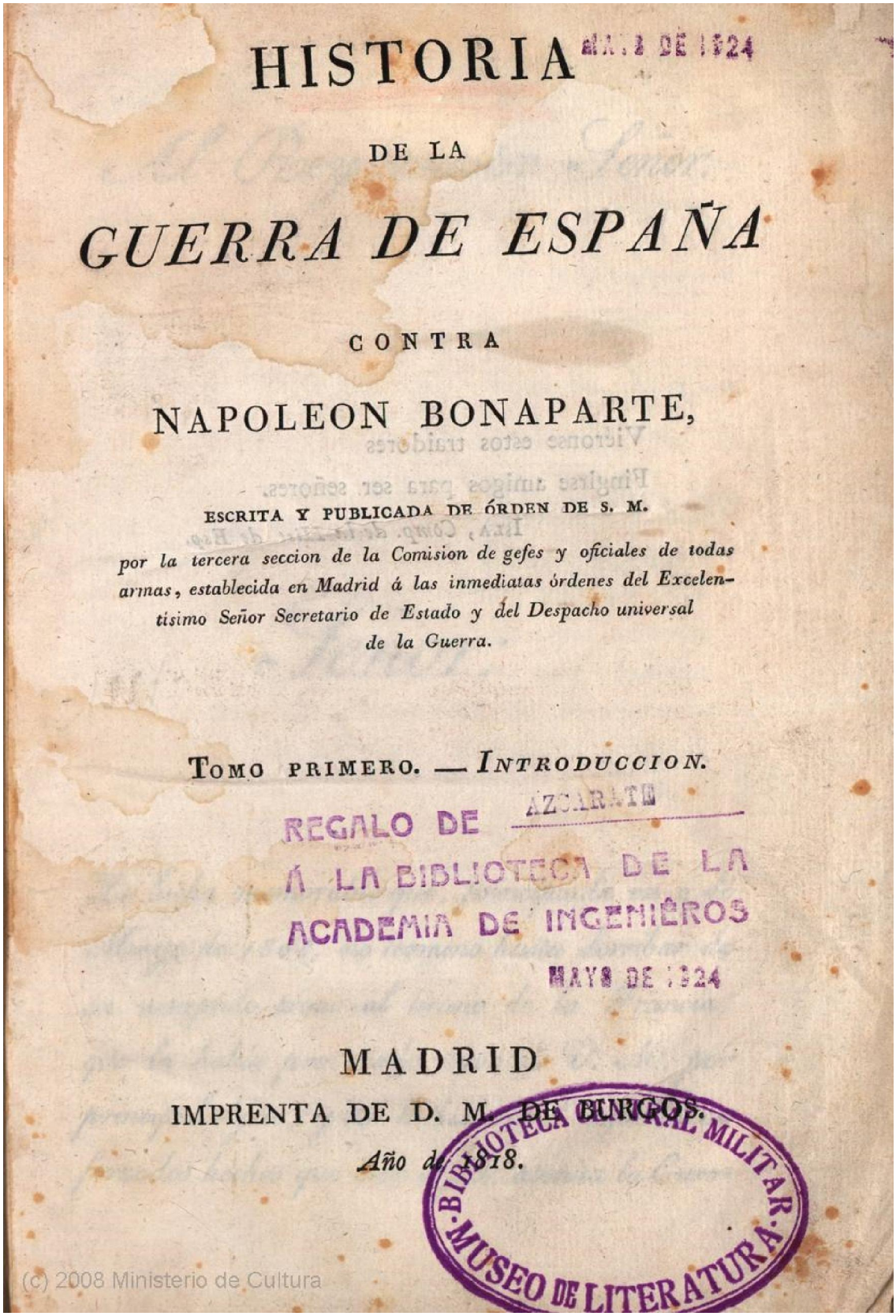
[las partidas] han causado danos considerables á los Enemigos contribuyendo à veces por el conocim.to de sus Gefes y valor de los individuos àl feliz exito de varias acciones.'[43]

Whatever the Commission produced ultimately had to comply with the requirements of the newly restored absolutist monarchy, however, and the manuscript had to be submitted to the censor before it could be published. Upon receiving the censor's favourable report, the king issued a royal order to Cabanes on 5 May 1818, and the first completed volume of the *Historia de la Guerra de España contra Bonaparte,* bearing Cabanes' name, was printed by the Imprenta Real shortly afterwards.[44] José Álvarez Junco has described it as 'the first official history of the war,' and although a second volume was actually never completed, both the work and its principal author had an enduring legacy on Spanish historiography.[45]

Cabanes' own pamphlet from 1809 had been one of the first to use the term 'Guerra de la Independencia', suggesting it as one of several possible names for the ongoing conflict, but ironically he twice decided against using it, both in his later version of the same pamphlet and in the official *Historia de la Guerra* in 1818.[46] He continued to head the Depósito until 1823, it having become an entity in its own right in 1822 and having started to oversee commissions responsible for the writing of histories of other wars.[47] In the 1850s, moreover, a resurgence of interest in the Peninsular War led to the creation of a new commission, which planned to produce a history of the battle of Bailén.[48] Years later, all the material gathered over the years by Cabanes and his successors was used by the soldier-turned-historian José Gómez Arteche for his 14-volume work *Guerra de la Independencia. Historia militar de España (1808-1814),* published between 1868 and 1903.[49]

---

[43] 'Borrador de la circular de 25 de julio de 1816 por la que, la Sección de Jefes y Oficiales encargados de reunir documentos para el estudio de la guerra contra los franceses, solicita a los Capitanes Generales noticias sobre la formación y vicisitudes de las partidas de guerrilla que operaron en sus distritos durante dicha guerra', 25 Jul. 1816, Diversos-Colecciones, 152, no. 28, AHN.
[44] 'Comunicación de la Real Orden para publicar del primer tomo de la "Historia de la Guerra de España contra Bonaparte", una vez pasada la censura', 5 May 1818, Diversos-Colecciones, 87, no. 24, AHN; F. X. Cabanes, *Historia de la Guerra de España contra Napoleón Bonaparte escrita y publicada de orden de S. M. por la tercera sección de la Comisión de jefes y oficiales de todas armas* (Madrid: D.M. de Burgos, 1818).
[45] J. Álvarez Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 97.
[46] Canales, 'Militares y civiles', p. 982.
[47] Bravo Lledó, 'El Depósito,' pp. 18-19.
[48] Bravo Lledó, 'El Depósito', p. 44.
[49] Bravo Lledó, 'El Depósito', p. 49.



HISTORIA

DE LA

GUERRA DE ESPAÑA

CONTRA

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,

ESCRITA Y PUBLICADA DE ÓRDEN DE S. M.

por la tercera seccion de la Comision de gefes y oficiales de todas armas, establecida en Madrid á las inmediatas órdenes del Excelentísimo Señor Secretario de Estado y del Despacho universal de la Guerra.

TOMO PRIMERO. — *INTRODUCCION.*

MADRID

IMPRENTA DE D. M. DE BURGOS.

Año de 1818.

Fig. VIII. Title page of *Historia de la guerra de España contra Napoleón Bonaparte, escrita y publicada de orden de S. M. por la tercera sección de la comisión de gefes y oficiales* (Madrid: M. de Burgos, 1818). Digital version copyright Madrid: Ministerio de la Cultura, 2008, reproduced under Fair Use.

With some significant success, therefore, veteran memoirists actively tried to engage with the formation of a broad historical record. Not only did they want to write the history books themselves, they passionately wanted history to reflect the roles that they and their comrades had played. Nowhere was this more marked than in early nineteenth-century Spain, where the volatility of the political situation caused soldiers to feel a deep sense of worry that if they did not make their own contributions, history might easily march away without them. In France and Britain, by contrast, veterans were more likely to wait longer before publishing their recollections, by which time there were other interpretations of the war already maturing. A great preoccupation with history, however, gripped them all.

It is exceedingly rare, in fact, to find a memoir of whatever style or tone that did not in some way put forward the author's understanding of the meaning of the Peninsular War. While some veterans loudly protested against the interpretations of others, as seen above, many others silently supported or contradicted these interpretations in the body of their texts, through what they chose to name the war, how they described their enemies and allies, and what type of stories they spun of their victories and defeats. Unpicking these threads reveals that veterans subscribed with striking regularity to emerging nationalistic narratives of the war, with authors from Britain, France and Spain telling very different sides of the same story.

iii. The Roots of National Historiographies

The war as told by British veterans

To an onlooker from an earlier epoch, the alliance between Britain and Spain during the Peninsular War would have come as quite a surprise. The two had been arch-enemies for centuries, fierce rivals in imperial expansion, naval power and religion, and little had really changed by 1808. A perfunctory alliance made at the outbreak of the French Revolutionary Wars soon ended when Spain made peace with France and changed sides. Barely three years before the start of the Peninsular War, moreover, British ships destroyed the bulk of the Spanish

fleet off the coast of Trafalgar – something that the ex-cadet, writer, and statesman Antonio Alcalá Galiano looked back upon bitterly in his memoirs.[50]

At the same time, the dawn of the nineteenth century was witnessing a gradual change in British public and political perceptions of Spain, spearheaded by a renewal of scholarly interest in Spanish literature and culture. As both Graciela Iglesias Rogers and Diego Saglia have argued, the 'rediscovery' of the country as the birthplace of Romanticism captivated many British poets and writers, who imagined an idealised version of Spain where the people were animated by the martial heroism of El Cid, and Cervantes' emblematic characters really lived and breathed.[51] News of the outbreak of war increased this fascination, and modern reality merged with a romanticised fictional past. As Walter Scott wrote rapturously in a letter in June 1808, 'to have all the places mentioned in *Don Quixote* and *Gil Blas* now the scenes of real and important events […] sounds like history in the land of romance.'[52] Britain's intervention in Spain and Portugal, however, was also a controversial subject in military, political and economic terms. The war became a prominent topic of debate far beyond literary circles, and from the pubs to the houses of Parliament, people were eager to discuss it.[53]

Despite blossoming Romantic interpretations of Spain, contemporary British perceptions of the country remained somewhat ambiguous. As Saglia has underlined, 'figurations of Spain cross the whole spectrum of attitudes to difference, for British culture apprehended this country either as a familiar, European geography or as a relatively unknown place, half-African and half-Eastern; an ally or a dangerously Francophile country; an invaded nation or a strategically situated land still controlling a large colonial empire.'[54] Following on from this, we can identify several key strands in representations of Spain, all of which were Anglocentric and tended to reduce Spain's agency, alternately seen as a victim, an opportunity, or an abstract question of political philosophy.

A victim narrative, for example, was visible through the popular vignette of invaded Spain as a lady in distress, or the frequent use of the term 'the Spanish cause' early in the war. Both provoked sympathy for Spain but also relegated it to a largely passive role, with France (the

[50] Alcalá Galiano, *Recuerdos*, pp. 27-40.
[51] G. Iglesias Rogers, *British liberators in the age of Napoleon: volunteering under the Spanish flag in the Peninsular War* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 95; D. Saglia, *Poetic Castles in Spain: British Romanticism and Figurations of Iberia* (Amsterdam & Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 54-59.
[52] qu. Saglia, *Poetic Castles,* p. 57.
[53] Saglia, *Poetic Castles,* p. 10.
[54] Saglia, *Poetic Castles,* pp. 61-62.

evil aggressor) and Britain (the noble saviour) cast as the real protagonists.[55] Indeed, restoration of Spanish independence was not the end goal for British observers. Instead, the war was widely seen as an opportunity to fulfil broader objectives, chief among them the defeat of Napoleon in Europe. This, at least, was the opinion of an article in *The Morning Post* in November 1810, alongside the first recorded use of the term 'Peninsular War.'[56] Spain, in this sense, was just another campaign among many, a strategic setting for combat against the French. As the British name for the war betrayed, though, it was also seen as an opportunity in an imperial sense. Not only did Spain still have a vast colonial empire full of trading prospects for British merchants, but the 'peninsula' also provided a geographical point of great strategic importance for British control over the Mediterranean.[57]

Echoes of this imperial mindset reverberated in the memoirs written by British veterans, who often made detailed observations on the agriculture, landscape and natural defences of the country in which they had fought, perhaps implicitly highlighting the potential for greatness under proper management.[58] A war that became widely remembered in Spain as a climactic moment of national patriotic sentiment, therefore, was conversely seen by their allies as a rather British affair. After all, it involved the largest number of troops committed to a war on European soil for over a century.[59] It was the war that cemented Wellington's career and catapulted him to domestic stardom long before Waterloo – and it produced the first victories scored against the *Grande Armée* in many long years of struggle, culminating in a long-awaited and successful invasion of France.

Spain, meanwhile, served as a theatre in more ways than one. Not only a martial proving ground for the 'boys in red', it was also seized upon by British commentators as the perfect laboratory for the testing of fashionable political theories. The pro-Napoleonic followers of William Roscoe, for example, used it to put forward their argument for pacificism, while the Foxite Whigs based at Holland House painted the war as an ideological clash between the 'forces of progress' and the conservatism of the past.[60] Reading stories of the popular uprisings in Spain, many British onlookers argued that the Spanish people were attempting to free themselves from

[55] Saglia, *Poetic Castles,* p. 34; Iglesias Rogers, *British liberators,* p. 43.
[56] qu. Iglesias Rogers, p. 57.
[57] Saglia, *Poetic Castles,* pp. 11, 23.
[58] Saglia, *Poetic Castles,* pp. 38-40.
[59] K. Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army: Recruitment, Society and Tradition, 1807-15* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 16-17, 128-129.
[60] Saglia, *Poetic Castles,* pp. 10, 26.

the oppressive yoke of the absolutist *ancien régime*, and thus transitioning towards a nicely British version of political liberty.[61] As Saglia has underlined, the same observations were repeated during the Carlist civil wars of 1833 onward, squashing together the myriad individual political, social and religious reasons for fighting under the label of liberty versus repression.[62] Such homogeneity was a central characteristic of British descriptions of Spain: as Saglia writes, both pro- and anti-Napoleonic commentators tended to portray 'a shared idea of Spain as a homogeneous culture and its people motivated by unanimous feelings,' and this shared idea was often quite a negative one.[63] Ultimately, old stereotypes of Spanish laziness, backwardness, superstition and pride had not been dispelled by the influence of Romanticism, but merely recast as exotic and interesting.

One particularly influential contemporary interpretation of the war came from William Napier, a Peninsular veteran himself, in his best-selling, six-volume *History of the War in the Peninsula and the South of France,* first published in 1828. It was written in rich, persuasive prose, and drew upon several authoritative sources, including the correspondence of Joseph Bonaparte, captured at the battle of Vitoria and loaned to Napier by Wellington. Napier argued that the war was caused by Spanish despotism, superstition, and backwardness; that the Spanish armies were 'disjointed and ineffectual'; that the initial popular uprising soon subsided into lethargy; and that the guerrilla *partidas* did little more than commit grave atrocities upon French troops and be 'as oppressive to the people as the enemy.'[64] Instead, victory was entirely due to the skill of the British commanders, the valour of the Anglo-Portuguese troops, and the plentiful supplies sent from England in support of Spain.[65]

It was an interpretation which resonated strongly in the writings of British veterans. Thoroughly negative portrayals of the Spanish army abounded, with denunciations of their discipline, appearance, misplaced arrogance and total ineffectiveness in battle. For example, as Joseph Donaldson wrote at length:

> Their soldiers are complete scare-crows (I speak of them as I found them in every part of Spain), badly clothed, ill paid, badly fed, and worse officered. There could not be imagined a more

[61] Iglesias Rogers, *British liberators,* p. 15.
[62] Saglia, *Poetic Castles,* p. 12.
[63] Saglia, Poetic Castles, p. 10.
[64] W. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the year 1807 to the year 1814*, 6 vols (London: John Murray, 1828), vol. 1, pp. ix-xi.
[65] Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula,* pp. ix-xii.

> barbarous-looking grotesque assemblage of men in the world than a Spanish regular regiment. No two men are dressed alike – one wants shoes, another a coat, another has a slip of blanket, with a hole cut in the middle, and his head thrust through it, a lapel hanging before and another behind, some with uniform caps, others with *monteras*. It is a rare thing to find one of them with his accoutrements complete; and their arms are kept in such order that, if brought into action, the half of them would be useless. On the march they have no regularity – just like a flock of sheep; and such chattering, and *caraco demonio-ing* amongst them, that you would take it for the confusion of tongues at Babel![66]

Similar sentiments echoed in the memoirs of junior officers George Gleig and Moyle Sherer, who both particularly concentrated on the fact of the Spanish being 'miserably officered' and thus chaotic and directionless.[67]

From the British perspective, the alliance with the Spanish army was an unnecessary and bothersome one, and it took up much more page space in veterans' memoirs than the Portuguese army, which tended to merit very little comment at all. Given that much of the veterans' criticism of the Spanish regulars was based on their lack of adherence to British military ideals, the comparative silence towards the Portuguese can perhaps be explained by the fact that these regiments were considered to have met these ideals, having been trained by Marshall Beresford in Lisbon and incorporated into the main British army under British officers. When Gleig made a rare mention of the Portuguese troops, for example, it was to praise them for their similarity to his own troops:

> By the Portuguese [the French] were met with as much gallantry, and in as good order, as they would have been met by ourselves; towards the close of the war, indeed, the Portuguese infantry were inferior to none in the world. From the Spaniards, on the contrary, they received no very determined opposition…[68]

The emblem of a regular, disciplined and polished British army lay at the heart of British veterans' historical interpretations of the war. They did on occasion admire the spirit of the Spanish citizens who resisted Napoleon, but emphasised that they had done so with defiance,

---

[66] J. Donaldson, *Recollections of an Eventful Life chiefly passed in the army, by a soldier,* 2nd edn (Glasgow: W. R. McPhun, 1825), pp. 175-176.
[67] For example, G. Gleig, *The Subaltern* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1825), pp. 64, 100, 352, 370; M. Sherer, *Recollections of the Peninsula, by the author of Sketches of India,* 2nd edn (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1824), pp. 54, 95-96, 182.
[68] Gleig, *Subaltern,* p. 294.

courage and selflessness rather than skill.[69] In contrast to Napier, they sometimes made great tributes to the guerrilla bands for their work in menacing and distracting the numerically superior French army, but depicted them as figures of Romantic legend: wild, unruly bandits who bore little resemblance to the carefully martialled divisions portrayed on the other side by chiefs such as Espoz y Mina and Serrano Valdenebro.[70] They paid lip service to the idea of a Spanish 'people's war' that was growing in Spain and beyond, but ultimately argued that it had been the British army that had achieved the victories – and borne all the losses.

As a result, it was the ineffectual, arrogant and heavily stereotyped Spaniards who appeared as the real enemies in British accounts, while their opponents on the battlefield, Napoleon's French army, were generally described with praise and respect. British memoirs contained numerous expressions of admiration for their opponents' valour in battle and anecdotes of fraternisation between the lines. This phenomenon has been recognised in several studies of British and French memoirs of the Peninsular War, and was common to both sides.[71] It has also been noted, though perhaps not emphasised enough, that it is most noticeable in the memoirs of officers, whose rank afforded them entrance into an enduring eighteenth-century convention of supranational sociability and respect.[72] As John A. Lynn has suggested, even during the Napoleonic Wars, 'elite officers had more in common with their counterparts in another, even enemy, army than they had with the plebeian rank-and-file soldiers under their command', and this sense of commonality 'engendered more even-handed treatment.'[73] Very few veterans of any rank, though, expressed anything remotely approaching the bitter hatred of the French that Linda Colley has famously argued to have been the bedrock of an emerging British nationalism during the Napoleonic wars.[74]

---

[69] Sherer, *Recollections,* p. 50.
[70] Sherer, *Recollections,* pp. 182, 188; Gleig, *Subaltern,* pp. 220-221.
[71] G. Daly, 'A dirty, indolent, priest-ridden city: British soldiers in Lisbon during the Peninsular War, 1808-1813', *History* 94, 316 (Oct., 2009), pp. 469, 478, 482; L. Montroussier, 'Français et Britanniques dans la Péninsule, 1808-1814: étude des mémoires français et britanniques', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 348 (Apr.-Jun., 2007), pp. 132-133.
[72] Montroussier, 'Français et Britanniques', p. 133.
[73] J. A. Lynn, 'Introduction: Honourable Surrender in Early Modern European History', in H. Afflerbach and H. Strachan (eds.), *How Fighting Ends: A History of Surrender* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 109-110.
[74] L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

The war in French accounts

Across the Channel, the silence directed towards ordinary veteran experiences was even louder. In 1815, the return of the Bourbon monarchy had sparked an explosion of ultra-royalist, anti-Napoleonic feeling, with many leading army officers tried or executed, and lynch mobs massacring soldiers in the south of France. This period of 'White Terror' was followed by a consolidation of royalist political power and an uneasy transition period for the thousands of surviving *Grande Armée* soldiers who now found themselves dismissed or on inactive duty. It was certainly not the best time to start commemorating the deeds of the Imperial army, and as Natalie Petiteau has convincingly shown, the regime instead pursued an official policy of 'forgetting', which would endure in some measure long into the nineteenth century.[75] In the 1830s and 1840s, for example, the July Monarchy gingerly re-appropriated some of the symbolism of French military glory, but continued to prevent official gatherings among veterans. It was only by the midpoint of the century that Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, rising to political power largely on the strength of his name, allowed veterans a new level of national attention, culminating in the awarding of a special medal for their services in the Napoleonic campaigns in 1857. By this point, of course, as in Britain, their numbers had shrunk dramatically.

The 103 French memoirs of the Peninsular War published over the course of the century (39 before the *Médaille de Sainte-Hélène* in 1857) were therefore written against the tide in the sense that they were the voices of a group largely muted in the political arena. Like their British counterparts, though, they too subscribed in part to many of the grander historical narratives of the time, from an old belief in the superiority of French civilisation to more recent denunciations of Napoleon's actions. At the same time, emphasis on the past glories of the French army was common, but neither this nor the classic chronology of great men and big battles were actually central to their writings. Instead, French veterans' memoirs were dominated by descriptions of the 'other war', the daily struggle for survival in a hostile country.

Marginal on the route for European travellers before 1808, Spain was a subject of general ignorance for most people in France, and for many of the French veterans who arrived there at the start of the war. A study by Louis Trenard has shown that information from Spain circulated

[75] N. Petiteau, *Lendemains d'Empire: les soldats de Napoléon dans la France du XIXe siècle* (Paris: La Boutique de l'Histoire, 2003), p. 16.

very poorly in pre-revolutionary France, and did not stir up much public interest. The Romantic revival of scholarly interest in Spain that reverberated through late eighteenth-century Britain echoed less strongly in France: the journal *L'Espagne littéraire,* for example, failed in 1774 for lack of readership.[76] Instead, long-established 'black legend' perceptions persisted of Spain as 'attardée, indolente, marginale dans l'Europe des lumières', and during the Revolution several deputies made speeches encouraging the poor and unenlightened populace to follow the French example and remove the Bourbon kings to achieve 'régénération.'[77] Moreover, imperial censorship during the Peninsular War made efforts to maintain a pejorative image of Spain with repetition of the same clichés of superstition, poverty and backwardness.[78]

As in the British case, French veterans repeated many of these negative stereotypes in their memoirs. Spain was an incredibly backward country: 'plus d'un siècle en arrière des autres états du continent', as one officer put it.[79] Spanish people were dirty, lazy, lived in dark, crumbling, flea-infested houses without beds, believed fanatically in their priests (who more often than not were lascivious and disreputable), and ultimately lacked the humanity and refinement that had made France great.[80] Where French writers' comments were positive, they usually conformed to further stereotypes (such as beautiful, exotic women and proud men), or were made in the interested anthropological tone of a traveller visiting some distant and mysterious land.[81]

The Spanish army was treated with equal condescension in French memoirs, when it was mentioned at all. The Spanish were 'un peuple religieux et guerrier, mais non pas militaire,'

---

[76] L. Trenard, 'Images de l'Espagne dans la France napoléonienne', in G. Dufour (ed.), *Les Espagnols et Napoléon: actes du colloque international d'Aix-en-Provence, 13, 14, 15 octobre 1983* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1984), p. 185.

[77] H. Kamen, *Imagining Spain: Historical Myth and National Identity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. xiii; Trenard, 'Images de l'Espagne', pp. 185-186.

[78] Trenard, 'Images de l'Espagne', p. 190.

[79] A. de Rocca, *Mémoires sur la Guerre des Français en Espagne, par M. de Rocca, officier de hussards et chevalier de l'ordre de la légion d'honneur,* 2nd edn (Paris: Gide fils & H. Nicolle, 1814), p. 5.

[80] J.-R. Coignet, *Aux Vieux de la Vieille! Souvenirs de Jean-Roch Coignet, soldat de la 96e demi-brigade, soldat et sous-officier au 1er régiment des grenadiers à pied de la garde, vaguemestre du petit et du grand quartier impérial, capitaine d'état-major en retraite, premier cavalier de la légion-d'honneur, officier du même ordre,* 2 vols (Auxerre: Perriquet, 1851), vol. 1, p. 81; S. Blaze, *Mémoires d'un Apothicaire sur l'Espagne, pendant les Guerres de 1808 à 1814,* ser. *Mémoires Contemporains* (Paris: Ladvocat, 1828), vol. 1, pp. 9-10; E. Blaze, *La Vie Militaire sous l'Empire, ou Moeurs de la Garnison, du Bivouac et de la Caserne, par E. Blaze, Auteur du Chasseur au Chien d'arrêt,* 2 vols (Paris: Moutardier/Desforges, 1837), vol. 1, pp. 140-142, 248-249.

[81] D. C. Parquin, *Souvenirs et Campagnes d'un Vieux Soldat de l'Empire, par un capitaine de la Garde Impériale, ex-officier de la légion d'honneur, aujourd'hui détenu politique à la citadelle de Doullens, avec portrait de l'auteur,* 2 vols (Paris: Administration de la Librairie, 1843), vol. 1, pp. 225-226; Blaze, *Mémoires d'un Apothicaire,* pp. 50-51; Vanssay, *Fragments,* pp. 7, 5; J.-L.-S. Hugo, *Mémoires du Général Hugo, précédé des mémoires du Général Aubertin,* in *Collection des Mémoires des Maréchaux de France et des Généraux français,* 4 vols (Paris: Ladvocat, 1823), vol. 2, pp. 39-40.

wrote the cavalry officer Albert de Rocca; 'ils détestaient et méprisaient même tout ce qui tenait aux troupes de ligne; aussi manquaient-ils de bons officiers, de sous-officiers et de tous les moyens qui constituent une armée bien réglée.'[82] Consequently, their hastily-assembled, undertrained army was so far beneath French military standards that it was barely an opponent at all, and the victory it won over the until-then undefeated French army at Bailén in 1808 was a freak accident, a matter of miscommunications and delays rather than military superiority.[83] Outrage and scorn over this unexpected early defeat was balanced occasionally by a hint of pity for the ranks of raw, terrified Spanish recruits, with the dragoon officer Auguste-Alexandre de Vanssay stating that they were hardly worth doing harm to.[84]

French authors sharpened this contrast by emphasising the greatness and glory of the *Grande Armée,* especially its achievements in Germany in the years before the war in Spain. Veterans often underlined the daring, heroism and sang-froid of French troops in battle, revelling in its achievements without making too much mention of its controversial leader or the political costs of the wars.[85] They were also willing to praise the valour of their British enemies, however, including paying occasional tribute to the courage of the Portuguese regiments within the ranks.[86] Some writers, especially officers, even claimed to recognise a shared light-heartedness in their English opponents, or testified to having received kind and civilised treatment from English captors.[87] One small dissenting voice came from the memoirs of Jean-Roch Coignet, a conscript who had risen through the ranks to become part of Napoleon's Old Guard, who noted the devastation wrought upon Spanish villages by the British army's plundering.[88] In general, though, French writers reflected their British counterparts by focussing their enmity and distaste on the Spanish army, rather than each other.

However, some French veterans did express doubts about the legitimacy of their own presence in Spain. This was particularly true of writers with royalist rather than Bonapartist leanings, or a long career in the Restoration army, such as Vanssay, Rogniat, Langlois, and Gouvion Saint-

---

[82] Rocca, *Mémoires,* p. 68.
[83] Blaze, *Mémoires d'un Apothicaire,* pp. 58-61; D. H. A. M. de Vedel, *Précis des Opérations Militaires en Espagne, pendant les mois de Juin et de Juillet 1808, avant la capitulation du Général en Chef Dupont, à Baylen et Andujar ; suivi de pièces justificatives* (Paris: Gueffier, 1823), pp. vi-vii.
[84] Vanssay, *Fragments,* p. 18.
[85] J. Rogniat, *Relation des sièges de Saragosse et Tortose par les Français, dans la dernière Guerre d'Espagne. Par M. le Baron Rogniat, lieutenant-Général du Génie* (Paris: Magimel, 1814), pp. 6, 28, 59, 66-67; Vedel, *Précis des Opérations Militaires,* p. 33; Hugo, *Mémoires du Général Hugo,* vol. 2, p. 12.
[86] Blaze, *Mémoires d'un Apothicaire,* p.78; P.-F. Guingret, *Relation historique et militaire de la campagne de Portugal, sous le Maréchal Masséna, Prince d'Essling* (Limoges: Bargeas, 1817), p. 29.
[87] Guingret, *Relation historique et militaire,* p. 42; Blaze, *Mémoires d'un Apothicaire,* pp. 92-93.
[88] Coignet, *Aux Vieux de la Vieille!,* vol. 2, p. 5.

Cyr. Some articulated their distaste for the war in the Peninsula in plain terms, with Vanssay labelling it 'une usurpation inutile,' while others criticised Napoleon's greed and ambition, blaming him for the sacrifices made by French soldiers in the fruitless Peninsular campaign.[89] Others blurred the narrative of French military glory in their accounts by also paying tribute to the determined resistance by ordinary Spanish people defending towns under French siege, especially Zaragoza. Staff officer André d'Audebard de Férussac, for instance, wrote admiringly in one of the earliest French accounts of the war of 'la force morale qui anime toute cette armée et chaque habitant de la ville' and stated that the Spanish had defended the first attack with 'une constance et une valeur admirable.'[90] Lieutenant-General Rogniat described the siege of Zaragoza as a momentous historical event on par with the great Roman sieges of Saguntum and Numantia, citing 'la constance et l'opiniâtre bravoure des deux partis', while Rocca emphasised 'la noble et longue résistance du peuple espagnol' throughout the war.[91]

Yet for the majority of French veterans who wrote memoirs, the campaign in the Peninsula had been no ordinary war. In fact, it had been an entirely different type of war to that which they had experienced in Germany in the years preceding, for example, and the participation of ordinary Spanish people, sometimes praised but in the vast majority of cases bitterly bemoaned, was the central reason for this. 'Je me trouvai ainsi à portée de comparer deux genres de guerre absolument différens;' wrote Rocca on the opening page of his memoir, 'la guerre des troupes réglées qui s'intéressent peu d'ordinaire à l'objet de la querelle qu'elles soutiennent, et la guerre de résistance qu'une nation peut s'opposer à des armées de ligne conquérantes.'[92] In Germany, the French had fought regular troops of the line; once the government had surrendered, the fighting was over, and the population quiet and compliant. In Spain, by contrast, there was no government to overhaul: a French king already sat upon the throne, and the country was up in arms against him.[93] It was the experience of having to fight this other war, this unceasing and uncertain one against enemies who wore no uniform, knew the alien countryside intimately, vastly outnumbered the occupying troops, and had a much more personal, ideological stake in

[89] Vanssay, *Fragments,* p. 60; J.-C. Langlois, *Voyage pittoresque et militaire en Espagne, Catalogne* (Paris : Engelmann, [1826-30]), p. 6; L. de Gouvion Saint-Cyr, *Journal des Opérations de l'Armée de Catalogne, en 1808 et 1809, sous le commandement du Général Gouvion Saint-Cyr, ou Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Guerre d'Espagne, par le Maréchal Gouvion Saint-Cyr* (Paris: Anselin et Pochard, 1821), p. 26.
[90] A.-E.-J.-P.-J.-F. d'Audebard de Férussac, *Extrait du journal de mes campagnes en Espagne, contenant un coup d'oeil général sur l'Andalousie, une dissertation sur Cadix et sur son île, une relation historique du siège de Saragosse* (Paris: F. Buisson, 1812), pp. 24, 15.
[91] Rogniat, *Relation des sièges,* pp. iii-iv; Rocca, *Mémoires,* p. 278.
[92] Rocca, *Mémoires,* p. 1.
[93] Rocca, *Mémoires,* pp. 2-5.

victory than the conscripts and career officers who opposed them, which most preoccupied French writers, and this set their memoirs markedly apart from their British counterparts.

Unlike the British, French veterans argued that the popular uprising in Spain had been real, extensive, and the main cause of their malaises in the war. Several writers attributed the strength of popular resistance to a kind of patriotic religious fanaticism, propagated by corrupt monks who feared losing their privileges under French administrative rule.[94] Pejorative religious imagery was common, with French writers describing Spaniards marching against them, 'le crucifix d'une main et le poignard de l'autre, portant le scapulaire sur la poitrine et l'enfer dans le coeur.'[95] Many alleged that they were the targets of a holy war, sanctioned by these monks, who absolved their flocks of any sin if they succeeded in killing a Frenchman. 'Le titre de Français devint alors un crime aux yeux des gens du pays,' wrote the apothecary Sébastien Blaze; 'tout Français qui avait le malheur de sortir de sa retraite tombait sous le fer des assassins. [...] Chacun aspirait à la gloire d'avoir tué un Français; peu lui importait de l'avoir frappé sur le champ de bataille, dans les rues, ou sur le lit de douleur de l'hôpital.'[96]

From townspeople to villagers and peasants and the organised bands of guerrillas who roamed the countryside, cutting off communications, stealing supplies, and intercepting convoys of new recruits, the threat was everywhere, and constant. Practically every French memoir in this study emphasised this, as already discussed in Chapter One.[97] A large part of their aim in doing so was to justify their defeats and losses, with most writers explicitly linking the activities of guerrillas to the difficulties experienced by the French army in recruiting soldiers, holding down outposts, or protecting couriers.[98] As Sébastien Blaze underlined, 'Nous étions maîtres de toutes les villes, de tous les villages sur la route; à cent pas nous ne l'étions plus. C'était une guerre de tous les jours, de toutes les heures; l'escorte était-elle nombreuse, bien commandée, elle ne rencontrait personne sur son passage; le contraire arrivait-il, l'ennemi se présentait de tous côtés: en Espagne on peut dire qu'il était partout et nulle part.'[99]

---

[94] Hugo, *Précis des Opérations Militaires,* vol. 2, pp. 10-11; Coignet, *Aux Vieux de la Vieille!,* vol. 2, p. 4; Rocca, *Mémoires,* p. 8.
[95] Blaze, *Mémoires d'un Apothicaire*, p. 72.
[96] Blaze, *Mémoires d'un Apothicaire*, p. 73.
[97] See for example: Rogniat, *Relation des sièges,* pp. 47-48; Rocca, *Mémoires,* pp. 8, 31; Parquin, *Souvenirs et Campagnes,* pp. 227, 250-251; Coignet, *Aux Vieux de la Vieille!,* vol. 1, p. 82; Blaze, *La Vie Militaire,* vol. 1, p. 125; Guingret, *Relation historique et militaire,* p. 32.
[98] Hugo, *Précis des Opérations Militaires,* vol. 2, pp. 49-50; Blaze, *La Vie Militaire,* vol. 1, p. 137.
[99] Blaze, *La Vie Militaire,* vol. 1, pp. 131-132.

This, then, was the most important argument put forward by French veterans. The history of the war in the Peninsula should not be written as the traditional military history of two regular armies, with action confined to the battlefield and the protagonists clear, but rather as the history of quite a different type of conflict, one between a regular army and an entire nation: 'une guerre nationale', as one veteran put it, rather than 'une guerre méthodique.'[100]

The war in Spanish accounts

The broad picture of the war as seen through Spanish eyes could not have been more different to the visions presented by French and British veterans. Gone were the polished, well-oiled armies, the ambiguity of fraternization between enemy lines, and even much of the emphasis on the activities of the *guerrilla*. Also displaced from the foreground, in fact, was the regular army itself, giving way to idealized depictions of a people's war and a national struggle for independence. Largely following wider trends in the developing and deeply political historiography, veterans spun a grand narrative of Spanish victory against all the odds, writing history with Spain as the leading character, not only saving itself from Napoleonic tyranny but also liberating the rest of Europe.

As in both other countries, of course, the political context had a significant bearing upon the way the history of the Peninsular War (or in this case, the 'War of Independence') was written in Spain. Following the restoration, ongoing fears of further revolution led conservatives and supporters of the monarchy to enlist the study of the past as a protective measure.[101] *Casticismo* became a dominant trend in history and literature, encouraging a political and cultural form of nationalism that idealised the traditions of the past – particularly the heavily romanticised Middle Ages – in order to buttress against possible changes to political structures and popular representation.[102] These changes, of course, were the very reforms for which the liberal faction was busy lobbying. From the deputies of Cortes of Cadiz to the progressive *afrancesados* in exile after the war, liberal politicians and historians created their own fictionalised versions of

[100] Gouvion Saint-Cyr, *Journal des Opérations,* p. vi.
[101] D. Flitter, *Spanish Romanticism and the Uses of History: Ideology and the Historical Imagination* (London: Legenda, 2006), pp. 1, 64.
[102] Flitter, *Spanish Romanticism,* pp. 1-4.

Spain's medieval and early modern past, designed to establish political unity, constitutionalism and the 'fundamental value of freedom' as essential prerequisites for a healthy body politic.[103]

Modesto Lafuente's thirty-volume *Historia general de España* (1850-67) was an influential example of the liberal vision of history, in which Spain had for centuries been dragged from the path of freedom and success constructed by Isabella of Castile in the sixteenth century by the work of 'absolutism', foreign interference, and the Church.[104] According to Henry Kamen's recent study of historical myth, Lafuente's masterpiece remained the standard work until the 1890s, when it competed with the similarly copious *Historia general* (1890-94) edited by the conservative statesman Antonió Cánovas del Castillo.[105] Both liberal and *casticismo* interpretations of the past continued into the twentieth century, sharing an obsession with Spain's early modern 'golden age' and the decline that had supposedly followed, but diverging over the means to reverse this decline.[106]

Within this debate, the Peninsular War occupied a pivotal but undecided role, as it was powerful political ammunition that could not be allowed to fall into the hands of the opposition. While supporters of the Cadiz constitutionalists hailed the war as a victory for liberalism over absolutism, and the occupation of Spain definitive proof of a failed monarchical system, conservative commentators rejected this as a historical 'injustice' requiring correction.[107] Instead, they argued, monarchy and religion had been the inspiration driving those fighting to liberate Spain, and these age-old keystones of Spanish society were the only hope for future stability.[108] It is a debate still ongoing in current historiography.[109]

In the writings of Spanish veterans, too, this debate over the political meaning of the 'War of Independence' spread several ripples, including provoking discussion of the name itself. The conservative and religious interpretation reverberated in a rhetorical pamphlet written by Lino Matías Picado Franco, a Benedictine monk serving as regimental chaplain to a division of light infantry, wherein he acclaimed the conflict as a holy war of vengeance ('nuestra Santa

[103] Kamen, *Imagining Spain,* pp. 5, 7-8.
[104] Kamen, *Imagining Spain,* pp. 7-9.
[105] Kamen, *Imagining Spain,* p. 8.
[106] See both Kamen, *Imagining Spain,* and Flitter, *Spanish Romanticism,* for discussion of this golden age and decline obsession.
[107] Kamen, *Imagining Spain,* pp. xii, 58; Flitter, *Spanish Romanticism,* p. 132.
[108] Flitter, *Spanish Romanticism,* pp. 131-2.
[109] For example, Flitter agrees with Herrero (1971) that religion was an important part of the motivations of the people in the national rising, *Spanish Romanticism,* p. 134.

venganza').[110] A more considered conservative approach was taken by Cabanes who, after a detailed debate in his *Memoria* (1816) about which denomination ought to be given to the war, decided upon 'The War of Usurpation' ('la guerra de la usurpación'), and used this title throughout both his historical works.[111] His reasoning went that the war, having involved many nations rather than just two, had had a greater ideological meaning and historical significance and thus deserved a special name, falling into a long tradition of named wars stretching back to the Roman *Punicias* against Carthage.[112] Moreover, as the spark that ignited the conflict and inflamed Spanish resistance had been Napoleon's breath-taking act of usurpation in placing his brother upon the throne, this ought to be the motif by which the war was remembered. This name had the additional benefit of centring the memory of the war on the person of the king and the idea of monarchical continuity, as did the title 'la Guerra de la Succession' in the clashes started by the death of Carlos II – a comparison Cabanes himself explicitly made.[113]

The options that Cabanes dismissed, meanwhile, highlight the stark difference between the ways in which the war could be understood in Spain in comparison to France and Britain. The French title 'Guerra de España', for example, Cabanes thought totally inadequate for 'la gloriosa lucha, que durante siete campañas, hemos sostenido contra el poder más colossal de los tiempos modernos.'[114] In addition, although he twice used the British phrase 'la guerra de la península' in his writing, he never considered it as a possibility in the chapter dedicated to naming the war.[115] The army, though centre-stage in the structure of his proposed history of the war, retreated to the sidelines when it came to discussions of the war's broader social and political meaning.

While conservatives stressed the enduring importance of the monarchy, liberals portrayed the war as a historically unique event, a revolution that promised a sharp turning point, whether change would be new and modern or return to the original path of a lost golden age. As Colonel Fernando García-Marín wrote in his account of the siege of Zaragoza, 'no ofrece la historia modelo ni exemplar alguno de comparación.'[116] Few veterans, however, exclusively took one

---

[110] L. M. Picado Franco, *Memorias sobre la Reconquista de Zaragoza, conservación de la plaza, y rendición de su castillo por las tropas españolas en julio de 1813* (Madrid: Repullés, 1815), p. i.
[111] Used consistently in his *Historia,* and defended in the *Memoria*, 'Artículo Segundo. Denominacion que debe darse á la ultima guerra, y sus motivos', pp. 13-15.
[112] Cabanes, *Memoria,* pp. 13-14.
[113] Cabanes, *Memoria*, p. 15.
[114] Cabanes, *Memoria,* p. 14.
[115] Cabanes, *Memoria,* p. 15.
[116] F. García-Marín, *Memorias para la historia militar de la guerra de la revolución española, que tuvo principio en el año de 1808, y finalizó en el de 1814* (Madrid: Miguel de Burgos, 1817), pp. v-vi.

political side or another, instead mixing shades of conservative narrative with liberal terminology (Antonio Alcalá Galiano, whose brief military career was far overshadowed by his activities as a liberal statesman, was one notable exception).[117] García-Marín, for instance, wrote respectfully of Ferdinand VII and his father, and conformed to the popular narrative that Spanish resistance had been 'provoked' by French treachery, yet also used the vocabulary of 'revolución' and 'independencia', praising Spanish resistance as 'nuestra insurrección'.[118] The aristocratic staff officer Ignacio Garciny y Queralt decried the Constitutionalists' rejection of the king, yet also described the war as a glorious liberal rebellion against the outdated, indolent corruption of the *ancien régime*, following the light cast by the French Revolution.[119] Even Cabanes, who put the monarchy at the heart of his overall interpretation, echoed the gory language of the *Marseillaise* when he wrote of 'la guerra ultima en que hemos sido nosotros mismos los actores, y en la que hemos fertilizado con nuestra propia sangre el pays que con orgullo llamamos *nuestra patria*.'[120]

Rather than staking a firm place on either side of the conservative-liberal line, therefore, Spanish veterans tended to blend elements of both in order to crank up the ideological weight of the conflict they had often just taken part in. The result could be a vision of the war that claimed a place for all the large ideological motives – as Garciny wrote, the nation had fought to 'conservar su libertad é independencia, su religion pura, y sus sagrados derechos, con el amor fiel á su legítimo Soberano.'[121] Whether purely a survival strategy under fast-changing regimes or the result of a deeper reasoning, this rhetoric still cast the war in a sharply different light to that of British and French accounts, with grand idealism the order of the day.

An ideological war necessitated ideological enemies, and in nearly all Spanish accounts the French were not merely the enemies of the Spanish army but an existential threat to the people and values of Spain. Resistance to the enemy was thus patriotism in the strongest form.[122] As 'independence' became more and more powerful as a symbol for the war in Spanish accounts, the French grew in stature in historical memory, serving as monstrous oppressors in order that the struggle to repulse them might become the stuff of legend. In fact, in all accuracy, it was

---

[117] For example, pride in the achievements of the Cadiz Cortes, Alcalá Galiano, *Recuerdos,* p. 104.
[118] García-Marín, *Memorias,* pp. 17-18, viii-x.
[119] I. Garciny, *Quadro de la España, desde el reynado de Carlos IV* (Valencia: Benito Monfort, 1811), pp. 156, 6.
[120] Cabanes, *Memoria,* p. 6.
[121] Garciny, *Quadro,* p. 186.
[122] Kamen, *Imagining Spain,* pp. 69-70.

not merely the war of independence but the war of independence from the invading French – 'la guerra á Napoleon en defensa y sustento de nuestra independencia y gloria.'[123]

In line with this, many authors borrowed from the 'black legend' of Napoleon heavily popularized in Britain, using recognizable tropes like the Italian spelling of 'Buonaparte', the word 'tyrant', an emphasis on his malign ambition, and the invocation of the supernatural. 'Napoleon Buonaparte era el hombre que la Divina Providencia destinó para tiranizar la Francia, y causar en la Europa el trastorno que hemos visto,' wrote Garciny in 1811.[124] There were also countless claims of atrocities committed by the French army, from robbery to extortion, destruction, and murder, all presented as extensions of an inherent French evilness rather than the dark side of any military occupation.[125] Perfidy and dishonesty were portrayed as intrinsic parts of French character, obscuring any rare admiration for their valour or constancy in battle.[126] Yet despite the black picture painted of 'las legiones iniquas de Napoleon', the narrative did not develop into an idea of nation versus nation – as Iglesias Rogers has underlined, antagonism remained focused on the invading army, not France itself.[127]

Spanish representations of the French army thus highlight once again a key difference between Spanish and French or British accounts: that the grand ideological narrative of the war, played out against a hated rather than a neutral enemy, occupied centre-stage in Spain. However, these descriptions also demonstrate the dominance of the experience of the Spanish people within Spanish records of the war, taking the place usually given in British and French memoirs to the regular soldiers. Despite the eagerness of veterans to have their version of events told by history, it was the suffering of the civilian population under the savage invading army that received the majority of page space in their accounts, with the daily hardships and losses of the troops almost nowhere to be seen.

This preoccupation with the civilian aspect of the war mirrored a contemporary growth in liberal myth-making about the 'nation', based on an idealised concept of 'the people' and their

---

[123] Alcalá Galiano, *Recuerdos,* pp. 41, 83.
[124] Garciny, *Quadro,* pp. 7, 157.
[125] Cabanes, *Historia*, pp. 21-22, 30; J. Serrano Valdenebro, *Manifiesto de los Servicios hechos a la Patria por el Gefe de Esquadra Don José Serrano Valdenebro* (Algeciras: Juan Bautista Contilló y Conti, s.d.), p. 25; Garciny, *Quadro,* p. 50, García-Marín, *Memorias,* p. 159; Picado Franco, *Memorias,* pp. 2-3, 6-7.
[126] L. de Villava, *Zaragoza en su segundo sitio, con nuevas notas y un apéndice* (Palma de Mallorca: Antonio Brusi, 1811), pp. 4, 18, 44; Cabanes, *Historia*, p. 37; Picado Franco, *Memorias,* pp. 49-50.
[127] F. Ballesteros, *Respetuosos Descargos que el Teniente General D. Francisco Vallesteros ofrece á la generosa nación española* (Algeciras: J. B. Contillo, 1813), p. 61; Iglesias Rogers, *British liberators,* p. 28

actions. In 1812, the new liberal Constitution proclaimed the existence of a 'patria', and in the writings of constitutionalists themselves, popular resistance to the French became the symbol of the birth of a nation, with all Spaniards rallying together to carve out a bright new future from the grips of a foreign enemy.[128] Heavily ahistorical, of course, this concept was also quite ambiguous, with the idea of 'the people' essentially limited to the townspeople who had rioted in various cities in 1808 and held out in siege in a few more several years later.

Yet the idea of a 'people's war' was a powerful one, and its influence can be seen in many veterans' memoirs. Many veterans talked of a national war, fought by an entire population, all across Spain.[129] 'Cada provincial, cada partido, cada pueblo hizo sin duda grandes sacrificios', wrote García-Marín, while Picado Franco emphasised that 'toda la nación era una, y una misma la necesidad de espeler de ella á un enemigo, que tanto la oprimia.'[130] Others used the now-familiar symbols of urban civilian resistance: the revolts of 2 May in Madrid, and the most famous wartime sieges. It was 'la memoria de los antiguos saguntinos y del 2 de mayo', General Luís Andriani wrote in 1838, which had inspired his exhausted soldiers to keep defending Sagunto later in the war.[131]

The heroic resistance of the populations of Zaragoza and Girona, meanwhile, occupied lofty pedestals above all else in the mythology of the war. Several memoirs were written with one of the two towns as the explicit focus – as if these events were of much greater historical importance than anything else in the chronology of the war.[132] In fact, in Picado Franco's work, Zaragoza was the point around which the rest of history was organized, with the preceding battles in Aragon seen as steps leading up to the climactic relief of the besieged city.[133] García-Marín even argued that these great sieges should be given preference in the writings of scholars.[134] By 1811, moreover, when Luis de Villava was writing additional notes on his original paper on the siege of Zaragoza, he was more convinced than ever of its historical importance:

[128] Kamen, *Imagining Spain,* pp. 1-3.
[129] Andriani, *Memoria*, p. 6; Villava, *Zaragoza,* p. 37; García-Marín, *Memorias,* pp. viii-ix; Garciny, *Quadro,* pp. 3, 186.
[130] García-Marín, *Memorias,* p. vii; Picado Franco, *Memorias*, p. 3.
[131] Andriani, *Memoria*, p. 41.
[132] E.g. Villava, *Zaragoza*, García-Marín, *Memorias*, Picado Franco, *Memorias.*
[133] Picado Franco, *Memorias,* p. xi.
[134] García-Marín, *Memorias,* p. 13.

> Digan todos los hombres instruidos en la historia de la guerra ¿si se halla una heroicidad igual á la de Zaragoza? […] Digan, repito, si se halla en los anales de la historia de la guerra un denuedo tan extraordinario. ¡O Zaragoza! ¿Cómo graduarémos tu gloria?[135]

Although this was heavily rhetorical, it was an idea that stuck, and grew in power as the years after the war went by – we have already seen the influence it had in French memoirs of the time.

As a result, while the military defeat of the French at Bailén in 1808 was given a special place in the legend, the dominant historical narrative spun by Spanish veterans was that the proud, efficient armies of France had faltered more generally against the unskilled but fierce patriotism of the Spanish, understood as an blurry mix of experienced and inexperienced soldiers, irregulars and civilians.[136] The history of the Peninsular War was the story of a great power brought down by a brave underdog with a higher power on its side (whether God, patriotism, or moral right). It was a recognizable plot that could easily be told and re-told, with the benefit of a hugely satisfying ending, and Spanish veterans delighted in recounting the past triumphs of the Imperial *Grande Armée* in Europe*,* as all of this heightened the impressiveness of the unlikely Spanish victory against them.[137] Even French bombs and grenades were met with ironic defiance, given the nickname 'las peladillas de Bonaparte' (Bonaparte's sugared almonds).[138]

In comparison to this, the story of a war won by regular armies on the great battlefields of Salamanca and Vitoria and directed by the strategic genius of Lord Wellington – the British version of events, in other words – is so alien as to be almost entirely unrecognizable as the same war. The British army was scarcely visible in the histories created by Spanish veterans; the Portuguese divisions entirely written out. Wellington very occasionally merited a brief mention, usually with a note of gratitude for his support or protection of the Spanish cause, while Britain in general was sporadically thanked for its detached 'generosity' – the word 'generoso' occurred frequently, alongside 'buena fé'.[139] One of the only Spanish veterans to

---

[135] Villava, *Zaragoza,* p. 33.
[136] Kamen, *Imagining Spain,* p. 3; Iglesias Rogers, *British liberators,* p. 25.
[137] Cabanes, *Historia*, pp. 24-25; Andriani, *Memoria*, pp. 1, 32, 38, 59; Alcalá Galiano, *Recuerdos*, p. 113; García-Marín, *Memorias,* p. 87; Villava, *Zaragoza,* p. 34.
[138] García-Marín, *Memorias,* p. 139.
[139] Appendix in Villava, *Zaragoza,* pp. 42-43, 47, p. 26; J. M. de la Cueva, *Manifiesto del Duque de Alburquerque, acerca de su conducta con la Junta de Cadiz* (London: R. Juigné, 1810), p. xviii; Ballesteros, *Respetuosos Descargos,* p. 61.

make any note of the direct contribution of British troops to the war effort was José Maria de la Cueva, the fourteenth Duke of Alburquerque, who was a personal friend of Wellington, wrote his *Manifiesto* in 1811 while serving as Spanish ambassador to London, and was honoured with a funeral held in Westminster Abbey. In a brief note in his introduction, Cueva credited the British troops for their efforts in Extremadura.[140]

As Spanish veterans described it, therefore, the Peninsular War was not a British victory against the French but a wholly Spanish accomplishment, and also the definitive blow against the Napoleonic Empire. Demonstrating this Hispanocentric view of European history, Alcalá Galiano wrote that Spain, 'esta rica y hermosa península', had been at the centre of Napoleon's plan for subjugating Europe – far from the marginalised drain on French resources that is presented in Anglophone historiography today.[141] Moreover, as García-Marín argued, Spain's popular resistance had not only resulted in its own liberation but also that of the other European powers, 'salvando la de las demás potencias continentales, las ha emancipado para siempre de la dura tutela, del predominio y de la esclavitud.'[142] Very few authors, in fact, revealed any awareness of the war taking place in a wider geographical or chronological space. The exception was Mina, whose *Memorias* considered the invasion of Russia as a great turning point in the struggle against Napoleon.[143]

Amidst all of this, the place of the regular Spanish army, and even the regularized guerrilla divisions, was unclear. To emphasise the scale of Spain's achievement in successfully resisting the French, veterans were required to admit the weakness of their own troops, and many did so. Frequent use was made of the word 'bisoños' to describe the raw, inexperienced recruits that made up a considerable part of the rapidly-expanded Spanish army. Alcalá Galiano even used it when referring to the Spanish army on the victorious field of Bailén.[144] Although the heroism of the regular troops during sieges was often praised, the adjectives used were always related to spirit and valour rather than training or skill.[145] Where exceptions were made, it was always with another motive in mind: Picado Franco praised General Duran's troops for having 'toda la mecánica y disciplina de unos veteranos', for example, in order to criticize the praise

[140] Cueva, *Manifiesto,* p. xviii.
[141] Alcalá Galiano, *Recuerdos,* p. 19.
[142] García-Marín, *Memorias,* p. ix.
[143] F. Espoz y Mina, *Memorias del General Don Francisco Espoz y Mina, escritas por el mismo,* ed. J. M. de Vega, 5 vols (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1851-52), vol. 2, pp. 5-7.
[144] Cabanes, *Historia*, p. 36; García-Marín, *Memorias,* p. 49; Alcalá Galiano, *Recuerdos,* p. 92.
[145] Andriani, *Memoria*, pp. 38, 41, 44-45, 51; Villava, *Zaragoza,* pp. 5, 13; García-Marín, *Memorias,* p. 104.

given instead by contemporaries to the troops of General Mina.[146] The narrative of a people's war also necessitated implicit criticism of the army hierarchy, as if civilians had defended towns in a country left generally open, unarmed and without sufficient resources to defend itself against the oncoming tide. Criticising the early failures of the Spanish army, some veterans pointed to the reluctance of the government or the lack of resources available.[147]

Resistance to these negative depictions of the army did appear subtly in a few Spanish accounts, including the same ones that subscribed elsewhere to the glorious national grand narrative. Civilians themselves were depicted as an abstract idea, with no details of individual groups, people or actions – even later icons of national mythology such as Agustina of Zaragoza received absolutely no mention. Luis de Villava argued that civilians could be a powerful force in the war effort, but only if they co-ordinated their resistance with the strategies of the regular army, and prioritized the national cause over their local one: 'defender las ciudades con obstinacion', he wrote at the start of the war, 'es el camino á nuestra ruina', and villagers should remember that 'sus paises no son la Patria.'[148] By 1811, however, his tone had modified somewhat, and as seen above, he joined in the eulogies for the obstinate defence of Zaragoza. Pedro Alcantará de Toledo, meanwhile, lauded the patriotic enthusiasm of the people who volunteered to fight the enemy or build defences, but at the same time underlined the necessity of arming, organizing and training them, and giving them leaders.[149] Without some form of military structure, he argued, the 'people' were a passionate but violent and unpredictable mob – thus spinning the interpretation so that the 'people's war' had been enabled, if not carried out, by the regular army.[150]

Similar sentiments appeared surrounding the question of the contribution of the guerrilla fighters to the war. Surprisingly, given the dominance of these groups in French accounts, the writings of Spanish veterans (especially those by regular army commanders) usually excluded the *partidas* from their accounts of a national war effort, instead often categorizing them alongside the untrained mob described by Toledo above. The danger of a narrative of national uprising, Villava wrote, was that it gave *carte blanche* to bandits who called themselves patriots but instead robbed travellers and the local population – these, as Ballesteros agreed, were

[146] Picado Franco, *Memorias,* p. 69.
[147] Villava, *Zaragoza,* pp. 6-7.
[148] Villava, *Zaragoza,* pp. 6, 9, 24-25.
[149] P. de Alcantará de Toledo, *Manifiesto de las operaciones del exercito del centro desde el dia 3 de diciembre de 1808 hasta el 17 de febrero de 1809* (s.l.: s.n., 1809), pp. 1-3.
[150] Alcantará de Toledo, *Manifiesto,* p. 6.

'inútiles y perjudiciales á la Nacion.'[151] Mina and the few other guerrilla commanders who wrote accounts stressing the contribution made to the war by their regularised divisions of *guerrilleros,* therefore, occupied a largely unacknowledged grey area somewhere between the great urban sieges and rare battlefield victories that dominated the landscape of the Spanish historical understanding of the war, and this is something to which we will return in the next chapter.

iv. Conclusion

This chapter has argued that veterans' memoirs should not be treated merely as sources for history but also as works of history themselves, underlining that the fluid genre of memoir-writing enabled a small but significant minority of British, French and Spanish veterans to take up the mantle of historian at the same time as that of autobiographer. Gripped by a sense of urgency that history might write them out of the past if they did not act, a fear in fact quite justified by the post-war context in all three countries, veterans actively joined the debate on the historical meaning of the times through which they had lived and fought. This active engagement with history took several different forms, with some veterans writing directly to influential historians in the hope of convincing them to change their work. Others actually wrote history themselves, with a government-approved military committee set up in post-war Spain to research and write the first official account of the war, an effort by veterans which had a lasting influence on later nineteenth-century historiography. Nearly all memoirists, meanwhile, considered the greater meaning of the war in the body of their writings, putting forward strikingly different interpretations based on national lines.

While British soldiers repeated familiar narratives about the backwardness of the Spanish and the successes of the polished British army, French soldiers focussed on the irregular warfare that they had faced in the Peninsula, depicting a 'war of extermination' which made maintaining their positions impossible. In Spain, by contrast, the trials and triumphs of the regular army hung awkwardly at the sidelines as a popular historical narrative of a national 'people's war' swelled to occupy the majority of the space. An ideological, emotive account of how the Spanish people defied the odds to defeat an existential threat to both their own independence

[151] Villava, *Zaragoza,* p. 45; Ballesteros, *Respetuosos Descargos,* p. 31.

and to the fundamental freedoms of Europe dominated the historical record put forward. It was a record in comparison with which the tale of how Britain benevolently and efficiently liberated the indolent Spanish people barely seemed recognisable; a record in which even the daily struggles of countryside resistance and guerrilla warfare were marginalised.

In analysing and comparing the texts of these memoirs, it is interesting to note the beginnings of an ongoing division within the historiography of the Peninsular War period, split along national and linguistic lines. The general British concept of the Peninsular War is different to French scholarship on the *Guerre d'Espagne,* and different again to the historiographical trail of the *Guerra de la Independencia*. As I have already emphasised, this was and is a war with many names, symptoms both of how influential this conflict has been and how strongly later political, literary and academic actors have worked to define and control its meaning. It is important to note the early stages of these separate narratives in veterans' own work, as in the final chapter of this thesis I will return to the theme of national difference, exploring the potential which the later translations and international movements of these books had to break down or strengthen these divisions.

In exploring veterans' authorship through a readjusted lens (as history-writing or engagement with academic history), I have also been able to cast a new light on Spanish war writing, usually regarded as the poor cousin of French and British written production. In the previous chapter, moreover, in which I approached Peninsular War memoirs through what is currently the most conventional cultural history perspective (what do they tell us about the experience of war), Spanish memoirs had to remain marginal to my argument as they simply did not contain the same descriptions of ordinary life as a soldier as their British and French counterparts. In this chapter, by comparison, by shifting my methodological approach a little, I was able to present *Spanish* veterans dominating the discussion about how the history of the war should be written; Spanish veterans' memoirs containing rich veins of material from which I could quote. In the chapter which follows, I will take the space to consider the Spanish case at greater depth, presenting another methodological approach to veterans' written work, a theory about the roots of the autobiographical genre, and a more detailed answer to the obvious question: where are the Portuguese in all this?

Chapter 3.

Veterans as Pamphleteers: An Iberian Genre of War Writing

Ovidio Saraiva de Carvalho e Silvo was a law student at the University of Coimbra when Napoleon's army invaded Portugal. Alongside other students and teachers, he joined the Academic Battalion, a military unit formed at the University in order to resist the French invaders, which participated in several operations during the Peninsular War. Carvalho's narrative of his march with the Battalion from Coimbra to Porto was printed by the university press in Coimbra in 1809, and dedicated to the vice-rector. It is a small pamphlet, a copy of which has been bound together with other ephemera into a little book held by the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon. Following established tropes, the *Narração* starts with a flowery tribute to the dedicatee, after which the author disavows any literary pretensions and asks the reader to forgive any faults of style, and goes on to provide a largely bird's-eye view of the events concerned.[1]

The library in Lisbon also holds a copy of a pamphlet by a soldier from the 18th regiment of infantry, who wrote columns for the *Correio de Lisboa* after the war under the pseudonym 'O Soldado Portuguez.' Entitled *Golpe de vista: Sobre alguns movimentos e acções do Regimento de Infanteria N.º 18, na Guerra da Peninsula,* the pamphlet is the size of an ordinary paperback, with thin, slightly greenish paper, close-printed serif text, and a woodcut illustration of a defiant, wounded soldier armed with a gun.[2] Inside, the anonymous author talks in first person of his experiences campaigning with the 18th regiment, touching on the hardships of daily marches, the landscape through which he travelled, and the deaths of other soldiers along the way. He remarks on the selfishness of the English, quotes Marshall Soult's famous memoirs, notes the execution of a soldier from another regiment for desertion, describes the kindness of Portuguese soldiers to their wounded enemies, and depicts artillery fire, 'vomitando hum fogo

[1] O. S. de Carvalho e Silva, *Narração das marchas e feitos do corpo militar academico desde 31 de março* (Coimbra: Real Imprensa Universidade, 1809). Copy consulted: H.G. 6752//5 V, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP), Lisbon.

[2] Anon., *Golpe de vista: Sobre alguns movimentos e acções do Regimento de Infanteria N.º 18, na Guerra da Peninsula, pelo Auctor das Cartas do Soldado Portuguez, e do Cadetinho d'Almada* (Lisbon: V. J. de Castro & Irmão, 1844). Copy consulted: H.G. 2758//7 V, BNP.

terrivel sobre as nossas fileiras.'[3] In his letters to the *Correio de Lisboa,* collected and published in 1838, the same author rails against the suggestion that Portuguese soldiers would have been nothing without the guidance of English officers, calls for the writing of a good history of the Peninsular War in Portugal, and criticises the famous history by the Count of Toreno for marginalising Portugal's role.[4]

Another anonymous author, 'O Soldado Portuguez, Voluntario de 1808', gives us a fast-paced account of movements and battles in a short pamphlet or letter later recopied by an editor into a volume dedicated to Portuguese and British veterans of the war.[5] It was by reading Walter Scott's historical romances, the soldier claims, and seeing himself in the noble adventures of Montrose, that he was inspired to sit down and write it.[6]

From a different perspective, there is also the narrative of Theotonio Xavier de Oliveira Banha (1785-1853), a soldier and writer from an old family in Setúbal. Aged 22 in 1808, he formed part of the Portuguese legion which served under Napoleon, participating in the campaigns of 1808 in Spain, 1809 in Germany, 1812 in Russia, and 1813 in Saxony. Wanting to correct the neglect of the Portuguese legion by previous histories of the war, Banha wrote up his memories in his old age, and in around 1850 presented the completed manuscript to the Secretary of State for War.[7] It was approved for publication by the government several years later, too late for Banha to see his memoir in print, and published alongside commentary from General Cláudio de Chaby. Banha's memoir was an ornate book, with the copy now held by the British Library bearing a decorative cover, romantic, curlicued font and a full-page colour illustration of two Portuguese soldiers (see *Fig VI.*) It has enjoyed various editions through time, including one as recently as 2006.[8]

---

[3] Anon., *Golpe de vista,* pp. 2-3, 5.
[4] *Collecção de cartas do soldado portuguez* (Lisbon: Largo do Contador Mór, 1838), pp. 36-40, 44-46.
[5] Anon., 'Fragmentos Historicos relativos á Guerra Peninsular', in J. Martiniano da Silva Vieira (ed.), *Recopilação de Cartas, e de alguns fragmentos historicos relativos à Guerra Peninsular* (Lisbon: Vieira & Tormes, 1840).
[6] Anon., 'Fragmentos Historicos', p. 23.
[7] T. X. de Oliveira Banha, *Apontamentos para a Historia da Legião Portugueza ao serviço de Napoleão I, mandada sair de Portugal em 1808, narrativa do tenente Theotonio Banha, edição ordenada em 1863 pelo Ministro e Secretario d'Estado dos Negocios da Guerra,* ed. Cláudio de Chaby (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1865 [1863]), pp. 13-14.
[8] T. Banha, *Apontamentos para a historia da legião portugueza ao serviço de Napoleão I mandada saír de Portugal em 1808* (Lisbon: Arquimedes Livros, 2006).

Fig. IX. T. X. de Oliveira Banha, *Apontamentos para a Historia da Legião Portugueza ao serviço de Napoleão I,* ed. Cláudio de Chaby (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1865 [1863]), facing p. 43. No known copyright restrictions.

Contrary to the tacit assumption within existing historiography on the Napoleonic period, therefore, and in direct contradiction to the conclusion made by Charles Esdaile in an influential recent study of the Peninsular War, Portuguese veterans did produce war memoirs.[9] In fact, they produced book-length, illustrated, narrated-in-first-person war memoirs which described the daily lives of soldiers on campaign, complained about the exclusion of the author's regiment from history books, and cited contemporary literature from Britain, France, and Spain. These books are not rare memorabilia but can be consulted in capital cities in the reading rooms of national libraries. Indeed, they are directly comparable to the writings of British and French soldiers from the Napoleonic period in many ways but one: there seem to be far, far fewer.

As I discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, Spanish memoirs have suffered from exactly the same neglect for very similar reasons. The cliché that 'Spaniards don't write autobiographies' is an old one, recognised and rebutted by literary scholars such as James Fernández as early as the 1990s, and rejected again by Miguel Martínez in his recent study of early modern Spanish soldiers' (mostly manuscript) works, but its influence still lingers today in the cultural, social and military history surrounding the Napoleonic era.[10] The idea that the Iberian peninsula did not produce military autobiographies, or even autobiographies at all, on the same scale or with the same sophistication as north-western Europe in the nineteenth century relies on two fundamental misconceptions: first, that enough work has yet been done to unearth Spanish and especially Portuguese memoirs; second, that they would necessarily follow the same patterns.

In addition to the few Portuguese accounts described above, I have identified several possible others in manuscript form in the Arquivo Histórico Militar (see the *Appendix*), but further research remains to be done on this subject. A handful of long, literary Spanish autobiographies, such as those of Antonio Alcalá Galiano, have become well-known, but more undoubtedly exist in unedited form in private archives. However, the bulk of Spanish and presumably also Portuguese writing about the Peninsular War simply did not take the same form. Most Spanish veterans wrote with an immediacy lacking from the majority of French

[9] C. Esdaile, *Peninsular Eyewitnesses: the Experience of War in Spain and Portugal 1808-1813* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Military, 2008), p. x.
[10] J. D. Fernández, *Apology to Apostrophe: Autobiography and the Rhetoric of Self-Representation in Spain* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992), p. 1; M. Martínez, *Front Lines: Soldiers' Writing in the Early Modern Hispanic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), ch. 5.

and British memoirs, publishing their accounts during or soon after the war, with the result that very few were left to be printed posthumously. Their pamphlets, often called *manifiestos*, ranged from several pages to over two hundred, were sold unbound, rarely included any illustrations, maps or graphs, and cost around three to six *reales,* about the same as cheap editions of works of military theory, drama, law or religion. They were argumentative, polemic, and deeply concerned with the nascent historical record, especially where it threatened or promised to affect the author's own developing career. There are actually at least 58 memoirs by Spanish veterans of the Peninsular War, if we broaden our scope to include them, and potentially similar numbers in Portugal.

The purpose of this chapter, however, is not just to demonstrate that Iberian memoir-writing was different to French and British memoir-writing, but to explain why, particularly as Iberian difference is often taken as 'backwardness', or non-conformity to canonical northern European examples. Instead, I will explore the roots of Spanish war writing in colonial *relaciones de méritos y servicios,* as well as the influence of nineteenth-century politics and pamphleteering, arguing that a better understanding of the development of this genre in the 'south' has important consequences for how we understand both memoirs and the veterans who wrote them elsewhere.

i. Roots in a different literary past

Relaciones de méritos y servicios were one of the main genres of writing and publishing in colonial Spanish America, if we judge by quantity alone. According to Murdo J. MacLeod, as many as one thousand went into print.[11] Written in first person, these 'autobiographical' reports detailed an individual's achievements and services rendered to the King, in the hope of being rewarded with *gracias* and *mercedes* (offices, privileges or simply financial reimbursement).[12] Many were written by Spaniards at the lower echelons of the colonial hierarchy seeking their own share of the colonial regime, including old *conquistadores* competing with newly-arrived officials for land ownership and influence.[13] It was life-writing for economic and political gain,

[11] qu. R. Folger, *Writing as Poaching: Interpellation and Self-Fashioning in Colonial relaciones de méritos y servicios* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), p. 21.
[12] Folger, *Writing as Poaching,* pp. 4, 10.
[13] R. Adorno, 'History, law, and the eyewitness: protocols of authority in Bernal Díaz del Castillo's Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España', in E. Fowler and R. Greene (eds), *The project of prose in early modern Europe and the New World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 169.

a way for individual authors (including military men) to use texts to further their careers, provide for their descendants, or shape the historical record.

At the same time, however, *relaciones de méritos* were very much part of a large bureaucratic apparatus, and the final product was a collective as well as individual effort. Claimants filing these reports obeyed a set 'law' of established practices and rules, standardised as early as the 1520s, and later documented in detail in the *Recopilación de las leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* (1681).[14] A typical dossier would contain a petition by the author, containing details of his family and birth, education, ranks and titles, descriptions of both his own merits and those of his ancestors, corroborating evidence from certified witnesses, and the stamps of approval from each of the sets of authorities through which it had to pass on its way to the king.[15] *Relaciones de méritos* were therefore the product of years of oral and written work and investigation by various officials, a cog at the heart of the early modern Spanish bureaucratic and colonial system.[16]

Despite their bureaucratic nature, however, several scholars have argued that these documents are essential to the genealogy of Spanish 'literature' in the modern understanding. To quote Roberto González Echevarría:

> In the sixteenth century writing was subservient to the law. One of the most significant changes in Spain, as the Peninsula was unified and became the center of an Empire, was the legal system, which redefined the relationship between the individual and the body politic and held a tight rein on writing. Narrative, both fictional and historical, thus issued from the forms and constraints of legal writing. Legal writing was the predominant form of discourse in the Spanish Golden Age. It permeated the writing of history, sustained the idea of Empire, and was instrumental in the creation of the Picaresque.[17]

Drawing on this, Robert Folger has argued that the economy of *mercedes* in particular sparked the writing of autobiography in the Spanish Golden Age, with *relaciones de méritos* and similar bureaucratic documents certainly formed by a standardized system of rules, but also early examples of the carefully tailored narration of a life.[18] From a different perspective, Rolena

[14] Folger, *Writing as Poaching,* pp. 4, 24, 28.
[15] Folger, *Writing as Poaching,* pp. 26-27; A. Gertosio Páez, 'Los abogados en el Chile indiano a la luz de las "relaciones de méritos y servicios"', *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos* 27 (2005), pp. 233-250.
[16] Folger, *Writing as Poaching,* p. 35.
[17] qu. Folger, *Writing as Poaching,* p. 7.
[18] Folger, *Writing as Poaching,* pp. 8, 35.

Adorno has also pointed to the influence of these documents on subsequent historical writing, arguing that 'the historiography of the Indies bore in its development the juridical principles of legal testimony and the values and traditions of Alfonsine law,' and that 'for the conquistadores as well as their heirs a century later, the writing of history took up where the filing of *probanzas*, petitions, and *relaciones* left off.'[19] Both historical and autobiographical writing in Spain, in other words, grew from roots in juridical texts: roots which were potentially quite different to those shaping literary development in Britain and France at the time.

Little notice has been made of this pre-existing influence on Spanish literature for memoirs in the nineteenth century, however. Scholarship on *relaciones de méritos* tends to concentrate on the early modern period, stopping short of discussing the late eighteenth century or the outbreak of the Napoleonic wars, while the prevailing consensus for studies of the Napoleonic period is, as we have already discussed, that Spaniards simply did not write memoirs at all. Yet there is plentiful evidence that the authors of Peninsular War *manifiestos* were heirs to an older, bureaucratic style of writing, including the fact that these authors can more accurately be described as men of the eighteenth rather than nineteenth century.

Most Spanish memoirs were published from around 1811 to 1818. During this period, the average age of the author at the time of publication was 48 years old, with six in their fifties, seven in their sixties, and one in his seventies (Gregorio García de la Cuesta, who in fact died the same year). This means that, in contrast to their average French or British counterpart, Spanish writers had not grown up in the shadow of the gathering French Revolution, but instead in the mid-eighteenth century. These men were, for the most part, the cream of the aristocracy and the upper officer cadres. They were men who had fought in many other wars before the Peninsular War; men who were now at the height of their careers and commanding entire army divisions; men who perhaps even held vice-regal positions overseas as part of the Spanish Empire. In other words, they were men with a lot to lose, and a lot of reputation to protect.

The chaos caused by the Peninsular War, with regional juntas and entire army divisions acting independently from one another, troops ill-equipped and inexperienced, and defeats being suffered against the French, meant that many such reputations quickly came under fire. When that happened, men who had spent most of their lives rising through the ranks of the *ancien régime* turned to bureaucratic systems of appeal, with publishing a *manifiesto* sometimes only

[19] Adorno, 'History, law, and the eyewitness', p. 171.

a last resort after private judicial attempts had failed. Luis de Palafox y Melci, for example, released a self-justificatory pamphlet in 1811 after having tried and failed for months to gain a position of command through declarations before various courts, including the National Congress and the Supreme Council of War.[20]

Relating a published *manifiesto* to concurrent proceedings in courts was not the only way in which many of these pamphlets echoed the tropes of older bureaucratic and juridical genres. For instance, all sought approval or reward of some kind from the authority or authorities they addressed, drawing on an implicit belief in the idea of a reciprocal relationship between king (or government) and vassal (or citizen), the king in previous centuries being obliged to honour his subjects for their services to him.[21] Often the titles mirrored those of *relaciones de méritos,* stressing that what followed was a detailed record of services rendered to the king, especially after the restoration of Ferdinand VII.[22] The pamphlets usually also followed the basic structure of earlier petitions*,* starting with a statement of the author's origins and ancestry, and finishing with extensive appendices full of justificatory documents which functioned to corroborate the author's claims.[23] The main text itself was always tactical and strategic, emphasising the author's achievements (sometimes even specifying in which issues of which gazettes these achievements could be read about), and making use of established tropes, such as the 'fórmula trinitaria "Dios-Patria-Rey"', which Antonio Moliner Prada has argued became a 'slogan' used to win support across political divides in the fight against the French.[24]

At the same time, many memoirs bore strong marks of the influence of a more recent phenomenon: the development of a new service elite in late eighteenth-century Spain. This heterogeneous 'clase dirigente', described in detail by Antonio Calvo Maturana in a recent book, included army officers and was dedicated to self-advancement within, rather than against, the monarchical regime.[25] Navigating a system where the rewards for individual merit were still also subject to royal favour, members of this elite used a rhetoric of patriotism in the

---

[20] L. R. de Palafox y Melci, *Exposición de la Conducta Militar y Patriótica del Teniente General Marques de Lazan, y de las causas de su permanencia en Cádiz* (Cadiz: Viuda de Comes, 1811), p. 8.
[21] Adorno, 'History, law, and the eyewitness', p. 164.
[22] For example, M. Gómez Lugones, *Manifiesto que hace á Su Magestad Don Miguel Gómez Lugones, Vecino y Regidor Perpetuo de la Villa de Alba de Tormes, y Sargento Mayor de el Batallon de Infantería y tercio de Lanceros de caballería... de los servicios que ha contrahido antes de la pasada guerra* (Madrid: Don Fermín Villalpando, 1815).
[23] Folger, *Writing as Poaching,* pp. 37-38; Adorno, 'History, law, and the eyewitness', p. 156.
[24] Palafox y Melci, *Exposición,* p. 7; A. Moliner Prada, 'La guerra de la independencia en España 1808-1814', in J. Couto (ed.), *Guerra Peninsular 200 anos* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2007), p. 29.
[25] A. Calvo Maturana, *Cuando manden los que obedecen: La clase política e intellectual de la España preliberal (1780-1808)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2013), p. 268.

service of absolutism, citizenship based on duties rather than rights, and unconditional obedience to the monarchy, in order to plead for reinstatement, forgiveness, or promotion.[26] Of course, many of the same tropes can be found in petitions from centuries earlier: Cervantes' own 'Representación de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, exponiendo sus méritos y servicios', for instance, dated in 1590, was followed by 'many pages of evidence which repeat the supplicant's proud and subservient asseveration that he is a perfect subject of his Majesty, evoking the pathetic image of a war veteran and bureaucrat whose life was consumed in the service of the Empire and his King.'[27] The difference in the decades leading up to the Peninsular War was that petitioners were now making these claims in the public sphere.

A number of different *manifiestos* from the war years made use of this rhetoric. Most were written in direct response to a threat to their authors' public and military reputations, either in the form of published criticism from another officer, or in the loss of command of a particular section of the army. Pedro de Alcántara Álvarez de Toledo y Salm-Salm (1768-1841), for example, thirteenth Duke of the Infantado and holder of many other old noble titles, had enjoyed a successful military career during the early Revolutionary Wars and the War of the Oranges, had rebelled against the crowning of Joseph Bonaparte (for which Napoleon confiscated his palace), and had been given the prestigious chief command over the Army of the Centre in 1808. Defeat at Uclés in 1809, however, resulted in his removal from military command and he was packed off to London as an ambassador. Immediately, he wrote to claim that this had been the fault of pure intrigue, and had his secretary send copies of his *Manifiesto* round to his rivals to make sure that they knew.[28] This meticulous image management paid off, as he returned to Spain in 1812 to become a member of the *Quintillo*, and in 1814 was made part of Ferdinand VII's government, later serving several times as President of the Consejo de Regencia.

Toledo's wartime declaration, however, touched a nerve with one of its readers, Francisco Xavier Venegas de Saavedra y Rodríguez de Arenzana (1754-1838), another old aristocratic career general who had commanded the Army of Andalucía alongside Toledo at Uclés – and

[26] Calvo Maturana, *Cuando manden los que obedecen,* pp. 14-15, 39-41, 90, 160, 187.
[27] Folger, *Writing as Poaching,* p. 43.
[28] P. de Alcántara Álvarez de Toledo, *Manifiesto de las operaciones del exercito del centro desde el dia 3 de diciembre de 1808 hasta el 17 de febrero de 1809* (s.l., s.n., 1809). Toledo's replacement as commander, Francisco Venegas, wrote at the start of his own work that he received a copy of the manifiesto in early June 1810 with a file from the office of the Duke, dated 27 May 1810: F. X. Venegas, *Contestación al Manifiesto del Excmo. Sr. Duque del Infantado, dada por D. Francisco Xavier Venegas, en la parte que tiene relación con su conducta* (s.l. [Cadiz], s.n., 1810), p. 3.

who had briefly replaced Toledo as commander of the Army of the Centre afterwards.[29] By the time he received a copy of Toledo's *Manifiesto*, Venegas had already been offered – and accepted – the position of Viceroy of war-torn New Spain (Mexico), and was planning his departure. Feeling that Toledo, embittered by his removal from command, had misrepresented the facts and cast his replacement in a negative light, Venegas dashed off a response. His haste to get something into print to combat the version spread by his rival shows clearly in the rushed appearance of the document, which has no prefatory matter nor literary flourishes but instead is set out in a series of numbered bullet points, replying to offending paragraphs in the original *Manifiesto.* His wounded pride aside, however, he need not have worried, as upon his return he was made Captain General of Galicia, and in 1816 Ferdinand VII made him a marquis.

A year after the dispute between Toledo and Venegas, another clash of pens began over the publication of a book called *Sucesos de la provincia del Alentejo* (1811) by a Portuguese author, Teodoro José Biancardi. Originally published in Lisbon at the end of October 1808 and translated into Castilian three years later, the book told the story of the French invasion of Portugal at the start of the war.[30] Of particular interest to Don Juan Carrafa, the lieutenant general who had commanded the Spanish troops trapped and disarmed by Junot in Lisbon in early May, was the book's accusation that he had doomed the country by refusing to foment an uprising among his men against their French captors.[31] Carrafa had actually been court-martialled in 1808 for his actions and absolved, but with this new publication the allegations quickly gained momentum once again, with the Spanish liberal periodical *Robespierre Español* taking up Biancardi's account and joining the attack.[32] Sensing the urgency, Carrafa released a *Manifiesto* defending himself against the 'little work' that had dared to injure his honour, dismissing the accusations as unfounded lies.[33] Structured into two parts, one a response to Biancardi, the other to the *Robespierre,* the document was originally displayed outside his house for the curiosity of anyone, before being published by a printer in Cadiz.[34] Far from

[29] Venegas, *Contestación,* pp. 2-3.
[30] T. J. Biancardi, *Successos do Alem-téjo* (Lisbon: Impressã Regia, 1808); idem, *Sucesos de la provincia del Alentejo escritos por T.J. Biancardi y vertidos del portugués* (Algeciras, s. n., 1811).
[31] qu. J. Carrafa, *Manifiesto que presenta a la Nacion Española Don Juan Carrafa, Teniente General de los Reales Exercitos* (Cadiz: Don Antonio de Murguia, [1811]), p. 4.
[32] A. Gil Novales, 'Carrafa, Juan (ss. XVIII-XIX)', *MCN Biografías* (2011-), [http://www.mcnbiografias.com/app-bio/do/show?key=carrafa-juan, accessed 21 Dec. 2015]; A. Pizarroso Quintero, 'Prensa y propaganda bélica 1808-1814', *Cuadernos dieciochistas* 8 (2007), p. 214.
[33] Carrafa, *Manifiesto,* pp. 3-4.
[34] Carrafa, *Manifiesto,* p. 33.

smoothing over the controversy, however, this simply inflamed it, and Biancardi himself quickly released a reply reaffirming his original argument.[35]

The saga then continued, as Carrafa had based part of his defence on asserting the unreliability and deceit of brigadier Don Federico Moretti, the messenger who was sent from Spain in 1808 to persuade him to rebel.[36] As it will no doubt not surprise the reader, Moretti felt compelled to produce his own *Contestación,* expressing his outrage, yet also revealing himself to have been the mastermind behind the whole affair. His motives were clear – having been out of active service since June 1810 and feeling restless to contribute again, he had been searching for controversies to present to the Supreme National Congress, making several publications before targeting Carrafa.[37] At the same time, wanting to have a seemingly objective outsider affirm his military service record, he had entered into a secret collaboration with Biancardi, sending the Portuguese author information about events and asking that his name be kept off the record:

> … después de la notoria acción de Évora, era preciso valerme de un escrito en que se detallaban los servicios hechos por mí en Portugal y publicados en aquella misma época por un autor portugués muy acreditado.[38]

Continuing his political-literary machinations, Moretti had then sent a copy of Carrafa's *Manifiesto* to Biancardi with the explicit intent of allowing him to write a reply – 'para que le conteste en la parte que le toca, como lo ha verificado.'[39] In the end, though, he managed to do little lasting damage – the embattled Carrafa was celebrated under the Restoration regime and awarded the Gran Cruz de San Hermenegildo in 1817.[40] Moretti, meanwhile, focussed on his evident creative talents and produced hundreds of works on military and musical theory.

Another noble Spanish officer deeply concerned with his public image was Colonel Don Ignacio Garciny y Queralt (1752-1825), who graduated from the military academy in Barcelona into the Royal Corps of Engineers, leaving in 1790 as a captain. In 1804, evidently wishing to

---

[35] T. J. Biancardi, *Respuesta al Manifiesto que publicó en Cádiz en el mes de junio de este año el Teniente General Don Juan Carrafa contra la obra titulada Sucesos del Alentejo, traducida del idioma portugués* (Cadiz: Niel hijo, 1811).
[36] Carrafa, *Manifiesto,* pp. 3, 15.
[37] F. Moretti y Cascone, *Contestación del Brigadier Don Federico Moretti y Cascone, (en la parte que le toca) al Manifiesto del Teniente General D. Juan Carrafa* (Cadiz: Don José María Guerrero, 1812), p. 4n.
[38] Moretti, *Contestación,* p. 15.
[39] Moretti, *Contestación,* p. 15.
[40] Novales, 'Carrafa'.

be perceived as a prominent public military figure, he commissioned the famous Goya to paint two formal portraits of him and his wife Josefa Castilla y Wanarbroeck, choosing to pose in a traditional military stance in the uniform of a brigadier of the Engineers (see *Fig. X*).[41] During the Peninsular War he served in the administrative side of the army, acting as chief magistrate of Zaragoza and subsequently military governor of Ronda, but was accused of being a French collaborator – in part because his father hailed from Saint-Tropez.[42] In 1811, he released the first part of a planned memoir detailing the 'persecution' he had suffered, starting with the detailed description of the crumbling of the *ancien régime,* and firmly situating himself as a key eyewitness to the high-level decision-making that took place between commanders. An intended second part, detailing the corruption of specific individuals, never appeared – and Garciny, less fortunate than the other writers here, seems to have faded into relative obscurity afterward.[43]

Beneath a sporadic and superficial celebration of the idea of a 'people's war', the dominant aspect of these memoirs was a focus on the author's place within the structures of age-old authority: the king, the church and the regular army. For example, the motto on the reverse of the title page in Carrafa's *Manifiesto* stated that the execution of a citizen in a town was of the same status as the death of a patriot on the battlefield, both equal in a universal struggle against Napoleon, but the rest of the book barely touched upon anything other than the state and the army, and spent time praising the Junta for acting in the name of the king, 'nuestro amado Rey el Señor Don Fernando Septimo.'[44] Garciny, meanwhile, decried the liberal constitutionalists' rejection of the king, emphasising that the monarch was the necessary heart of all legal structures:

> … sin pensar, que ni tenías Rey, ni tenías Patria, ni tenías Constitución, ni leyes que formasen tu unión.[45]

[41] 'Francisco de Goya y Lucientes: Don Ignacio Garcini y Queralt (1752–1825), Brigadier of Engineers', in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006), [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/55.145.1, accessed 15 Dec. 2015]; M. Galland Seguela, *Les ingénieurs militaires espagnols de 1710 à 1803: étude prosopographique et sociale d'un corps d'élite* (Madrid: Casa de Velazquez, 2008), p. 161.
[42] Galland Seguela, *Les ingénieurs,* p. 161.
[43] I. Garciny, *Quadro de la España, desde el reynado de Carlos IV. Memoria de la persecución que ha padecido el Coronel Don Ignacio Garciny* (Valencia: Benito Monfort, 1811).
[44] Carrafa, *Manifiesto,* pp. 2, 5.
[45] Garciny, *Quadro,* p. 156.

Fig. X. Ignacio Garcini y Queralt, Brigadier of Engineers: Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1804). CCO 1.0.

Having made their politics clear, these authors then repeatedly stressed their loyalty to them, making this emphasis on obedience immediately visible in the first pages of their writings. 'Como nunca he conocido otra ley que la de la obediencia, ni otra ambición que la de servir al Rey y á la Patria,' Garciny wrote in his opening paragraphs, his innocence would surely be recognised by the public.[46] Toledo, meanwhile, hoped devoutly in his foreword that 'la Nacion Española reconoce que jamás me desvié de la senda del verdadero patriotismo, amor y fidelidad á nuestro deseado Soberano, y está convencida de que todas mis ideas y acciones no han tenido ni tendrán otro norte en todas las épocas de mi vida.'[47]

As both dutiful service and the public reputation for it were crucial to getting and keeping positions of command, both had to be publically defended, which meant that officers alternated between portraying themselves as efficient functionaries and insisting on the particular importance of their talents to the army. The Duke of Toledo, for example, seeking a return to his lost command of the Army of the Centre, frequently asserted his personal importance to the soldiers he had led. Describing 'el desaliento que mi ausencia repentina podría infundir en los soldados', and 'las particulares pruebas de afecto que me habían dado y daban los Manchegos, y el efecto que sabía produciría en los ánimos de unos y otros mi separación del Exército,' he claimed that 'la intención del Gobierno era no solo la de quitarme el mando, sino aun también la de separarme de las tropas que había mandado.'[48]

Influenced by old bureaucratic and juridical genres, therefore, as well as more recent rhetoric of patriotic service to the king, the majority of Spanish veterans produced 'memoirs' quite different to the works of their British and French contemporaries, perhaps in part also because Spanish writers tended to have been born several decades earlier. This was war writing in the pursuit of immediate effect, the use of autobiographical styles to lobby publically for reward or reparation, continuing a tradition of strategic writing which stretched back to the early days of the empire. In fact, after the war, private petitions echoing the old format of *relaciones de méritos* continued to be a way in which veterans lobbied for personal justice from the newly restored king. The general military archive at Segovia contains a handwritten 'Manifiesto de la conducta política y militar', dated 27 October 1820 and signed by Lieutenant General José

[46] Garciny, *Quadro,* p. 4.
[47] Toledo, *Manifiesto*, p. v-vi.
[48] Toledo, *Manifiesto,* pp. 195-198.

Miranda, a Peninsular War veteran whose account of the defence of Alba de Tórmes in 1812 had been published several years before. The box also contains letters from Miranda to the Secretary of State and to the king himself, both emphasising his sacrifices and loyalty.[49] 'Suplico à V. M. no desatienda mi causa fixando su Real atención en ella como merece un Militar que tantas veces ha derramado su sangre por la Nación,' wrote Miranda in one letter, blending a traditional address to the monarch with a new reference to the idea of a political 'nation,' a concept which had only begun to fully blossom in use in Spain after 1808.[50]

Indeed, despite the shaping influence of much older literary genres and political strategies, the context into which Spanish Peninsular War veterans published their memoirs had undergone dramatic changes since the late eighteenth century. The forced abdication of the king, the exile of Ferdinand VII and his replacement by Joseph Bonaparte, 'el rey intruso', had removed a central piece of the *ancien régime* apparatus, causing a sudden vacuum of power, authority, and legitimacy, a vacuum compounded by the disarray and infighting between regional governments, army commanders, and elite social groups.[51] New ideas of liberalism, a Constitution, a nation, and a people armed all flooded into the gap, competing with enduring old ones of church, family, and king. Publishing was no longer so subservient to the law, with the wartime liberal government in Cadiz declaring freedom of the press and dismantling restrictive censorship laws. The result was the generation of a huge storm of pamphlet literature and a shift in the way persuasive autobiographical texts were written. These changes, too, affected the form and content of Spanish war memoirs.

ii. Pamphlet wars, patriotism, and the free press

One consequence of the popular uprising which swept Spain in 1808 was a 'de facto' freedom of the press, a freedom which was strengthened by the government in Cadiz over the next few years. A decree of 10 November 1810 permitted the publication of any political text, with no prior censorship, and the Constitution of 1812 repeated this principle, with article 371 stating that 'Todos los españoles tienen libertad de escribir, imprimir y publicar sus ideas políticas sin

[49] 'Miranda, José', PERSONAL_CELEB, box 104, exp. 4, folder 4, Archivo General Militar Segovia (AGMS); J. Miranda, *Diario de la defensa y evacuación del castillo de la villa de Alba de Tórmes en el mes de noviembre del año de 1812* (s.l. [Madrid]: s.n., s.d. [1818]).
[50] Miranda, 27 Oct. 1820, PERSONAL_CELEB, box 104, exp. 4, folder 4, AGMS; Calvo Maturana, *Cuando manden los que obedecen,* p. 80.
[51] Moliner Prada, 'La guerra de la independencia', p. 29.

necesidad de licencia, revisión ó aprobación alguna anterior á la publicación, bajo las restricciones y responsabilidad que establezcan las leyes.'[52] As a result, although religious and moral issues remained subject to some censorship by bishops, the Inquisition lost most of its power over the printing industry, and the country experienced an explosion of publishing as texts of all types and genres suddenly proliferated in the public sphere.[53]

Military *manifiestos* were just one part of what one scholar has called 'una guerra de opinión y de propaganda' which consumed the entire Peninsula, competing with proclamations, 'folletos, discursos, cartas, reflexiones, exposiciones, catecismos, comedias menores, fábulas, poesías y todo tipo de panfletos,' often anonymous, and often also translated from Spanish into Portuguese.[54] Disputes swirled between counter-revolutionaries and liberals, absolutists and constitutionalists, supporters of the guerrillas and those who condemned them, although much of this ephemera was united by a clear anti-French and anti-Napoleonic tenor.[55] There was also an unprecedented rise in the production of cheap, colourful prints of engravings, emphasising patriotism, heroism, and sacrifice, as well as depicting the sufferings of the Spanish people under the French oppressors.[56]

Debates were not restricted to the printed page, but spread into discussions in cafes and bars, while even the illiterate could closely follow the political news of the day by listening to blind chapbook-sellers read their wares aloud on the streets.[57] Anyone embroiled in controversy had now to explain themselves to this expanded public forum, as well as to justify their decisions for posterity. At the same time, anyone who wanted to influence public opinion suddenly had much easier access to the means to do so. The guerrilla leader Espoz y Mina in particular seems to have used the press as a weapon in his favour, publishing exhortative proclamations and manifestos during both the Peninsular War and the liberal Triennium several years later.[58]

---

[52] qu. Pizarroso Quintero, 'Prensa y propaganda bélica', p. 213.
[53] Pizarroso Quintero, 'Prensa y propaganda bélica', p. 213; I. Casas Delgado, *Romances con Acento Andaluz: el éxito de la prensa popular (1750-1850)* (Seville: Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 2012), pp. 25-27.
[54] Moliner Prada, 'La guerra de la independencia', pp. 27-28.
[55] Moliner Prada, 'La guerra de la independencia', p. 28; Casas Delgado, *Romances con Acento Andaluz*, p. 22.
[56] J. M. Matilla, 'Estampas españolas de la Guerra de la Independencia: Propaganda, Conmemoración y Testimonio', *Cuadernos dieciochistas* 8 (2007), pp. 248-252.
[57] Calvo Maturana, p. 222; Casas Delgado, *Romances con Acento Andaluz*, pp. 13, 25.
[58] F. Espoz y Mina, *Manifiesto de Don Francisco Espoz y Mina, Coronel y Comandante General de Navarra, a sus paisanos, contra la instrusa diputacion* (Cádiz: Guerrero, 1812); idem, *Manifiesto que hace a la nacion española, el mariscal de campo Don Francisco Espoz y Mina, con motivo de las ocurrencias á que dió márgen su exoneracion de la Comandancia general del egército y provincia de Galicia* (Leon: D. Pablo Miñon, 1822).

It is important to consider the context of this wartime freedom of the press, as it explains why the bulk of Spanish veterans' autobiographical writing was concentrated in the years 1810-1814. It is also a vital and often neglected reason for why Spanish veterans did not then continue to produce 'memoirs' in the years which followed, as from 1814 to 1820 the Constitution was annulled and restrictive censorship reimposed, with Ferdinand VII forbidding all but a few political periodicals. From 1820 to 1823, under pressure, the king restored the Constitution, which 'produjo un fenómeno de *periodicomanía* similar al ocurrido durante la Guerra de la Independencia', despite ongoing restrictions on texts criticising the king or touching on religious matters.[59] In 1824, however, absolutism returned, and with it the same strict control of the press, including a decree of 30 January 1824 which forbade all but the official publications. It was not until 1834 that glimmers of liberalism under Isabel II allowed presses of a scientific or literary character to operate without a licence and free of preliminary censorship, although the opposite still applied to political and religious publications.[60] These were extreme and changeable conditions with which neither French nor British veterans had to deal at home, and they undoubtedly curtailed or dissuaded later publishing initiatives by Spanish soldiers to an extent.

At the same time, the wartime storm of pamphleteering also contributed to shaping what *was* published by Spanish veterans. Amidst the diversity of ephemeral texts being printed, Fernando Durán López has argued that *manifiestos* formed a recognisable sub-genre. In fact, Durán López argues that *manifiestos* were a genre crystallised during the Peninsular War, with a definitive pattern set by the widely disseminated *Exposición de los hechos* (1808) by Pedro Ceballos, which described the royal abdications at Bayonne.[61] Many of the pamphlets published by Spanish veterans during or shortly after the war contained rhetoric which had shifted somewhat from the obedient, pro-monarchist service ethic of the late eighteenth century, as well as tropes which differed from the hallmarks of the much older juridical genres.

The most obvious of these differences was a direct address to audiences other than the king. In the absence of this anchoring point, Spanish veterans wrote to plead their cause before a wide range of different juries, whether a regional Junta, the nation, or in one case the entirety of 'la

[59] Casas Delgado, *Romances con Acento Andaluz*, pp. 27-28.
[60] Casas Delgado, *Romances con Acento Andaluz*, pp. 28-29.
[61] F. Durán López, 'Fuentes autobiográficos españolas para el estudio de la Guerra de la Independencia', in F. Miranda Rubio (ed.), *Fuentes Documentales para el Estudio de la Guerra de la Independencia* (Pamplona: Ediciones Eunate, 2003), p. 58.

Europa imparcial.'[62] In fact, several authors had international audiences in mind, with Juan Senén de Contreras, the ex-governor of Tarragona, first publishing his account of the siege in both French and English in London before being persuaded to release a Castilian version later the same year.[63] Most common, however, was to address the Spanish people as a whole, often imagined as a kind of idealised public tribunal before which the author could defend himself and have his actions vindicated. This tribunal, being abstract and imaginary, was much easier to convince than real courts, in whose processes many authors who used this rhetorical device were actually at the same time embroiled. 'El público, á quien dedico mis tareas con el deseo de instruirlo del verdadero estado y marcha de unos asuntos en que tanto se trata de extraviar ó prevenir su opinión, es el juez que sabrá pesar mis razones,' wrote Brigadier Don Francisco González Peynado, for example, while concurrently fighting accusations that he had failed to intercept a French convoy destined for Zaragoza some years before.[64]

Another way in which the process of writing for rewards or restored reputation had changed was that it was now much faster. Rather than absorbing years of intricate, collective bureaucratic process in order to reach the king, soldiers' self-justificatory pleas could now be printed in a matter of days, sold on the street, or even posted up in public for passers-by to read. As mentioned earlier, for example, Lieutenant General Carrafa's *Manifiesto que presenta a la Nacion Española* (1811) was first displayed at his house for anyone to look at, before being sent to a printer.[65] Moreover, defendants or competitors could now produce public replies with equal speed. These circumstances go a long way towards explaining the obsessive urgency with which Spanish veterans wrote about their actions and the changeable historical record, as highlighted in the previous chapter.

Spanish *manifiestos* should therefore be seen as highly personal and political documents, part of a broader effort by Spanish veterans to manipulate an increasingly wide and accessible public forum in their own interest. These justificatory 'memoirs' were one part of an arsenal which also contained legal proceedings, proclamations, and demands that announcements and

---

[62] García de la Cuesta, *Manifiesto*, p. 103.
[63] J. Senén de Contreras, *Rapport du siège de Tarragone, de l'assaut et de la prise de cette place, par les Français au mois de juin, 1811* (London: Henry Hay, 1813); idem, *Relation of the siege of Tarragona and the storming and capture of that city by the French in June, 1811* (London: J. Booth, 1813); idem, *Sitio de Tarragona, lo que pasó entre los franceses el general Contreras que la defendió, sus observaciones sobre la Francia, y noticia del nuevo modo de defender las plazas* (Madrid: Ibarra, 1813), pp. i-ii.
[64] J. González Peynado, *Manifiesto que hace a la nación el brigadier D. Francisco González Peynado, benemerito a la Patria en grado heroico y eminente* (Cadiz: D. Vicente Lema, 1811), p. 137.
[65] Carrafa, *Manifiesto,* p. 33n.

apologies be published in newspapers, such as the 'satisfacción publica en la Gaceta' requested by the marquis and captain general Domingo Traggia y Uribarri in 1809 for aspersions on his character.[66] In addition, while the publication of *manifiestos* and memoirs slowed down after the war years, many Spanish veterans continued to write, publish and lobby in defence of their actions throughout their careers. The guerrilla and cavalry commander Tomás García Vicente, for example, was writing angry letters to the editor of the *Estafeta de Santiago* in 1814, and more to a periodical called *El Comunicador – Diario General de Publicaciones Literarias, Artisticas y Comerciales* in 1846, more than thirty years later.[67] In 1857, moreover, a lawyer writing on García Vicente's behalf sent a supplement to a periodical called *El Duende Liberal* about a spat with the Marquis of Moncada.[68]

However, not all Spanish authors of military memoirs were 'eighteenth-century men', aristocratic army commanders adapting old genres to the new contexts of the Peninsular War. Spain also presents a unique case from that of Britain and France in this study in that the authors of 'military memoirs' were not limited to regular army officers, but also several of the leaders of the comparatively irregular guerrilla campaign. These men were the subject of huge outpourings of biography, poetry, polemics and prints during the war, and the few who released their own autobiographical writing in addition created texts quite different in tone and content to those of their official army counterparts. Emphasising their humble beginnings and their activities outside the law, these authors contributed to a growing idea of alternative, anti-establishment heroism which would recur all over the world during the upheavals of the nineteenth century.

iii. Tales of guerrilla war

From the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, there was a growing popularity of anti-heroes in the Spanish popular press. In cheap chapbook fiction, bandits, pirates, counterfeiters and rogues of all types starred as the protagonists of tales of violence and daring, with one popular story describing the courageous exploits of 'Francisquillo el Sastre', a tailor who cut up his enemies with giant scissors (see *Fig. XI*). In her study of chapbook literature in

[66] 'Traggia Uribarri, Domingo Mariano', PERSONAL_CELEB, box 163, exp. 1, folder 4, AGMS.
[67] 'Garcia Vicente, Tomas', PERSONAL_CELEB, box 064, exp. 1, folders 2 and 6, AGMS.
[68] 'Garcia Vicente, Tomas', PERSONAL_CELEB, box 064, exp. 1, folder 6, AGMS.

Fig. XI. First page of *Francisquillo el Sastre: nueva relación de los desafios, hazañas y valentías del más jaque de los hombres* (Madrid: Imp. Universal, 1801). CC 1.0.

Andalucía, Inmaculada Casas Delgado has argued that this phenomenon was directly linked to the worsening of real banditry at the time, including during the uprisings of the Peninsular War.[69] At the same time, however, the booming market in cheap prints and engravings contained a popular genre of illustrated pamphlets, 'galerías de héroes', in which leaders of guerrilla bands were celebrated alongside regular army commanders as secular icons. These images came in different formats, some simply showing the hero's face, some as group portraits, and others combining text and image to depict a valiant action or victory, but often subjects were shown in traditional military or equestrian poses, reflecting ideas of hierarchy and command. The influence of these heroic images spread abroad, with artists in other countries producing sets of drawings depicting collections of Spanish wartime heroes arrayed together. Bartolomeo Pinelli in Italy, for example, produced a set of prints showing the Spanish population mixing together with both famous generals, such as Castaños, Cuesta, Palafox, and Ballesteros, and guerrilla commanders, such as El Empecinado, Espoz y Mina, Villacampa, and El Médico.[70]

Contemporary literature thus reflected a real tension surrounding the guerrilla phenomenon in Spain, encompassing as it did everything from pure banditry to disciplined battalions. As we saw in Chapter 2, most regular Spanish army leaders distanced themselves from it in their memoirs, mainly crediting victory to the efforts of their divisions and the urban populations of places like Zaragoza and Madrid. The autobiographical writings of guerrilla commanders, while much fewer, tend to reflect an awareness and resentment of this marginalisation. Perhaps as a consequence, while their manifestos and memoirs have the same self-interested and political aims as their regular counterparts, the narrative they employed in pursuit of these aims noticeably differed. In particular, the various works of Francisco Espoz y Mina and José Serrano Valdenebro both contain an alternative category of military self-representation, sitting in a new grey area between deference to the accepted structures of authority and celebration of lawlessness.

The *guerrillero* autobiographer did not stake his claim to reward and recognition on being an upstanding servant of the state, but rather as a hero from a lowly background, free to act just outside the bounds of the susceptible, ineffective old hierarchy, and fighting devotedly in the name of a morally right (if not always strictly legal) cause. Mina, for example, repeatedly

[69] Casas Delgado, *Romances con Acento Andaluz*, pp. 13, 34, 67.
[70] Matilla, 'Estampas españolas', pp. 254-256.

introduced himself with an emphasis on his ordinary, rural background. In a *Manifiesto* addressed to the people of Navarre in 1812, for example, he began:

> Desde el arado me trasladè á las filas, pronto á sacrificar mi vida en defensa de mi Rey y Leyes Patrias, zeloso en vengar los agravios contra la religion de mis padres…[71]

This was not the story of a highly-trained professional officer who efficiently carried out his duty against the enemy, but that of a farm boy with no military education who stood up against the colossal might of the conquering French army, and won:

> …ved, Navarros, los grandes hijos de Marte, á cuya espada todo se rinde segun la Diputacion intrusa y la carta del erudito Pellou: un agricultor asido á la esteva en una aldea pequeña, sin instruccion metòdica de un colegio militar, y sin ver las grandes acciones de la Italia y Alemania, se ha puesto á la cabeza de sus hermanos que voluntariamente le han seguido: he fatigado el talento del Emperador y su Ministro de la Guerra Principe de Neufchatel…[72]

He drew the same juxtaposition in his posthumous *Memorias* (1851-2), admitting in the opening sentences that the events of the war had set him apart from his contemporaries in a way that neither birth, wealth nor education would have done.[73] Mina the hero was constructed to be relatable – but also exciting and enviable. His unusual life, as the young leader of a successful group of *guerrilleros* who harassed and hampered the resented French invaders, was as fit for fiction as it was for the annals of history.

As Geoffrey Jensen has noted, independent guerrilla leaders like Juan Martín Diez, 'El Empecinado', became arguably the most famous Spanish figures of the war, and the mystery and irregularity of these figures was a crucial part of their appeal.[74] Mythology sprang up easily around Mina and his contemporaries, fuelled by the repetition of nicknames and stories of great deeds, and Mina himself encouraged it, listing the names of his men like a roll-call of legendary figures. There was Sarasa (alias Cholin), for instance. Then Fidalgo, Juan de Villanueva (known as Juanito el de la Rochapea), his comrade Juan Ignacio Noain, Lizarraga (called

---

[71] Espoz y Mina, *Manifiesto de Don Francisco Espoz y Mina*, p. 3.
[72] Espoz y Mina, *Manifiesto de Don Francisco Espoz y Mina,* p. 4.
[73] F. Espoz y Mina, *Memorias del General Don Francisco Espoz y Mina, escritas por el mismo,* ed. Juana María de Vega, 5 vols (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1851-52), vol. 1, p. v.
[74] G. Jensen, 'The Spanish Army at War in the Nineteenth Century: Counterinsurgency at Home and Abroad', in W. H. Bowen and J. E. Alvarez (eds), *A Military History of Modern Spain from the Napoleonic Era to the International War on Terror* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger Security International, 2007), pp. 17-18.

Tachuelas), Buruchuri, Marcalain, 'and many others, all known for their fearlessness and courage.'[75] When his nephew Javier ('el Mozo') was captured and the band greatly depleted, a band of brothers remained: 'fuimos Manuel Gurria, natural de Olite; Tomas Ciriza, conocido por Tomasito, de Azcarate; Luis Gaston, el Chiquito, de Tafalla; Sarasa, llamado Mala Alma, y yo.'[76]

Another central feature of this alternative narrative was the author's conscious placement of themselves *outside* traditional institutions. Mina's works are filled with descriptions of the lack of support he received, the great challenges set against him, and his triumphs over them anyway. Defying the French, after all, was a tense and difficult task, especially as guerrilla bands like Mina's grew in size and influence and began to seriously disrupt French communications. Describing the later years of the war in his *Memorias,* Mina often highlighted the few brief days of respite he received, implying that the norm was a constant game of cat and mouse, with him spending all his time avoiding his French pursuers and sending out false reports of his movements. In an ironic reflection of the way many French veterans wrote about their feeling of being always under threat of an attack by the *guerrilleros,* Mina described never being able to relax: 'era seguido por todas partes por los enemigos, y en ninguna podia hacer un grande descanso.'[77] These were high stakes and they took their toll. During four years of tough, varied combat from 1811 to 1814, he survived several wounds from different weapons, carried a musket ball embedded in his thigh, had four horses killed under him and a constant price on his head.[78]

Meanwhile, he argued, he received no help from the central authorities in his local struggle against the weight of the *Grande Armée.* With marked emphasis, using italics, Mina stressed that the government had never given him neither financial nor other forms of support – yet, by the end of the campaign, he had managed to raise eleven regiments of infantry and cavalry totalling 13,500 men.[79] (This claim, of course, intentionally hid the fact that he had undoubtedly been receiving financial and logistical aid from the British government through its consul P. C.

[75] Espoz y Mina, *Memorias,* vol. 1, p. 12.
[76] Espoz y Mina, *Memorias,* vol. 1, p. 19.
[77] Espoz y Mina, *Memorias,* vol. 1, p. 107.
[78] F. Espoz y Mina, *Breve Extracto de la vida del General Mina* / *A Short Extract from the life of General Mina* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1825), pp. 36-37.
[79] Espoz y Mina, *Breve Extracto,* pp. 32-35.

Tupper.) For this isolation he blamed the jealousy and intrigues of the court, which refused to recognise the worthiness of his low-born but valiant fighters:

> Verdad es que, si bien habian sido valientes y habian derramado generosamente su sangre peleando contra los enemigos de su patria, tenian la falta capital de ser de oscura cuna, pobre, pero honrados, sin mas proteccion que sus hechos y virtudes; y los celos y la envidia, y el nacimiento, y el favor y las intrigas han sido en todos tiempos mas poderosos e n la corte que el verdadero mérito contraido en el servicio de la patria.[80]

This sense of the *guerrilleros* and the villagers in remoter areas being left on their own to engage in a survival struggle against the French is common to other works by guerrilla leaders.

For example, José Serrano Valdenebro (1742-1814), an ageing naval officer turned guerrilla commander of the mountainous Serranía de Ronda, wrote an indignant *manifiesto* about his removal from command which showed his irritation with many representatives of the regular hierarchy, particularly those, such as the brigadier Moretti, who tried to interfere with his authority in the mountains.[81] Given the context of his dismissal, such resentment was not surprising, but it also formed part of an increasingly recognisable narrative of two parallel wars: one which took place on the battlefield, and another, quite separately and with different techniques and tactics, in the villages and countryside. The struggle against the French in the Serrania de Ronda, according to Valdenebro, had been desperate and uneven, fought sometimes with pruning sickles, shotguns 'y otros instrumentos mas propios para la agricultura que para batallar.'[82] It was a type of war quite foreign to the leading officers of the regular army, and one that they would be painfully slow to adopt over a coming century of colonial warfare against irregular forces, as the editors of a recent military history of Spain have underlined.[83]

Victories scored by Serrano, Mina and their bands were depicted as due to a combination of stamina and ingenuity, and sometimes decidedly unorthodox. To obtain a steady supply of money to support his troops, for instance, Mina boasted several times of having forced an agreement with some French customs houses whereupon the French officials paid him in gold

---

[80] Espoz y Mina, *Memorias,* vol. 1, p. 39.
[81] C. Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 266; J. Serrano Valdenebro, *Manifiesto de los Servicios hechos a la Patria por el Gefe de Esquadra Don José Serrano Valdenebro, desde el movimiento de la nación á la justa defensa contra la invasión que nos tiraniza, hasta su remoción del mando de la Sierra Meridional acordada por la Regencia en 2 de julio de 1811, lo presenta a las Cortes del Reyno* (Algeciras: Juan Bautista Contilló y Conti, s.d.), p. 21.
[82] Serrano Valdenebro, *Manifiesto*, p. 13.
[83] W. H. Bowen and J. E. Alvarez, 'Introduction', in idem, *A Military History*, pp. 1-3.

in return for not 'taxing' the passing merchants – a sum which, in the case of the customhouse at Irun, amounted to roughly 320 pounds sterling per month, if Mina's own facts are to be believed.[84]

In fact, guerrilla leaders seem to have elevated moral legitimacy over legality in their writings. This was a sharp contrast to the rhetoric employed by other Spanish officers, who emphasised their strict adherence to orders and obedience to the king. An important part of the strategy was a total rejection of the 'brigand' label commonly used by the French to condemn the Spanish guerrillas.[85] Making comparisons to the Swiss folklore figure of William Tell and the more recent historical example of George Washington, Mina asked angrily if the French would also have called these august figures 'brigands' when they fought for the independence of their countries against the injustice of tyrants, invaders and oppressors, making the way in which he wanted his own war effort to be perceived quite clear.[86]

In line with this self-portrayal as a defender of liberty, Mina placed great emphasis on his own integrity, underlining his steadfast attachment to his liberal and constitutional political beliefs despite the intrigue that ran rife among his contemporaries.[87] He also used the developing language of Spanish patriotism to legitimise his actions, stressing that he and his fellow fighters were 'buenos hijos' of the motherland who had been inspired by a love for their country to fight the 'treacherous' and illegitimate French invasion.[88] Playing on the powerful image of the volunteer, he repeatedly referred to his band as 'mis voluntarios', portraying them as young, patriotic men serving the war effort, rather than opportunistic bandits and deserters.[89] The guerrilla bands, in this light, were a people's resistance, springing up organically and democratically in a vacuum caused by a lack of organised battalions for patriotic youths to join and few capable commanders to lead them.[90]

A pattern of self-portrayal emerged in guerrilla leaders' writings, therefore, that was quite consistent with a growing Romantic image of patriotic, heroic audacity: the hero from a poor, ordinary background, achieving great exploits against steep odds, and acting with moral

[84] Espoz y Mina, *Breve Extracto,* pp. 38-41; idem, *Memorias*, vol. 1, pp. 34-35.
[85] Serrano Valdenebro, *Manifiesto,* pp. 19-20.
[86] Espoz y Mina, *Memorias,* vol. 1, p. 150.
[87] Intrigue amongst army officers: Espoz y Mina, *Breve Extracto,* pp. 44-47; Mina's dedication to the liberal and constitutional cause: ibid, pp. 48-49, 51-53, 54-55, 56-59, 62-63.
[88] Espoz y Mina, *Memorias,* vol. 1, p. v; idem, *Breve Extracto,* p. 11.
[89] Espoz y Mina, *Memorias,* vol. 1, p. 10; idem, *Breve Extracto,* pp. 14, 40-43.
[90] Espoz y Mina, *Memorias,* vol. 1, pp. 8-9.

integrity for a higher cause, even if this meant also acting against the current regime. However, it was contrasted at the same time by a repeated claim to being part of the establishment in military terms. Both Mina and Serrano Valdenebro also spent time describing their efforts to transform the guerrilla bands into increasingly *regular* and disciplined fighting forces, betraying the real purpose of their autobiographical writing, which was to lobby for political-military positions of power under their preferred regime. Mina's anger at being dismissed by his contemporaries as a 'guerrillero', for example, is a perfect demonstration of both the snobbery among the trained officer corps towards the irregular *partidas* and the fact that Mina, while posing as a hero outside the establishment, had certainly not rejected all hope of joining it.[91]

Indeed, Mina had become an important military figure largely by virtue of uniting and organizing the disparate guerrilla bands in Navarre, and his division was formally recogised as part of the army in 1811 by the Regency.[92] In his memoirs, he stressed his efforts to form his men into recognizable army structures, 'dotándolos con el correspondiente número de jefes, oficiales, sargentos, etc., etc., modelándolos á la forma de la tropa de línea.'[93] Serrano Valdenebro, too, acted directly under the orders of the central government, forming 'cuerpos de patriotas' whose leaders were named and registered, while the territory was divided into cantons under principal commanders and postings were made at the artery roads of the area.[94]

Most importantly, this distinction between the disciplined fighting forces of various guerrilla commanders and the unorganized, sometimes predatory bands that formed elsewhere was affirmed by some of Mina's contemporaries. In particular, the *Mariscal del campo* Luis de Villava (1751-1815), whose description of the siege of Zaragoza contained a very poor opinion of guerrillas in general, seeing them as little more than robbers who did more harm to Spain than the French, went out of his way to note that he did not include Mina nor the famous El Empecinado in this description:

> No hablo del valeroso Mina, que sugetó desde el principio sus soldados á la disciplina militar; del Empecinado que hoy es Gefe de una division, y sin embargo le han dado que sentir algunos, acordándose de sus principios de libertinage; ni hablo de alguna otra que baxo los mismos

[91] Espoz y Mina, *Memorias*, vol. 3, p. 313.
[92] Espoz y Mina, *Memorias,* vol. 1, p. 72.
[93] Espoz y Mina, *Memorias,* vol. 1, p. 91.
[94] Serrano Valdenebro, *Manifiesto*, p. 18.

> principios dependa de los exércitos; solo me dirijo contra las quadrillas de paisanos á su libre alvedrio.[95]

In Spanish sources, then, the political figure of the guerrilla division commander occupied an ambiguous grey area somewhere between the respectability of the trained officer corps of the regular army and the lawlessness of the irregular resistance blossoming across the country.

It was a nuance, however, that was never recognised by their French and British contemporaries. The best-selling British memoirists Sherer and Gleig, for instance, both firmly understood guerrillas as 'the people' and not the regular army, describing them as 'brave peasants', 'disbanded soldiers' and 'spirited volunteers', impressive and intimidating in appearance but markedly undisciplined.[96] 'Their whole appearance', wrote Gleig, 'reminded me forcibly of a troop of bandits; and the resemblance was not the less striking, that they moved to the sound, not of trumpets or other martial music, but of their own voices.'[97] The French, meanwhile, generally viewed the guerrilla bands with such a powerful mix of anger, fear and fascination that there was little space for a nuanced perception of their internal hierarchical differences. The daring Romantic image put forward by Mina would have echoed much more loudly in France and Britain than his claims to careful, organised leadership.

iv. Conclusion: Time for an Iberian genre of war writing?

The neglect of Portuguese and Spanish war writing has so far rested on two false assumptions: that examples scarcely exist, and that they cannot be compared to the memoirs produced in Britain and France at the same time. In reality, 'Anglo-French'-style war memoirs *can* be found in Portugal and Spain: long, narrative accounts of the writer's wartime experiences, bound in embossed leather covers, illustrated with artist's renderings of soldiers in uniform on campaign. To me, however, it has seemed much more interesting to explore the types of veterans' writing which does not immediately fit a north-western European pattern – and, in fact, to stop using that artificial pattern as a lens for analysis.

---

[95] L. de Villava, *Zaragoza en su segundo sitio, con nuevas notas y un apéndice* (Palma de Mallorca: Antonio Brusi, 1811), pp. 45-46.
[96] M. Sherer, *Recollections of the Peninsula, by the author of Sketches of India,* 2nd edn (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1824), p. 182.
[97] G. Gleig, *The Subaltern* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1825), p. 220.

Instead, I have argued that there are several important, alternative ways in which to understand Portuguese and especially Spanish war memoirs. Spanish officers' wartime *manifiestos* were heirs to a style of juridical writing which dated back to the early days of the empire, standardised autobiographical petitions to the king for rewards or reimbursement whose bureaucratic forms and language had a lasting impact on later literature. They were also shaped by their authors' roots in the eighteenth century, and the culture of an administrative service elite in which many had built their careers. At the same time, *manifiestos* were a product of the changed circumstances brought about by the Peninsular War, with the removal of the king, the chaos of fighting a war against an occupying army amidst a civil uprising, and most significantly, a period of dramatically increased freedom for the press. A furious storm of pamphleteering and public debate provoked some officers to write to defend their reputations and encouraged others, especially the leaders of guerrilla divisions, to experiment with new rhetorical strategies designed to excite the imaginations of an increasingly politicised public.

Part I of this thesis explores the ways in which Peninsular War veterans can be seen as authors with active aims in publishing, men with political and personal agendas whose memoirs were not the simple testimony of objective eyewitnesses but instead carefully crafted pieces of creative writing. What emerges from this chapter is that Spanish veterans perhaps fit this pattern best of all; that, ironically, the neglected genre of Iberian war autobiography is *most* proof of my argument, and perhaps therefore part of the reason why Napoleonic veterans have continued to be seen solely as they often depicted themselves, as simple soldiers with a good tale to tell. For example, it was not that Spanish officers were not sophisticated or literate enough to give readers amusing anecdotes of their family, childhood and exploits in the army in narrative detail, but that they intentionally chose not to write in that way, deliberately drawing instead on an established tradition of semi-juridical literature designed specifically to petition an authority, whether king, junta or abstract public tribunal, for personal gain.

Furthermore, they were acutely aware of the shifting political context around them and used their published writings as tools, publically defending their actions or asserting their suitability for a position of command. Spanish veterans engaged in complicated and consistent image management; they wrote to newspaper editors to decry their treatment in the popular press; they adapted their narrative strategies to win popular support. Although more work remains to

be done on the works of Portuguese veterans, it seems clear that at the start of the nineteenth century, Iberian war autobiography was a genre with both long roots in the past and the capacity for evolution in the present, a highly politicised body of literature in which soldiers set out to shape the status quo with their memoirs.

Chapter 4.

The Myth of the Accidental Author[1]

The morning of Tuesday, 2 December 1834 dawned bright and sunny in the hills over the peaceful Alpine town of Gap. Taking a walk through the countryside, the retired French officer Jean-Stanislas Vivien was struck by the memory of a similarly beautiful morning twenty-nine years earlier, when crisp winter sunshine had shone on the famous battlefield of Austerlitz. Comparing what he remembered as a day of national glory with the riots and malcontent of the present, Vivien returned home inspired and scrawled down a few jumbled pages of his memories of the battle. What began as a whim quickly became a passion. Encouraged by his brother-in-law, gnawed at by nostalgia, and seeking an escape from the deep grief of his only son's death, Vivien continued to write, slowly setting down his recollections of several decades spent in the service of Napoleon's *Grande Armée*. Five years later, weighing two heavy volumes in his hands, the old veteran found with surprise that he had written a book, 'sans projet, sans plan arrêté et je puis même dire sans y songer.'[2]

That, at least, is the story Vivien told in his memoirs, a collection of colourful anecdotes from his military career which was dedicated to his wife and son and lost in the family archives for half a century, before being published in January 1905 by the French military history journal *Carnet de la Sabretache*. It is, moreover, a familiar account. As both Neil Ramsey and Philip Dwyer have noted, Napoleonic veterans routinely portrayed themselves in their prefaces and introductions as simple, unlettered soldiers, for whom writing a memoir had been a private, cathartic process, and publishing it practically accidental.[3]

The image of the accidental author was a trope strong enough to span national borders, recurring in memoirs written by survivors of all three main sides of the Peninsular War. Apologies in advance to the reader for spelling mistakes, poor word choice and unsophisticated

[1] A shorter version of this chapter was published as M. Greig, 'Accidental Authors? Soldiers' Tales of the Peninsular War and the Secrets of the Publishing Process', *History Workshop Journal* 86 (2018), pp. 1-22.
[2] J.-S. Vivien, *Souvenirs de ma vie militaire (1792–1822)*, ed. E. Martin (Paris: Hachette, 1905), p. 243.
[3] N. Ramsay, *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture, 1780–1835* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 37; P. G. Dwyer, 'Public Remembering, Private Reminiscing: French Military Memoirs and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', *French Historical Studies* 33, 2 (2010), pp. 249–50.

style littered the paratext of war memoirs from Britain, France and Spain, always suggesting the image of an old soldier, more comfortable wielding a sword than a pen, delving gingerly into ink for the first time. 'Nunca pensé ser el autor de las Memorias que ahora presento al público, pues desconfiado de mi capacidad para tanto empeño', wrote the Spanish regimental chaplain Lino Matiás Picado Franco in 1815, while his compatriot General Luis de Villava talked of 'redactores con pluma más atinada que la de un soldado rancio.'[4] 'En écrivant ces mémoires, je n'ai pas voulu me donner pour auteur,' emphasised the French captain Nicolas Marcel, 'loin de moi une pareille prétension.'[5] 'Soldiers are not generally famous for literary excellence', admitted the British officer Rees Howell Gronow in 1862, 'but I hope that the interest of the matter will make up for any deficiency of style',[6] while his contemporary, the Scottish officer John Kincaid, anticipated objections to his writing with a quotation from *Othello*:

> And little of this world can I speak,
> More than pertains to feats of broil and battle;
> And therefore little shall I grace my cause
> In speaking for myself; yet, by your gracious patience,
> I will a round unvarnished tale deliver…[7]

Yet the ostensibly unlettered, unsophisticated soldier who quoted Shakespeare at length and made elegant apologies for his work seems a strange beast indeed – and was, of course, largely a work of fiction.

For a start, around half of all the veterans who wrote memoirs after the Peninsular War came from wealthy, even aristocratic backgrounds, and had received a thorough literary education in one way or another. Moreover, what Bill Bell has recently called 'the rhetorical device of the *excusatio propter infirmitatem*' (pleading weakness or inadequacy) was in fact a widely observed phenomenon across the autobiographical and travel-writing genres in the nineteenth

[4] L. M. Picado Franco, *Memorias sobre la Reconquista de Zaragoza* (Madrid: Repullés, 1815), p. ii; L. de Villava, *Zaragoza en su segundo sitio* (Palma: Antonio Brusi, 1811), p. 4.
[5] N. Marcel, *Campagnes Du Capitaine Marcel En Espagne et En Portugal (1808-1814)* ed. L. M. A. V. Var (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1913), pp. 1-2.
[6] R. H. Gronow, *Selections from the Reminiscences of Captain Gronow* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1862), pp. iv–v.
[7] J. Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade, in the Peninsula, France, and the Netherlands, from 1809 to 1815* (London: T. & W. Boone, 1830), pp. vii–viii.

century.[8] Notably identified by Gerard Genette in *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1997), this confession of stylistic or intellectual incapacity and long justification for writing, usually accompanied by an emphasis on honesty and authenticity as an eyewitness to events, can be found in early-century Spanish chapbook romances, mid-century middle-class British businessmen's memoirs, and late-century Dutch autobiographies, to name just a few.[9]

An intricate interplay of the concepts of truth and testimony, use of this trope was not only customary but had multiple benefits. At a time when the respectability of the booming novel genre was still in question, an eyewitness's uncomplicated life story had the advantage in credibility, and was perhaps more potent than a tale written by an author who had only imagined, not lived through, the events he described. Claiming to be a simple eyewitness gave authority to authors whose social or professional status might not give them any other claim or recourse, and transformed the potential disadvantage of an incomplete literary education into a selling point. Modesty about the author's literary talents gave a ring of reliability and potential historical value to their accounts, positioning the work as a straightforward testimony and not the imaginative work of an accomplished writer. Most of all, it obscured the reality of the often sophisticated and multi-actor production process for a book in the nineteenth century, instead suggesting an intimate, spontaneous and unadorned discourse between author and reader. As Bell has demonstrated in a study of various travelogues produced by British publisher John Murray, 'in many instances, even where Murray and his agents undoubtedly had a considerable hand, the conventions of the genre required the disavowal of the very trade mechanisms that governed their presentation to the public.' Far from being the rudimentary, natural works of inexperienced new authors, therefore, works prefaced by this customary pretence of modesty were 'highly professional performances of amateur authorship.'[10]

---

[8] B. Bell, 'Authors in an Industrial Economy: the Case of John Murray's Travel Writers', *Romantic Textualities* 21 (Winter, 2013), (http://www.romtext.org.uk/articles/rt21_n01, accessed 12 Nov. 2015); see also J. Raven, 'The Anonymous Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1750–1830', in R. J. Griffin (ed.), *The Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 151.

[9] I. Casas Delgado, *Romances con Acento Andaluz: el éxito de la prensa popular (1750–1850)* (Seville: Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 2012); R. Gray, 'Self-made Men, Self-narrated Lives: Male Autobiographical Writing and the Victorian Middle Class', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 6, 2 (2001), pp. 288–312; M. Huisman, 'Autobiography and Contemporary History: the Dutch Reception of Autobiographies, 1850–1918', in A. Baggerman, R. Dekker and M. Mascuch (eds), *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self: Developments in Autobiographical Writing since the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 387–415; L. van de Pol, 'Autobiographical Memory in the Making: Wilhelmina of Prussia's Childhood Memoirs', also in *Controlling Time*, pp. 48–75.

[10] Bell, 'Authors in an Industrial Economy'.

Yet the memoirs of Peninsular War veterans have rarely been considered as professional performances. By and large, the skill of the author and his involvement in the production of his book have been left unaddressed, while studies have concentrated instead on sifting through the text for snippets of reliable eyewitness information, or hints as to how Napoleonic soldiers experienced and felt about war. This chapter challenges the tendency to forget the men behind the experiences and the writings. To do so, I will focus on the Peninsular War veterans whose memoirs were published within their lifetimes (roughly one hundred and thirteen out of a total of 245 authors from France, Britain and Spain). By unpicking the trails of correspondence between authors and editors hidden in publishing archives in Britain in particular, I argue that rather than being random soldiers who by chance happened to leave a written record of their experiences, the men who wrote and published war memoirs in this period were actively involved in the publication of their books, knowledgeable about the industry, and eager for success in the literary rather than military world. Lay aside the pretence, 'accidental' author: the profound contribution made by soldiers to narrating the Napoleonic Wars during the early nineteenth century came from men who wanted to make their voices publicly heard, pitched to leading publishers, and held strong editorial visions of a polished final product.

i. Editions, Oeuvre, and Evolution as 'The Author'

It is a common observation that the act of writing a memoir could be a cathartic experience which helped veterans to process and move on from their experiences. However, it is much less commonly noted that the publishing process, too, could change the writer. Indeed, Peninsular War memoirs were not usually mere vanity projects, but successful commercial items which frequently sold out of their first print run and enjoyed several successive editions. Not only does this remind us that the writers of such memoirs must have been fairly skilled – or at least, that they had the benefit of good editors, and tapped into a contemporary appetite for such books – but also that, if these same authors were alive to witness it, their works might be gaining success, receiving reviews, and spreading their name over an extended period of time. With each new edition requiring a few corrections or tweaks, but often also an updated Author's Preface, veterans had the opportunity to grow into the persona of a published writer, a development which can be seen clearly in a few cases as the typical modesty of the first preface evolves into defensiveness, ambition and pride.

To the Glasgow-born Joseph Donaldson, who served the entirety of the Peninsular War with the Ninety-Fourth Regiment of Foot and returned home in 1819 with the relatively low rank of sergeant, the success of his memoir (which moved through at least nine different editions over the space of four decades) may have come as a surprise. Donaldson was literate and an active reader from an early age, but had never written anything before he started to compose his picturesque, pensive and often fiercely critical autobiography in 1817.[11] Yet the letter he wrote to the old regimental comrade who would proofread the memoir and pass it to Glasgow-based publisher W. R. McPhun, later printed as a preface to the first edition, betrayed a clear desire to have his work published. The language of this letter (whose authenticity should not be taken fully for granted) was conventionally polite and humble, modest about the writer's ability and acquaintance with the literary world, and hopeful that the work would be judged on its own merits.[12] The tone here was mirrored in the conclusion to both the first and second editions, which emphasized 'that it is my first essay in writing, and has been written without premeditation, rather to amuse an idle hour, than that it should appear before the public.'[13]

Donaldson's memoir first appeared as three parts, the first two (which described his childhood and the Peninsular War) collected into one volume very early on. These met with considerable critical acclaim, encouraging Donaldson to produce his third written work, a sequel of sorts entitled *Scenes and Sketches of a Soldier's Life in Ireland* (1826). Already, in the preface to this third book, Donaldson's tone had changed. The self-portrayal was still largely that of the humble soldier striving for his own self-improvement, meekly laying his truthful, personal impressions of the war before a discerning literary public. Yet there was also a growing defensiveness about his abilities as an author: the suggestion that, as an ordinary soldier, he should be given some credit for what he had produced, combined with a quiet defiance of reviewers who had criticized his writing style:

> Flattered by the approbation of the public in my former rude attempt to portray the scenes of my "Eventful Life", I am induced to lay before them the present volume. I am aware that in my style and grammatical correctness they have much to censure, for which I can only plead the coat I wear. … Under depressing circumstances, I have endeavoured to cultivate my mind: that I have not succeeded in attaining all the necessary qualifications to shine as an author, cannot surely, against one in my situation, be alleged as a fault. I have been accused of giving the former part

[11] J. Donaldson, *Recollections of an Eventful Life Chiefly Passed in the Army* (Glasgow: W. R. McPhun, 1825).
[12] Donaldson, 'Letter to the Editor', *Recollections*, part 1, p. vii.
[13] Donaldson, *Recollections*, part 2, p. 219.

> of my narrative a romantic colouring. It may be a fault in style, and, as has been observed, may throw an air of doubt over its authenticity; but, after all, it is perhaps its greatest charm. Had it not been for my romantic spirit, I might never have witnessed those scenes which I have attempted to describe, or, having seen them, they would not have made the impression on my mind, so necessary to paint them vividly.[14]

Unlike the 'Letter to the Editor' which prefaced the first two parts of the memoir and was signed simply 'James', this preface was more confidently signed 'The Author.'

By the time Donaldson wrote the preface for the first collected edition of all three of his works (actually published posthumously in 1838), this confidence had increased dramatically, and he criticized the 'presuming arrogance of rank' and 'overwhelming conceit of literary pedantry' which might try to work against writers of lower social class and military grade:

> The present Work was first published in separate volumes, within a twelvemonth of each other, under the title of 'Recollections of an Eventful Life', and 'The Peninsular War'. The favourable reception they met with from the Public, even in their unavoidably imperfect state, far exceeded my most sanguine expectations. Many, indeed, alleged 'that they were the production of some book-maker', and others 'that some person of literary ability must have assisted the soldier'. Neither, however, is the fact. Such as the narrative is, it was composed and written by me without the slightest assistance. Indeed, I think it strange that scepticism on that point should have been excited. Why should not a soldier (if he has cultivated his natural abilities) express himself in a tolerable manner as well as an individual of a different class?[15]

The assumption that soldierly status would automatically seem synonymous with poor literary ability ('I am aware that in my style and grammatical correctness they have much to censure, for which I can only plead the coat I wear'), was now challenged ('Why should not a soldier…?'). In addition, rather than simply apologizing for errors of grammar and type, Donaldson had now 'endeavoured to amend' them. In other words, his memoir was not a testament fixed in time, but an evolving text requiring maintenance and reaction to its reception: the work of an active author, rather than an old soldier who had once written down his memories, passed them on to an editor, and retired from public life.

---

[14] *Recollections of the Eventful Life of a Soldier, by the Late Joseph Donaldson, Sergeant in the Ninety-Fourth Scots Brigade* (1852), ed. Ian Fletcher (Staplehurst: Spellmount, 2000), pp. 239–40.
[15] *Recollections,* ed. Fletcher, pp. vii–viii.

Veterans therefore played an ongoing role as the author of their war memoir long after its first date of publication, a role which could increase their confidence and change the way they presented themselves. However, writing one war memoir did not necessarily mean the end of their enthusiasm for authorship, nor of their ambition to write more. For example, it was not uncommon to write sequels to successful first editions of memoirs, and one of the most successful British memoirs of the century, Captain Rees Howell Gronow's *Reminiscences* (1862–6) appeared as a series, responding to demand. Meanwhile, the completion of a Peninsular War memoir could prompt the writing-up of other campaigns: the Marquess of Londonderry, for example, hinted in the closing sentences of his 1828 memoir that he was thinking of publishing 'my military recollections of the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 with the allied armies on the continent' if the current work received enough interest.[16] Major-General Sir John Thomas Jones, meanwhile, officer in the Royal Engineers during the Peninsular War, produced not one but three works on his experiences in Spain and Portugal and, later in life, a privately-printed *Military Autobiography* (1853).[17] A few veterans even appear to have ghost-written other war memoirs, once again putting the lie to the memoir's implicit claim of authenticity. The anonymous *Vicissitudes in the life of a Scottish soldier* (1827), for instance, may have been composed by the well-versed writer and veteran George Gleig, according to the editor of the most recent version.[18]

As authors (even ghostly ones), veterans did not limit themselves solely to the autobiographical or memoir genre. Venturing into neighbouring genres such as military theory, biography, history, adventure novels and travelogues, and occasionally even into sketching and musical composition, a significant number of veterans from all three countries gradually constructed an oeuvre within which their wartime autobiographies sometimes played only a minor or marginal role. The Spanish officer Federico Moretti, for example, was involved in a storm of self-justificatory pamphlet-writing during the war, but later wrote hundreds of musical pieces for the guitar, while the British officer Robert Batty followed his memoir by producing beautiful volumes of illustrations from the Spanish, Welsh, French and German countryside. French general and Napoleon's own confidante Louis Bacler d'Albe was also an experienced

[16] C. W. Vane, *Narrative of the Peninsular War, from 1808 to 1813 (*London: Henry Colburn, 1828), p. 648.
[17] J. T. Jones, *Journals of the sieges undertaken by the allies in Spain, in the years 1811 and 1812*, 2 vols (London: T. Egerton, 1814); Jones, *Account of the war in Spain, Portugal, and the South of France, from 1808 to 1814 inclusive* (London: T. Egerton, 1818); Jones, *Memoranda relative to the Lines thrown up to cover Lisbon in 1810* (London: s.n., 1829); *The Military Autobiography of Major-Gen. Sir J. T. J.* (London: s.n., 1853).
[18] P. Cowan, *With Wellington in the Peninsula: the Adventures of a Highland Soldier, 1808–1814* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2015), p. v.

mapmaker, and produced striking lithographs to illustrate his history of the Peninsular campaign. The officer-turned-priest George Gleig wrote a huge range of other books, from religious tracts to sentimental novels and even a prestigious *Life of Arthur, Duke of Wellington* (1862). Captain George Wood of the Eighty-Second Regiment invented the colourful fictional hero Redbury Rook, whose *Rambles* were printed at the author's expense in 1826.[19] Even among the sparse Portuguese examples, the anonymous author of *Golpe de vista: sobre alguns movimentos e acções do Regimento de Infantaria no. 18 na Guerra da Península* (1844) had also worked as a columnist for the *Correio de Lisboa* in the late 1830s, corresponding under the pseudonym 'O Soldado Portuguez.'[20]

Not only might the autobiographical war memoir be somewhat lost within these varied lists of works, but some authors in fact explicitly tried to place it far down the same list, not wanting to have their personal narrative be the work that defined them. For example, having penned and printed several military guides and histories of the war which became 'standard authorities' in their fields, the French general Paul Thiébault requested that his memoir itself never be published at all, and it remained in manuscript form for nearly fifty years after his death.[21] Indeed, the question of public or even artistic identity as an author was an important and complex one in the nineteenth century, with increased legal protection for the author as the proprietor of his intellectual property, the growing status of best-selling authors' names as a kind of brand, and the ever-present questions of vulnerability to liability and criticism all making the name placed on the title page of a book an important and conscious choice, imbued with meaning. Moreover, it was a choice from among infinite options. As the recent work of Robert Griffin and James Raven has demonstrated, anonymity and the use of pseudonyms continued to be widespread during the nineteenth century ('at least as common as signed authorship', according to Griffin, and including eighty percent of all annual new novel titles in Britain, according to Raven), so veterans and their publishers could choose between keeping (or elaborating on) an existing name or title, obscuring the name, or fabricating a new rubric entirely.[22]

[19] G. Wood, *The Rambles of Redbury Rook: or, a caution to his own species how they embrace the profession of arms* (London: G. Wood, 1826).
[20] Anon., *Collecção de cartas do soldado portuguez* (Lisbon: Largo do Contador Mór, 1838).
[21] *The Memoirs of Baron Thiébault*, ed. A. J. Butler, 2 vols (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1896), pp. vi–vii.
[22] R. J. Griffin, 'Introduction', in *The Faces of Anonymity*, p. 6; Raven, 'The Anonymous Novel', p. 143.

The reasons informing this choice are rarely visible, even in correspondence between the veterans and their publishers, but informed speculation provides several possibilities. On the author's part, fear may have been a strong factor in choosing anonymity, from genuine lack of confidence as a first-time or unusual author to apprehension about the critical reception of a book at a time when the periodical press, particularly in Britain, had begun to deliberately exaggerate their scorn. Novels, at least, had a decidedly poor reputation at the start of the nineteenth century, and some memoir-writers may have felt a similar shame around publishing their intimate life stories or writing for money, particularly if it seemed to clash with their 'respectable' daytime profession or social status. More seriously, publishing accounts with satirical or critical descriptions of living people ran the real risk of being prosecuted for libel in the case of Britain, or even facing inquisitorial or governmental reprisals in the case of Spain.[23] A gradual strategy of 'testing the waters' was common throughout the century, even among the most celebrated fiction authors: Thomas Hardy, for example, published his first novel, *Desperate Remedies* (1871) anonymously; his second, *Under the Greenwood Tree* (1872) as 'by the author of *Desperate Remedies*'; and finally his third, *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (1873) under his own name.[24]

At the same time, the choice of name could be a conscious artistic decision, made for literary or fashionable effect. Walter Scott himself was known for years as 'the Author of Waverley' – an anonymity which originated with his fear that his writing would conflict with his job as an officer of the court in Edinburgh, but which ultimately generated such a mystique and furore around the creator that it added to the books' appeal and encouraged others to adopt a similar faux-anonymity. The British publisher Henry Colburn, for example, responsible for producing eight separate Peninsular War memoirs, often decided not to name his authors for commercial reasons, hoping to pique readers' curiosity.[25] Anonymity or pseudonyms could indeed protect an elevated social position, but they could also hide a low one, or deliberately tailor the way the reader would perceive the author's claims – a memoir 'by a soldier', for example, perhaps calculated to have more eyewitness appeal than something by an armchair correspondent.

The corpus of Peninsular War memoirs from Britain includes several examples of this same variety and conscious decision-making, split into two groups – those who kept or curated their real names, and those who chose anonymity or, most commonly, fashioned themselves

[23] Delgado, *Romances,* p. 52.
[24] Griffin, 'Introduction', pp. 6–7.
[25] Raven, 'The Anonymous Novel', p. 159.

pseudonyms. Of those who printed their real names, the majority were high-ranking officers with additional aristocratic or political titles, the power of these to lend weight and perhaps visibility to the memoir clear. Often, these authors blended their military titles with their inherited ones, including as many awards or merits as possible, a list which was usually clearly visible in the centre of the title page of these memoirs, underneath the title, and larger than the name of the publisher. The first edition of Charles Vane's memoir, for example, bore a title page reading 'By Lieut.-General Charles William Vane, Marquess of Londonderry, G.C.B. G.C.H., colonel of the Tenth Royal Hussars', the name itself and the military titles being printed in a notably smaller font than the aristocratic title. The updating of Andrew Leith Hay's title from 'Major Leith Hay FRSE' on the first edition of his memoirs to 'Lieut.-Col. Leith Hay FRSE, MP' on the second, moreover, suggests a particular care which may reflect the dual importance of the name to both the author and the bookseller.[26]

British veterans who published anonymously or pseudonymously are more mysterious still. Many memoir-writers, from the obscure to the commercially very successful, chose to hide their names on first publishing, including those, like George Gleig, who had already begun publishing articles and novels. Their motives remain hidden, but scraps and traces in the archives underline that the name on the title page (and therefore a key element of his public authorial persona) could be a choice consciously made by the veteran himself. Preserved in the Bentley Papers held at the British Library, the memorandum of an agreement made between Major Henry Ross Lewin of Kildysart, County Clare, and the publisher Richard Bentley on 31 October 1833 noted that 'the name of the writer [was] to remain unknown until such restriction shall be removed by him.'[27] As the publishers had not bought the copyright of Ross Lewin's work, but instead made an agreement to share half of any eventual profits of the work with him, more control over the memoir's presentation remained with the author.[28] The book was printed the following year, with the title *The Life of a Soldier: a Narrative of Twenty-Seven Years' Service in Various Parts of the World, by a Field Officer* (1834).

In fact, British Peninsular War veterans seem to have often had strong opinions about how they wished their names to appear on their works, and the features of a pseudonym could be curated

[26] A. Leith Hay, *A Narrative of the Peninsular War*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Daniel Lizars, and London: Whittaker, Treacher & Arnot, 1831), and *A Narrative of the Peninsular War,* 2nd edn, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Stirling & Kenney, and London: Henry Washbourne, 1834).
[27] Memorandum of an agreement between Ross Lewin and Bentley, 31 Oct. 1833: f. 36, vol. LIII, Add MS 46612, Bentley Papers, British Library (BL), London.
[28] Agreement, 31 Oct. 1833, Add MS 46612, Bentley, BL.

with as much care as that of a real name and title. In his correspondence with the publisher John Murray, the British officer John Fane, Earl of Westmorland, explicitly requested to be kept anonymous as the author of his *Memoir of the Early Campaigns of the Duke of Wellington in Portugal and Spain* (1820) – an interesting contradiction to the tendency of aristocratic veterans to proudly display their titles on their works, which possibly stemmed from the fact that Fane was married to the Duke of Wellington's own niece. 'I do not intend to publish this work with my name attached to it', Fane wrote to Murray in 1819, 'but simply as the Memoir of the early campaigns of L.d Wellington in Portugal & Spain, by an officer employed in his army.'[29] Furthermore, the specific details of this anonymity were important to him. Three years later, in a hurried handwritten letter to his publisher in London, Fane reacted with panic to a misleading advertisement which had stated that the memoir was 'by a general officer', not simply 'by an officer'. Eager not to be misidentified despite being anonymous, Fane protested that 'this had occurred by some mistake & I beg you to write correct it, I am not yet a General, & I wish the work only to bear the title which stands in the title page.'[30]

Veterans' wishes in this respect might sometimes lead to conflict with their publishers. Captain Moyle Sherer was one of the most prolific pseudonymous authors in the army, producing a variety of books of travel writing, biography, religion, and historical fiction during his long postwar military career, many of which reached at least three editions, yet nearly all were printed without his name. His first book, a travelogue based on his experiences in Madras with his regiment after 1818, was simply titled *Sketches of India, written by an officer, for fire-side travellers at home* (1821), with the author's preface signed humbly 'A traveller.' The commercial success of this work not only encouraged him to write his personal war memoir *Recollections of the Peninsula* (1823), but also prompted a change in presentation: from this first success onwards, he left behind the 'officer' or 'traveller' moniker and began to be credited consistently as 'the author of' his previous successful works. Thus the *Recollections* were entitled 'by the author of *Sketches of India*'; his subsequent *Scenes and impressions in Egypt and Italy* (1824) 'by the author of *Sketches of India,* and *Recollections of the Peninsula*'; his first foray into fiction, *The story of a life* (1825), 'by the author of *Scenes and impressions in Egypt and Italy, Recollections of the Peninsula, &c'.*; his return to travel writing, *Notes and Reflections during a Ramble in Germany* (1826), 'by the author of "Recollections in the

[29] Burghersh to Murray, 27 Apr. 1819, MS.40392, John Murray Archive (JMA), National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
[30] Burghersh to Murray, 26 Dec. 1822, MS.40392, JMA.

Peninsula", "Sketches of India", "Scenes and Impressions in Egypt and Italy" and "Story of a Life,"' and so on. A 'common practice' in nineteenth-century England, according to Griffin, signing books 'by the author of' another was an alternative way of creating a commercial brand, referring 'not so much to a situated person as to a previous performance' and acting 'as a kind of advertisement.'[31] It was a strategy with which Sherer seems to have been content – and also a brand which he was perhaps keen to protect.

Shortly after the publication of all the works above, having been influenced by evangelical religious views and anxious to spread them among his comrades in the army, Sherer wrote a small tract titled *Religio Militis, or, Christianity for the Camp* (1827) and got his regular publishers Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green to agree to print it.[32] Unusually, it was published entirely anonymously, without reference to any of Sherer's other works – and it performed poorly. On 30 October 1827 Owen Rees, Sherer's main correspondent at the firm, wrote to inform him that only about one hundred and fifty copies of the *Religio Militis* had been sold, and to ask that Sherer allow them to return to the usual advertisement strategy. 'If we were allowed to say by the author of the "Recollections" &c it is most likely public attention would be drawn to it', Rees advised, but Sherer appears to have ignored the request, perhaps not wanting his other works to be confused with the little evangelical pamphlet, or wishing to remain anonymous among his fellow officers as its author.[33]

Yet the publishers evidently felt strongly that the veteran ought to consider the power of a recognizable name, and had been emphasizing for some time the benefit it could have to sales. Slowly, their recommendations began to have some effect. Rees wrote in March 1830 to confirm his strong approval for Sherer's most recent book proposal, a biography of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, which in a departure from the norm was to bear his own name 'Captain Sherer.'[34] Several months later, the publishers reiterated their desire to put Sherer's own name on another new book, this time a prestigious biography of Wellington, which appeared once again under the epithet 'Capt. Moyle Sherer' in Dionysus Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopaedia* (1830–32).[35]

---

[31] Griffin, *Faces of Anonymity,* p. 10.
[32] J. W. Sherer, 'Sherer, Moyle', *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885–1900,* vol. 52 (online at https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Sherer,_Moyle_(DNB00), accessed 21 Feb. 2017).
[33] Rees to Sherer, 30 Oct. 1827, 1/102/56B, Records of the Longman Group, Reading University Special Collections (URSC), Reading.
[34] Rees to Sherer, 10 Mar. 1830, 1/102/110C, URSC.
[35] Rees to Sherer, 6 May 1830, 1/102/112B, URSC.

What the example of Sherer's correspondence with his publishers shows us is the evolution of a veteran's authorial persona through three stages – from first-time writer, categorizing himself as an outsider, to a published author recognizable by the success of his other works, and finally to a real name which was a reflection of the small literary renown he had accumulated over time. The publishers were, after all, under no obligation to urge the use of his real name unless they considered that it would boost sales (while, by contrast, nearly all posthumously published memoirs bore the real name of the author, regardless of his original wishes). Moreover, it reveals once again the lie behind the illusion of a novice writer common to so many Peninsular War memoirs. Sherer's memoir was neither his first published work, nor the first commercially successful one – in fact, rather than being a man of no literary pretensions, he was a man whose first book's success had encouraged him to attempt another. Finally, it underlines the fact that there existed both conversation and conflict between military memoir-writers and their publishers. As with the case of Joseph Donaldson at the start of this section, authorship was an active process which shaped the writer as much as it demanded that he continue to shape his own writing. Far from retiring immediately after completing their first manuscripts, these veterans played an involved and ongoing role in the production of the book – including, as we shall see in the next section, the essentials of negotiating legal contracts, checking proofs, sourcing illustrations, and contributing to key editorial decisions.

ii. Involvement in the Publishing Process

Authorship was not simply a matter of developing an outward persona, but also of playing a central role in the inner workings of the book publishing machine. The process of publishing a book might stretch over a matter of years, offering ample opportunity for the author to play a part in its development for the public, but only if they made significant efforts to do so. Indeed, initiative was important from the very beginning. As veterans began to establish a relationship with certain publishers or built up a larger bibliography of other publications, it was possible for publishers to approach them individually and offer to print their books, but for most veterans whose memoirs were published within their lifetimes, the first move was theirs to make. The publisher John Murray had written to the officer John Fane of Westmorland in 1859 offering to publish his manuscript, *Memoirs of the great European congresses* (1860), for

example, but had already also published Fane's *Memoir* back in 1820.[36] Longman's agents also approached Sherer to 'solicit' him to write a military biography of the Duke of Wellington in 1830, but this again followed a long and well-established relationship and multiple earlier publications.[37] Having completed a manuscript, most veterans had to make the effort of writing to – or meeting in person with – the publisher they considered might be interested in producing their work.

The response, if one was obtained, might be only lukewarm. In August 1831, for instance, Lieutenant Colonel Jonathan Leach received a letter from Longman in which the publisher declined to buy the copyright of his work, *Rough Sketches in the Life of an Old Soldier* (1831), but agreed nevertheless to print one (small) edition.[38] Even having already published a moderately successful previous work was no guarantee of a warm reception. Army physician Adam Neale, whose Peninsular War *Letters* had been published by Richard Philips in London in 1809, met with a cautious welcome from publishers Longman in late 1817 when he sent them a letter proposing his newest book, *Travels through some parts of Germany, Poland, Moldavia, and Turkey* (1818). Immediately, the decision was delayed by Longman's wish to wait until he could consult with Edinburgh publisher Constable, and it was clear from the start that the London publisher wanted to keep the costs of publication low, stipulating that any plates included should be made 'in as economical a way as possible.'[39] Nearly two months later, the decision came that the publishers would print the book at their own expense and share any profits with the author, but would not purchase the copyright, evidently not thinking it a good long-term investment.[40] Ironically, seven years later, an account sheet sent to Neale stated that all copies of the book had been sold, which would have left Neale a healthy profit share of just over £132 – had he not already been in debt to the firm to the tune of £201 for buying books on credit.[41]

In the delicate business of approaching publishers, it might help to have someone scope out the situation beforehand. For example, having written an essay containing his views on national

[36] Memorandum, 4 Aug. 1859, MS.41913, JMA.
[37] Rees to Sherer, 6 May 1830, 1/102/112B, URSC.
[38] Longman to Leach, 18 Aug. 1831, MS 1393 1/102/172F, URSC.
[39] Longman to Neale, 8 Oct. 1817, MS 1393 1/100/137, URSC.
[40] Longman to Neale, 24 Nov. 1817, MS 13939 1/100/176, URSC.
[41] Longman to Neale, 2 Oct. 1824, MS 1393 1/101/467A, URSC.

defence policy, Lieutenant General James Shaw-Kennedy had a relative mention it to the publisher John Murray, and obtained an informal go-ahead before writing a letter himself:

> Sir,
> I have written notes on the Defences of Great Britain and Ireland. Those Notes although in a condensed form embrace a general systematic plan for the permanent defence of the Country. I am not aware in that in recent times any published work or manuscript does so. Mr. Kennedy mentioned to you my having written those notes & informs me that you would be willing to treat with me as to their publication – I am aware that you could not form an opinion as to the Notes without first seeing a copy of them, but in the meantime I take the liberty to mention to you, generally the points which I should wish to keep in view in publishing them.[42]

Not only did this first letter establish the correspondence with the publisher which Shaw-Kennedy's contact had already begun, but it adopted a confident tone which underlined from the start the author's desire to have a strong input into how his work was presented to the public. Furthermore, the old commanding officer had a keen awareness of the practical side of the publishing process, having taken pains to inform himself about the probable negotiations and calculations it involved. Not only had he looked into the existence of comparable literature, but also, as the letter went on, into the timing of the book release ('immediate'), future editions ('I might wish to publish the work again in a larger form and with an appendix'), and the terms of his contract ('I should not like to give copyright for more than one year'). Shaw-Kennedy had even made his own word-count ('about 20,000') and compared it to the length of a book on naval warfare published by Murray the previous year. 'You will perhaps be good enough to inform me what arrangement you would propose as to the publication of the Notes in question', Shaw-Kennedy finished, and one can imagine the publisher as he read finding himself already nodding in agreement.

Initiative, preparation, contacts and confidence therefore seem to have been key ingredients for veterans in securing a publishing agreement for their books. Several veterans also displayed a certain willingness to pester the publisher, especially over the question of subsequent editions, although the success rate of this badgering varied. The next step in the publishing process was to negotiate and agree upon a contract, something which could usually be accomplished with one exchange of letters. Several different types of publishing contract were common in nineteenth-century Britain: a system of half profits, in which the authors shared the risk of

[42] Shaw-Kennedy to Murray, 11 May 1859, MS.40641, JMA.

publication but received fifty percent of the income from book sales once costs had been deducted; the publisher buying the copyright outright, or for an agreed period of years or editions before it would revert to the author, for a lump sum; or a system of royalties in which authors received an agreed percentage of the sales price for each copy sold. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery note that the royalty system did not become fully implemented until the end of the century, with many publishers often preferring to stick to the half profits agreement.[43] Indeed, the endurance of this system is reflected in the archival material available for the eight British veterans who personally negotiated contracts for their memoirs with publishers Longman, Smith and Elder, John Murray, and Richard Bentley – and it highlights again how much these old soldiers-turned-authors might participate in and influence the publishing process. Only three of these veterans actually sold the copyright to a particular edition of their Peninsular War memoirs; the others, by contrast, agreed to a half-half division of profits, often without undertaking the expenses, an arrangement which left them with more legal authority over the handling of their work.

Once an agreement was reached, the complicated and sometimes lengthy process of preparing the book for publication began. Corresponding with the publisher and occasionally meeting in person, veterans struggled to pursue their own vision for their work, in a constant dance of sometimes deferring to and sometimes clashing with the publisher's suggestions, at the same time always dealing with the unavoidable factors of audience, time, and expense. War memoir authorship, as these sometimes years-long trails of correspondence once again demonstrate, was not always just a case of writing the original manuscript. For veterans who published during their lifetimes, it also meant checking multiple proofs, editing, making corrections, making plans for future editions, considering titles and layouts, writing additions, labels and appendices, sourcing illustrations, negotiating with a printer, and even sending out promotional copies – all the while, in a few cases, continuing to travel the world with their regiment.

The formidable Lieutenant General Shaw-Kennedy whom we met earlier was one such example of a multi-tasking author, both agreeing with and circumventing his publisher. Letters preserved in the John Murray Archive in Edinburgh show him agreeing to the proposal of a third edition of his pamphlet on national defence, but asking to add as an appendix two more statements he had written in the interim; writing a month later to increase this number to three,

[43] D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History*, 2nd edn (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 76.

including a rebuttal of his critics which would, he admitted, include writers in Murray's own *Quarterly Review*; and agreeing to remove the word 'Dissertation' from the title but preserving it in the body of the text, where it remained, he thought, 'without harm'.[44] Similarly authoritative in his dealings with Murray over the publication of his memoir was General John Fane, eleventh Earl of Westmorland, whose letters were addressed from all over Britain and Europe as the officer-turned-diplomat pursued an international career. Returning a set of corrected proofs from Florence in April 1819, Fane wrote:

> I return you with this letter the copy you have printed of my memoir on the campaigns in the Peninsula. I have corrected the proofs, & have made several alterations in the work, many of which you will find on a paper annexed & referred to by figures as No.1 &c to N16. I have also added three notes, which I wish to be printed at the bottom of the page where they are referred to.
>
> I enclose also the continuation of the Memoir, & I wish the whole of it, such as it will now stand, to be printed & sent out to me for further corrections if I should find them necessary.[45]

The firm closing statement, '…if I should find them necessary', is here accompanied by a confident expression of the author's editorial opinions and a sense that it was he, not the publisher, nor the work schedule of the hired printers, nor any of the myriad other factors involved in the production of a book, who designated the timetable for production. Doubtless, Fane played an important extended role in his own memoir's production, although proofreading was a job nearly always given to authors, and as the memoir itself was produced only in a small batch of seven hundred and fifty copies, in the ordinary paperback *octavo* format, and at the non-luxury price of eight shillings and six pence, perhaps the publisher was content to let Fane have relatively free rein.[46]

Of course, what may also have significantly influenced the authoritative tone of these two veterans' dealings with their publisher was their high rank, wealthy upbringing and elite career. Sir James Shaw-Kennedy had been aide-de-camp to Generals Craufurd and von Alten during the Napoleonic Wars, and later was Inspector-General of the Irish constabulary, being made a general in the army in 1862. Besides being an earl, Fane had studied at Cambridge and served as an MP for Lyme Regis before the Peninsular War, acted as aide-de-camp to Wellington

[44] Shaw-Kennedy to Murray, 30 Jun. 1859, 22 Jul. 1859, 9 Aug. 1859 and 13 Aug. 1859, MS.40641, JMA.
[45] Burghersh to Murray, 27 Apr. 1819, MS.40392, JMA.
[46] Entry for 'Campaigns of Wellington': pp. 160–161, MS.42725, JMA.

himself and then military commissioner to the headquarters of the Allied forces in 1813, founded the Royal Academy of Music in 1823, and variously represented Britain as a diplomat in Italy, a minister in Berlin and finally an ambassador in Vienna. Occasionally, his servant wrote to Murray on his behalf.[47] It is worth reiterating that the conventional modesty of most war memoir prefaces concealed not only the flurry of activity behind the scenes, but also the important status of many of the authors, men who as staff officers, ambassadors, MPs and noblemen were used to commanding respect and well-versed in manoeuvring within the public sphere.

However, negotiations between author and publisher in the run-up to the release of a war memoir were not always so smooth. Lack of communication and tensions over details of the format of the memoir could lead to frustration on the part of the author, exacerbated by the unevenness of the different links between different parties involved in the production of the book. Such tensions figured in the correspondence between the publisher Murray and the officer Robert Batty (better known as a successful landscape artist) over the sixth edition of Batty's *Welsh Scenery, from drawings* (1823), published in the same year as his Peninsular War account, *Campaign of the Left Wing of the Allied Army*.[48]

The process leading up to publication was often complicated, and the limits within which veterans could have an impact were sometimes broad, and sometimes narrow. Yet each example shows veterans who were knowledgeable about the practicalities of publishing, confident in their correspondence with publishers, and independent in their editorial vision. And first publication was really only the beginning – veterans could still be discussing format and strategy with the publisher up to the sixth and seventh edition. Fane, for instance, kept up a business correspondence with Murray that stretched over four decades, from the middle-aged diplomat at the start of his career in the 1820s to the aging officer in the 1850s whose letters were now written with a much shakier pen.

In some cases, this prolonged involvement with the practical side of book production seems to have allowed veterans to expand their role within the publishing industry, not only as an author in their own right, but also as a sort of agent or intermediary for others. Many of the veterans

[47] Aubin to Murray, 13 May 1819, MS.40392, JMA.
[48] The fifth edition of Batty's *Welsh Scenery* upset its author because of the very small size of its illustrated plates, as well as what he saw as the poor quality work of the engraver, Edward Finden. A lack of communication between author and publisher resulted in an angry exchange of letters. See Batty to Murray, 7 Jun. 1823, 26 Jun. 1823, and [n.d.] Jun. 1823, MS.40068, JMA.

who were in touch with publishers about their own books during their lifetimes also made suggestions for others, using their contacts to pass on the proposals of friends or acquaintances. Sherer acted as the agent for a woman who wished to publish her manuscript with Longman, while more than a decade after the publication of his own memoir, Fane sent a formal letter of introduction to Murray on behalf of a Mr Boyle of Charmouth ('a gentleman of gt. literary acquirements'), asking that Murray consider Boyle's new work for publication.[49] Shaw-Kennedy, meanwhile, wrote to Murray in 1860 to request that the *Quarterly Review* editor Mr Elwin write an obituary for his friend Sir William Napier.[50]

Furthermore, publishers occasionally confided directly in veterans about literary projects they were considering, asking for their assistance. One such example – and a rather striking one – is a letter written by Owen Rees at Longman to Captain Robert Ker Porter in the second half of 1814, during Napoleon's first exile on the island of Elba. The letter asks Ker Porter to act as an intermediary to introduce Rees to Colonel Neil Campbell, a British military attaché who had accompanied the Russian Army when it invaded France earlier that year and subsequently escorted Napoleon to Elba. The publisher wanted to invite this attaché to write a history of the Peninsular War to follow on from Ker Porter's own account of the campaign in Russia. Remarkably, Rees also hoped that Ker Porter would confirm reports that Napoleon was planning to write his own memoirs while on Elba, and that the veteran would personally pass the message to the fallen Emperor that the firm of Longman and Co. would be happy to publish them:

> Perhaps you may have the opportunity of knowing whether our information be correct and might without impropriety confer a great obligation on us by acquainting the Emperor of our desire to become the publishers of his Work, so valuable as a Historical Document, in this country. We may be excused for observing on this occasion that our house is well known to be the first in England.[51]

From proposing a book to publishers to pitching to Napoleon on their behalf, therefore, the one hundred and thirteen or so Peninsular War veterans whose memoirs were printed during their lifetimes played an active and important role in the long, complicated and pitfall-ridden process of publication. The surviving trails of correspondence between veterans and their publishers

[49] Westmorland to Murray, 3 Jan. 1841, MS.40392, JMA.
[50] Shaw-Kennedy to Murray, 2 Mar. 1860, MS.40641, JMA.
[51] Rees to Ker Porter, [Jun.–Sept.] 1814, MS 1393 1/99/18, URSC.

demonstrate once again that authorship of a war memoir meant more than completing a manuscript, more than writing it skilfully, more even than embracing and curating an authorial persona towards the public – it also meant hours behind the scenes bent over proof-sheets, myriad commercial and editorial decisions, and sometimes years of negotiation.

iii. Conclusion

An aspect long neglected by studies of war writing is the driving commercial and literary role played by its authors. The illusion propagated by soldiers themselves in their prefaces – that of the 'accidental author' and unlettered military man whose memoir was a simple, unedited testimony of what he had witnessed – has largely been accepted at face value. By contrast, this chapter has been an attempt to encourage us to start thinking about military memoir writers as authors before soldiers, showing the extent to which men who posed as unsophisticated veterans were in fact actively involved in and impressively knowledgeable about both authorship and the publishing process that underwrote it.

The archival evidence discussed here has mostly painted a picture of British veterans, as less comparable material from the first half of the nineteenth century has been preserved or is accessible in France, and Spanish memoirs, being generally printed in wartime for immediate consumption, seem to have generated very few records. In addition, around two-thirds of all French memoirs about the Peninsular War were published posthumously, in many cases decades after the author's death. Yet for the remaining third of French authors and nearly all their Spanish counterparts, we can assume that writing and publishing a book was no accident, but rather, as demonstrated above, likely a complex process involving private knowledge of a publishing industry which they would later publically disavow. In reality, the professional identities of these men extended far beyond 'veteran', including, as we have seen here, not only author but also editor, skilled storyteller, and even international literary agent. By playing these additional roles, a small group of veterans had a large impact on the development of broad narratives about the war, and a profound influence on the way later stories would be written.

Part II.

BOOKS

Chapter 5.

'Scribblomania': The Establishment of a Popular War Genre

> When it so happens, in our day, that a military gentleman, who may be infected with that direful malady, usually called *scribblomania*, proposes to edify his friends, or enlighten the world in general, by the efforts of his literary fantasies - or in other words, to perpetrate a book - there is an outcry immediately got up on all sides, upon the first appearance of the bantling, as to why or wherefore the nondescript was ushered into light. Some exclaim, 'Oh! these gentlemen of the sword, they will never be at rest; - we shall never see the end of their effusions; - have we not had enough since the days of Marlborough and Saxe? - surely even in these "piping-times", we want no more of their mess-room jokes and badinage.'[1]
>
> – Major John Patterson

In 1840, when Major John Patterson of the 50th Regiment set about publishing his second book of colourful Peninsular War anecdotes, he was well aware of adding to an already burgeoning genre of war writing in Britain that was being produced by men very like him – retired soldiers who, for a variety of reasons, had decided to put down the sword and pick up the pen. Patterson's caricature of the old veteran struck down by an incurable bout of 'scribblomania' would have made many of his readers chuckle in recognition, as the end of the Napoleonic Wars had indeed coincided with a phenomenal rise in the number and diversity of war memoirs being written, from Britain to France and Spain and Portugal. Moreover, once begun, the tide of war writing showed little sign of ebbing. Publications appeared throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, with family members, translators, historians and entrepreneurial editors dusting off forgotten manuscripts and rolling them through the press.

Testimonies from contemporaries to this boom in nineteenth-century war writing abounded. In the 1810s, General Mina remembered, any new event or interpretation had sparked a storm of Spanish *manifiestos*; while the 1820s in Britain, George Gleig wrote, was the 'age of book-making' and responsible for 'the many "Journals" or "Letters to Friends at Home"' of dubious

[1] J. Patterson, *Camp and Quarters: Scenes and Impressions of Military Life,* 2 vols (London: Saunders and Otley, 1840) vol. 1, p. 3.

quality that rattled through the press.[2] In the early 1830s, Major Leith Hay felt inspired by 'constantly reading the works on the Peninsular War, with which the press has for years teemed', and hoped to add to the 'already deservedly established reputation of the officers and soldiers of the Peninsular Army.'[3] By the 1890s, the editor Arthur John Butler wrote, 'the rage for publishing the recollections left in manuscript by those who witnessed or took part in the conflicts that were distracting Europe a century ago' was still very much alive.[4] 'On ne se lassera jamais de lire les récits relatifs à la Révolution et à l'Empire,' announced the epigraph emblazoned on the front page of a new English edition of General Thiébault's memoirs in 1896.[5]

Modern historians, however, have divided over whether or not this proliferation of Napoleonic war memoirs really constituted a significant genre. For instance, Charles Oman, whose seminal study of Wellington's army was one of the first to identify and catalogue Napoleonic memoirs as useful historical sources, claimed at the start of the twentieth century that the books were rare and difficult to obtain. 'Very few of them have been reprinted,' Oman wrote; 'indeed, I believe that the books of Lord Dundonald, Sir John Kincaid, Gleig, John Shipp, and Colonel Mercer are wellnigh the only ones which have passed through a second edition.'[6] In the last few years, Philip Dwyer has echoed Oman's caution against exaggerating the popularity of war memoirs, arguing that 'if veterans' narratives are published at all, the vast majority go largely unnoticed, and then fall into obscurity only to be brought into the light (again) by scholars.'[7] By contrast, in a recent study of military fraternity and sexuality, Brian Joseph Martin has noted the existence of 'an entire genre of Napoleonic literature, from military memoirs, to Napoleonic novels, and neo-Napoleonic fiction', emphasising that these memoirs were not niche publications, but instead 'attracted a wide readership and appealed both to high and low, scholarly and popular taste.'[8] Martin's analysis of the genre as a whole does not go much

[2] F. Espoz y Mina, *Memorias del General Don Francisco Espoz y Mina, escritas por el mismo,* ed. J. M. de Vega, 5 vols (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1851-52), vol. 1, p. 163; G. Gleig, *The Subaltern* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T. Cadell, 1825), p. 257.
[3] A. Leith Hay, *A Narrative of the Peninsular War, by Major Leith Hay, F.R.S.E.,* 2 vols (Edinburgh: Daniel Lizars; London: Whittaker, Treacher & Arnot, 1831), pp. xii-xiii.
[4] P. Thiébault, *The Memoirs of Baron Thiébault (late Lieutenant General in the French Army),* tr. and ed. A. J. Butler, 2 vols (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1896), vol. 1, p. v.
[5] Thiébault, *Memoirs of Baron Thiébault,* vol. 1.
[6] C. Oman (ed.), *Adventures with the Connaught Rangers, 1809-1814, by William Grattan, Esq.* (London: Edward Arnold, 1902), p. v.
[77] P. Dwyer, 'Making Sense of the Muddle: War Memoirs and the Culture of Remembering', in Dwyer (ed.), *War Stories: The War Memoir in History and Literature* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2017), p. 13.
[8] B. J. Martin, *Napoleonic Friendship: Military fraternity, intimacy, and sexuality in nineteenth-century France* (Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press; Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2011), pp. 13, 70.

further than this statement, though, and his focus is really on the content of the memoirs and their overlap with contemporary literature.

My argument echoes Martin's: in both Britain and France, Napoleonic memoirs did constitute a diverse and successful genre during the nineteenth century. In this chapter, which will serve as an introduction to Part II, I will build significantly upon Martin's claim, using analysis of publishers' archives, catalogues, and different editions of the books themselves. By giving an overview of the evidence, where it survives, for the average cost, format and intended audience of these memoirs, I will be laying out the foundations for the next two chapters, which will explore in more depth how these commercial aspects shifted over time and space, reflecting broader changes in the construction of war memory in the nineteenth century.

By emphasising the importance of acknowledging the sustained commercial success and adaptability of these books, moreover, I will also be making a manifesto for future work on both Napoleonic campaign literature and soldiers' memoirs in general. We must begin to consider the evidence that these memoirs were a popular genre, because doing so underlines that these books were also commercial objects, available for sale and designed to be bought, not simply texts to be read out of context. Complementing my new focus on the soldiers themselves as authors, as elaborated in Part I, viewing the memoirs as part of a successful and evolving genre opens even more methodological possibilities, new angles of approach which will free us further from the deadlock of memoirs being 'unreliable' sources in which most existing literature in the field remains. For example, if Peninsular War memoirs are seen not as a niche, obscure group of books frozen in time, but instead a rich, developing and broadly popular genre marketable to different audiences, we can look at *how* they were marketed, and *when* and to *whom*. In addition, we can ask how these strategies might change over time, and who might intervene to change them. Analysing these war memoirs as a genre opens up a huge, unexplored area of research on the legacy of the Napoleonic wars. It forces us to ask questions about how representations of one war can be manipulated to suit the evolving needs of the present, how commercial concerns shape the forms in which these representations reach the public, and how far soldiers' original voices last or are lost in the process.

i. Selling well

Publishers' records have survived only patchily across the three countries. In Spain, none listing printing figures or sales returns seem to exist, while in France this information is available only for memoirs published in the second half of the century. In Britain, archives have been well preserved for several leading publishers, and more data is available, but even here, records are incomplete or missing for certain memoirs. Despite this, there is information enough to add significantly to what we currently know about the commercial success of Peninsular War memoirs.

For a start, these memoirs were mostly published by a handful of well-known firms based in the capital cities, many of whom accepted and printed a variety of original accounts but also reprinted and edited memoirs already published by their rivals, demonstrating that there was commercial value to these books. In Britain, for instance, the London publishers John Murray, Longman and Co., and Henry Colburn dominated the market, alongside William Blackwood in Edinburgh (see *Table I*). Given that there were around 1,500 different publishing and bookselling firms based in London alone in the nineteenth century, the concentration of Peninsular War narratives around a few of the market-leading publishing houses undermines the idea that these were niche publications which might have struggled to find a printer.[9]

In France, the story is slightly different: memoir publication in the first half of the nineteenth century was dominated by a specialist military publisher, Magimel, and its successors Anselin and Pochard, suggesting that memoirs were generally of interest to a narrower military audience. This trend continued throughout the century, with the military history journal *Carnet de la Sabretache* publishing many new memoirs in excerpt form, directed to an audience of military men and historical enthusiasts. By the late nineteenth century, however, the market had been split into two opposing streams, with large commercial publishing houses like Plon Nourrit and Hachette having also taken a strong interest in Napoleonic literature and taken over responsibility for much of their production (see *Table II*).

In Spain, by contrast, no one publisher seems to have particularly specialised in memoirs or *manifiestos,* with publishing spread between many different cities. Ironically, when we look at a table combining the locations of publication for all the different editions and reprints of

[9] P. A. Brown, *London Publishers and Printers, c. 1800-1870* (London: British Library, 1982).

Spanish memoirs, it is the Mexican publisher Arizpe who comes first and foremost, a symptom of Spanish memoirs' overseas travel which we shall explore in more detail in Chapter 7 (see *Table III*).

Print runs also give some indication of how successful a publisher expected a book to be, and how Peninsular War memoirs compared to other types of literature at the time. Average print runs for books in the early nineteenth century were between 250 and 1,500 copies, although the numbers were higher for best-selling novelists such as Walter Scott (whose Waverley novels often appeared in print runs of 6,000 to 10,000 copies) and Victor Hugo (appearing in editions of 5,000 by the 1840s). Few war memoirs in Britain for which documentation is available achieved these exceptionally high figures, but they did mostly mirror the contemporary norm, with the average number of copies printed for a single edition of a memoir being 1,372. In France, the figures available for memoirs printed in the later nineteenth century were varied, with print runs ranging from just ten, on private commission from the author or editor, to 4,000 for a luxury illustrated edition.[10] In general, in both countries, memoirs were produced in sets of 500, 750 or 1,000 copies, with a new print run then being ordered if the first sold well.

In fact, contrary to the claim of Charles Oman over a century ago, memoirs frequently did pass through a second edition, with some achieving multiple. In Britain, the highest 'best-selling' memoirs were concentrated in the first half of the century, led by Gleig's *The Subaltern* (1825) and Donaldson's *Recollections of an Eventful Life* (1824), which passed through ten and nine separate editions respectively before the First World War (and another five and one afterwards). Londonderry's *Narrative of the Peninsular War* (1828) and Sherer's *Recollections of the Peninsula* (1823) had five pre-war editions each; Gronow's *Reminiscences* (1862), Leith Hay's *A Narrative of the Peninsular War* 1831), and Kincaid's *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade* (1830) all passed through four. In fact, more than a third (35 out of 95) of British memoirs in this study had more than one edition, a figure which underlines the substantial commercial success of the genre.

[10] Répertoire No. 1 (1873-1892), 57 J 706, p. 56, Fonds Berger-Levrault, Archives Départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle (ADMM), Nancy; Registre des comptes des auteurs no. 1 (1875-1910), 57 J 695, p. 31, ADMM; Contract, 2 Apr. 1886, HAC 36.24, Fonds Hachette, Institut mémoires de l'édition contemporaine (IMEC), Caen.

Table I. Leading publishers of British memoirs (incl. later editions and reprints)

Place	**Publisher**	**No. editions**
London	Murray, John	14
London, New York	Longman and Co.	11
Edinburgh	Blackwood, William	10
London	Colburn, Henry	8
London	Boone, T. and W.	7
London	Bentley, Richard	6
Glasgow	McPhun, W. R.	5
London	Cadell, T.	5
London	Egerton, T.	5

Table II. Leading publishers of French memoirs (incl. later editions and reprints)

Place	**Publisher**	**No. editions**
Paris	Plon, Nourrit et Cie	88+
Paris	Hachette	25+
Paris	Carnet de la Sabretache	9
Paris	Magimel, Anselin et Pochard	9
Paris	Flammarion	6
Paris	Berger-Levrault	5
Paris	Dentu, J. G.	5
Paris	Gide	4

Table III. Leading publishers of Spanish memoirs (incl. later editions and reprints)

Place	**Publisher**	**No. editions**
Mexico City	Arizpe	4
Barcelona	Brusi	3
Madrid	Repullés	3
Valencia	Monfort, Benito	3

The same was true of French memoirs, where nearly half (44 out of 102) sold through more than one edition. The difference was that the most popular memoirs were published at the end of the century, rather than at the beginning, with the posthumously edited memoirs of General Marbot (1891), Jean-Roch Coignet (1883), General Thiébault (1893), and Marshal Macdonald (1892) all passing through at least ten separate editions, often in a matter of a few years. Even in Spain, despite memoirs being generally produced in quite a different format, around a quarter (14 out of 61) had multiple print runs, particularly the literary memoirs of Antonio Alcalá Galiano (1878) and Espoz y Mina's bilingual *Brief Extract* (1825).

Publishers clearly did sometimes take risks on these war memoirs, as we saw already in the previous chapter with their reluctance to buy the copyright of an untested work. Sales were not guaranteed, and sometimes memoirs did make losses. The posthumous, edited memoir of Lieutenant General Sir Samuel Ford Whittingham, for example, was published by Longman and Co. in 1868 in a very cautious first edition of only 250 copies. Sales in the first year were low, with only 50 copies recorded as leaving the shelves. Nevertheless, the publisher hazarded a second, larger print run of 500 copies, of which about half sold in the first year. The following year, only two books were sold; the year after, another ten; and in the fourth year the rest were sold as waste paper to the printers.[11] Similarly disappointing returns came from the edited *Letters and Journals of Field-Marshal Sir William Maynard Gomm* (1881), published in a print run of 750 by John Murray in London. The book sold only 440 copies in the first two years. Francis Carr-Gomm, who had edited the memoir and signed a contract agreeing to split any profits evenly, did receive a small initial pay-out of nine shillings and seven pence, but the publisher, absorbing all the costs of production, made a loss of over seven pounds.[12] Murray made an even greater loss on another posthumous memoir published around the same time, George Napier's *Autobiography* (1884), the second edition of which sold less than half of its 1,000 copies, setting the publisher back 34 pounds by 1904.[13]

The first edition of Napier's memoir, by contrast, had sold all of its 1,000 copies within a year, earning its publisher and editor a profit of 83 pounds, four shillings and four pence each.[14] In

[11] Commission ledger, MS 1393 1/B14, p. 469, Records of the Longman Group, Reading University Special Collections (URSC), Reading.
[12] Copies ledger H, MS.42733, p. 89, John Murray Archive (JMA), National Library of Scotland (NLS), Edinburgh.
[13] Copies ledger H, MS.42733, f. 238, and Copies ledger L, MS.42737, f. 58, JMA, NLS.
[14] Copies ledger H, MS.42733, f. 238, JMA, NLS; Murray to Carr-Gomm, 23 Jun. 1884, MS.41915, p. 193, JMA, NLS.

fact, while it was fairly common for sales to slow after the first year, memoirs mostly made profits for their authors, editors and publishers. The publishers Smith and Elder, for example, made a profit of 115 pounds in the space of two years on the sales of Gronow's *Reminiscences* (1862-64), while Harry Smith's *Autobiography* (1901) made its editor nearly 250 pounds in royalties.[15] A similar pattern was true of French memoirs: publishers would usually manage to sell around half of their initial stock in the first year, and then sales would slow, with a few notable exceptions. The two-volume *Mémoires du général Lejeune* (1895-96), for example, raced through several successive print runs in its first few years, with the two separate volumes in several different formats selling a combined total of 5,187 copies out of 7,060.[16]

French memoirs also appear to have made significant profits for their publishers, although documentation of the costs incurred has not survived in the archives. For instance, the publishing house Berger-Levrault recorded an initial profit of 988 francs from the sales of Colonel Noël's *Souvenirs militaires* in 1895, and 720 francs for Auguste Thirion's similarly-titled *Souvenirs* in 1892.[17] The editors in both cases made even more money than the publishers, with Noël's grandson receiving over 1,200 francs in the space of thirteen years, and Thirion's descendants 880 francs over a similar time period.[18] In 1904, in fact, Thirion's granddaughter wrote to the firm to claim a sum of 59 francs which was still outstanding.[19]

Peninsular War memoirs were not only printed and sold in substantial numbers, therefore, but they sometimes even sold enough to be an ongoing source of income for several generations of a veteran's family. Leading commercial publishers were willing to take risks on them, the occasional losses borne out by the marked successes at the other end of the scale. It is no longer valid to argue that the majority of these books were obscure and unknown in their own times, only brought to light later by historians. Rather, publishers expected them to sell, and people bought them.

[15] Smith/Elder publication ledger A-L no. 2, MS.43202, pp. 216-7; Ledger J, MS.42735, f. 238; Copies ledger L, MS.42737, f. 173, all JMA, NLS.
[16] Memo, May 1891 to Mar. 1899, 179 AQ 236, Centre des Archives du Monde du Travail (CAMT), Roubaix; Inventaire des stocks des livres (1896), 179 AQ 221, CAMT.
[17] Registre des comptes des auteurs no. 1 (1875-1910), 57 J 695, pp. 246, 367, Berger-Levrault, ADMM; Répertoire no. 2 (1892-1903), 57 J 707, pp. 2, 66, Berger-Levrault, ADMM.
[18] Registre des comptes des auteurs no. 1 (1875-1910), 57 J 695, pp. 246, 367, Berger-Levrault, ADMM.
[19] E. Thirion to Berger-Levrault, 8 Dec. 1904, 57 J 685, Berger-Levrault, ADMM.

ii. Adapting to change

Throughout the nineteenth century, as today, books were easily judged by their covers. Price, format and presentation were important tools in a publishers' marketing repertoire, their choice often closely linked to the expected sales and targeted audience of a particular published work.[20] In 1818, for example, publishers in London reported to a Parliamentary Select Committee that if a book was expected to sell at least 250 copies, it could be issued in *quarto* size, while if more than 500 sales were anticipated, it would be produced in the smaller *octavo* form (roughly the size of a normal paperback).[21] Yet as Raquel Sánchez García has highlighted, format was a dialogue with the text rather than dependent upon it, and established publishers such as Manuel Rivadeneyra in Madrid might choose very good paper, ample margins and laminated illustrations for one edition of a book and then produce a simpler version for another.[22] Size and quality could therefore be manipulated to convey different messages about the content of a book, or increase its appeal to a different subsection of the reading public. This flexibility applied to the production of Peninsular War memoirs, which varied considerably in their material form across time and in the three different national contexts. War memoirs were not solely the preserve of veterans and military historians – instead, in all three countries they were marketed towards a broad social group, reading both for information and for entertainment. In Spain, though, this audience was far more transient. Memoirs were meant to be read, perhaps responded to, but rarely returned to, whereas in Britain and France the later years of the century saw the growth of a luxury consumer market for memoirs as collector's items, valued more for their presentation than for their content.

In France and Britain, most memoirs were produced in the model of a mid-market, reasonably priced and portable novel.[23] Although a few British memoirs appeared in edited collections in the early part of the century, and several French accounts were serialised in journals in the later part of it, the majority were printed as standalone books, usually limited to one or two

[20] M. Lyons, *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 8; W. B. Warner, *Licensing Entertainment: the elevation of novel reading in Britain, 1684-1750* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1998), p. 133.
[21] W. St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 191.
[22] R. Sánchez García, 'Las formas del libro: textos, imágenes y formatos', in J. A. Martínez Martín (ed.), *Historia de la edición en España (1836-1936)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001), pp. 112, 123.
[23] Lyons, *A History,* p. 8; Warner, *Licensing Entertainment,* p. 133.

volumes.[24] The French market tended to be slightly more open to longer works, which might reach five or six volumes in length.[25] In addition, the majority appeared in ordinary *octavo* or pocket-sized *duodecimo* format, the normal size for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century novels, which had the advantages of being smaller, lighter and cheaper than the grander *quarto* or *folio* formats, but retained more prestige than a simple contemporary pamphlet or chapbook.[26] A book printed in *octavo* aimed for popularity more than distinguished critical acclaim, but was still seen as fairly respectable, being given the name *roman de bonne compagnie* in France.[27] This type of book was perhaps more suited to reading on the move than impressive display on a shelf, and entailed usually mid-range expense.[28]

Indeed, data collated from title pages, publishers' catalogues and archives, and listings from the contemporary *English Catalogue of Books* shows that the average cost for a British memoir over the nineteenth century was 11 shillings and sixpence, or roughly two days' wages for a skilled tradesman.[29] This figure conceals many memoirs which were published at ten shillings or lower, including the cheapest at only one shilling, and is drawn up by a few more expensive editions, which cost up to three pounds. In France, memoirs cost an average of 7.4 francs, with prices ranging from only 1.5 francs to 24 for cheaper or more expensive formats. In Spain, the average cost of a memoir or *manifiesto* was between three and six *reales,* which in the case of one publisher's catalogue put them into the same category as cheap editions of works of military theory, drama, law and religion.[30]

Compared to the works of the best-selling novelists and Romantic poets of the early nineteenth century, in fact, Peninsular War memoirs were cheaper. Walter Scott's *Marmion* (1808), for example, cost 14 shillings in *octavo*, Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) cost 18 shillings, and when first published in 1812, a bound *quarto* copy of Lord Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* cost 37 shillings, about half the weekly income of a gentleman.[31] By

[24] Examples of edited collections: W. H. Maxwell (ed.), *Peninsular Sketches, by actors on the scene,* 2 vols (London: Henry Colburn, 1844-45); J. Canga Argüelles (ed.), *Observaciones sobre la Historia de la Guerra de España que escribieron los señores Clarke, Southey, Londonderry y Napier* (London: D. M. Calero, 1829).
[25] Thiébault, *Memoirs,* vol. 1, p. vi.
[26] Warner, *Licensing Entertainment,* p. 133.
[27] M. Lyons, *Readers and Society in Nineteenth-Century France: Workers, Women, Peasants* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 81.
[28] Warner, *Licensing Entertainment,* p. 133.
[29] St Clair, *Reading Nation,* pp. 194-196.
[30] Catalogue for the bookshops of Matute and Rodríguez in the Calle de la Carretas, Madrid, in F. García-Marín, *Memorias para la historia militar de la guerra de la revolución española, que tuvo principio en el año de 1808, y finalizó en el de 1814* (Madrid: Miguel de Burgos, 1817), R/60215, Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE).
[31] St Clair, *Reading Nation,* pp. 194-195.

contrast, a military memoir priced at five shillings, such as the first edition of Joseph Donaldson's *Recollections of an Eventful Life* (1824), would not be a prohibitive expense for younger sons, clergymen, officers, doctors, merchants or students on an income between about 50 and 100 shillings per week, nor perhaps even for skilled workers and printers (paid about 36 shillings weekly). Memoirs may have been out of reach for apprentices and lower-paid workers, though, who were earning an average of four shillings or less.[32]

This may not always have been the case, however, as it was common for the price to change and often fall over time. Donaldson's *Recollections,* for example, dropped in price by a shilling over the course of nine editions, and was explicitly presented by its later editors as 'published at a price which brings the work within the reach of all classes of people.'[33] Even the most expensive memoirs could be converted into broadly accessible editions as the century progressed. The Marquess of Londonderry's *Narrative of the Peninsular War* originally appeared in 1828 as a weighty volume in *quarto* costing 63 shillings, but had fallen sharply to two shillings in 1858 when it appeared as a pocket-sized *duodecimo* version. This matched a trend in France and Spain as well for publishers to introduce smaller formats and cheaper, more compact texts in order to target a wider clientele. In 1855, for instance, Michel Lévy released a collection of contemporary novels at only one franc, and from the 1870s onwards in Spain, fashionable one-peseta novels made fiction widely accessible.[34]

Paying attention to the materiality and price of Peninsular War memoirs, therefore, underlines that these books were marketed to a broad audience, with different editions of the same book able to target different markets based on variable cost and format. Details from decorative title pages to helpful indexes could be added by editors and publishers to influence the way in which readers perceived a book's meaning and contents. Even bindings offered an additional level of personalisation, as until the later nineteenth century books were sold unbound and buyers would arrange for a leather cover of their own design to be set around it.[35] Peninsular War memoirs were not only a genre in terms of size and sales, but also a genre large enough to contain adaptation, variation, and change.

---

[32] St Clair, *Reading Nation,* pp. 194-196.
[33] J. Donaldson, 'Introductory Notice', *Recollections of the Eventful Life of a Soldier, by the late Joseph Donaldson, Sergeant in the Ninety-Fourth Scots Brigade, New Edition,* ed. Ian Fletcher (Staplehurst: Spellmount, 2000 [1852 (1838)]), p. iii.
[34] Lyons, *A History,* p. 142.
[35] García, 'Las formas del libro', pp. 115-116.

iii. Imitation and parody

A final marker of the establishment of soldiers' war memoirs as a substantial genre in the nineteenth century was the fact that it became recognisable enough to be imitated and parodied. Sales of Napoleonic memoirs were such that ghost-written or fake memoirs started to appear. Indeed, Marie-Cécile Thoral has recently claimed that audience demand created such a good trade for forgers that professional writers were even hired by specialist publishers to create a 'production line' of supposedly authentic military reminiscences.[36] Thoral gives no examples of this, but several instances of individual forgery can be identified. For instance, the most recent editor of the anonymous *Vicissitudes in the Life of a Scottish Soldier, written by himself* (1827) argues that it was based upon the genuine story of an unknown veteran, but creatively ghost-written with the help of George Gleig, himself the author of a best-selling British memoir.[37] Meanwhile, the anonymous *Military Sketch-book: Reminiscences of seventeen years in the service abroad and at home* (1827) and its sequel *Tales of military life* (1829), both attributed simply to 'an officer of the line', were actually the work of Daniel Wedgworth Maginn, 'an assistant military surgeon on half pay in the 1820s, and a denizen of grub street', according to a recent letter in *Notes and Queries*.[38]

Overtly fictional memoirs also flourished, building on contemporary enthusiasm for historical novels as well as for the history of the wars themselves, and mirroring central tropes of the genuine corpus of memoirs. In Spain, for example, the archivist Victorio Pina y Ferrer produced a memoir entitled *Memorias de un Patriota: Levantamiento de Zaragoza: Paginas de 1808* (1889), which was narrated by a fictional 'Ramon' from Perdiguera, while in Britain the historical novelist George Alfred Henty wrote several fictional military adventures set in the Peninsular War, including *The young buglers* (1900) and *Under Wellington's Command* (1907). The title of the latter neatly echoed the phrasing of many original British memoirs by stressing their service to the famous general.[39]

---

[36] M.-C. Thoral, *From Valmy to Waterloo: France at War, 1792-1815* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 11.
[37] P. Cowan (ed.), 'Introduction', *With Wellington in the Peninsula: The Adventures of a Highland Soldier, 1808-1814* (London: Frontline Books, 2015), pp. 10-11.
[38] D. A. Latané, Jr., 'The Two Dr. Maginns', *Notes & Queries* 48, 2 (2001), pp. 136-37.
[39] For example, P. Hawker, *Journal of a Regimental Officer… under Viscount Wellington* (London: J. Johnson, 1810); J. E. Daniel, *Journal of an Officer… under His Grace the Duke of Wellington* (London: Porter and King, 1820); R. Batty, *Campaign of the Left Wing of the Allied Army… under Field Marshal the Marquess of Wellington* (London: J. Murray, 1823); W. Hay, *Reminiscences under Wellington, 1808-1815*, ed. S. C. I. Wood (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, & Co., 1901).

War memoirs also provided fertile ground for satirists, who aped memoirists' pompous descriptions of glory and masculinity to comic or dramatic effect. Veterans who had written war memoirs already were equally willing to turn their pens against themselves, with Captain George Wood following up his autobiographical narrative with a parody entitled *The Rambles of Redbury Rook: or, a caution to his own species how they embrace the profession of arms* (1826). The fledgling Redbury Rook, 'the son of Field-Marshal Rook, a great warrior of our tribe, and a descendant of one of our most renowned heroes', is drawn away from his comfortable countryside home to the excitement of war, enlists in a feathered division, and is sent overseas to fight 'against those myriads of flimsy, haughty, bombastic, upstart, cowardly, Gallic land-gulls.'[40]

Another Peninsular War veteran, Lieutenant Colonel David Roberts, who had lost his right hand at Lugo and been injured on the Bidassoa, created the comic character Johnny Newcome, a fresh-faced youngster who buys into the glory of war, rushes off to Spain with a commission purchased by his mother, and is brought face to face with the much harsher reality, which hardens him into a better soldier. The tale, written in verse, was illustrated with fifteen colour plates by the noted satirist and cartoonist Thomas Rowlandson, with pictures showing the fragile Newcome heading into battle, reacting badly to his first cigar (see *Fig. XII*), and being delivered safely home to his Mama.[41]

These parodies used the familiar tropes of the genre in order to laugh at them, but also to poke fun at the national stereotypes of other countries. The best example of this came from the renowned Arthur Conan Doyle, who left Sherlock Holmes to create the character of Étienne Gerard, hussar in the *Grande Armée,* for a series of stories originally published in the *Strand Magazine* between December 1894 and September 1903. Vain, over-zealous and not a little unperceptive, Gerard was also gallant, chivalrous and on occasion, quite brave, even if his efforts to serve his beloved Napoleon often achieved quite the opposite.[42] He was, moreover, modelled on many of the French veterans in this study. As Conan Doyle wrote in the preface to a collected edition of the stories in 1903, 'readers of Marbot, de Gonneville, Coignet, de

[40] G. Wood, *The Rambles of Redbury Rook: or, a caution to his own species how they embrace the profession of arms* (London: G. Wood, 1826), pp. 2, 11.
[41] D. Roberts, *The military adventures of Johnny Newcome, with an account of his Campaign on the Peninsula, and in Pall Mall: with sketches, by Rowlandson, and notes; by an officer*, 2nd edn (London: Patrick Martin, 1816).
[42] See for example A. Conan Doyle, 'The Medal of Brigadier Gerard', in *The Exploits of Brigadier Gerard* (Edinburgh: Canongate Press, 1991), pp. 1-25.

Fig. XII. 'Learning to Smoke and Drink Grog', Joseph Rowlandson, from *The Military Adventures of Johnny Newcome* (1816). No known copyright restrictions.

Fezensac, Bourgogne, and the other French soldiers who have recorded their reminiscences of the Napoleonic campaigns, will recognise the fountain from which I have drawn the adventures of Etienne Gerard.'[43]

One of the most famous novelists of the early twentieth century, therefore, had not only read several Peninsular War memoirs but knew his audience would also have read them, and be familiar enough with the figure of the Napoleonic veteran-turned-storyteller that the gentle satire would make them laugh. Furthermore, Conan Doyle expected British audiences to be familiar with French memoirs, showing that the genre had a transnational element. Looking at these books as a substantial, broadly popular genre, rather than dismissing them as obscure or ignoring the commercial side of war writing entirely, opens up a myriad of fruitful new methodological directions such as this.

In summary, I have used this chapter to demonstrate that war memoirs not only sold well, but sold well to particular audiences, at particular times, in particular formats. Editors and publishers intervened to make one edition smaller, or cheaper, or more luxurious; they also acted with the hope, at least in part, of making a profit. Moreover, these books travelled. They reached audiences on the other side of the Channel, in southern Europe, and across the Atlantic. The potential for all of these different interventions and influences to shape the way in which soldiers' original stories were received is enormous, and exploring these later developments will be the focus of the next two chapters.

[43] Qu. O. D. Edwards, 'Introduction', *The Exploits of Brigadier Gerard*, p. vii.

Chapter 6.

The War in Other Hands: Editors and the Afterlives of Memoirs

Sometime in the 1850s in the little French town of Auxerre, one of the most famous Napoleonic memoirs of today was about to be thrown into the fire. Captain Jean-Roch Coignet had left the nine scrawled notebooks which contained his first-hand account of adventures as a *grognard* in Napoleon's Imperial Guard to his maid, who thought little of its potential value. By a twist of fate, however, the executor of the will who had been given the task of organising the funeral appeared at the same moment with empty hands. Emile Lorin, a local architect, had been promised but later denied a diamond brooch in return for his services, and so Coignet's cousin A. G. Morin, one of his heirs and another executor of the will, decided to make Lorin a present of the manuscript instead, giving it away 'comme souvenir d'un vieux et brave soldat.'[1] Lorin accepted happily, and carefully stored away the notebooks at home, thus saving them from the flames. None of the other seventeen heirs to Coignet's will – all 'arrière petits neveux', few literate, and most now living abroad – would go on to contest the gift.[2]

One day in 1865, as the manuscript lay gathering dust in Lorin's shelves, the librarian and journal editor Lorédan Larchey was taking a stroll along the Quai des Saints-Pères in Paris, and browsing the second-hand booksellers' stalls.[3] Coignet had in fact already had his memoir published in Auxerre in 1851, under the title *Aux Vieux de la Vieille! Souvenirs de Jean-Roch Coignet,* but in a small print run of only 500 copies, which the old captain sold himself for 5 francs to the merchant travellers who chanced to stop by his café and listen to his anecdotes.[4] The book had consequently become extremely rare – and the small, green-covered *octavo* volumes which peeked out at Larchey from the bookseller's shelves in 1865 were quite a unique discovery. Already the founder of several literary review journals and the collaborator of others, Larchey started to publish weekly a few extracts from the books in the *Monde Illustré,*

[1] Lorin to Larchey, 6 February 1882, no. II, *Cahier intitulé 'Lettres et papiers relatifs à la propriété littéraire des Cahiers du capitaine Coignet',* HAC 36.24 'Larchey, Lorédan', Archives Hachette, Institut Mémoires de l'édition contemporaine (IMEC), Caen.
[2] Molard to Larchey, 27 January 1882, no. IV, *Cahier*, HAC 36.24, IMEC.
[3] J.-R. Coignet, ed. L. Larchey, *Mémoires patriotiques: les cahiers du Capitaine Coignet* (Paris: Hachette, 1883), pp. x-xi.
[4] Molard to Larchey, 25 January 1882, no. V, *Cahier*, HAC 36.24, IMEC; P. Cottin, [1912], 'Pour mettre à la suite de la preface des Souvenirs d'un vieux grognard', *Dossier succession,* HAC 36.24, IMEC.

later including more extracts at the head of a volume of essays published in 1871, the *Petite Bibliothèque des Mémoires*, but was ultimately working towards releasing a complete edition.[5] For this, however, Larchey needed the original manuscript, as the 1851 version had been significantly cut and edited by a judge and a lawyer in Auxerre.[6]

Painstakingly, the Parisian editor traced the book back to its source, with the help of a local archivist, Francis Molard, who acted as an intermediary in the sale. 'Mon cher confrère,' wrote Molard to Larchey in January 1882, 'Je tiens entre mes mains, depuis trois jours, le manuscript de Jean-Roch Coignet. C'est bien l'original signé de lui et daté du 1er Juillet 1850.'[7] Emile Lorin had accepted Larchey's offer of 500 francs for the entire rights to the manuscript, ceding him 'la complète jouissance de ce manuscript, ou même titre que je le possédais.'[8] This declaration of the transfer of the rights to the manuscript is, in fact, the main reason why this incredible story of chance and discovery has been preserved. In the archives of the publishing company Hachette, now partially held by the *Institut Mémoires de l'édition contemporaine* (IMEC) in Caen, there is a slim, lined notebook dating from around 1912 which contains handwritten copies of the original letters exchanged between Molard, Larchey, Coignet's heirs and even the editors of the 1851 edition of his book, prior to the first publication of a revised edition in Paris.[9] Compiled by Larchey's own heir, the writer Paul Cottin, it was contributed as evidence in a copyright dispute which took place in the early twentieth century between Cottin himself and the Parisian publishers Tallandier and Hachette, all embroiled in controversy over the rights to print new editions of the work, because Coignet's unsophisticated, handwritten notebooks had by then become a valuable, best-selling commodity.[10]

Larchey had published his own revised edition of Coignet's memoirs in 1883, at his own expense.[11] It was a small venture, but an updated and personalized one, with the little

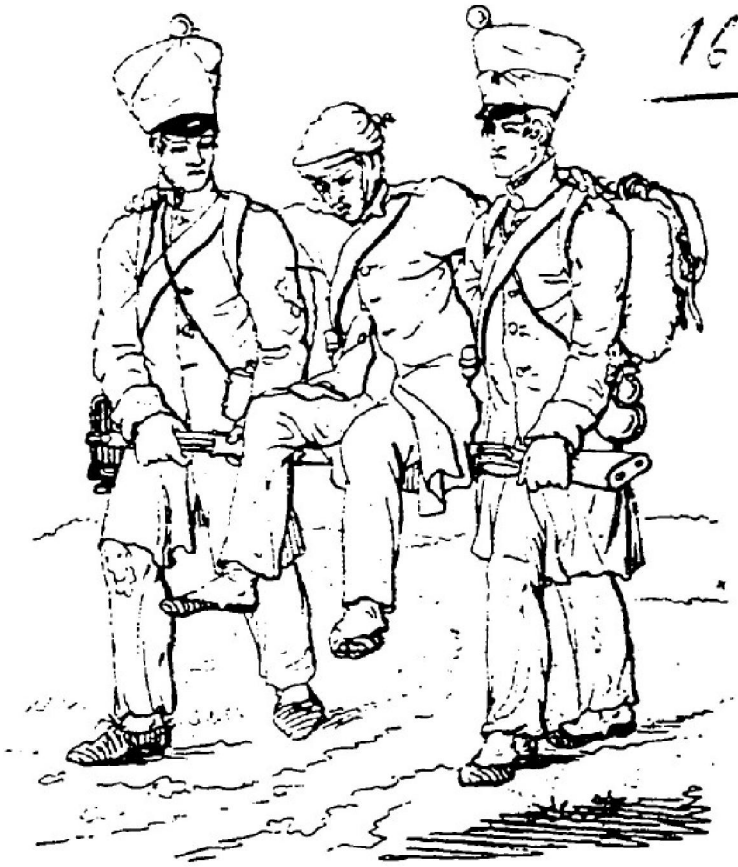
[5] Larchey, *Mémoires patriotiques*, p. xi
[6] Molard to Larchey, 27 Jan. 1882, HAC 36.24, IMEC; Duranton to Molard, 19 January 1882, no. IV, *Cahier,* HAC 36.24, IMEC; Anon., 8 July 1833, 'Cahiers du Capitaine Coignet', *Dossier succession*, HAC 36.24, IMEC.
[7] Molard to Larchey, 27 Jan. 1882, HAC 36.24, IMEC.
[8] Lorin to Larchey, 3 Feburary 1882, no. I, *Cahier,* HAC 36.24, IMEC.
[9] *Cahier,* HAC 36.24, IMEC.
[10] Parisian publisher Tallandier had, in 1912, published a reproduction of the 1851 edition of the *Cahiers* in their 'Bibliothèque "HISTORIA"' under the title *Souvenirs d'un Vieux Grognard.* Tallandier responded to Hachette's claim to the copyright by agreeing to give them a 5% royalty on the sales of the work at full price, on a print run of 1500. Cottin, Larchey's heir, insisted they also include a note in the preface underlying Larchey's valuable work. See Hachette to Tallandier, 25 May 1912; Cottin to Hachette, 12 June 1912 and 1 August 1912, all in *Dossier,* HAC 36.24, IMEC.
[11] Contract for second and future editions, 5 June 1885, HAC 36.24, IMEC.

sextodecimo paperbound volume bearing an illustration of a wounded soldier, a facsimile copy of Coignet's handwriting, and the new title *Mémoires patriotiques: les cahiers du Capitaine Coignet (1799-1815), publiés par Lorédan Larchey, d'après le manuscript original* (see *Fig. XIII*). It sold for 3.5 francs, and did well enough for Hachette to offer to buy the rights to a second and future editions two years later.[12] This transfer solidified the new title – the work would from then on be known as *Les Cahiers du Capitaine Coignet,* bidding *adieu* to the veteran's own original dedication of his memoirs to the 'old men of the old guard'.[13] Coignet's *Cahiers* were given a second edition in 1885, this time in a print run of 1,000 copies, sold as part of Hachette's diverse collection of historical and contemporary literature, the *Bibliothèque variée*.[14] There followed a process of very successful commercialization, with the continued reimpressions of the text-only version joined in 1887 by a beautiful illustrated edition featuring the vivid artwork of Julien Le Blant – this time, with an initial print run of 4,000 copies.[15] By 1891, Larchey had been persuaded to sell not only his rights to print and sell the work, but also the manuscript itself, which changed hands to Hachette editor Réné Fouret for 2,500 francs, five times the amount paid a decade earlier to architect Emile Lorin.[16]

With Larchey stepping aside in the early 1890s, the floodgates opened wider to the changes which could be made to the memoir.[17] 'Après ma mort,' Larchey had written jokingly to Fouret in December 1890, 'il est evident que vous ferez ce que vous voudrez, et je vous trouve mêmes trop scrupuleux de l'indiquer dans l'acte. (L'immense majorité des humains ne prend pas tant de precautions.)'[18] The editor's joking comments were, of course, also silently true for Coignet himself – 'after my death, it is obvious that you will do what you want.' Indeed, after Larchey's cession of the copyright, Hachette took the memoir's second 'author' at his word – printing abridged editions, authorizing translations into foreign languages, and re-using parts of the text in other works. Tiny, exclusive print runs of the illustrated edition were specially produced for the luxury Parisian bookseller Léon Conquet in 1895, using thick 'papier japon' and full-page

[12] Contract, 5 Jun. 1885, HAC 36.24, IMEC.
[13] Contract, 5 Jun. 1885, HAC 36.24, IMEC; see also the original publication: J.-R. Coignet, *Aux Vieux de la vieille! Souvenirs de Jean-Roch Coignet, soldat de la 96e demi-brigade, soldat et sous-officier au 1er régiment des grenadiers à pied de la garde, vagemestre du petit et du grand quartier impérial, capitaine d'état-major en retraite* (Auxerre: Perriquet, 1851-53).
[14] Contract, 5 Jun. 1885, HAC 36.24, IMEC.
[15] Contract for *octavo* illustrated edition, 2 April 1886, HAC 36.24, IMEC.
[16] Final replacement contract, 27 July 1891, HAC 36.24, IMEC.
[17] New replacement contract, 6 December 1890, HAC 36.24, IMEC.
[18] Larchey to Fouret, 3 December 1890, *Correspondance,* HAC 36.24, IMEC.

Mémoires patriotiques



SOLDATS EMPORTANT UN BLESSÉ (1812)
Fac-similé d'une eau-forte faite d'après nature par Kobell

LES CAHIERS
DU CAPITAINE COIGNET

LIBRAIRIE HACHETTE ET Cie, 79, BOULEVARD SAINT-GERMAIN

Prix : 3 fr. 50 c.

Fig. XIII. Cover page of *Mémoires patriotiques: les cahiers du Capitaine Coignet (1799-1815), publiés par Lorédan Larchey, d'après le manuscript original* (Paris:Hachette, 1883). Gallica, BNF. Public Domain.

colour plates.[19] In 1894, excerpts from Larchey's version of Coignet's notebooks were published in a full-colour edited collection alongside some of the most famous memoirs from the First Empire, including those of General Marbot, Cannonier Bricard, and Napoleon Bonaparte himself.[20] Tracing arcs from one war to another, the anecdotes of these old veterans, now transmuted into semi-fictional status, were dedicated by the editor Charles Bigot to his students at the military academy of Saint-Cyr so that they might learn from these witnesses to a past age: 'généraux, simples soldats, aumôniers, héros souvent sans le savoir.'[21]

Coignet's notebooks endured, in their continually changing form, throughout the First World War. In 1920, Charles Bigot's widow collaborated with Hachette to produce an eighth edition of the collected *Gloires et Souvenirs Militaires* (1922), this time 'augmentée de récits de la Grande Guerre', and so Jean-Roch Coignet of the 96th Demi-Brigade rubbed shoulders with the survivors of a new war fought in even more mud, blood and supposed glory one hundred years later.[22] Time tramped onwards, and the story of Captain Coignet moved from one format to another, often made to change its stripes – or even its human face – in the process. So it was that over one Christmas and New Year period at the end of 1969, French audiences could watch the adventures of one *Jean-Roch Coignet: Le soldat qui a participé a toutes les campagnes Napoléoniennes… sans jamais avoir été blessé* play out on their screens in the guise of actor Henri Lambert, courtesy of the public broadcasting company ORTF.[23] As for the manuscript, it was privately archived by Hachette in August 1971, and at this point the archival trail begins to fade, yet new editions continue to be produced to this day from Larchey's revised text.[24]

Via a diamond brooch never given, a near-miss with the fireplace, and a chance encounter on the Parisian quays, and from the executors of a will to the first owner of the manuscript, through

---

[19] 50 copies were produced for Conquet at the cost of 9,500 francs. See Conquet to Hachette, 6 July 1895, *Correspondance*, HAC 10.19 'Conquet', IMEC.

[20] C. Bigot (ed.), *Gloires et Souvenirs Militaires, d'après les mémoires du Cannonier Bricard, du Maréchal Bugeaud, du Capitaine Coignet, d'Amédée Delorme, du Timonier Ducor, du Général Ducrot, de Maurice Dupin, du Lieutenant general Duc de Fezensac, du Sergent Fricasse, de l'Abbé Lanusse, du Général de Marbot, du Maréchal Marmont duc de Raguse, de Charles Mismer, du Colonel de Montagnac, de Napoléon 1er, du Maréchal de Saint-Arnaud, du Comte Philippe de Ségur, du Général de Sonis, du Colonel Vigo-Roussillon* (Paris: Hachette, 1894).

[21] Bigot, *Gloires,* p. vii.

[22] Hachette to M. Bigot, 11 May 1920 and 21 July 1920, HAC 1.50 'Bigot, Charles', IMEC; see also C. Bigot (ed.), *Gloires,* 8th ed (Paris: Hachette, 1922).

[23] See http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0220240/combined (retrieved 6 April 2017).

[24] See 'Manuscrit CAHIERS DU CAPITAINE COIGNET remis à M. Daniel PICHON le 26 Aout 1971 (Direction Archives du Groupe)', *Dossier Succession,* HAC 36.24, IMEC. Recent English editions include: B. Carruthers (ed.), *Soldier of the Empipre: The Note-books of Captain Coignet* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2013); and a facsimile edition in French: *Les Cahiers du capitaine Coignet 1776-1850* (Paris: Hachette Livre BNF, 2016).

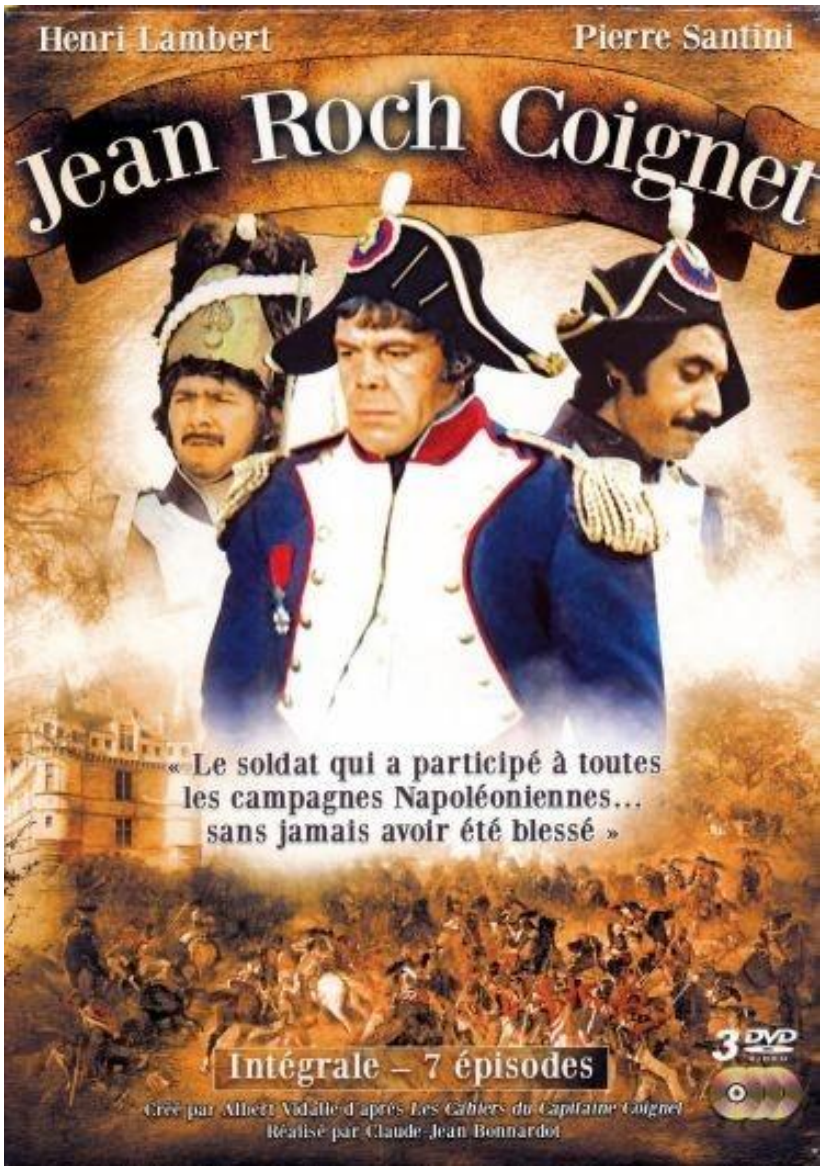


Fig. XIV. DVD cover: *Jean Roch Coignet: Le soldat qui a participé à toutes les campagnes Napoléoniennes... sans jamais avoir été blessé* (1969), dir. Claude-Jean Bonnardot. Fair use.

the first editors, later editors, publishers, illustrators, series editors, copyright claimants, luxury booksellers, military students, First World War soldiers and French TV producers, therefore, the nine notebooks of a semi-literate Napoleonic veteran wound their way along a nearly two-hundred-year-long path to the present day. The example of Captain Coignet's memoir is perhaps an exceptionally complex one, but in the twists and turns of its trajectory, the significant number of different people involved in its development, and the fact of being constantly changed, re-used and re-sold, it is representative of the bulk of the memoirs written by both French, British and even Spanish veterans of the Peninsular War.

The epidemic of military autobiographical *scribblomania* which gripped Britain, France and to an extent Spain during the nineteenth century left deep marks on the genre of European war writing, as the previous chapters have shown. An unprecedented number of Peninsular War veterans sat down to write their memoirs after 1808, many negotiated successfully with publishers over contracts to print them, and as the booming nineteenth-century printing industry expanded, the prices of these books fell, their size became more accessible, and the characters they described became instantly recognizable. Yet roughly half of all the memoirs published during this long hundred-year period appeared posthumously, the genre developing and maturing in the hands of other people who took up the roles of editor, printer, illustrator, even author – and altered the narratives significantly.[25]

Building on the idea of a genre of war writing set out in the previous chapter, both this chapter and the next explore in depth the 'afterlives' of Peninsular War memoirs, from posthumously-published memoirs to later editions, reprints, and translations, looking first at change over time and in the next chapter, movements through space. Here, I focus on the interventions of other people in the production of war memoirs on a national level, highlighting the role played by veterans' families, and especially women, in publishing these books. I then show how these interventions changed the ways memoirs were presented, with soldiers' original narratives being cut, edited, repackaged and resold as everything from biographies of Great Men to 'Boy's Own' adventure stories. After the efforts of Peninsular War veterans to shape history with their writings during their own lifetimes, these later developments are the neglected second half of

[25] Spain: of 53 authors, 44 published their books before their death and only 7 posthumously; Britain: of 94 authors, 48 published their works before their deaths, 31 posthumously (15 remain unknown); France: of 98 authors, 25 published before death, 66 posthumously (8 unknown).

the story, so often missed in studies of Napoleonic war writing, but crucial to our understanding of how war memory was created in the nineteenth century.

i. A Family Affair? Editors' personal links to their material

Viewing these memoirs through a broad temporal lens (as objects which might continue to travel and change over a period of many decades after their first publication), allows us a fresh perspective on the construction of national narratives about war. It highlights that the first-hand input of eyewitnesses to war, soon after the event – in this case, Peninsular veterans – is only the first stage in the complex process of development, integration and in some cases, radical re-appropriation of this input by other actors, a process which continued to take place and in many examples accelerated sharply after the original writers themselves had passed away. Among the most influential of these actors were the veterans' families.

In the majority of cases, family ties played the primary role in the posthumous publication of a Peninsular War memoir. There were two broad categories of relation taking on the editorial task: either someone very close to the veteran would undertake to publish the memoir soon after his death, as a kind of public testament, or the manuscript would be dug up decades later and handed over to the most literary-minded or interested relation who could be persuaded to take it on – usually, a great-grandson or great-nephew who already had an established relationship with a leading publisher.[26] It has been common throughout history, in fact, for heirs to intervene in an ancestor's literary or philosophical works, but rare for historians to consider family as a key influencing factor in war writing, let alone as authors of it in their own right. Yet as Peter Baldwin has recently highlighted in his study of intellectual property law, the right to change, control and benefit from an ancestor's work might well be legally passed down. In the French concept of moral rights, for instance, rights are permanent and inheritable; while in the Anglo-American idea of copyright, rights can be alienated and passed or sold on, in many cases directly to a family member.[27]

---

[26] For example, Julian Sturgis maintained a long and friendly correspondence with Murray as an author in his own right, with Blakeney's memoir his first editing project after several novels; the editing of Warre's memoir by Reverend Edmond Warre was also a late pinprick in a very long and established collaboration with Murray. See MS.41167 and MS.41241, JMA, NLS.

[27] P. Baldwin, *The Copyright Wars: Three Centuries of Trans-Atlantic Battle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), p. 39.

Family members did frequently intervene in the publication of their ancestor's military memoirs to protect what had become an amalgamation of their own intangible or financial interests and those of said ancestor. The son of the late general James Shaw Kennedy, for example, wrote to the publisher John Murray in 1893 to clarify what kind of power he had over his father's writing:

> I think my father told me that you had no claim on the publishing of my Fathers "Notes on the Battle of Waterloo" pub'd by you but now out of print – but what I want to ask you is have I the power if I liked to exert it of preventing others to publish it without my consent? If you would let me know my position I should be very much obliged.[28]

General Marbot's heirs also intervened in the late 1890s to claim compensation for unauthorised reproductions of the famous general's memoirs, while Paul Cottin, no family member of Coignet himself but the heir to his editor, Lorédan Larchey, devoted significant efforts to forcing the publishing company Tallandier to give both intellectual and financial credit to the work done by Larchey in their similarly unauthorised reprint in 1912.[29] The legal interventions of family members and heirs therefore suggested an amorphous mix of motives, from the desire to limit the control others exerted over the work to a straightforward wish for economic compensation.

Economic motives do seem to have played a large role in the intervention of family members in their ancestor's memoirs. After all, the outstanding commercial success of some Napoleonic memoirs over the course of the century had made them potentially valuable property, with the example of various turn-of-the-century copyright disputes over Coignet demonstrating how much the path of copyright succession might matter financially.[30] Moreover, family editors often acted as 'authors' in negotiating the contract for the work and directly receiving whatever profits did not remain with the publisher, dividends which had typically risen since the first half of the century.

There also seems to have been an underlying paternalistic idea among some British editors that a military memoir was a way for a veteran to continue to provide for his family after his death,

---

[28] Shaw Kennedy to Murray, 1 February 1893, Loose incoming letters, MS.40641, JMA, NLS.
[29] For Marbot see: Boislecomte to Plon, 21 December 1893 and Plon Nourrit to Hachette, 22 December 1893, HAC 1.50, IMEC; for Larchey see: Cottin to Tallandier, 18 May 1912; Tallandier to Hachette, 25 May 1912; and Cottin to Hachette, 1 August 1912, *Correspondance,* HAC 36.24, IMEC.
[30] See dossiers named *Comptes* and *Correspondance*, HAC 36.24, IMEC.

as he would have done as the head of the household while living. It is noticeable, for instance, in the posthumous editions of Joseph Donaldson's successful *Recollections of the Eventful Life of a Soldier,* originally published in 1824. In 1838, eight years after Donaldson's death, the first collected edition of his military works appeared, bearing a new preface by the editors which detailed the veteran's hard life and premature death, and noted that he had left his widow alive with three surviving children, all of whom were living in 'severe privation and poverty', this collected edition having actually been printed at the widow's request.[31] Two decades and several reprints of this edition later, a new version was released, this time again emphasising the poverty of Donaldson's widow and one remaining daughter, the hopes of both of whom were said to be dependent on the fortunes of this new edition, once again 'published for her behoof.'[32]

This idea of the veteran's story as being not only the property of but also a natural source of support for the descendants left behind was echoed by Julian Sturgis, the late nineteenth-century editor of Robert Blakeney's previously unpublished memoir. Throughout his correspondence with John Murray, Sturgis emphasised that he intended to forward any profits he might receive from the book to Blakeney's family (to which he was, in reality, connected by marriage). Prodding the publisher about the possibility of American or 'Colonial' editions of the memoir in 1898, for example, Sturgis underlined that 'As you know, I want to make all I can for Blakeney's people.'[33] The following year, he wrote again to emphasise that 'I am eager to do all possible for the Blakeney book,' continuing to note that 'Blakeney's son has at last got the consulship at Corfu for which he has longed long. So something has been done for a neglected family.'[34] A year later still, Sturgis wrote again to acknowledge receipt of a cheque containing the first proceeds from the book's sales, lamenting that 'I wish he did better for the sake of his descendants,' and entrusting that Murray would, 'I hope, keep him alive for a bit.'[35]

Military memoirs were therefore interlinked with the idea of family in a legal, financial, and moral sense. Veterans should be 'kept alive for a bit,' it was felt, in order to protect the

---

[31] Taken from the 6th edition, a reprint of the 1838 edition: 'Introductory Notice (Edinburgh, March 1838)', *Recollections of the Eventful Life of a Soldier. By the Late Joseph Donaldson, Sergeant in the Ninety-Fourth Scots Brigade* (Edinburgh: Robert Martin, 1852), p. vi.
[32] 'Introductory Notice (Glasgow, Sept. 1855)', *Recollections of the Eventful Life of a Soldier, by the Late Joseph Donaldson, sergeant in the ninety-fourth Scots brigade* (London & Glasgow: Richard Griffin & Company, 1859), p. vi.
[33] Sturgis to Murray, 20 July 1898, MS.41167, JMA, NLS.
[34] Sturgis to Murray, 19 November 1899, MS.41167, JMA, NLS.
[35] Sturgis to Murray, 21 August 1900, MS.41167, JMA, NLS.

descendants who bore their name, and this extended beyond simply supporting them with an income. The very act of publishing an autobiography meant using parts of the veteran's private life to craft a public persona, a process which, by result of a shared name, also brought the author's family onto the public stage, whether or not they had been specifically mentioned in the book. The reputation of a military ancestor had a bearing on the reputation of his family, a connection which made intervening to defend, tweak or polish this public image another strong motive for descendants.

As a result, many of these family-edited memoirs were shaped into the respectable autobiographies of public figures, with troublesome thorny bits like overt political statements, sensitive allegations or the intimate details of a private life being pruned away with judicious cuts to the original text. The surviving son of General Sir George T. Napier, for example, had firm opinions about what parts of his father's memoir should and should not be published, writing to the publisher that 'I wish I had more of the journal – but I could not publish it in extenso – parts of it are too confidential and private – (such for instance as the death of my mother) – for the public eye.'[36] General Napier's son also concentrated on removing similarly private or controversial elements from his father's manuscript. If a string of correspondence over whether or not to publish 'a passage about the "rascally Monk"' is anything to go by, General Napier's original text was indeed rather colourful, but this colour was lost amidst its transformation into a product the family felt comfortable with putting before the public.[37]

In some cases, whole generations of a family continued the work of curating their ancestor's publications, such as the descendants of John Fane, Earl of Westmorland, whose death in October 1859 interrupted an ongoing commercial relationship with the publisher John Murray. In the spring after Westmorland's death, his widow Priscilla Anne Fane (herself Wellington's niece) wrote to the publisher to continue the relationship, inviting him to discuss in person the publication of a work on the Congresses of Vienna and Paris which had been in progress the year before.[38] The Dowager Countess continued to maintain a congenial correspondence with the London publisher for over a decade.[39] Her daughter Rose completed translation jobs for Murray, negotiated with him on her mother's behalf when she fell ill, and went on to edit selections of her mother's correspondence which were released by the same publisher in 1893

[36] Napier to Murray, 8 July 1884, Loose incoming letters, MS.40868, JMA, NLS.
[37] Napier to Murray, 24 June 1884, MS.40868, JMA, NLS.
[38] Fane to Murray, 19 April 1860, 'Fane, Priscilla Anne', Loose incoming letters, MS.40392, JMA, NLS.
[39] See letters dated from 19 Apr. 1860 to 8 Feburary 1873, MS.40392, JMA, NLS.

and 1903.[40] Rose's own daughter Rachel went on to produce a new edition of her grandfather's correspondence, which was again published by Murray, this time in an illustrated edition in 1912.[41]

The publishing of memoirs and the careful management of a public family image frequently relied on the support and intervention of women, though it was rare for their names to actually appear on the final product. Throughout the nineteenth century, female family members carried out large amounts of silent work behind the scenes, work that is sometimes only visible in passing in the letters of their male relatives and employers which remain in the archives. A letter from one of the partners at Longman in 1823, for instance, discusses the final sales figures for the veteran's recent account of his travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia and Ancient Bablyonia (1821-22), and makes note of the fact that a Miss Porter, probably the veteran's daughter, had put a great deal of work into the book.[42] When G. C. Moore Smith approached Murray with the publication of Sir Harry Smith's memoir, furthermore, the letters he made use of had already been selected and extracted with a view to publication by the veteran's wife.[43]

In addition, when the editor Francis Carr-Gomm was called away to India on a colonial appointment, he left the responsibility of maintaining the correspondence and looking after the logistics of the publication process entirely in the hands of his sister, Lucy Emily Carr, who lived in Tunbridge Wells. Lucy was to correct and amend proofs from the printers and send them directly to the publisher, also forwarding on to her brother anything new that Murray might send, and later arranging for the dispatch of gift copies.[44] However, she also exercised her own editorial vision, sending at least two letters to Murray in her brother's absence in which she set out her reasoning for various literary corrections:

> I have made one or two pencil corrections in the revised copy which are I think necessary. "Two loving women who tended the honoured writer" does not convey quite what my Brother wished to express, viz that it was the papers not the writer w.h were watched over by them.

---

[40] R. S. M. Fane Weigall (ed.), *The letters of Lady Burghersh (afterwards countess of Westmoreland) from Germany and France during the campaign of 1813-14* (London: John Murray, 1893); idem, *Correspondence of Lady Burgersh with the Duke of Wellington.* (London: John Murray, 1903).
[41] R. S. P. Weigall (ed.), *Correspondence of Lord Burghersh, afterwards eleventh Earl of Westmoreland, 1808-1840. Edited by his granddaughter, Rachel Weigall. With illustrations* (London: John Murray, 1912).
[42] Rees to Ker Porter, 19 June 1823, MS 1393 1/101/373, Longman Outgoing Letter Books, Records of the Longman Group, Reading University Special Collections (URSC), Reading.
[43] Moore Smith to Murray, 16 December 1901, Loose incoming letters, MS.41111, JMA, NLS.
[44] Carr-Gomm to Murray, 25 October 1880, Loose incoming letters, MS.40457, JMA, NLS; Carr to Murray, 8 November 1881, Loose incoming letters, MS.40197, JMA, NLS.

> Further, I do not like the expression "that lamented lady" & have altered the sentence as in the margin. I hope you will see no objection to this…[45]

Perhaps coincidentally, but perhaps meaningfully, both phrases Lucy specifically chose to alter were to do with the description of women, and her tone was confident, having no qualms in deciding upon what her brother had meant to write and making changes justified entirely upon her own preference.

In France, too, women were involved at the centre of the publishing process for military memoirs. It was daughters and granddaughters who ordered the publication of the memoirs of Colonel de Gonneville (1875), Marshal Macdonald (1892), and General Thiébault (1893). Furthermore, following the death of military academy professor Charles Bigot in the same year that his edited collection of French memoirs first appeared, his wife Mary took over the editorial role, particularly its legal and commercial sides. Later contracts for new editions of the collection were, for example, signed between her and Jean Georges Hachette.[46] Under the terms of one such contract, Mary was responsible for obtaining authorisation from the various owners of the works excerpted in the new edition, a task which involved a series of negotiations over remuneration and rights.[47] In 1920, moreover, while living in New York, she was personally approached by the publishers to edit a new edition of the collection which would include excerpts from First World War soldiers' memoirs, a task involving both choosing the extracts and obtaining authorisation to use them, for which she was to receive a small royalty of 5% per copy.[48]

Meanwhile, in Spain, Juana María de Vega, the widow of guerrilla general Francisco Espoz y Mina, took charge of editing and publishing her husband's memoirs. An accomplished writer and activist in her own right, de Vega made her interventions in the text clear, signing herself 'La Editora' and adding a preface, appendices, and detailed footnotes in which she underlined her husband's achievements and refuted his detractors, including the leading historian of the

---

[45] Carr to Murray, 2 Feburary 1881, MS.40197, JMA, NLS.
[46] Contract for an *octavo* edition, 8 November 1892, and contract for a 'Bibliothèque des Ecoles et des familles' edition, 11 June 1892, HAC 1.50, IMEC.
[47] See Article 1 of Contract, 11 June 1892, HAC 1.50, IMEC; also see Boislecomte to Plon, 21 December 1893; Plon to Hachette, 22 December 1893; M. Bigot to Plon, 19 December 1894; Plon to Hachette, 31 December 1894, all in HAC 1.50, IMEC.
[48] Hachette to M. Bigot, 11 May 1920 and 21 July 1920, HAC 1.50, IMEC.

Peninsular War, the Count of Toreno.[49] For years after the memoirs were published, she continued to monitor the historical record of her husband's actions, challenging the editor of the French *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1854 over a defamatory article.[50] She also refused access to Mina's personal documents to a French officer who wanted to write his own history of the war, underlining that 'como única persona autorizada por mi malogrado Esposo para reunir y ser depositaria de sus papeles y documentos, no permitiré que se publiquen los hechos de su vida sino por la persona que yo elija al efecto.'[51]

It is important to highlight the involvement of women in all three countries in editing, rewriting and publishing veteran's memoirs, especially as these books were and are so often presented as quintessentially male productions, written and printed by men, spreading ideas about martial masculinity to a male, predominantly military audience. Instead, much of what survived of these men's autobiographies was due to the efforts of their female relatives, and future scholarship on the development of the memory of the Peninsular War ought to take into account their influence and involvement.

Furthermore, families in general, descendants both male and female, played a crucial role in the production of war narratives in the later part of the nineteenth century. More often than not, it was the veteran's family who instigated the publication of the memoir in the first place, and they also made significant changes to how it would be perceived, removing personal details and controversial anecdotes, then stressing that they were releasing the memoir as an 'homage' to their inspirational ancestor.[52] In these cases, veterans' autobiographies became vehicles for family history, sanitised monuments to the man which might also reflect a little glory onto the others who bore his name. However, family interventions were not the only way in which later editing profoundly reshaped veterans' narratives and diluted their original voices as time went on. Responding to different shifts in the market, other editors and publishers reshuffled the

[49] F. Espoz y Mina, *Memorias del General Don Francisco Espoz y Mina, escritas por el mismo. Publícalas su viuda Doña Juana Maria de Vega, condesa de Espoz y Mina*, 5 vols (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1851-52), esp. vol. 2, p. 57n.
[50] Vega to the Director of the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* 1 Oct. 1855, AP_ESPOZ_MINA, box 19, no. 5, Archivo Real y General de Navarra (ARGM), Pamplona; the article in question was 'L'Empire et ses Historiens: Le Roi Joseph et ses Mémoires', *Revue des Deux Mondes* 8, 10-12 (854) p. 84.
[51] Vega to Herreros, 28 Apr. 1837, AP_ESPOZ_MINA, box 19, no. 5, ARGM.
[52] L. Noël (ed.), *J. N. A. Noël, chevalier de l'Empire, colonel d'artillerie. Souvenirs Militaires d'un Officier du Premier Empire (1795-1832)* (Paris & Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 1895), p. vi; E. Hennet de Goutel (ed.), *Mémoires du Général Marquis Alphonse d'Hautpoul, pair de France, 1789-1865* (Paris: Didier, Perrin, 1906), p. i.

memoirs' contents, changed the title, added illustrations and made a myriad of small alterations, in order to sell a soldier's autobiography as something else.

ii. Changes to Books, Changes in Meaning

Regimental history

One such trend saw Peninsular War memoirs incorporated into a growing genre of regimental histories, with the story of an individual converted instead into the story of a regiment. This trend was particularly true of postwar Britain where, according to Kevin Linch, the army authorities had started to encourage distinct regimental traditions and cultures at an institutional level.[53] In 1835, for example, the first volume of the *Historical Records of the British Army* was published by a former clerk in the Adjutant General's office, with a staggering 70 more volumes, each focussing on a different regiment, appearing over the next 18 years. 'A watershed in the history of British military culture,' according to Linch, these books met with unexpectedly large public demand, with some 17,750 copies having been printed as early as 1845.[54] Many Peninsular War veterans themselves contributed to the growth of the genre by dedicating their memoirs to the history of their movements with a particular regiment. By the second half of the nineteenth century, it was therefore both a recognisable and a popular style, and a motif in fact used by several publishers in this study to orient newly printed memoirs within the British market.

Lieutenant-Colonel Willoughby Verner's editing of the journal of Major George Simmons was one such example. Both author and editor were veterans of the famous Rifle Brigade, a specialist light regiment distinctive for its green uniforms and skill in skirmishing, which had become legendary in the wartime press for its exploits in the Peninsula.[55] This shared connection, combined with an existing oeuvre of works on military theory and a professorship at the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst, perhaps convinced Verner to publish Simmons' journal – and to publish it very much in a military history vein. 'Our history opens with a letter

[53] K. Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army: Recruitment, Society and Tradition, 1807-15* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 138.
[54] Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army,* pp. 140-142.
[55] Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army,* pp. 143-144.

from George in May 1809,' wrote Verner in his long introduction to the book, which was published by Adam and Charles Black in 1899.[56] The editor's choice of words was not accidental, as he went on to emphasise the historical value of the private letters which had been added to the volume: 'truthful accounts, written from many a bivouac and battlefield in Portugal, Spain, France, and Belgium, of the daily experiences of a young British officer taking his part in the great wars which were the main cause of Napoleon's downfall.'[57] Indeed, the inclusion of the letters was an entirely editorial choice not necessitated by the absence of a proper memoir, as Simmons had apparently taken time after the war to write up, in several larger volumes, the three small pocketbooks of notes he had made while on campaign and carried around inside his headdress.[58] Moreover, the usual editorial snipping had excised the most private passages before the restructured narrative was put before the public.[59]

Beyond the general historical bent of the editor's presentation of the memoir, there was aslo a sustained and marked emphasis on the regimental history of the Rifle Brigade. 'To readers unacquainted with military matters,' Verner wrote in his introduction, 'it may be explained that these letters and journals claim to possess additional interest, since they are written by an officer who happened to belong to a regiment which saw more fighting in the Peninsula than any other in the British Army.'[60] To make the centrality of this connection clear, Verner spent 10 of the 16 pages of his introduction talking almost entirely about the formation and organisation of the regiment, including a long and technical discussion of the specific rifle makes used by its soldiers – more space than was dedicated to the short biography of Simmons himself, and far more than the couple of paragraphs at the end which briefly described the original manuscript. Connections and references were made everywhere to other members of the regiment: fellow Peninsular War memoir-writer John Kincaid was quoted in the Introduction, alongside Sir William Cope, one of the regiment's historians;[61] an appendix at the end specially included a copy of a letter to Simmons from his Rifle Brigade comrade General Sir Harry Smith in 1846;[62]

---

[56] W. Verner (ed.), 'Introduction', in G. Simmons, *A British Rifle Man: The Journals and Correspondence of Major George Simmons, Rifle Brigade, during the Peninsular War and the Campaign of Waterloo. Edited, with introduction, by Lieut.-Colonel Willoughby Verner, late Rifle Brigade, author of 'Sketches in the Soudan', etc. With three maps* (London: A. & C. Black, 1899), p. xiii.
[57] Verner, *A British Rifle Man,* p. xiv.
[58] Verner, *A British Rifle Man,* pp. xxv-xxvi.
[59] Verner, *A British Rifle Man,* pp. xiv-xv.
[60] Verner, *A British Rifle Man,* p. xv.
[61] Verner, *A British Rifle Man,* pp. xiii, xx-xxi.
[62] Verner, *A British Rifle Man,* pp. 381-383.

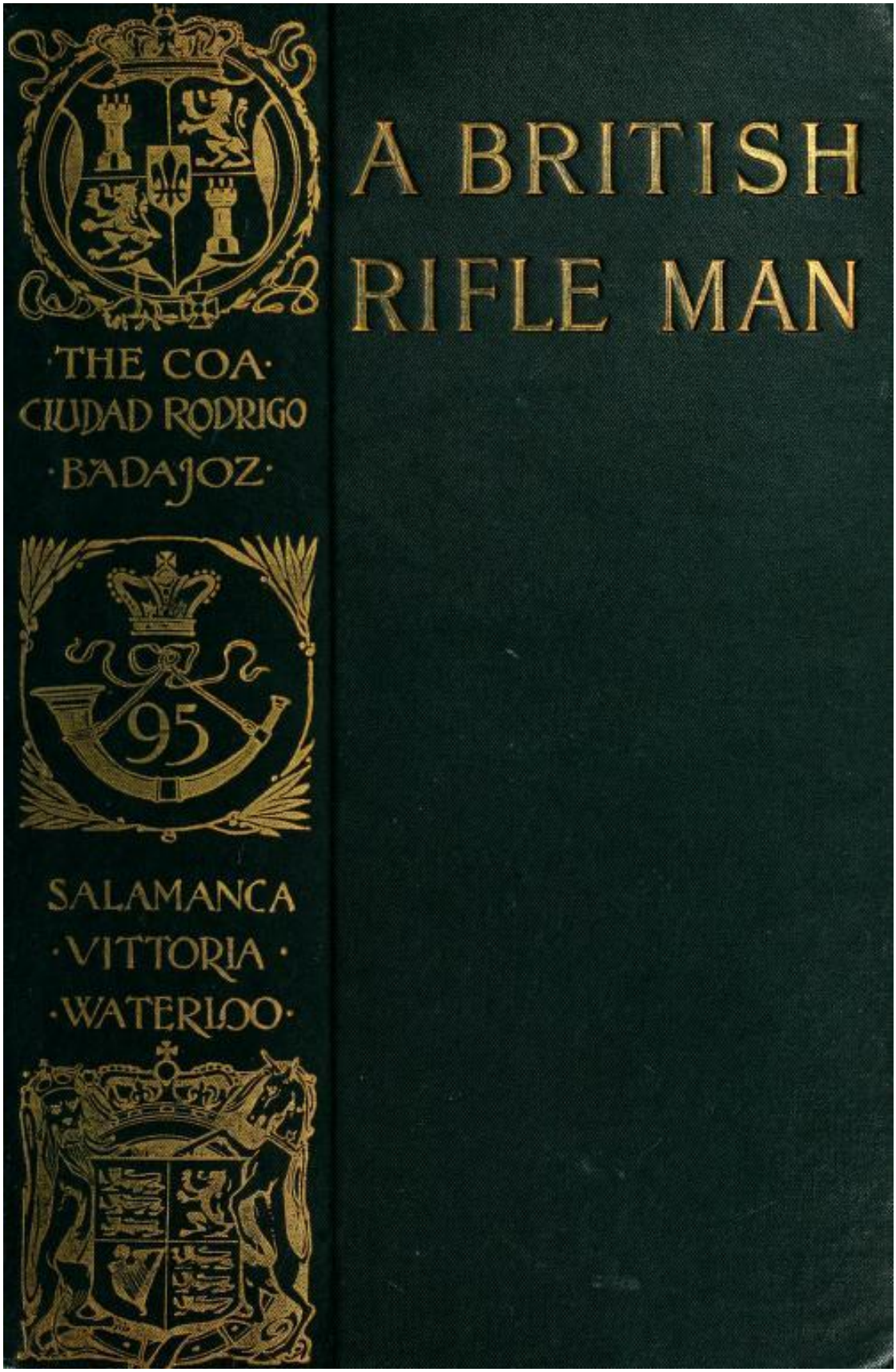


Fig. XV. Binding of George Simmons, *A British Rifle Man,* ed. William Verner (London: A. & C. Black, 1899). No known copyright restrictions.

and the memoir was formally dedicated (by the editor, not the author) to 'General His Royal Highness The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, Colonel-in-Chief of the Rifle Brigade', with the justification that inside its pages, 'a British Rifle Man recounts his personal knowledge of many of the deeds that have made the name of the regiment so famous.'[63] Even the title itself mentioned the Rifle Brigade three times, emphasizing Verner's own connection to it, as if to underline the idea of a continued community, and despite a nod to the original author in the preservation of the spelling of 'Rifle Man', which was apparently true of the corps when first raised, the title 'A British Rifle Man' had been deliberately chosen early on in the editing process to avoid focusing on the individual veteran's name.[64] The difference between this final title and an earlier version used by the publishers in their correspondence with Verner, 'Captain George Simmons: A History of the Peninsular War', is striking.[65]

Indeed, the regiment was meant to define and help to sell the whole book, from the text to the binding, with the publishers writing to Verner in February 1899 to ask for 'a reliable print of "A British Rifleman" of the period, also of the Arms of the Brigade,' as 'it is our intention to introduce them in the cover design.'[66] Evidence from later correspondence shows that as well as being sent around to all the main newspapers for reviews, the book was being consciously marketed to military men, with the editor asked to suggest 'any special service papers which you know could do the book some good by a notice.'[67] A combination of editorial vision and commercial reckoning, therefore, sometimes shaped war memoirs into a saleable product different from that produced by the intervention of close family members, but also different from that originally penned by the author. Where there had been messy, controversial, rambling, individual life stories, there became the curated display of a public career, or the generalized history of a regiment: the products of new pens and a changed publishing market.

'Boy's Own' adventure books

In contrast to the tendency to diffuse the focus away from the original author seen above, a third trend placed the eponymous protagonist firmly in the spotlight, making a feature of their

[63] Verner, *A British Rifle Man*, p. v.
[64] Verner, *A British Rifle Man*, p. xxviii.
[65] Black to Verner, 8 December 1898, no. 757, 'Publication letter book no. 30', ACB A/1/9, Adam & Charles Black Collection, URSC.
[66] Black to Verner, 2 February 1899, no. 972, ACB A/1/9, Black, URSC.
[67] Black to Verner, 14 April 1899, no. 312, 'Publication letter book no. 31', ACB A/1/10, Black, URSC.

quirks and rough edges and selling the memoir as a pacey adventure novel which might lean as much towards fiction as to fact. Such was the case with librettist Julian Sturgis's edition of Robert Blakeney's long-unpublished memoir at the end of the nineteenth century. Sturgis, who specialized in light comedies and had already released several novels with the publisher John Murray, came upon the memoir through an intricate family connection, having married Blakeney's granddaughter Mary Maude Beresford.[68] At first reluctant to take on the project, he soon became 'keenly interested' by its lively style and approached Murray to publish it, praising the veteran's 'courage; his delight in his own, his regiment's and his army's achievements; his grievances; his proud looks; his friendship & his fun – he seems to me a charming fellow.'[69] Blakeney's 'tall talk' and 'humour' would make the book appeal to readers, Sturgis argued, later writing to emphasise that 'I think it has individuality, which is the very salt of a book.'[70]

The book was therefore edited and planned as a celebration of Robert Blakeney's own voice, the sincere words of an eyewitness to the heat and rush of war. In an affectionate introduction to the work, Sturgis made an effort to put the veteran's narrative in centre-stage:

> He would have you know too, that when he treats of movements and of battles already described, he makes no claim to draw them better. He puts down what he saw with his own eyes, what he heard with his own ears, - that is the value of his work. To me at least he seems to give the very air of the battlefield. He is in the midst of the fight; he makes us see it from inside, breathe the smoke, and hear the hoarse word of command answered by the groan of the wounded.[71]

This emphasis on the idea of immediacy, as if readers would open the book and open a window directly back into the past, froze the author in time as a young man in the Peninsula – there was less sense of the older man, the veteran, who wrote the memoirs in retirement on the island of Zante.

Indeed, Sturgis's handling of the book was characterised by a tension between his desire to let the author 'speak for himself' and his own creative and commercial concerns. On one hand,

---

[68] E. Lee, 'Sturgis, Julian Russell (1848–1904)', rev. K. Chubbuck, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); Sturgis to Murray, 28 Mar. [1898], MS.41167, JMA, NLS.
[69] Sturgis to Murray, 28 Mar. [1898], MS.41167, JMA, NLS.
[70] Sturgis to Murray, 25 April 1898 and 11 July 1898, MS.41167, JMA, NLS.
[71] J. Sturgis (ed.), *A Boy in the Peninsular War: The Services, Adventures, and Experiences of Robert Blakeney, Subaltern in the 28th Regiment. An Autobiography* (London: John Murray, 1899), pp. xi-xii.

Sturgis had tried hard to restore the integrity of the manuscript, it having been rather bluntly edited beforehand by his brother-in-law Jack Beresford, who 'had been over it with a soldier's eye' and removed many of the 'warm (Irish) outbursts' which seemed to Sturgis to be the main virtue of the memoir.[72] On the other hand, to prepare the manuscript for publication, Sturgis had corrected grammar, removed some of the most exuberant or gory passages, and cut the narrative into his own chapters.[73] Behind the scenes, he and the publisher Murray had deliberately chosen to market the book as the exciting adventures of a young hero, picturing a broad audience which might even include children as readers. 'The book is like a first-rate boys' book for personal adventures,' wrote Sturgis to Murray in April 1898, positioning the Peninsular War veteran amongst the daring heroes of contemporary Edwardian story books.[74] In contrast to the parallel wave of memoirs by aristocratic French generals and British colonial commanders, which used the author's full list of ranks and decorations in the title to market the books as the public record of an illustrious career, the title chosen for Blakeney's memoir instead highlighted youth and exploits: *A Boy in the Peninsular War: The Services, Adventures, and Experiences of Robert Blakeney, Subaltern in the 28th Regiment* (1899).

Moreover, when discussing the potential use of a miniature of Blakeney as a frontispiece for the book, Sturgis argued against it for not depicting the author at an early enough age:

> I have a miniature of Blakeney; but I doubt about using it. It is young but decidedly older than the boy in the Peninsular, whom it seems to me essential for the reader to bear in mind.[75]

A visual focus on the author as a young man was in fact characteristic of many later edited memoirs of all genres in all three countries, with the archives recording several other British editors explicitly requesting the inclusion of portraits 'showing the man as he wrote the letters' or 'when a young man just after the war.'[76] Illustrations were a costly addition to a book in the process of publication, so few memoirs from the early part of the nineteenth century included any – and if the choice was available, veterans from that time tended to prioritise the inclusion of maps or battle plans. The use of the veteran's own image as part of the sales strategy of these

---

[72] Sturgis to Murray, 28 Mar. [1898], MS.41167, JMA, NLS.
[73] Sturgis to Murray, 28 June 1898, 11 J 1898 and 5 July 1898, MS.41167, JMA, NLS; Sturgis (ed.), *A Boy in the Peninsular War,* p. xi.
[74] Sturgis to Murray, 25 Apr. 1898, MS.41167, JMA, NLS; see also K. Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940* (Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
[75] Sturgis to Murray, 20 July 1898, MS.41167, JMA, NLS.
[76] Carr-Gomm to Murray, 1 Nov. 1880, MS.40457, JMA, NLS; Napier to Murray, 8 July 1884, MS.40868, JMA, NLS.

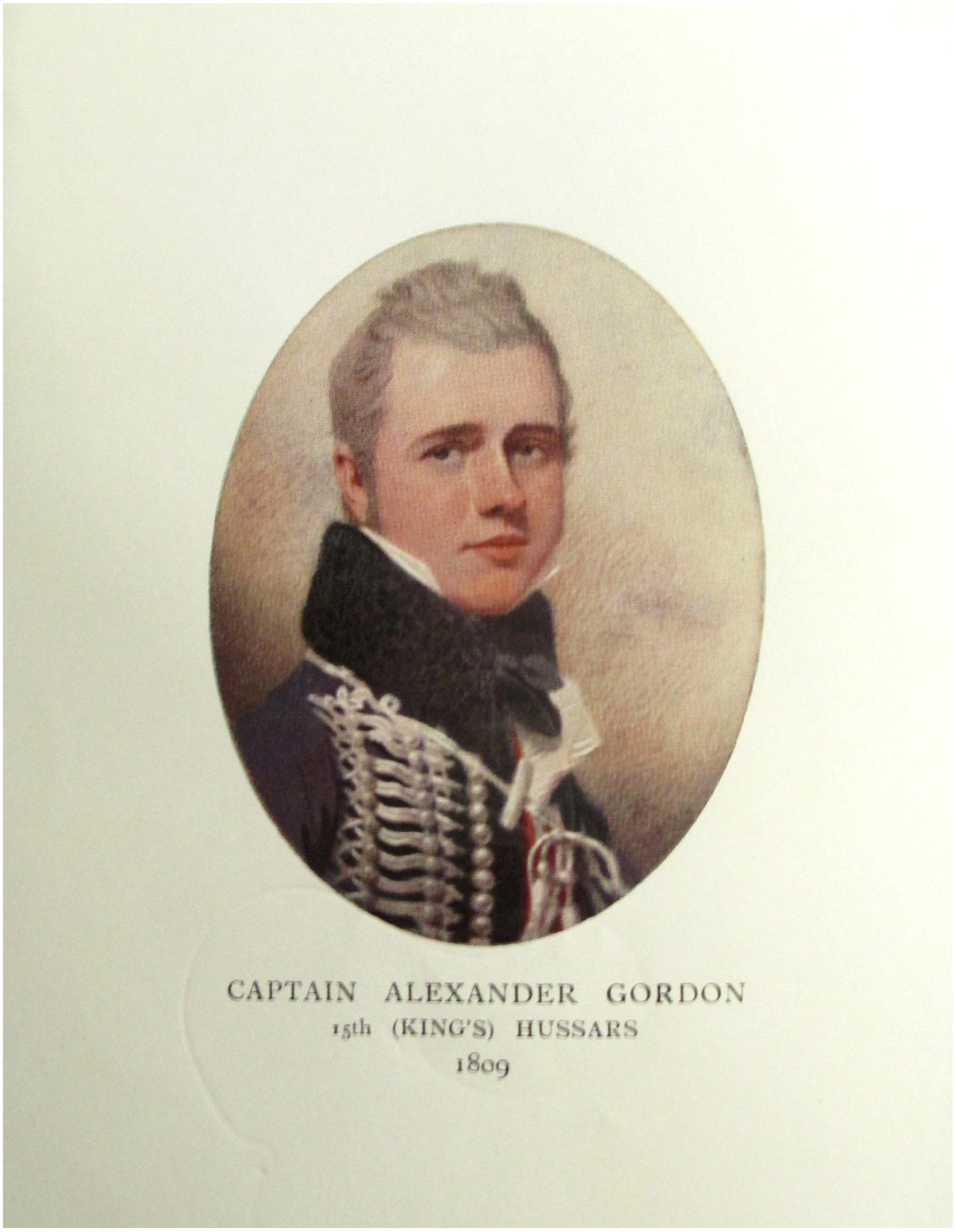


Fig. XVI. Portrait of Captain Alexander Gordon: H. C. Wylly (ed.), *A Cavalry Officer in the Corunna Campaign 1808-1809: The Journal of Captain Gordon of the 15th Hussars* (London: John Murray, 1913). No known copyright restrictions.

later memoirs, therefore, was a new phenomenon, and marked a shift in the way these war writers were treated: from authors and informed commentators on war, they became primarily eyewitnesses, narrators, the protagonists of stories, their personalities and physical appearance central to the sales appeal of their books in a way they never had been before.

'I would like him [the reader] to bear in mind, as he reads, the looks and nature of the young soldier whose fortunes he will follow,' wrote Sturgis in the introduction to Blakeney's memoir. 'He was of middle height and lightly made, but active healthy and handsome. He was eager for friendship and for fight, quick and confident in action, observing with keen accurate eyes, and so clever at languages that he picked them up on the march and conversed with the natives of Spain and Portugal and France with equal audacity and success. Perhaps more than all one finds in him that natural gaiety of heart which neither danger nor fatigue could dull, neither the want of wealth and honours nor the sight of the appalling horrors of war.'[77] The boyish Irish hero was offered up to the public as an alternative to what Sturgis saw as the awkward English counterpart: the veteran who refused to talk about his heroic deeds and instead 'blushes, mutters, and escapes to his club.'[78] Implicitly, Blakeney was also offered as an alternative to the dry, edited memoirs discussed above. A public thirsty for something pacier than the historical account of a grandee's military service or unconnected to the traditions of a particular regiment could buy, with this book, a much more enjoyable and accessible account of the Peninsular War.

Consumable commodities

Via the editing and repackaging of memoirs, therefore, narratives of war became increasingly saleable, especially in Britain and France. Late nineteenth-century editing of veterans' writings in these countries was informed by an expanded publishing industry which produced books in greater numbers and higher quality than ever before – and at lower and lower prices. Many of the publishing firms which took on these memoirs were industry leaders, large companies like Longman, John Murray, Plon-Nourrit, and Hachette, which were run by men who knew well what changes had to be made to books in order to make them sell. There were no *facsimile* reproductions of the original manuscript – all memoirs produced in this period around the turn

[77] Sturgis (ed.), *A Boy in the Peninsular War,* pp. x-xi.
[78] Sturgis (ed.), *A Boy in the Peninsular War*, p. ix.

of the nineteenth century were adjusted, improved, and generally 'modernised' to fit the new standards of an evolving market.

This process involved changes to the whole book, from cover to content, even the smallest subtly altering the way the reader would perceive its meaning. Dividing up the text into chapters and thinking up titles for these, for example, was an ordinary task for the editors of many of these late-century memoirs – the provision of aids to readers being seen as much more important than strict loyalty to the manuscript.[79] Publishers Adam and Charles Black asked editor Willoughby Verner to insert running titles at the head of each right-hand page in George Simmons' journal, for example, 'as we think they help the reader considerably.'[80] Indexes were compiled and added to the posthumous memoirs of Blakeney and Sir Harry Smith, while the editors of Jean-Stanislas Vivien's memoir – originally a collection of anecdotal episodes in no chronological order – rearranged them entirely so that the book appeared to have been composed as a coherent, chronological narrative.[81]

For the text itself, it was standard procedure to check, correct and complete proper nouns and place names, a laborious process which might take the editor considerable time. Verner, for instance, had started to work on correcting the details of Simmons' memoir in late 1898, with help from Earl Hodgson, a writer seemingly working part-time as a reader for the Black brothers. By the February, the pair were still working on it, exchanging lists of place names and trying to agree on a rule for systematising the spelling.[82] Equally large amounts of time behind the scenes were spent revising the original language and grammar. 'I find the Peninsular 'Warre' letters as you refer to them voluminous,' wrote the Reverend Edmond Warre to his publisher about the recently unearthed memoirs of his uncle, 'and it will take some time to decipher them – spelling is queer & his sentences not always grammatical.'[83] Captain Coignet's notebooks were also infamously badly written, with the archivist who advised Lorédan Larchey about the manuscript in the early 1880s commenting that 'L'orthographe est des plus

[79] For example, Sturgis to Murray, 28 June 1898 and 11 July 1898, MS.41167, JMA, NLS; Carr-Gomm to Murray, 25 October 1880, MS.40457, JMA, NLS.
[80] Black to Verner, 8 December 1898, no. 757, ACB A/1/9, Black, URSC.
[81] Sturgis to Murray, 7 November 1898, MS.41167, JMA, NLS; Moore Smith, 2 December 1900, MS.41111, JMA, NLS; Vivien, *Souvenirs,* p. 226.
[82] Hodgson to Verner, 10 February 1899, no. 972, ACB A/1/9, Black, URSC.
[83] Warre to Murray, 5 March 1908, MS.41241, JMA, NLS.

fantaisistes, la construction des phrases aussi,' and the editors of both the early Auxerre edition and the later Paris ones having to make sweeping modifications to the text.[84]

These kinds of changes might seem small, but they were by no means insignificant. Revisions took away the original wording and turn of phrase used by the veteran, and gave the lie to the idea that readers were reading a direct, unfiltered narration. Furthermore, spelling and syntax were not only expressions of the author's education or personal style, but also of a certain point in time, and altering or preserving them meant making a choice about how to present the book to a public some decades later. This point was made explicitly by the English Literature professor George Moore Smith during correspondence in 1900 with the publisher of his great-uncle's memoir:

> Sir H.S. made a large use of capitals in his MS. and in the transcription these were generally, tho' not invariably, retained. I see Messrs Clowes ignore them. It is rather a matter of taste whether one should keep them or not. They wd. give a slightly old-fashioned air to the book.[85]

The 'Messrs Clowes' mentioned above were the printers employed by the publisher to typeset and format the book, a largely hidden role which nonetheless had significant impact on the final product – in this case, by proposing the modernisation of the use of capitals, an act which, as Moore Smith pointed out, would remove a potential reminder to the reader that the book had in fact been written nearly half a century earlier.

The most striking changes, though, were the addition of illustrations, which in this late nineteenth-century commodification craze went beyond austere portraits of the authors and into eye-catching title pages and detailed full-page plates, especially in memoirs produced in France. This trend spanned the entire genre, encompassing both cheap and expensive editions of memoirs, the latter sometimes containing illustrations specially commissioned from the leading artists of the day. A luxury edition of Coignet's memoirs produced in 1887, for example, contained 18 full-page pictures, 68 smaller illustrations, and decorative drawings customised to fit each chapter, all executed by Julien Le Blant, an award-winning Salon painter.[86] The illustrations were a dominant presence within the book, adorning nearly every other page of the narrative, and were re-used several years later in Charles Bigot's edited

[84] Molard to Larchey, 25 January 1882, *Cahier,* HAc 36.24, IMEC; 'Cahiers du Capitaine Coignet', *Dossier,* HAC 36.24, IMEC.
[85] Moore Smith to Murray, 25 July 1900, MS.41111, JMA, NLS.
[86] Contract between Templier and Le Blant, 2 April 1886, HAC 34.30 'Le Blant', IMEC.

collection of excerpts from military memoirs, *Gloires et Souvenirs Militaires* (1894), joined by other illustrations by the artists Alfred Paris and Maurice Orange.[87]

Vivid and beautifully executed, these illustrations showed the experience of war quite differently to many original veterans' memoirs. None confronted the harsher realities of life on campaign: all uniforms were pristine; no soldiers were missing shoes; no-one looked gaunt, sick, or hungry. Battlefield scenes dominated, despite actually being few and far between in the memoirs themselves, and showed heroic action in the heat of the moment, with leaders gesturing their men onwards.[88] The effect was to make the soldiers' narratives into bright, colourful things, full of excitement and action, whose attractive covers and images might persuade people who were otherwise hardly interested in the details of a war long past to buy the books and either read or perhaps simply display them.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the introduction of compulsory primary education in both France and Britain meant that this expanding market for war memoirs also included schoolchildren. Abridged versions of soldiers' memoirs appeared in pedagogic series designed for children, such as Hachette's *Bibliothèque des écoles et des familles*, copies of which were given out for free to heads of academic institutions.[89] The illustrations from *Gloires et Souvenirs* were even re-used in the early 1890s as covers for *cahiers d'écriture* for use in French primary schools.[90] In Britain, as we shall see in the next chapter, several best-selling French memoirs were translated into English in the 1880s and 1890s in the form of short schoolbook editions, and in the early twentieth century, an excerpt from Harry Smith's memoir of his services with the 95th Rifle Brigade was used in 'Anderson's English Prose Reader Book 2' to teach literature to children in South African schools.[91]

Much of this re-use of memoirs was innocuous, but in some aspects it was also an attempt to shape the way future generations would perceive war and military service. Only a decade or two later, during the First World War, French children would be the target of 'intense

[87] The original watercolour paintings can be consulted in Caen: 'Gloires et Souvenirs', S26 HAC C61 D5, Archives Hachette, IMEC.
[88] For example, Bigot, *Gloires,* p. 43 (Aboukir), p. 121 (A siege), pp. 181, 257 (Battle scenes).
[89] Sturgis to Murray, 25 April 1898, NLS MS.41167, JMA, NLS; contract, 11 June 1892, HAC 1.50, IMEC.
[90] See Article 6, contract, 8 November 1892, HAC 1.50, IMEC.
[91] 'By Longmans Green for permission to include about 1300 words in Anderson's English Prose Reader Bk 2 for use in S. African Schools' – Note dated 9 June 1926, p. 368, Copies Ledger L, MS.42737, JMA, NLS.

Fig. XVII. Illustrated flyleaf from Charles Bigot (ed.), *Gloires et Souvenirs Militaires* (Paris: Hachette, 1894). No known copyright restrictions.

propaganda', one study has shown, with a proliferation of 'books, illustrated magazines, toys and games' all heavily influenced by war themes and designed to teach specific interpretations of the unfolding international conflict.[92] In fact, the foundations of this wartime propaganda effort can be identified in the redesigning of Napoleonic memoirs at the turn of the century, particularly in France, where prefaces took on a markedly moralising and educational tone.

National military education

Fresh in the public mind in France in the closing decades of the nineteenth century were the humiliating defeats of the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71), a conflict which Brian Joseph Martin has recently described as 'a kind of national emasculation', especially for the army.[93] Seeing the nephew of the same Napoleon who had once conquered swathes of Western Europe surrendering on the battlefield to France's old Prussian rivals, his army easily batted aside by the German forces, and then Paris itself besieged and occupied, people began to seek refuge in a comfortably nostalgic vision of France's Napoleonic past. The necessity of reminding the French public about its historical glories and military accomplishments was felt acutely by various late-century French editors, who crafted new editions for a large number of Napoleonic memoirs, always emphasising the lessons which could be learned and the comfort which could be taken from the examples of the readers' forefathers.

In the process, they recast the authors of Peninsular War memoirs as idealised embodiments of French national character, heroes who could help transmit traditional military values to contemporary readers. Amongst these, high-ranking officers were still popular subjects. The editor of General Baron Dellard's memoirs, for example, nostalgically depicted a cadre of brave and dutiful officers from the Napoleonic period, all 'pleins de bravoure et de patriotisme, qui ne connaissaient que le devoir; et pour eux le devoir consistait à être toujours les premiers et les derniers au feu.'[94] However, there was also a noticeably new and strong focus on the character of ordinary soldiers, used to laud the moral value of uncomplaining, steadfast service. Introducing the edited manuscript of Captain François in 1907, for instance, Maurice Thiéry

[92] S. Audoin-Rouzeau, 'French Children as Target for Propaganda', in H. Cecil and P. H. Liddle (eds), *Facing Armageddon: The First World War Experience* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Select, 2003), p. 767.
[93] B. J. Martin, *Napoleonic Friendship: Military Fraternity, Intimacy, and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century France* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2011), p. 232.
[94] J. P. Dellard (ed.), *Mémoires militaires du Général Baron Dellard sur les guerres de la République et de l'Empire* (Paris: Librairie Illustrée, 1892), pp. v-vi.

underlined François's persistence throughout the most incredible hardships, noting that the soldier 'se fait remarquer par un trait de témérité bien française qui ne connaît aucun obstacle.'[95] In 1894, the editor Alfred Darimon similarly praised the discipline and endurance of Sergeant François Lavaux, comparing him to two other 'modèles du parfait soldat', the gunner Bricard and Sergeant Fricasse, whose memoirs had been published to great commercial success in 1882 and 1891 respectively. 'Les soldats de l'épopée révolutionnaire et impériale ont été des héros;' wrote Darimon in his introduction, emphasising that 'la lecture de leurs souvenirs, si sincères dans leur simplicité, ne peut que réconforter les âmes et inculquer à tous l'idée et le sentiment du devoir.'[96]

This focus on ordinary soldiers was not an accidental publishing trend. Under the Third Republic, general military service had been implemented, meaning that large parts of the adult male population would experience the soldier's profession for a time, and war was not a distant fantasy. As Darimon put it, 'le service militaire, obligatoire pour tous, a fait de chaque citoyen un soldat, et il est naturel qu'on s'intéresse au soldat, et surtout au soldat des guerres de la République et de l'Empire.'[97] Peninsular War memoirs provided helpful, if romanticised examples of what war was like. They also seemed the perfect vehicle for promoting educational and moralising lessons to the influxes of new recruits, and they were directly marketed as such. Lorédan Larchey's publication of the memoirs of Sergeant Fricasse in 1882, for example, received financial support from both the Ministries of War and Public Instruction, and was advertised alongside a glowing review from a veteran's magazine, the *Bulletin de la Réunion des Officiers,* which named the work 'un livre d'éducation nationale.'[98] Bigot's *Gloires et Souvenirs Militaires,* meanwhile, was dedicated to the young officers in training at the École Spéciale Impériale Militaire at Saint-Cyr and designed to form part of their core curriculum.[99]

In Britain, too, memoirs were marketed to soldiers with renewed energy. John Murray, for example, suggested to the editor Francis Carr Gomm that he arrange for the memoirs of Field-Marshal William Maynard Gomm to be put on the list of recommended reading at the Horse

[95] M. Thiéry (ed.), *Journal d'un officier français, ou Les Cahiers du Capitaine François 1792-1815* (Tours: Alfred Mame et Fils, 1907), p. 8.
[96] A. Darimon (ed.), *Mémoires de François Lavaux, sergent au 103^{e} de ligne (1793-1814)* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1894), p. vii.
[97] Darimon, *Mémoires de François Lavaux,* pp. v-vi.
[98] Advertisement for 'Journal de Marche d'un Volontaire de 1792 (Fricasse, sergent à la 127e demi-brigade, 1792-1802) publié par Lorédan Larchey, d'après le manuscrit original. Ouvrage honoré des souscriptions des ministères de la Guerre et de l'Instruction Publique', in Larchey (ed.), *Cahiers* (1883).
[99] Bigot (ed.), *Gloires,* p. vii.

Guards, the office of the British high army command.[100] The editor William Napier, by comparison, aimed at the hearts and minds of rank-and-file soldiers through a second, cheaper edition of his great-uncle's memoir. Napier, previously Director-General of Military Education and governor of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, was eager 'to circulate it among the rank and file of the Army, and put it within Thommy Atkins' reach', and suggested preparing a cheap edition of only one or two shillings in price, which could be sold at railway stations, in order to achieve this.[101]

Earlier in the nineteenth century, several Peninsular War veterans had presented their own memoirs as guides for new recruits, and offered nuanced insights into the realities of life as a soldier. In the decades preceding the First World War, their memoirs were again being sold in this way, but the messages within had subtly shifted. Violence was at the same time both masked and made more explicit in these late-century editions of war memoirs, disguised in illustrations showing soldiers in heroic poses and introductions praising selfless service, but played upon in the voyeuristic undertones of prefaces which promised detailed depictions of war in all its 'atroce réalité', seen through the eyes of the ordinary soldier.[102] Unlike the detached narratives of officers and generals, the editor of Sergeant Lavaux's memoirs wrote, 'les soldats nous font assister aux détails et nous initient aux incidents, souvent terribles et toujours lamentables,' while another editor emphasised his subject's persistence, despite watching his comrades 'expirent sous ses yeux.'[103]

It was also only in these late-century editions of Peninsular War memoirs that the act of killing was depicted explicitly. One of the illustrations in *Gloires et Souvenirs,* a colourful plate by Maurice Orange captioned 'Un episode du siège de Saragosse' and based on an extract from Marshall Bugeaud's memoir, shows advancing French troops fighting armed Spanish citizens in the courtyard of a building. In the centre of the image, a French soldier sticks his long sword through the neck of his attacker, a brightly-dressed Spaniard who has grabbed onto the soldier's rifle as if to turn it upon its owner (see *Fig. XVIII*).[104] In fact, the type of violence which late nineteenth-century editors and illustrators were concerned to show the public was individual violence, experienced by an ordinary protagonist in hand-to-hand combat, or as a necessary

[100] Carr-Gomm to Murray, 13 June 1882, MS.40457, JMA, NLS.
[101] Napier to Murray, 28 May 1895, MS.40868, JMA, NLS.
[102] Darimon, *Mémoires de François Lavaux,* p. vii.
[103] Darimon, *Mémoires de François Lavaux*, p. vi; Thiéry, *Journal d'un officier français*, p. 9.
[104] Bigot, *Gloires,* p. 113.

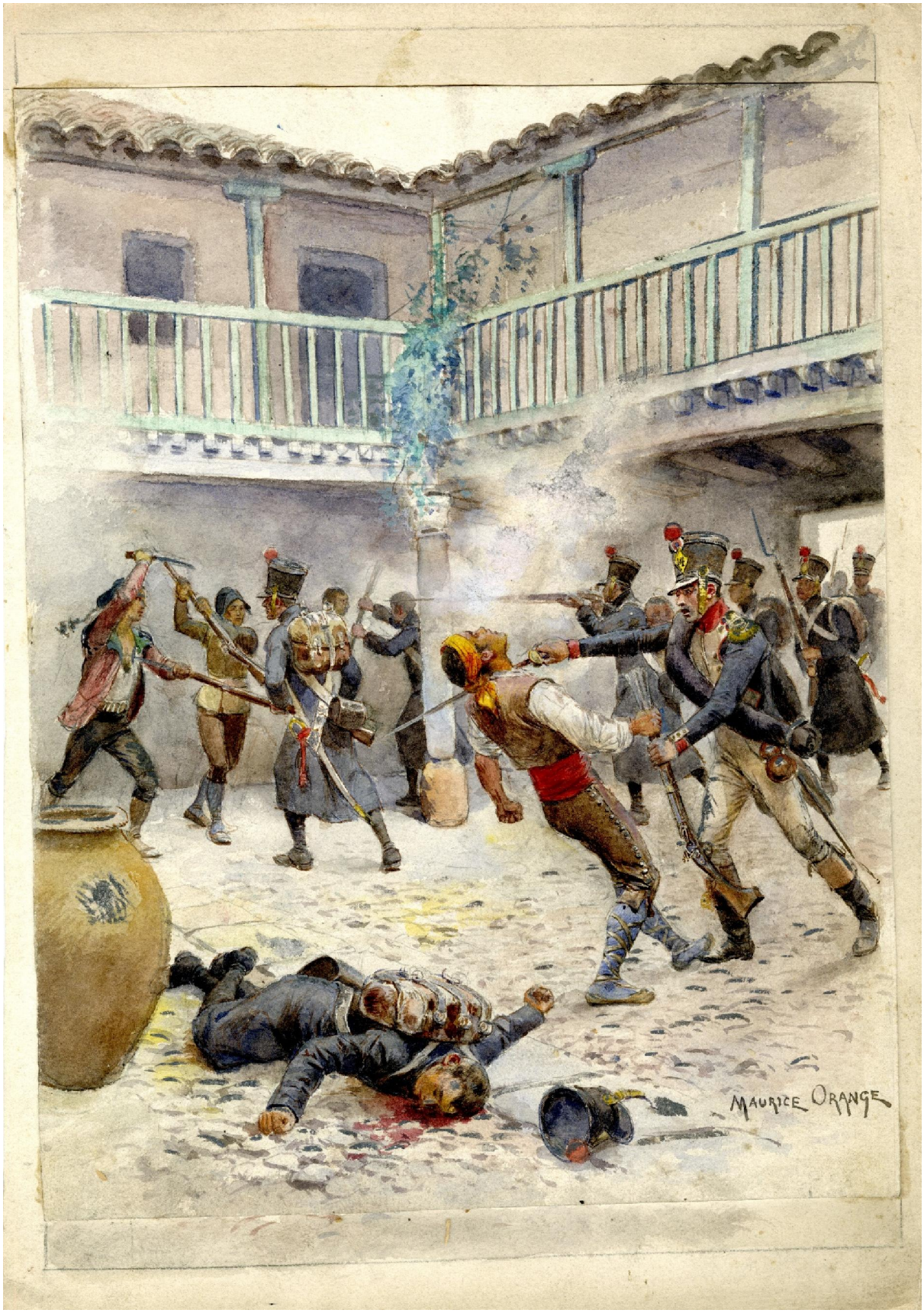


Fig. XVIII. Maurice Orange, 'Le Siège de Saragosse', Fonds Hachette, IMEC. Reproduced with permission.

part of his profession as a soldier. It was not, by any means, the generalised and mundane brutality which was the daily reality of warfare in Spain and the real, uncomfortable undertone in its veterans' original memoirs. None of these later nineteenth-century editors mentioned the terrible horror of the aftermaths of sieges, or the troubling lack of burial for soldiers killed on the battlefield, or the fear, anger and reprisals of the chaotic 'little war'. The promises of gritty reality were primarily sales tricks, profound misrepresentations of the texts which they accompanied. The next generation of soldiers was meant to absorb the lessons of heroism, duty, and militarism from Peninsular War veterans' memoirs, but little more.

iii. **Conclusion**

From tiny changes to grand ones like the addition of beautiful full-page colour plates, huge formats and gold-embossed leather bindings, the quest to make military memoirs appealing commercial objects in an increasingly complex market unavoidably altered the way the original narratives were treated, with aesthetics sometimes threatening to overshadow the content. Did the purchasers of Léon Conquet's fifty specially-produced luxury editions of the memoirs of Jean-Roch Coignet in the 1890s, for example, buy the books for the status of the object, or for the story it contained?[105] War, of course, did not lose its potency, but its new pretty packaging made it much easier to digest, and stories of death and violence became, to an extent, more normalised. Real horror already having been well hidden by many of the veteran authors themselves behind the exciting twists and turns, heroic moments and humorous asides of their narrative, it was even further disguised by the glamour and the grit which later publishers added to the repurposed volumes.

Looking at the changes in how Peninsular War memoirs were presented over time shows us that the tales of war which were being read at the end of the nineteenth century were not the same as those published decades earlier or left unpublished by their original authors. Soldiers' voices, their political or historical aims, and even their editorial and stylistic choices, were all altered and sometimes entirely lost through the interventions of later editors, publishers and illustrators, adapting the narratives to fit different commercial and contextual concerns. The families of veterans played an enormous and largely unrecognised role in mediating what parts

[105] Conquet to Hachette, 6 July 1885, HAC 10.19, IMEC.

of their ancestors' memoirs were made public, with women in particular often participating in the publishing process. Although presented as quintessentially masculine tales, many soldiers' memoirs were in fact the product of female labour, preference, and editorial input. Furthermore, as time went on, the potential for reinvention increased. With the added input of novelists, historians, publishers, printers, artists and schoolmasters, Peninsular War memoirs were re-cast throughout the later part of the nineteenth century into moulds as diverse as regimental histories, adventure books, collector's items, children's tales, and a means of national military education.

Soldiers' memoirs were clearly seen in the nineteenth century as powerful agents of influence, adaptable vehicles for spreading a wide variety of different messages about war, militarism and masculinity. Neither the formation of war memory through these books, nor the genre of war writing between 1814 and 1914, can be properly understood without including the impact of change over time. However, neither can Peninsular War memoirs from France, Britain and Spain be compared in strict isolation. Exploring the mutual influence which memoirs from each country had upon the others, through movement across space as well as time, is the subject of the next and final chapter, which asks whether transnational circulation really means the breaking down of borders, and why, to this day, this is still a war with three names.

Chapter 7.

A War with Three Names: Circulation, Translation and Transnational Memory[1]

Today, the Peninsular War is still known by different names in each of the participating countries, a separation which reflects the different narratives which have been built up around the conflict over the course of the last two centuries. The memoirs published by veterans in the first half of the nineteenth century contributed significantly to the foundations of these narratives, as we saw in Chapter 2. The Peninsular War became a testament to the British Army's sacrifices and a proof of Wellington's genius; the *Guerre d'Espagne* a murky tale of French persistence amidst the horror and chaos of irregular warfare; the *Guerra de la Independencia* the story of how the Spanish people, brave and irrepressible, overthrew the occupation of their country and helped to liberate Europe from Napoleon. However, national book markets were not insulated from each other, despite the tendency to study them as such. Instead, publishing industries had permeable edges, and war memoirs moved. Through both reprinting and translation, soldiers' autobiographies spread outside the borders of the nation in whose language they had been written and in whose cities they had first been published, entering foreign book markets and addressing new audiences.

Widespread and often unauthorised reprinting abroad allowed French, British and Spanish memoirs to cross borders, oceans and continents throughout the nineteenth century, while translation allowed them to traverse language divides, with war stories from one country entering the literature of another. Memoirs of the Peninsular War became a transnational genre, with mutual influence between writers from different sides of the conflict, and the texts themselves being radically altered by their journeys. In this final chapter, I will explore the ways in which travel and translation changed these memoirs, and what effect this movement had upon the genre of war writing as a whole. It would be tempting to assume that books, in crossing national and linguistic divides, broke down the borders between old enemies, and contributed to a shared memory of the war. Yet in reality, the reprinting and translation of

[1] An earlier version of part of this chapter was published as 'Traduire la guerre au XIXe siècle: réinventions et circulations des mémoires militaires de la guerre d'Espagne, 1808-1914', *Hypothèses* 20 (2017), pp. 347-356.

memoirs was subject to sharp asymmetry, hostility, and defensive politics, with concerted attempts being made to mould veterans' testimonies into the narrowly national narratives we recognise today. By 1914, France, Britain and Spain had preserved many of their differences, with the reappropriation of soldier's memoirs a vital part of the process.

i. Reprinting

War memoirs from the nineteenth century cannot be studied in geographical isolation. These books circulated constantly, from the end of the Peninsular War to the beginning of the First World War, and on an impressive scale, from the simple crossing of the Channel or the Pyrenees to the fording of the Atlantic and the traversing of new continents, from North and South America to Africa. A significant part of this circulation happened at a modest, micro level, as copies of memoirs were sent from one person to another or ordered individually from publishers overseas. Traces of ownership, such as the bookplates, signatures and personal inscriptions left on the inner pages of copies of memoirs now held in national archives, give tantalising glimpses of the hugely diverse journeys of individual memoirs over society, space and time. The strongest current of micro-exchange was between France and Britain, with many French memoirs in their original language ending up on the bookshelves of British Members of Parliament, small public libraries, and even a London police magistrate living at 21 Cumberland Street, Portman Square.[2]

Many of the copies which survive in today's archives owe their survival to a few prolific collectors from the nineteenth century whose collections of well-preserved books were later bought by public institutions. Two such cases were the collections of statesman Thomas Grenville (1755-1846) and orientalist Pascual de Gayangos (1809-1897).[3] Grenville alone amassed more than twenty thousand volumes of books dating from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries and noted for their fine bindings, among which was a first edition of British officer George Gleig's *The Subaltern* (1825). Inside the front cover, alongside his personalised

[2] For example: CCB.48.19, Cambridge University Library (CUL), Cambridge; 1479.aaa.13, W48/6229, X6/4029, 10661.r.2 and 9180.dd.14, British Library (BL), London.
[3] Held by the BL and the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), Madrid, respectively.

bookplate and the mark of a bookbinder from Parliament Street, Grenville had written approvingly in pencil that 'This work was spoken of by the Duke of Wellington with praise.'[4]

Gayangos, meanwhile, was the intermediary through whom the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid received a large, leather-bound and very well-travelled manuscript copy of Spanish lieutenant-colonel Francisco Xavier Cabanes' account of the operations of the army of Catalonia.[5] When he bought the manuscript in an auction by Sotheby and Wilkinson in London in 1873, Gayangos was already the fourth owner. The memoir had been first acquired by Manuel Abella (1763-1817), a Spanish archivist and scholar who, on the request of the original author, sent the manuscript to his friend, the famous British writer Robert Southey (1774-1843). Writing in small, neat brown ink handwriting on the flyleaf of the manuscript, Southey described the work as 'able and soldier-like'. He kept hold of it until his death, whereupon it was bought in a sale by the British Army general Charles Richard Fox (1796-1873), who added his own large black ink handwriting to the growing column in the flyleaf. Upon Fox's own death in 1873, the manuscript would be picked up by Gayangos, and with him, nearly a hundred years after its writing, eventually travel back to the country from which it had started out.

Beyond this hidden world of the circulation of individual physical copies, however, memoirs also travelled extensively as texts, crossing borders via a process of frequent and largely unregulated reprinting. Until the signing of the Berne Convention in 1886, a widespread lack of international copyright legislation allowed memoirs to spread overseas rapidly after their first publication, with no enduring bilateral agreements for the protection of publishers' rights between France, Britain, or the US and any Spanish-American country before that date. [6] The Berne Convention restricted this booming business slightly by stipulating that copyright (understood in the French sense of an automatic, fundamental *droit d'auteur*) would exist for written works for at least 50 years after the author's death, requiring signatories to treat works by foreign authors by the same rules that applied domestically. The United States, however, refused to sign, and although France, Britain and Spain all did commit to the treaty, the blanket enforcement of the legislation in practice was not straightforward. The reprinting of successful foreign works by local printers remained a common practice throughout the whole nineteenth

[4] G. R. Gleig, *The Subaltern* (Edinburgh: Blackwood; London: T. Cadell, 1825): G.17738, BL.
[5] F. X. Cabanes, *Historia de las operaciones del exército de Cataluña* (Tarragona: s.n., 1809): MSS/17883, BNE.
[6] E. Roldán Vera, 'The History of the Book in Latin America (including Incas, Aztecs, and the Caribbean)' , in M. F. Suarez, S. J. and H. R. Woudhuysen (eds), *The Oxford Companion to the Book,* 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), vol. 1, pp. 412-413.

century, including in Spanish America.[7] Several of the publishers of Peninsular War memoirs in this study openly expressed their frustration with the difficulty of protecting their own rights to publications, with the British publisher Longman writing in 1835 to Captain Moyle Sherer to complain that the veteran had, without their knowledge, granted permission to another publisher to reprint parts of one of his recent works. 'From the too frequent infringement on our property in copyright,' the publishers wrote crossly, 'we are obliged to be very vigilant in protecting our property,' having pre-emptively threatened to prosecute the interloping publisher, a Mr. Wotton of Shrewsbury.[8]

However, Peninsular War memoirs from each of the three countries in this study spread outwards through reprinting in markedly different directions. Initial production of the books was, naturally, concentrated within national borders and most often in the capital city, although in all three cases memoirs were also first published in a significant diversity of local and regional towns. Looking only at the first editions of these memoirs would, in fact, tend to give the impression that they rarely crossed borders at all. If we consider the locations in which later editions, copies, reprints or sequels to memoirs were printed, by contrast, the picture suddenly expands dramatically – memoirs now appear scattered across the globe and often far outside their original place of publication, though with a noticeable asymmetry in the orientation of memoirs from Britain, France or Spain.

First editions of British memoirs, for example, were printed by 65 different publishers based in 19 different places. These publishers were mainly based in London and Edinburgh, but one or two memoirs also appeared in the English towns Ashford, Bath, Bristol, Cirencester, Ipswich, Louth, Manchester, Winchester, Woolwich; Glasgow and Kilmarnock in Scotland; Waterford in Ireland; and a handful of overseas locations that included Paris, Quebec, Worcester (Massachusetts), Troy (New York), and Barbados. The reprinting and production of new editions of memoirs, however, moved the corpus in two strong new directions: firstly, the internal diversity was lost, with publishers in London and Edinburgh even more clearly dominating; secondly, there was a much larger shift outwards in publications, particularly towards the United States, with six different publishers reprinting memoirs in Philadelphia and a further six reprinting them in New York. In surprising contrast to the movements of many of the famous novels and poetry of the time which, according to William Saint Clair, were widely

[7] Roldán Vera, 'The Book in Latin America', pp. 412-413.
[8] Longman to Sherer, 23 Sept. 1835, MS 1393 1/102/214, Reading University Special Collections (URSC), Reading.

reprinted in Germany, the Netherlands and especially France, British Peninsular War memoirs in their original language were therefore instead mostly picked up by the American market.[9] These American editions were often printed using cheap, portable formats which targeted an audience of railway and steamboat travellers. Private soldier Joseph Donaldson's *Recollections of an eventful life, chiefly passed in the army* (Glasgow and London, 1824), for example, having passed four successive editions in Britain by 1845, was pirated by an American publishing initiative called *The Home and Traveller's Library* which claimed to reprint English books 'of sound character, by living authors of merit' in pocket-sized form for a popular home audience – the rather careless editorial approach underlined by the fact that Donaldson had actually passed away in 1830.[10]

Yet there is some evidence that the American market for reprints of British memoirs was not solely the work of unauthorised, slapdash reprinting, but in fact an industry consciously targeted by British editors at home, especially by the late nineteenth century. The editor Julian Sturgis twice wrote to his publisher John Murray, for example, to prompt him about the possibility of printing 'American and Colonial Editions' of Robert Blakeney's Peninsular memoir, emphasising the potential economic gain to be had from diversifying editions for an international market.[11] 'And don't forget America & the Colonies', noted the postscript to another letter from Sturgis to Murray in October. This persistence was partly rewarded, as of the 507 copies of Blakeney's memoir sold in the first half-year after its publication, 20 had gone to America.[12]

Another of Murray's Peninsular War memoir editors, G. C. Moore Smith, also considered the particular appeal the book he was preparing for publication might have in America, deliberating over where to place the division in the autobiography to split it into two volumes:

[9] W. St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 294-296.
[10] J. Donaldson, *Recollections of the Eventful Life of a Soldier by the late Joseph Donaldson, Sergeant in the Ninety-Fourth Scots Brigade* (Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber & Co., 1845).
[11] Sturgis to Murray, 20 Jul. 1898, MS.41167, John Murray Archive (JMA), National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
[12] Sturgis to Murray, 7 Oct. 1898, MS.41167, JMA; 'A Boy in the Peninsular War – R. Blakeney, Edited Julian Sturgis': Ledger J f. 277, MS.42735, JMA.

> A man interested solely in S. Africa would not wish to buy besides his book on S. Africa, another on the Peninsular War. Americans who wd. find much of interest in Vol I might not care about Vol 2, & so on.[13]

This belated but conscious attempt to harness the potential of the American reprint market for British memoirs was reflected in a development over time in the terms of the contracts offered by publishers. From around the early 1890s onwards, the publishing agreements signed by editors of Peninsular War memoirs started to stipulate separately the royalties which would be awarded to the editor for 'overseas', 'colonial' or 'American' editions. This amount was usually around 10 or 15% of the sale price of each copy, a figure mostly either equal to or more generous than the royalty for the sales of home edition copies, which admittedly does suggest that publishers did not expect to sell as many copies of an 'overseas' edition as of one sold within their domestic networks.[14] Nonetheless, this marked a significant departure from the previous format of such contracts, which – particularly for those veterans who published their memoirs themselves – rarely if ever included such distinctions.

As the British book market turned westwards to the United States, French publications started to move south and east. Similarly to the situation on the other side of the Channel, most French memoirs were first printed in the capital city, with 51 Parisian publishers responsible for producing first editions of memoirs. At the same time, there was again also a significant scattering of regional productions, with publishers from Auxerre, Bayonne, Dôle, La Rochelle, Laval, Le Havre, Le Mans, Le Puy, Limoges, Mortagne, Moutiers-Tarantaise, Pau and Toulouse all releasing one memoir each. Fewer French than British memoirs were first printed overseas (in this case, only one each in Brussels and Turin), perhaps reflecting the fact that after the largescale demobilisation of Napoleon's army in 1815, Peninsular War veterans from France did not have the same international career opportunities offered by the Empire to their British counterparts.[15]

---

[13] Moore Smith to Murray, 14 Oct. 1900, MS.41111, JMA.

[14] Agreement between Longman and R. Payne Gallwey, 5 Jun. 1893, MS 1393 3/1960, URSC; Black and Hodgson to Verner, 18 Oct. 1898, 20 Oct. 1898, and 22 Oct. 1898, ACB A/1/9, Adam & Charles Black Collection, URSC; Black to Verner, 31 May 1899, ACB A/1/10, URSC; Agreement between R. Bentley and G. Wrottesley, 23 Jan. 1872, Add MS 46618, Bentley Papers, BL; 'Autobiography Lt Gen Sir Harry Smith Bart': f. 238, Ledger J, MS.42735, JMA; 'Sir Harry Smith by G. C. Moore Smith': f. 173, Copies Ledger L, MS.42737, JMA.

[15] See for example C. Wright, *Wellington's Men in Australia: Peninsular War veterans and the making of Empire, c1820-40* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

As later editions of the same memoirs started to appear, Paris cemented its dominance of the domestic market, with only Besançon and La Rochelle remaining as alternative places of memoir publication. Slowly, French accounts of the war started to be increasingly republished abroad. A few were reprinted in the original French in London, New York and Philadelphia, but the larger trend was towards the publishing centres of its eastward neighbours, particularly Brussels, Geneva and The Hague – old, established book routes for French works which had been well-travelled since the sixteenth century. Sometimes publishers would advertise the international scope of the memoir, including flyleaves which listed all the different cities in which copies of the book could be purchased. One such list can be found in the first edition of the *Journal des Opérations de l'Armée de Catalogne, en 1808 et 1809* (1821) by Marshal Gouvion Saint-Cyr, originally printed in Paris but sold by booksellers from Amsterdam to Vienna (see *Fig. XIX*).[16]

However, the reprinting of memoirs outside French borders does not seem to have been as important in the minds of French editors as it became in late-century Britain. The surviving archives of Hachette (the second-largest publisher of French memoirs in the period) make only one mention of a foreign Francophone edition, and it was in response to being actively approached by a German publisher based in Bielefeld and Leipzig, not vice versa. An internal memo dated in March 1911 noted that permission had been 'exceptionally' given for the production of an abridged French edition of Coignet's memoirs:

> Par notre lettre du 23 Mars 1911 nous avons accordi exceptionellement à MM Velhagen et Klasing l'exclusivité du droit de publier une édition française abrégé des "Cahiers du Capitaine Coignet".[17]

It seems that French memoirs also flowed in significant numbers into Spain, as multiple Spanish veterans directly referenced the writings of French generals in their *manifiestos* and autobiographical histories.[18] Indeed, around the start of the nineteenth century, a study by

---

[16] *Journal des Opérations de l'Armée de Catalogne, en 1808 et 1809, sous le commandement du Général Gouvion Saint-Cyr, ou Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Guerre d'Espagne, par le Maréchal Gouvion Saint-Cyr* (Paris: Anselin et Pochard, 1821), copy digitised by Harvard University, [http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044024066680, accessed 12 Apr. 2018].

[17] Memorandum, 1911, HAC 36.24, Archives Hachette, Institut Mémoires de l'édition contemporaine (IMEC), Caen.

[18] For example, a translated extract from the *Mémoires du maréchal Suchet* (1818) appears in L. M. Andriani, *Memoria justificativa de la defensa de Sagunto en 1811 en refutacion de un pasage de la historia de la guerra de la Independencia de España que dió á luz de 1835 á 1837 el Conde de Toreno* (Madrid: Don Eusebio Aguado, 1838).

Lucienne Domergue of foreign books acquired by the Biblioteca Universitaria in Santiago de Compostella has suggested that France was a considerably more important influence upon Spanish literature than Britain, with only 3.5% of foreign books in the library's catalogue originating from London, even less than from Lisbon and Venice.[19] J. A. Martínez Martín's history of reading in nineteenth-century Madrid also mentions that there was a surge in the publication of French books in the Spanish capital during the 1830s and 1840s.[20]

This probable flow of French memoirs into Spain was not, however, matched by a similar current of Spanish writing entering the French market. For first editions, Spain matched the others in a pattern where memoirs were largely published within national borders, concentrated in the largest cities (here Madrid competed with Barcelona, Cadiz, Valencia and Seville), with a handful also scattered across the rest of the country.[21] Second editions and reprints of Spanish writings, however, barely strayed across the border into the publishing industries of either of the two other major participants in the Peninsular War, nor were they reprinted in North America. Where exceptions to this lack of cross-border movement existed, they were the result of veterans' own movements rather than publishers' initiative – such as the publication of a *manifiesto* by José María de la Cueva in London in 1810, for example, because of his residence there as ambassador, or the printing of a short autobiography by Francisco Espoz y Mina in London in 1825 because of his refuge there in political exile.[22]

Instead, a distinct outward current bore many Spanish veterans' wartime *manifiestos* across the ocean to South America, where they were reprinted within months of their original publication in Spain. All printed between 1809 and 1812, at the height of the war in the Peninsula, these transatlantic re-editions coincided almost exactly with the outbreak of wars of independence across the entire Spanish American continent. Napoleon's invasion of Spain had destabilized the power structures which stretched across the ocean, and in the space of barely two decades,

---

[19] L. Domergue, 'Les livres importés en Galice au XVIII[e] siècle', in *De l'alphabétisation aux circuits du livre en Espagne, XVIe-XIXe siècles* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1987), p. 436.
[20] J. A. Martínez Martín, *Lectura y lectores en el Madrid del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991), p. 54.
[21] The first editions of Spanish memoirs were produced by 56 publishers, located in: Algeciras (1), Alicante (1), Badajoz (1), Barcelona (4), Burgos (1), Cadiz (6), Leon (2), Madrid (16), Oviedo (1), Palma de Mallorca (2), Seville (5), Tarragona (1), Valencia (5).
[22] J. M. de la Cueva, *Manifiesto del Duque de Alburquerque acerca de su conducta con la Junta de Cádiz y arribo del exército de su cargo a aquella plaza* (London: R. Juigné, 1810); F. Espoz y Mina, *Breve Extracto de la vida del General Mina, publicado por el mismo / A Short Extract from the life of General Mina, published by himself* (London: Taylor & Hessey, 1825).

CET OUVRAGE SE TROUVE AUSSI :

A Amsterdam	chez	les frères VAN-CLEEF.
Berlin.	chez	SCHLESINGER.
Breslau.	chez	KORN.
Bruxelles	chez	DE MAT.
Calais.	chez	LELEUX.
Coimbre.	chez	AILLAUD.
Delft.	chez	DE GROOT.
Florence.	chez	PIATTI.
Francfort.	chez	BRONNER.
Genève.	chez	PASCHOUD.
Leipsick.	chez	GRIESHAMMER.
Lisbonne.	chez	PIERRE et Georges REY
Londres.	chez	BOSSANGE. / TREUTTEL et WURTZ.
Madrid	chez	DENNÉ.
Manheim.	chez	ARTARIA et FONTAINE.
Milan.	chez	GIEGLER.
Mons.	chez	LEROUX.
Naples.	chez	les Associés du Cabinet littéraire.
Ostende.	chez	SCHELDEWAERT.
Saint-Pétersbourg	chez	S. FLORENT et HAUER. / Ch. WEYHER.
Turin.	chez	Charles BOCCA. / Pierre PIC.
Vienne.	chez	SCHAUMBURG et Cie.

DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE FIRMIN DIDOT.

Fig. XIX. List of locations: *Journal des Opérations de l'Armée de Catalogne, en 1808 et 1809, sous le commandement du Général Gouvion Saint-Cyr, ou Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Guerre d'Espagne, par le Maréchal Gouvion Saint-Cyr* (Paris: Anselin et Pochard, 1821). Version digitised by Harvard University. No known copyright restrictions.

nearly every country in Spain's erstwhile empire would manage to gain independence, with the exceptions of Cuba and Puerto Rico. These events were accompanied by what Eugenia Roldán Vera, author of a recent history of the book in Latin America, regards as 'a print revolution.'[23] 'The Spanish king's abdication and the dissolution of his empire resulted in the virtual disappearance of the printing monopolies, the end of the Inquisition, and the lifting of restrictions on the import of foreign books and printing presses,' according to Roldán Vera. 'The need for rapid information about events in Europe and about the independence movements' development stimulated the publication of periodicals, the appearance of new genres such as flyers and pamphlets, and the opening up of new spaces for public discussion and collective reading.'[24] Mirroring, and integrating, the storm of pamphleteering happening at the same time in Spain, Spanish American presses published everything from accounts of the war in the metropole to defensive *manifiestos,* political debates, and literary musings on the idea of pan-American unity, with the pro-independence armies even making use of portable printing presses to promulgate their declarations and war reports.[25]

In the midst of this explosion of publishing, following established commercial shipping routes along the eastern and southern Spanish coasts, Spanish officers' *manifiestos* travelled from Valencia and Tarragona to Buenos Aires, Lima, Havana, and most of all Mexico City, where they were copied by two leading printers, Juan Bautista de Arizpe and Don Mariano de Zúñiga y Ontiveros.[26] Both printers had government connections and funding which allowed them to survive – Arizpe printed the official *Gazeta del Gobierno de México* from 1810 to 1813, while Zúñiga became the official printer of the *Supremo Gobierno* in 1820 – but no one political stance dominated the Spanish texts they chose to reprint.[27] One of the memoirs reproduced by Arizpe was a defensive *Contestación* (1810) by the Mexican viceroy, but another was a defiant *Manifiesto* (1812) by the guerrilla leader Francisco Espoz y Mina, attacking the local government in Navarre, while another was a simple, largely historical account of the first siege of Zaragoza.[28] Few changes were made to the texts of these Spanish pamphlets, but the political

[23] Roldán Vera, 'The Book in Latin America', pp. 411-12.
[24] Roldán Vera, 'The Book in Latin America', pp. 411-12.
[25] Roldán Vera, 'The Book in Latin America', p. 412.
[26] A list of books printed in Mexico relating to the Peninsular War can be found in: '5. La Ciudad de México y la Guerra de la Independencia', in F. de Solano, *Las Voces de la Ciudad. México a través de sus Impresos (1539-1821)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1994), pp. 266-78.
[27] M. Guzmán Pérez, 'Arizpe, Juan Bautista de', in Guzmán Pérez (ed.), *Impresores y editores de la independencia en Mexico* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 2010), pp. 35-6; Guzmán Pérez, 'Zúñiga y Ontiveros, Mariano José de' in Guzmán Pérez, *Impresores,* pp. 274-5; Roldán Vera, 'The history of the book in Latin America', p. 412.
[28] F. X. Venegas, *Contestación al manifiesto del Excmo Sr. Duque del Infantado* (Valencia: s.n., 1810 [repr. Mexico City: Arizpe, 1810]); F. Espoz y Mina, *Manifiesto de Don Francisco Espoz y Mina* (Valencia: P. C.

debates they entered had a different cadence, with rebellions being discussed against Spain rather than France, and the idea of pan-American unity replacing that of European liberation.[29]

This was the root of the asymmetrical circulation of French and British and Spanish memoirs, therefore: Spanish memoirs were not reprinted overseas for commercial reasons but for deeply political ones, being consistently intertwined with the waging of new civil and colonial wars as the nineteenth century progressed. In the closing decades of the century, for example, a previously unknown Spanish manuscript was published and reprinted several times in an attempt to attack ongoing separatist movements on Cuba and Puerto Rico, the last remaining islands of the Spanish empire. The manuscript was the memoir of Rafael de Sevilla, who had served in the Spanish army during the Peninsular War before being captured by the French at the battle of Valencia in 1811. He escaped in 1813, was captured and imprisoned again, escaped again in 1814, returned to Spain, joined the army sent to Venezuela in pursuit of Bolívar and his troops, served the entirety of that failed campaign, retired in Puerto Rico, and wrote an account of his experiences, which he left to his descendants.[30] Some time later, the text was acquired by José Pérez-Moris, a deeply conservative Spanish publicist based in Puerto Rico. As editor of the *Boletín Mercantíl,* the official journal of the Partido Liberal Conservador o Español Incondicional in Puerto Rico, Pérez-Moris had spent the years 1870-1 praising Spain, denouncing separatists, and launching violent attacks on any attempt to make liberal reforms of the old colonial regime.[31] When, around this time, Sevilla's text made its way into his hands, he recycled it in the service of the same conservative narrative.

Taking Sevilla's manuscript, Pérez-Moris produced a first edition which dealt almost exclusively with the Venezuelan campaign.[32] Making his own corrections to the text, abbreviating parts, and entirely removing anything dealing with history after 1821, he created a memoir which celebrated the efforts of the Spanish army to suppress one of the most famous South American independence movements of the earlier nineteenth century – and published it,

---

Tupper, 1811 [repr. Mexico City: Arizpe, 1812]); S. Hernández de Morejón, *Idea histórica de los principales sucesos ocurridos en Zaragoza durante el último sitio* (Valencia: Benito Monfort, 1809 [repr. Mexico City: Arizpe, 1809]).

[29] Roldán Vera, 'The Book in Latin America', pp. 411-12.

[30] F. Durán López, 'Fuentes autobiográficos españolas para el estudio de la Guerra de la Independencia', in F. Miranda Rubio (ed.), *Fuentes Documentales para el Estudio de la Guerra de la Independencia* (Pamplona: Ediciones Eunate, 2003), p. 86.

[31] J. M. García Leduc, *Apuntes para un Historia Breve de Puerto Rico* (San Juan: Editorial Isla Negra, 2007), p. 224.

[32] F. Durán López, 'La autobiografía como fuente histórica: problemas teóricos y metodológicos', *Memoria y Civilización* 5 (2002), p. 163.

in 1877, at the height of the Ten Years' War in Cuba.[33] Several decades later, another conservative journal editor based in Puerto Rico, José Díaz Valdepares, produced a second edition of the memoir, this time removing all chapters previous to Sevilla's enlistment with the expeditionary army.[34] The Peninsular War was therefore edited out entirely as the original narrative was adapted to contemporary colonial strife.

In summary, although initial production of Peninsular War memoirs was concentrated within national borders, copies of these books soon travelled widely across the globe, leading to the widespread production of new editions, reprints and abridged versions of the same memoirs on foreign soil. National book markets were clearly permeable, with a certain dialogue evidently happening between different reading publics via the medium of literature, transported by commerce into another setting. Yet on the level of reprinting in original languages, this dialogue does not seem to have been happening *between* the three old enemies and allies of the Peninsular War: in fact, when they looked outward, it was not to each other. Each set of books instead followed separate international trajectories, with British memoirs travelling to the United States, French memoirs to central and southern Europe, and Spanish memoirs to turbulent Spanish America. In terms of the reproduction of original memoirs, in other words, each combatant nation's developing memory of the war was not strongly challenged by the narratives being woven across their borders.

ii. Translation

Reprinting made Peninsular War memoirs a transnational genre, but did not facilitate direct exchange between the three countries. Translation should have changed this, especially as it happened on a large scale throughout the nineteenth century. As with reprinting, the loose implementation of international copyright legislation allowed a great deal of movement within the memoir genre before 1886, and unauthorised translation continued relatively unabated afterwards. The French publishers Hachette, for example, replied to an English editor's request for the translation rights to the *Cahiers de Capitaine Coignet* in 1929 with the revelation that 'jusqu'à ce jour nous n'avons pas autorisé ni cédé le droit de traduction et de publication en

[33] R. de Sevilla, *Memorias de un militar*, ed. J. Pérez Moris (Puerto Rico: Nueva Imprenta del 'Boletín', 1877).
[34] R. de Sevilla, *Memorias de un militar,* ed. J. R. Díaz Valdepares (Caracas & Maracaibo: Empresa Washington, 1903); Durán López, 'La autobiografía', p. 163.

langue anglaise de l'ouvrage', more than forty years and at least three existing English translations later.[35] The way most publishers seem to have approached the issue of translations was to simply wait for them to appear (whether as a request for authorization or as the brazen publication of an entirely unapproved work) and then negotiate the payment of a lump sum for the rights, which would perhaps be split with the editor or author along previously agreed lines. Longman's contract with Ralph Payne Gallwey for his edition of Peter Hawker's *Diary* (1893), for example, promised the editor a fifty percent share in the proceeds from any translation or reproduction rights.[36]

Translations of Peninsular War memoirs were therefore numerous and diverse, appearing throughout the period 1808 to 1914. From the total of 103 memoirs written by French soldiers and published in this period, there exist 33 translations of 12 memoirs (by 12 different authors) in six languages: English, Spanish, German, Swedish, Danish and Lithuanian. By comparison, from a total of 103 memoirs by British soldiers, 20 translations from nine accounts (written by seven different authors) were made in five languages: French, Spanish, Portuguese, German and Dutch. In other words, roughly twelve percent of French memoirs and nine percent of British memoirs were translated, a significant proportion which echoes the scale of movement found in the previous section on reprinting. In contrast to the currents of reprinting, however, translation clearly established greater exchange between the former opponents of the Peninsular War. A close connection appeared, for example, between the two capital cities, with London-based and Parisian publishers each producing 13 English or French translations of memoirs originally printed in the other language.

Where circulation between the three countries was absent once more, however, was in the case of Spain. From a total of 58 Spanish memoirs, only two seem to have been translated into a foreign language, and in both cases this happened upon first publication, not as the initiative of a later translator. In 1813 in London, for example, General Juan Senén de Contreras published the first two versions of his account of the siege of Tarragona. These two identical versions were written in English and French, translated by the author himself, and a Castilian version, printed in Madrid, was not produced until later that year.[37] The French version of the account

[35] Davies to Hachette, 4 Nov. 1929, and Hachette to Davies, 14 Nov. 1929, HAC 36.24, IMEC.
[36] Agreement, 5 Jun. 1893, MS 1393 3/1960, URSC.
[37] J. Senén de Contreras, *Relation of the siege of Tarragona and the storming and capture of that city by the French in June, 1811* (London: J. Booth, 1813); *Rapport du Siege de Tarragone, de l'assaut et de la prise de cette place, par les Français* (London: J. Booth, 1813); *Sitio de Tarragona, lo que pasó entre los franceses el general*

was republished once, ten years later, in a Parisian collection of excerpts of military memoirs from the war, but not further edited.[38] General Espoz y Mina also first published his memoir in London in 1825, with the book containing English and Spanish versions side by side, but neither was this translated by any external actor afterwards.[39]

This imbalance did not go unnoticed by Spanish commentators, however. In his translation of the influential memoir of the Marquess of Londonderry, for instance, the ex-Minister of Finances José Canga Argüelles concluded, not without reason, that the reader who consulted only British accounts of the war might easily believe that 'los españoles han hecho poco en la guerra de su independencia; que es usurpada la opinion que disfrutan, y que todo el premio de la victoria se debe exclusivamente á la nacion inglesa.'[40] In response, Canga Argüelles and many of his contemporaries chose and translated British and French works with particular vigour, using it as an opportunity to criticise the narratives within.

In fact, translations of Peninsular War memoirs into English, French, Spanish and Portuguese were nearly always critical and invasive.[41] Translators radically altered the books which fell into their hands, making sweeping changes to the format, genre and content of memoirs as well as reinterpreting the language. Nearly half of all the translators in this study changed the title of the original work, while others cut and deleted key parts of the original memoir.[42] The French censor Jean Cohen's translation of Blayney's memoir in 1815, for example, actively suppressed names where he thought the person was being attacked by the author, while French historian Alphonse Viollet's translation of Jones' *Account of the War in Spain, Portugal and the South of France* (1818) was described by the editor of the volume as intentionally not being

Contreras que la defendió, sus observaciones sobre la Francia, y noticia del nuevo modo de defender las plazas (Madrid: Imprenta de Ibarra, 1813).

[38] *Collection complémentaire des mémoires relatifs à la révolution française*: *Mémoires du Duhesme, de Vaughan, de D. Maria Ric, et de Contreras* (Paris: G-L Michaud, 1823), pp. 223-4.

[39] Mina, *Breve Extracto / Brief Extract.*

[40] J. Canga Argüelles (tr.), *Observaciones sobre la Historia de la Guerra de España, que escribieron los Señores Clarke, Southey, Londonderry y Napier, publicadas en Londres el año de 1829 por Don José Canga Argüelles, Ministro jubilado del Consejo supremo de las Indias, &c, y reimpresas en virtud de permiso de S. M.,* 3 vols (Madrid: D. M. de Burgos, 1833-6), vol. 1, p. viii.

[41] Exceptions, where the translator appears to have made few additional changes, incl.: S. L. Simeon (tr.), *Recollections of Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum,* ed. C. Rousset, 2 vols (London: R. Bentley & Son, 1892); Anon (tr.), *War of the French in Spain, during the Reign of the Emperor Napoleon, by M. de Rocca, Knight of the Legion of Honour, to which is prefixed, a short biographical notice of the Author. Second American edition, translated from the second Paris edition* (Philadelphia: J. Dobson, 1823).

[42] The title was changed by the translator in 6 of the British memoirs (versus 8 unchanged), and in 11 of the French ones (versus 12 unchanged).

'rigoureusement littérale', in order to avoid tiring the reader.[43] The British writer and biographer Robert Douglas, meanwhile, went to the extent of simply paraphrasing the entire memoir of Captain Charles François (already edited even in its original form), rather than quoting much of it directly.[44] In many cases, translators acted as authors in their own right, with some title pages bearing the translator's name in much larger font than that of the author (see *Fig. XX*).[45]

In the same way that family members, editors and publishers intervened to change the voices of veterans and dilute the editorial control they had tried to exercise, therefore, translators in other countries coloured new versions of veterans' memoirs with their own personal, political and commercial aims. The difference was that translations of memoirs made changes that were almost always more extreme than simple editing, largely because of the potent and consistent influence of nineteenth-century nationalism. Looking at these translations reveals a concerted effort in each country to reinforce and defend separate national narratives, an effort which spanned the entire century.

Post-war: outright hostility and sweeping changes

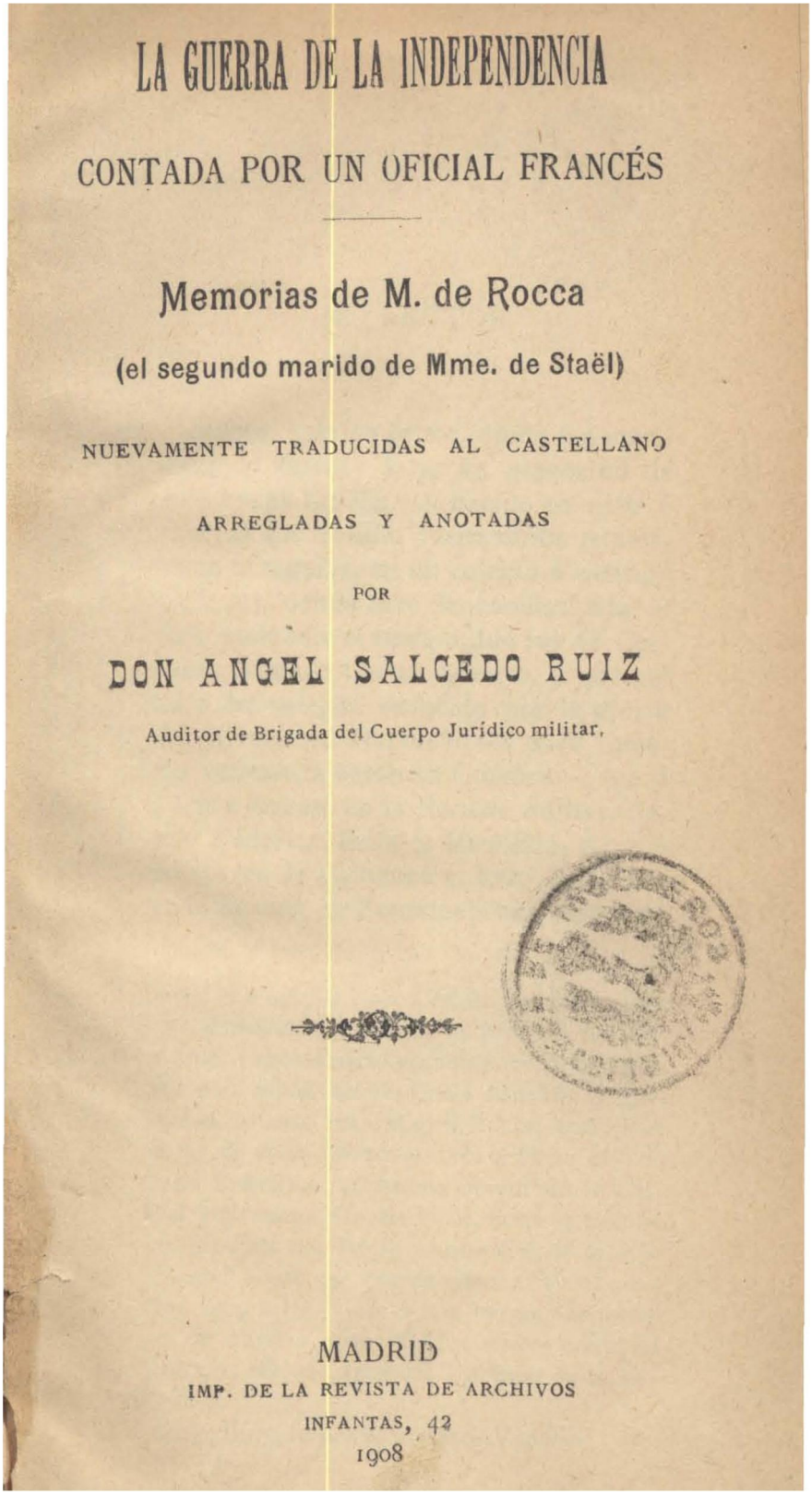
The translation of foreign memoirs began as soon as the first books were published by Peninsular War veterans. From the start, striking changes were made to the original memoirs, including one case in which a memoir was forced to shift genre entirely. As the war ended, information which had been kept private could suddenly be shared once more, notably information about the technical and scientific advances made during the nearly two decades of constant conflict, and the eagerness of international onlookers to read about it sparked a small ripple of translations made specifically for the knowledge contained within.

---

[43] J. Cohen (tr.), *Relation d'un voyage forcé en Espagne et en France dans les années 1810 à 1814 par le Général-Major Lord Blayney, prisonnier de guerre,* 2 vols (Paris: Bertrand, 1815), vol. 1, p. viii; A. Viollet (tr.), A. de Beauchamp (ed.), *Histoire de la guerre d'Espagne et de Portugal, pendant les années 1807 à 1813; plus la campagne de 1814 dans le midi de la France, par le colonel sir John Jones,* 2 vols (Paris: Mathiot, 1819), vol. 1, p. 3.

[44] R. B. Douglas (tr.), *From Valmy to Waterloo: Extracts from the Diary of Captain Charles Francois, a Soldier of the Revolution and Empire, with a preface by Jules Claretie of the French Academy* (London: Everett, 1906).

[45] For example, A. de Rocca, *La guerra de la independencia contada por un oficial francés: Memorias de M. de Rocca (el segundo mario de Mme. de Staël) nuevamente traducidas al castellano, arregladas y anotadas por Don Angel Salcedo Ruiz, auditor de Brigada del Cuerpo Jurídico militar* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Revista de Archivos, 1908).



LA GUERRA DE LA INDEPENDENCIA

CONTADA POR UN OFICIAL FRANCÉS

Memorias de M. de Rocca

(el segundo marido de Mme. de Staël)

NUEVAMENTE TRADUCIDAS AL CASTELLANO

ARREGLADAS Y ANOTADAS

POR

DON ANGEL SALCEDO RUIZ

Auditor de Brigada del Cuerpo Jurídico militar.

MADRID

IMP. DE LA REVISTA DE ARCHIVOS

INFANTAS, 42

1908

Fig. XX. Title page of Angel Salcedo Ruiz (tr.), *La guerra de la independencia contada por un oficial francés: Memorias de M. de Rocca (el segundo mario de Mme. de Staël)* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Revista de Archivos, 1908). No known copyright restrictions.

Scientific knowledge, in any case, was the primary concern outlined by the American doctor Richard Willmott Hall when he published the first translation of the *Mémoires de chirurgie militaire et campagnes* (1812) by Dominique-Jean Larrey, a famous military surgeon from Napoleon's *Grande Armée.* Writing in 1814, Willmott Hall, professor of midwifery at the University of Maryland, hoped that 'the interesting work of Dr. Larrey' would be useful to his professional colleagues by merit of the large variety of important observations it contained, and that it might also stimulate new debates in American scientific circles.[46] In order to attain these objectives, however, he shortened the work dramatically, cutting it down from three volumes to two. He also deliberately omitted 'minute topographical details and unimportant details' with the aim of adapting the memoirs for 'the pleasure or instruction of the American reader.'[47]

The following year, an English naval surgeon named John Augustine Waller made a second translation of Larrey's memoir. At the start of his long prologue, Waller underlined the interest of an 'enemy' account which broke an almost twenty-year silence between the medical communities of the two countries and which described the numerous practical advances obtained on the battlefields.[48] He intended his translation to be useful to a British military and scientific audience, dedicating the book to Sir James McGrigor, member of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh and old inspector-general of Army hospitals. Beyond this, however, Waller's editorial opinions were sharply critical: the work was, without doubt, of great scientific value, but at the same time insufficiently scientific, severely hampered as it was by various autobiographical episodes. He lambasted Larrey for having spent so much time depicting scenes from military life and describing exotic landscapes, remonstrating that the medically-minded reader would 'have often to turn over many pages in succession with impatience and dissatisfaction, nay, not unfrequently with disgust.'[49] Claiming to be solely interested in that which related directly to medicine, Waller also reduced the work to two volumes, and littered what remained of the work with his own critical (and often scathing) editorial notes.[50] The result was such a considerable transformation of the original book that

[46] R. Willmott Hall (tr.), *Memoirs of Military Surgery, and Campaigns of the French Armies […] from the French of D. J. Larrey, M.D.,* (Baltimore: Joseph Cushing, 1814), pp. iii-iv.
[47] Willmott Hall, *Memoirs,* p. iii.
[48] J. A. Waller (tr.), *Memoirs of Military Surgery, by D. J. Larrey […] abridged and translated from the French by John Waller, surgeon of the Royal Navy, in two parts,* 2 vols (London: E. Cox & Son; Edinburgh: A. Black, 1815), pp. v-vii.
[49] Waller, *Memoirs,* pp. vii-viii.
[50] Waller, *Memoirs*, pp. vii-viii.

this English version could in fact be regarded as an entirely new work, falling neatly within the medical genre in which the translator had wished to place it.

Between the lines, of course, the extreme hostility of the English translator towards the French author could also be explained by the rift caused by the war itself, still fresh in 1815. At several points, Waller accused Larrey of maintaining profound prejudices against England and of misrepresenting the facts to the benefit of Napoleon.[51] By contrast, the third translator of Larrey's *Mémoires,* an American medical student from the University of Virginia who returned to the work in 1832, was not at all as critical of the original text, which he translated into four volumes faithful to the style of the author, and in fact praised exactly those personal and picturesque details which Waller had so detested.[52]

In general, though, these early post-war translations contained open criticism of the original authors, often underwritten by both a patriotic bias and a poor view of the literary talents of soldiers. 'It is evidently the production of a gentleman more conversant with the sword than with the pen;' wrote an American translator of Albert de Rocca's very successful wartime memoir in the early 1820s, 'but notwithstanding frequent repetitions and inaccuracies, the result in part probably of negligence, it contains an interesting picture of national manners and many traits of acute observation.'[53] The first French translator of Major-General Blayney's *Narrative* (originally published in 1814) was much more hostile. 'Il parle trop souvent de lui-même;' complained Jean Cohen in 1815, 'il rend un compte minutieux de tout ce qui le regarde personnellement; fréquemment, il déduit des conséquences générales de quelques cas particuliers, auxquels il attache trop d'importance; il ajoute foi trop légèrement à tous les contes populaires qui lui sont répétés; enfin, l'inexactitude des noms et des faits est poussée à un point inconcevable.'[54]

The original text was so awful, in fact, wrote Cohen, that he was forced to beg the indulgence of the public for the style of the translation:

> Il nous reste à implorer l'indulgence du Public pour le style de notre traduction: nous avons fait tous nos efforts pour le polir ; mais l'auteur anglais a tellement négligé le sien, il a mis si peu de soin à éviter le retour des mêmes mots et des mêmes tournures, que, forcés de rendre ses

[51] Waller, *Memoirs*, pp. viii-xi.
[52] Mercer, *Surgical Memoirs,* pp. ix-xi.
[53] Anon. (tr.), *War of the French in Spain* (Philadelphia: J. Dobson, 1823), p. iii.
[54] Cohen, *Relation d'un voyage*, pp. vi-vii.

> idées, nous craignons d'être souvent tombés nous-mêmes dans les défauts que nous lui reprochons.[55]

Citing the stylistic failures of the English author was a good excuse for intervening to change the narrative contained within. Conscious that, in 1815, the book would be going to press during the Hundred Days, Cohen physically removed phrases critical of Napoleon, and added notes to refute the insults made to France.[56]

This was not an isolated incident. In 1821, the French translator of a memoir by the engineer John Thomas Jones accused the author of being blinded by a national bias 'particulière au peuple anglais' and an envy of French military achievements, writing that 'vingt années consécutives de gloire militaire, en humiliant l'amour-propre de nos antagonistes, ont excités leurs ressentimens, et doivent nous mettre en garde contre leurs écrivains.[57] An earlier translation of another of Jones' works had made the same warning to French audiences, with the editor describing his responsibility to help the reader make a critical reading of the text, or in other words 'à fixer le degré de confiance qu'on doit accorder à un étranger écrivant pour la gloire de son pays.'[58]

In 1823, moreover, a Parisian reproduction of Contreras' account of the siege of Tarragona in French contained a haughty footnote stipulating that no changes had been made to the text, *despite* the author's emotional and exaggerated antagonism towards his French enemies:

> Le lecteur ne doit pas perdre de vue que le général Contreras, aigri par le malheur et d'ailleurs animé par les sentimens du plus ardent patriotisme, se livre quelquefois contre ses ennemis à des récriminations et à des plaintes exagérées. Nous avons néanmoins cru devoir ne rien changer à son texte, afin de nous conformer plus scrupuleusement au système d'exactitude et d'impartialité que nous avons adopté.[59]

The suggestion, once again, was that readers should quite obviously not take the words of a foreign memoir writer at face value, but should approach the narrative with a great deal of

---

[55] Cohen, *Relation d'un voyage*, pp. xi-xii.
[56] Cohen, *Relation d'un voyage.*
[57] C. Gosselin (tr.), *Journaux des sièges entrepris par les alliés en Espagne, pendant les années 1811 et 1812; suivis de deux discours sur l'organisation des armées anglaises, et sur les moyens de la perfectionner; avec notes; par M. John T. Jones, Lieutenant-Colonel des Ingénieurs Royaux* (Paris: Anselin & Pochard, 1821), p. vii.
[58] Viollet & Beauchamp, *Histoire,* p. 3.
[59] Preface found in a later French edition: *Collection complémentaire des mémoires relatifs à la révolution française*: *Mémoires du Duhesme, de Vaughan, de D. Maria Ric, et de Contreras* (Paris: G-L Michaud, 1823), pp. 223-4.

skepticism. France and its armies might be depicted in a strongly negative light by a Spanish governor forced to surrender his city to them and be taken prisoner, but readers should not take this to heart was the implication – reports of French atrocities were of course the fabrications of inflamed Spanish patriotism, not accusations quite possibly based on more than one grain of truth.

Foreign accounts of the war were not received with open arms and open minds in the first decades of the nineteenth century, therefore, but were instead presented as threats to the nationalistic narrative which was being constructed at home. Invasive editing, much more invasive than anything performed by domestic editors, acted as a filter deciding which parts of a veteran's memoir was presented to a foreign public, while strongly-written prologues, inserted footnotes and general repackaging ensured that the foreign reader would be guided towards a carefully designed understanding of the history which the book contained.

Mid-century: prompting and reinforcing the writing of national narratives

By the 1820s and 1830s, the scramble to start establishing a narrative of the wide-ranging conflict which was just drawing to a close had gathered in momentum, and translations began to be made with the explicit goal of prompting more historical writing *within* the borders of the translator's country. A good example, and a rare case of translation into Portuguese, was a translation of George Gleig's *Subaltern* (1825), published in Liverpool in 1830. The anonymous translator, addressing himself from overseas to a Portuguese audience at home, bemoaned the fact that no works had appeared in his native language to narrate the distinctive and prodigious feats achieved by the Portuguese army during the recent war. He hoped his translation would encourage officers in particular to take up the task, and offered Gleig's memoir in the meantime as a proof of the role played by his native army:

> Julga por tanto o traductor, que quem emprehender hum tal trabahlho fará hum serviço nacional de summa consequencia, e elle se dará por muito feliz se a obra que tem a honra de appresentar ao public concorrer de alguma fórma para que algum dos nossos dignos officiaes se occupe de huma taõ util como interessante publicaõ.[60]

[60] Anon., *O Subalterno. Traduzido do inglez* (Liverpool: F. B. Wright, 1830), p. iv.

Yet Gleig's memoir in fact only mentioned the Portuguese troops twice in the entire text, and the only praise he gave was to compare them favourably to the British: 'By the Portuguese they [the French] were met with as much gallantry, and in as good order, as they would have been met by ourselves...'[61] Despite not actually taking many liberties with the text – even this important quote, for example, was translated literally into Portuguese without embellishment – the translator nonetheless plucked the British memoir entirely out of its original context and presented it as a work which, first and foremost, underlined the important role played by the allied Portuguese army, and would serve as an important addition to the writing of Portuguese national history. He did not mention, of course, that this was essentially based upon one sentence out of an entire book.[62]

Another call to arms (or to quills) came in 1821 from one of the multiple French translations of the works of the military engineer Jones, mentioned above. The translator Charles Gosselin, perhaps an archivist at the Dépôt des Fortifications, made a remarkably respectful edition of Jones' *Journals of the sieges undertaken by the allies in Spain* (1814), praising the author's careful research and expert first-hand knowledge but unable to refrain from a few comments about his national bias.[63] Like the Portuguese translator, Gosselin portrayed the memoir as little more than an imperfect, temporary substitute for a French narrative of these sieges. He ended his introduction to the text by openly calling for French veterans from the Peninsular War to write in with any corrections they felt that Jones' text might need, promising that the editors would even produce a second edition including their observations:

> Si des militaires français, particulièrement parmi MM. les officiers du génie et de l'artillerie, témoins oculaires et acteurs dans les siéges dont ce livre renferme l'historique, y trouvaient des faits importans à rectifier, des omissions à réparer, l'éditeur les prie de vouloir bien lui adresser leurs observations, et il s'empressera d'en faire usage dans une seconde édition.[64]

In other words, Jones' memoir could not be accepted as accurate history per se, until it was verified by a potentially huge pool of *French* veterans – and if these French veterans disagreed

---

[61] G. Gleig, *The Subaltern* (Edinburgh: Blackwood; London: Cadell, 1825), p. 294.
[62] 'Os Portuguezes repulsaraõ os Francezes com tanta bravura, e em taõ boa ordem como a melhor tropa Ingleza...' – Anon., *O Subalterno,* p. 228.
[63] Biographical information according to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF) (http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb10730488b, accessed 26 Nov. 2017); Gosselin (tr.), *Journaux,* pp. v-viii.
[64] Gosselin (tr.), *Journaux,* p. viii.

with the British veteran's narrative, it would simply be updated and reprinted until it mirrored accurately a French perception of the recent events.

This impulse to bring a nascent historiography under control by prompting the writing of national history within each country was matched by an equally strong defensive instinct. As we have already seen, many British and French translators approached foreign memoirs with overt hostility in the years after the war, seeing the act of translation as an opportunity to comment on a developing historical-literary genre rather than a simple duty of communication. Spanish translators were no different, and if anything seem to have felt the disinterest of their British and French counterparts in Spanish narratives of the war even more keenly.

Having spent time in exile in Britain, the one-time Finance Minister José Canga Argüelles had personally witnessed this deficit, and it prompted the publication of his three-volume *Observaciones sobre la Historia de la Guerra de España, que escribieron los Señores Clarke, Southey, Londonderry y Napier* (1833-36), more accurately a critical reading of these books than an entire translation. Argüelles' main aim, according to his opening introduction, was to contradict the revisionism he perceived as being carried out by English historians, who were diminishing Spain's role in its own war of independence, casting particular doubt on the 'heroicidad' of the Spanish army and denying its soldiers an equally glorious place in the pages of history.[65] He made explicit the same urgent fear of silence iterated by many Spanish veterans, arguing that leaving time before replying to a contradictory version of history merely allowed it to put down roots and grow in permanency.[66] Even by 1833, he argued, a fair history of Spain's part in the war remained to be written, and 'su falta podrá influir en que la fama justamente adquirida por la nacion española pase desfigurada á la posteridad.'[67] Like the French translators, Argüelles used the act of translation not to let the original voices speak to a broader audience but to put forward his own, very nationalised view of recent history, one which in fact largely mirrored that in many Spanish veterans' memoirs: the *Guerra de la Independencia* had been above all a Spanish fight to liberate themselves from a cruel and illegitimate French occupation, a 'hercúlea lucha' during which the Spanish people and their

[65] Canga Argüelles (tr.), *Observaciones,* p. v.
[66] 'La vindicación de su honor es à mis ojos tan urgente, cuanto es atroz el insulto recibido; y el silencio y la morosidad en repelerle, dando vigor al veneno de la detracción, causarían daños irreparables.' – Canga Argüelles (tr.), *Observaciones,* p. x.
[67] Canga Argüelles (tr.), *Observaciones,* p. xii.

armies had led the rest of Europe to freedom, with any setbacks along the way the fault of sordid cabinet intrigue.[68]

A similar narrative characterized the Spanish translation of the influential memoirs of the famous Marshall Suchet, which appeared rapidly after the first publication in French and included an extensive preface denouncing the shameful events at Bayonne and the illegal invasion of Spain.[69] The same was true of a Spanish translation of the French officer Albert de Rocca's famous memoirs, this time by a Spanish infantry veteran.[70] In his introductory text, 'D. A. A.', Sergeant-Major and First Lieutenant of the Twenty-First Regiment of the Line, presented another hispanocentric view of the war, in which Spain was the saviour of Europe and the guardian of European peace.[71] Mirroring the narratives of most Spanish veterans, he minimised Britain's role, arguing that de Rocca's memoirs proved that Spain had effectively held out alone for five years while all other countries folded:

> La Europa, dice, no debe olvidar, que la España ha sostenido casi sola por más de cinco años el peso del inmenso poder del Emperador Napoleón.[72]

Even Russia, he insisted, had not made efforts comparable to those of Spain in seeking to resist the French armies, benefiting from greater natural defences and fleeing their towns under siege while the Spaniards stayed to be buried within their walls.[73] In apocalyptic language, he depicted Russia, unsupported by the resistance in Spain, falling to Napoleon, and a wave of tyranny spreading all the way from the Tagus to Finland, factories ruined and livelihoods paralysed in its wake.[74]

Not shy of drama, therefore, these Spanish translators made a very particular version of history very central to their presentation and treatment of foreign memoirs. However, the extent to which they were genuinely trying to change or create an international narrative, or to influence

---

[68] Canga Argüelles (tr.), *Observaciones,* p. xii, and more generally pp. vi-viii.
[69] J. Suchet, *Memorias del Mariscal Suchet, Duque de Albufera, sobre sus campañas en España, desde el año 1808 hasta el de 1814, escritas por él mismo, traducidas en español, con el mas particular esmero, por G. D. M.* (Paris: Bossange, 1829).
[70] A. de Rocca, *Memorias sobre la guerra de los franceses en España, escritas en francés por Mr. Rocca, oficial de Úsares, y Caballero de la Cruz de la Legion de Honor, y traducidas por el Sargento Mayor de infantería, y primer Ayudante del Regimiento de Burgos 21 de linea D. A. A.* (Madrid: Imprenta que fué de García, 1816).
[71] 'En efecto: ¿á qué nacion se debe la paz que disfrutamos? ¿Tiene alguna tantos títulos á la gratitud de las demas como la España?' – D.A.A. (tr.), *Memorias sobre la guerra de los franceses,* pp. viii-ix.
[72] A. de Rocca, qu. D.A.A. (tr.), *Memorias sobre la guerra de los franceses,* pp. vii-viii.
[73] D.A.A. (tr.), *Memorias sobre la guerra de los franceses,* pp. xiv-xvi.
[74] D.A.A. (tr.), *Memorias sobre la guerra de los franceses,* pp. xii-xiv.

British and French readers, is debatable. All three translators *did* utilize some of the most well-known and successful memoirs of the period as vehicles for their challenge to recent history, and the Spanish edition of Suchet's memoirs was published in Paris, where one might assume it would be more physically accessible to a Spanish-speaking audience in France. Yet the other two were published in Madrid, and as we have already seen, this means they were unlikely to travel back across the Pyrenees in any great number – and even more unlikely to reach as far as England. Moreover, although Argüelles in particular painted himself as a noble victim of political exile, writing as an act of pure patriotism to defend his country against vicious rumours spread in Britain, we can question to what extent this concealed more self-interested and political motives, especially as the book was not published immediately in response to the apparently offending memoirs, but later, on Argüelles' return to Spain, the country in which he was keen to re-establish a position.[75] There is basis to argue that these Spanish translators were trying to convince a Spanish audience of their interpretation of history as much as, if not more, than they strove to refute the opinions of a foreign public.

As the century continued, the eruption of a series of civil wars and independence struggles overseas contributed to reducing the volume of work that appeared in Spain on the Peninsular War, and no further translations appeared in Spanish until the war had passed out of living memory. One hundred years after the outbreak of the conflict, however, the centenary prompted a new outburst of publications on the subject, and the equally acerbic, angry tone of these new translators demonstrates that the value of its memory to Spanish national history had scarcely diminished. In 1908, for example, the city of Zaragoza commemorated its famous siege with a Hispano-French Exposition, an event which prompted the publication of multiple new Spanish translations of French memoirs which described the events of a hundred years earlier.[76] Many of these translations were made by military men, with a critical edition of General Rogniat's account of the besieging of Zaragoza being produced jointly by two Spanish officers, one of whom was also the editor and director of a regional newspaper.[77]

Another Spanish officer, Don Angel Salcedo Ruíz, part of the Cuerpo Jurídico Militar, produced a second translation of de Rocca's memoirs, reproaching the book for what he

[75] Canga Argüelles (tr.), *Observaciones,* pp. vii-ix.
[76] *Diario histórico de los sitios de Zaragoza, por J. Daudevard de Ferussac, vertido al español por F. J. J.* (Zaragoza: Librería de Cecilio Gasca, 1908); F. Galiay and F. Rodrigues Landeyra (trs), *Versión y crítica de la Relación del sitio de Zaragoza del Teniente general barón de Rogniat* (Zaragoza: Mariano Escar, 1908); Salcedo Ruiz, *La guerra de la independencia.*
[77] Galiay and Rodrigues Landeyra, *Versión y crítica.*

labelled its notorious and destructive influence on Spanish historians.[78] Ruíz's translation was aggressive, waging a war against de Rocca's text in footnotes spread so densely throughout the work that there were sometimes more than one to a single sentence.[79] Intervening to 'correct' the author on issues ranging from atrocities committed by the French to the motives of Spanish priests and the racial roots of the people from the mountainous regions of Spain, the translator was nevertheless most fixated on the representation of the role of the Spanish army in the war effort, a question which continues to this day to be the crux of many divisions in the historiography of the war.[80]

In the original work, for example, de Rocca had concluded by saying that the case of Spain showed that the real force of states did not lie in the number or power of their armies, but in a religious, political or patriotic feeling strong enough to interest everyone in a common public cause. In a footnote, the translator argued that the implication that the Spanish resistance had no traditional military element was entirely erroneous, crediting de Rocca with giving significant fuel to the legend which had solidified ever since that Spain had no soldiers, only guerrillas.[81] Earlier in the book, moreover, Ruíz had intervened to dismiss the original author's assertion that beside a handful of privileged Spanish army corps, regiments of the line were few, incomplete, badly paid and badly disciplined (a stance which, as discussed in Chapter 2, was the norm among nearly all British and French memoir writers). 'Esto es falso en absoluto,' wrote the translator furiously, 'El ejército español, en 1808, era excelente.'[82] He went on to quote a figure of 103,824 men in arms before the war, implied that if this number shrank during the war it was solely the fault of Napoleon for having sent away the army of the Marquis de la Romana to Denmark, and argued that while the fresh recruits and inexperienced officers who fought in the summer of 1808 did very badly, the core of experienced troops which survived in fact went on to accomplish the greatest deeds of the war.[83]

The most damning blow in the Spanish translator's arsenal was to claim that de Rocca's opinions were actually those of his wife Madame de Staël, whose hatred of Napoleon had

[78] A. Salcedo Ruiz (tr.), *La guerra de la independencia,* p. 172.
[79] For example, one paragraph by Rocca bears three footnotes for only 11 lines, or two sentences: Salcedo Ruíz (tr.), *La guerra de la independencia,* pp. 40-41.
[80] Salcedo Ruíz (tr.), *La guerra de la independencia,* p. 14 (the French), p. 17 (priests' motives), p. 18 (mountain inhabitants); see for example reactions to Charles Esdaile's strongly revisionist work on guerrillas and the prevailing Anglo-French view of the weakness of the Spanish army.
[81] Salcedo Ruíz (tr.), *La guerra de la independencia,* pp. 219-220.
[82] Salcedo Ruíz (tr.), *La guerra de la independencia,* pp. 16-17.
[83] Salcedo Ruíz (tr.), *La guerra de la independencia,* pp. 16-17.

caused her to spread damaging lies about the value of devotion to a cause over military tactics and preparation.[84] With a mix of fact, accusation and convoluted logic, therefore, Ruíz made a strong effort to rewrite what he felt had become accepted narratives of the Peninsular War, not only abroad but especially in Spain. Spanish national memory of the war, he argued, should at least bear greater witness to the significant military achievements of the Spanish regular army, rather than unquestioningly following the Anglo-French (and indeed, Spanish) narrative of the victory of a people in arms.

Closing decades: glamour, gossip and a wider audience

Not a great deal had changed between 1814 and 1908 in the approach of Spanish translators towards foreign memoirs, therefore, with Ruíz and others attacking foreign Peninsular War veterans' accounts as if the wartime pamphlet storm still raged. However, one subtle but important shift is perceptible among the translations from the early twentieth century – their format and target audience had changed. Ruíz's version in particular had been explicitly adapted and restructured to suit what the editors perceived to be '[el] gusto corriente', not only in redistributing the original text into new paragraphs and chapters, but also in cutting out the entire third part of the original *Mémoires,* a historical narrative felt to be less interesting to the Spanish public than the 'personal y novelesca' style of his autobiographical account.[85] Even in the main part of the memoirs, paragraphs which dealt at too great a length with the history of the military operations in the Peninsula had been removed, and the translation was, in fact, as Ruíz wrote, 'más bien un arreglo que una versión literal.'[86] What remained was the 'true' essence of the memoir, according to the translator: 'lo que constituye las verdaderas *Memorias* de Rocca: sus aventuras y las consideraciones que á él le sugirió el espectáculo de la guerra de la Independencia. Esto es lo que forma realmente *La guerra de la Independencia contada por un oficial francés*, y, á nuestro juicio, ha de resultar de amenísima lectura, hasta para los menos aficionados ó más refractarios á las relaciones históricas.'[87] The translator and his publishers overtly sought to reach and influence a broad reading public in Spain, in other words – including those who had little to no real interest in history.

[84] Salcedo Ruíz (tr.), *La guerra de la independencia,* pp. 71-72.
[85] Salcedo Ruíz (tr.), *La guerra de la independencia,* pp. 8-9.
[86] Salcedo Ruíz (tr.), *La guerra de la independencia,* pp. 8-9.
[87] Salcedo Ruíz (tr.), *La guerra de la independencia,* p. 9.

In keeping with this, de Rocca himself was glamorized, his life presented as something from a salacious gossip column, with a disproportionate focus in the translator's preface on Rocca's relationship with Germaine de Staël who, as the translator took pains to underline, was not only a widow but also over forty years old when she met the young and good-looking cavalry officer in Geneva.[88] In addition, the context of the memoir itself was also glamorized – as in the quote above, this was the story of an officer's 'adventures', meant to make 'very pleasant' reading, meant to paint a portrait of 'the spectacle' of the War of Independence. The translator's sharp concern for the historical interpretation of the war, in fact, was balanced by the reality that his words were not really designed to be read by historians or politicians, those typically assumed to be in control of patterns of memory-making. Instead, the imagined audience was the average early twentieth-century Spanish reader, not particularly interested in the finer points of history, but potentially attracted by the promise of adventure and scandal, and perhaps drawn in as a consequence to a deeply nationalistic and simplified narrative of what the war had been.

There is a certain irony in the fact that Ruíz was himself a member of the Spanish army, as were the majority of Spanish translators throughout the long nineteenth century: if foreign veterans' narratives of the Peninsular War in Spain were simplified and restructured, it was at least at the hands of members of the same profession. In sharp contrast to this, most British and French translators were civilians with little military connection, usually involved already in the publishing industry as writers, editors or journalists. Perhaps as a result, the same softening and simplifying approach noticeable in a few early twentieth-century Spanish translations happened in Britain and France on a large scale, with little of the acerbic outrage manifest in Spanish versions but all of the same underlying nationalistic approach.

Indeed, the largescale political and commercial rediscovery of the Napoleonic period in late nineteenth-century Britain and France caused translations of foreign memoirs to fall into many of the same patterns as the posthumous editions of domestic memoirs examined in the previous chapter. Responding to the demands of a public which had become much more extensive, diverse and consumerist than before, publishers reprinted and had translated numerous memoirs from the war in Spain, presenting them in a manner materially very different to the unadorned translations of the early part of the century.

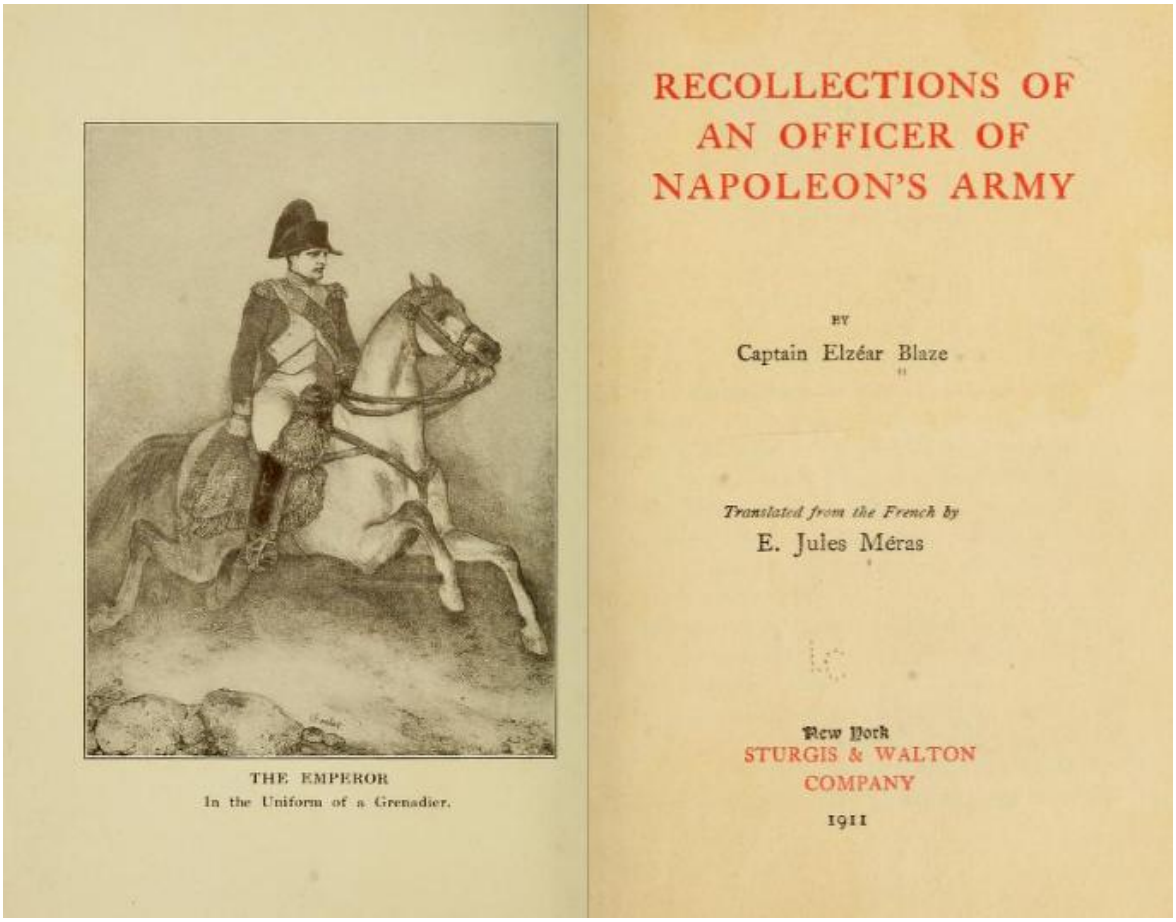
[88] Salcedo Ruíz (tr.), *La guerra de la independencia,* pp. 4-6.

These new translations offered to the public versions which were shorter and less expensive, decked out in colourful bindings, lively illustrations and enticing titles. As with many later editions of memoirs within national borders, these titles would mostly be newly invented, and the illustrations plucked from different sources and deposited within the pages to enhance the visual appeal of the book, sometimes with surprisingly 'transnational' consequences. For example, the early twentieth-century French translator Albert Savine wrote proudly in his introduction to the works of a British major-general that the book had been luxuriously illustrated with images from a wide range of sources, from the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris to the Museo del Prado in Madrid.[89] The words of a British veteran were now accompanied by picturesque lithographs drawn by Louis Bacler d'Albe, a French artist, soldier and close strategic adviser to Napoleon during the war, as well as a painting by Goya, the Spanish artist whose renowned work on the Peninsular War had showed its chaotic, brutal and darker sides in detail. The work of neither artist had appeared until after the publication of Blayney's original narrative, but was drawn together with the text nearly one hundred years later by a French translator who perhaps only accidentally thus revealed the extent to which a reservoir of images, objects and symbols of the Peninsular War had become decontextualized and depoliticized, accepted across borders as recognizable depictions of the same conflict even where texts themselves were not.

In addition, military memoirs were often printed as part of a publisher's themed series, as one volume among others, all translated by the same translator and edited identically, to the extent that the account of a soldier of the *Grande Armée* could be sold next to that of Léonard, favourite hairdresser of Marie-Antoinette (see *Fig. XXI*).[90] Such juxtapositions demonstrated that the content of these old memoirs was only interesting in as much as it spoke of the leading characters in history: it was the portraits of Napoleon and Marie-Antoinette which adorned the flyleaves of the stories of the soldier and the *coiffeur*.[91] The remarks of Napoleonic veterans, which had been considered by earlier translators as outrages to national pride, appeared from the last decades of the nineteenth century onwards in Britain and France as simple amusements, and as such, they sold very well.

---

[89] Savine (tr.), *L'Espagne,* p. 6.
[90] See the translations by A. Savine in the *Collection historique illustrée* (Paris: Michaud, ca. 1908-1910) and those by E. J. Méras in *The Court Series of French Memoirs* (New York: Sturgis & Walton, ca. 1909-1912).
[91] E. J. Méras (tr.), *Recollections of an officer of Napoleon's army, by Captain Elzéar Blaze, translated from the French* (New York: Sturgis & Walton, 1911); idem (tr.), *Recollections of Leonard, Hairdresser to Queen Marie-Antoinette* (New York: Sturgis & Walton, 1909).



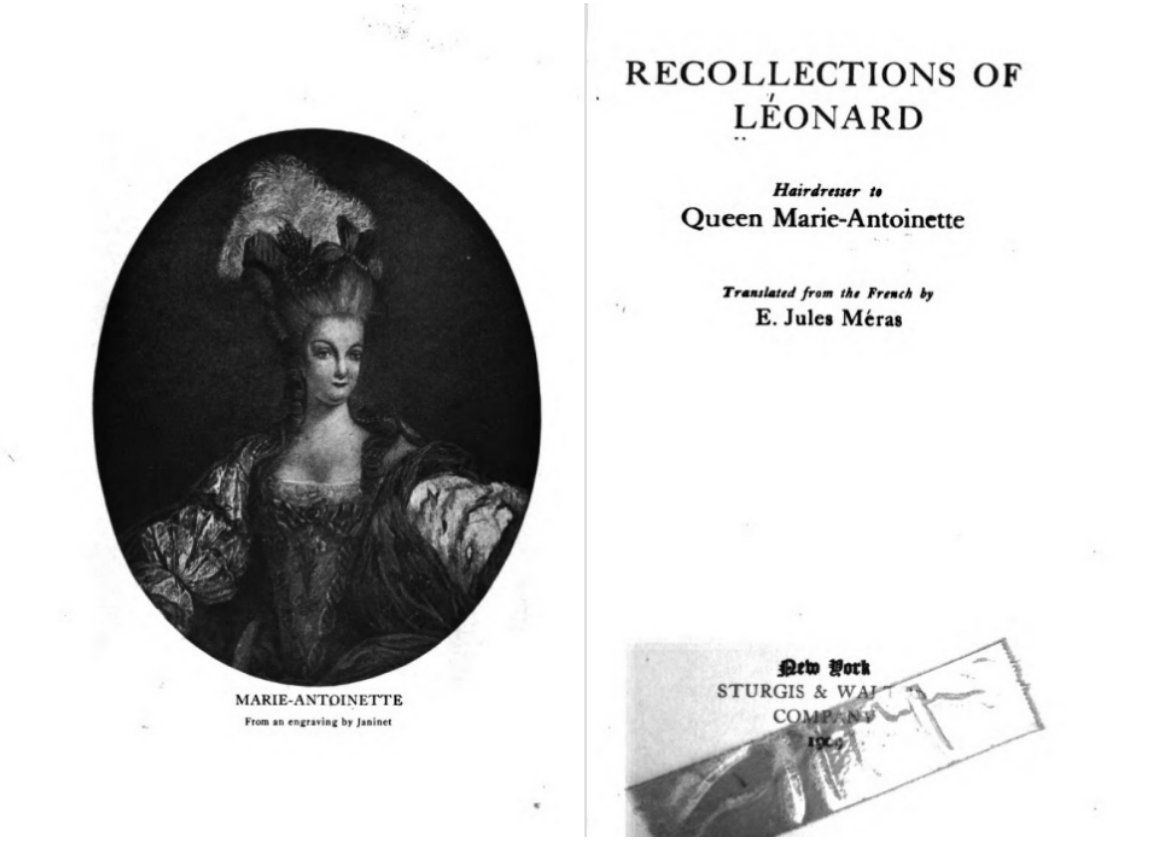
THE EMPEROR
In the Uniform of a Grenadier.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OFFICER OF NAPOLEON'S ARMY

BY
Captain Elzéar Blaze

Translated from the French by
E. Jules Méras

New York
STURGIS & WALTON COMPANY
1911



MARIE-ANTOINETTE
From an engraving by Janinet

RECOLLECTIONS OF LÉONARD

Hairdresser to
Queen Marie-Antoinette

Translated from the French by
E. Jules Méras

New York
STURGIS & WAL
COMPANY
19

Fig. XXI. Later New York editions of the memoirs of E. Blaze and Léonard. No known copyright restrictions.

Towards the end of the century, for example, the editors of the first English translation of the celebrated memoirs of General Marbot (reprinted up to forty times in Paris during the six years following their first publication in 1891) advertised the new work by quoting an article from the *Edinburgh Review*: 'Few books of our time have acquired so great and immediate a popularity.'[92] Reacting to the book's success abroad, the English publishers Longman had paid 80 pounds sterling to Marbot's heirs for the rights of translation, and had printed, in March 1892, 1,500 copies of the resulting translated version: these were entirely sold out in less than a month.[93] Throughout the following years, and indeed up to the start of the First World War, this English version of Marbot was constantly reprinted and sold, passing through more than 10,000 copies.[94] Overall, translations of Marbot were so popular in England that in May 1917, Longman wrote to the book's Parisian publisher Plon-Nourrit again, this time to confirm their monopoly on the rights of translation in English, as another publisher had started to print his own version.[95]

Yet in the background, behind the bright illustrations and attractive formats, the same very nationalistic emphasis remained as it had in Spain. Foreign memoirs were not only simplified and commodified when translated in Britain and France, they were also, once again, challenged and made to conform. For example, even the first English editions of the memoirs of both Marbot and another leading French general, Paul Thiébault, were both translated and heavily edited by the University College literature professor Arthur John Butler. In the preface to his sharply condensed 'sample' of Thiébault's memoirs, Butler emphasized that the original, five volumes long, would never have sold well outside France:

> … those who know the conditions of the English book-market will be aware that in this country no "readable" book has any chance of repaying the cost of its production in such a form.[96]

Instead, both memoirs were cut down and curated with an English audience in mind. The parts prioritized for inclusion in the reduced version were biased towards the British experience of

---

[92] Advertisement on back cover, p. 65. March 1892, issue no. CXLVIII, vol. VIII, *Notes on Books,* MS 1393 1/L12, Longman, URSC.
[93] 'Marbot's Memoirs 2 vols 8vo', entries pp. 44 and 57, Longman Impression Books, MS 1393 1/H29, Longman, URSC.
[94] Entries for 'Marbot's Memoirs' in Longman Impression Books: entries pp. 44, 57, 75, 107, and 199, MS 1393 1/H29; p. 6, MS 1393 1/H32; pp. 3 and 271, MS 1393 1/H34; p. 202, MS 1393 1/H35; p. 181, MS 1393 1/H39; [page reference missing from ledger], MS 1393 1/H41.
[95] Longman to Plon-Nourrit, 24 May 1917, Longman Letter Books, MS 1393 3/2243, Longman, URSC.
[96] A. J. Butler (tr.), *The Memoirs of Baron Thiébault (late Lieutenant General in the French Army), translated and condensed by Arthur John Butler, translator of Mémoires du Général Marbot*, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1896), p. v.

the Napoleonic wars, centring on the Peninsular War and Napoleon himself. Furthermore, notes were added where statements from the original writer contradicted facts as they were understood by English historians, or threatened to depict the French in too flattering a light, Butler admitting in his preface to the first English edition of Marbot that 'these notes may now and then have been prompted by a feeling akin to that which made Dr. Johnson object to "letting the Whig dogs have the best of it."'[97] Thus an episode in Marbot's memoirs wherein Napoleon was given a reputation for magnanimity was re-ascribed to the actions of others, and a short biography of Thiébault insisted on his immunity to both 'the vulgar ostentation and arbitrary caprice of Napoleon', and 'the strange personal fascination which we now find it so hard to comprehend.'[98]

Branching out from the success of first faithful, then abridged, then simplified versions of foreign memoirs, British publishers in particular finally then turned to the educational market, as their French counterparts had done at home with later editions of French memoirs. In doing so, they again promulgated a carefully curated national interpretation of the Peninsular War. In 1897, for example, Longman wrote to Plon-Nourrit once again to ask permission for a new, abridged version of Marbot in English, not mentioning that it would ultimately be adapted for use in schools.[99] Reducing the large, multi-volume original into one small volume, the translator Granville Sharp, old housemaster at Marlborough College, made selections from the first half of the work, limiting these to the period during which Marbot served as aide de camp, and omitting anecdotes from Eylau in favour of the 'more instructive' campaign of Wagram. New footnotes were littered through the work, correcting the narrative where Marbot's memory was felt to be at fault, and portraying Napoleon as unscrupulous and unprincipled.[100] Throughout, he insisted on the pedagogic value of his translation. 'Napoleon and his doings always have an attraction for boys;' he wrote in his preface to the shortened text, 'but in set histories the ground covered is so wide that it is easy to lose the way. Marbot is an excellent guide. He went through most of the famous campaigns, and had a knack of turning up at all the

[97] A. J. Butler (tr.), *The Memoirs of Baron de Marbot, late lieutenant-general in the French army, translated from the French by Arthur John Butler, late fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in two volumes with portrait and maps,* 2 vols. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1892), pp. vi-vii.
[98] Butler (tr.), *Memoirs of Marbot, fourth edition* (1893), p. 190; Butler (tr.), *Memoirs of Thiébault,* p. viii.
[99] Plon-Nourrit to Longman, 18 February 1897, MS 1393 3/2243, Longman, URSC; Receipt to Granville Sharp, 5 July 1897, MS 1393 3/2243, Longman, URSC.
[100] G. Sharp (tr.), *L'Aide de Camp Marbot: Selections from the Mémoires du Général Baron de Marbot, edited with notes, by Granville Sharp, M.A., late assistant master at Marlborough College* (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897), p. vi.

critical moments. [...] In short, for teaching purposes, the *Mémoires* have all the qualities of a good historical novel: they are brimful of human interest.'[101]

iii. Conclusion – The Absence of Transnational Memory

Through both widespread reprinting and translation, therefore, a small but significant number of military memoirs from the Peninsular War traversed national frontiers and were incorporated into the historiography and the cultural memory of other countries, whether these were old enemies, allies or simply onlookers. Beyond a hidden world of individual books moving with their owners, memoirs travelled extensively as texts, enabled by a lack of widely enforced copyright legislation throughout practically the whole long nineteenth century. National book markets certainly did have permeable edges, and publishers in Britain, France and Spain often actively looked outwards in marketing their publications. However, memoirs from each of the three countries in this study followed quite separate paths outwards into the world – those from Britain flowing to the United States, those from France disseminating through central and southern Europe, and those from Spain being rapidly transmitted to Spanish America, where nearly every country was undergoing its own wartime independence struggle.

While reprinting in original languages did not foster communication between the three major ex-participants in the Peninsular War, translation ought to have forced it, and yet even here circulation was characterized by asymmetry and a marked hostility to foreign narratives. Nearly ten percent of all British and French memoirs were translated, often into each other's language, yet only two Spanish memoirs were published in English or French, an imbalance felt keenly by the several Spanish translators who, in response, defensively confronted influential works coming from their northern neighbours. In nearly every case, the act of translation implied a large transformation, not only of language but also of format, content and audience, with the translators intervening to the extent that they essentially became authors themselves. Abridged, shortened, revised, critical, arranged, annotated and rarely 'rigorously literal', these translations did not break down the barriers between different national interpretations of the war but rather reinforced them. As the century progressed, moreover, these repackaged and rewritten foreign narratives of the Peninsular War became more and more accessible to a broad

[101] Sharp (tr.), *L'aide de camp Marbot,* pp. v-vi.

audience, moving away from targeting a politically engaged or historical reading public towards appealing to an average consumer, including children at school.

Yet even as the audience for translated memoirs grew and their presentation was refined, the nationalistic impulse which underwrote their publication and revision continued. Praise of Napoleon not approved of by an English schoolmaster was denounced; criticism of the Spanish regular army not shared by a Spanish military administrator nearly a century later was strongly refuted; complaints about the French treatment of prisoners was laughed away by French translators as evidence of a typically British type of patriotism; different interpretations, indeed, were not celebrated but rejected. In spite of the evidence for the wonderfully complex, sweeping international movements of Peninsular War memoirs, in fact, we are faced with an uncomfortable truth: transnational circulation did not diminish the growth of distinctive national memory, nor did it undercut the various top-down nationalizing efforts of governments and official historians. Instead, from below, from publishers, schoolteachers, journalists, writers and veterans themselves, came an equally powerful impulse to cast the potent history of recent events in a focussed national light – an impulse which, perhaps even until the present day, has contributed to the enduring separation of the historiographies of the *Guerra de la Independencia,* the *Guerre d'Espagne,* and the Peninsular War.

Conclusion

War for Sale

What fascinates us so much about tales of war? What is it that makes audiences flock to see depictions of the Normandy landings in cinemas, act out recreations of battles, and buy books on military history, both fiction and fact, in their hundreds of thousands? Is it, as Samuel Hynes has written, 'the excitement, the drama, and the danger – life lived at a high level of intensity, like a complicated, fatal game', or more prosaic, the mental stimulation of problem-solving, tactics, and leadership?[1] Perhaps it is the thrill of gore and violence, or the promise of heroism, or nostalgia for a time imagined as somehow more civilised, more gentlemanly, or more sacred than today.[2] For some, perhaps it is an act of private commemoration, or a comparison of the experiences of others against one's own. For many of us in civilian society, though, it is the fortunate unknowability of war which gives it such power.[3]

Soldiers who write memoirs consistently emphasise that war is unknowable unless one has actually been there and experienced it.[4] They promise that they can tell their readers a real, authentic story, rip aside the veil, correct history, paint an accurate picture. They emphasise their truthfulness, and their pure intentions to bear witness, not to falsify or embellish the record. In the case of most Napoleonic veterans, they also apologise profusely for their errors and unsophisticated style. They are not writers, they emphasise, but simple military men who wield a sword much more confidently than a pen. The authors of modern military memoirs want to be believed as telling the truth about war – yet nearly all historians who study them point out how impossible this is. Can these tales really be true, some ask, when memory is

[1] S. Hynes, *The Soldiers' Tale: Bearing Witness to Modern War* (New York: Penguin, 1997), p. 28.
[2] L. Hanley, *Writing War: Fiction, Gender, and Memory* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991), pp. 4-6; J. Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face to Face Killing in 20th Century Warfare* (London: Basic Books, 1999), pp. 6-7.
[3] Hanley, *Writing War,* p. 4.
[4] Hynes, *Soldiers' Tale,* p. 1; Y. N. Harari, 'Scholars, Eyewitnesses, and Flesh-Witnesses of War: A Tense Relationship', *Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas* 7, 2 (Jun. 2009), pp. 215-220; J. Bourke, 'Introduction "Remembering" War', *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, 4, Special Issue: Collective Memory (Oct., 2004), p. 477; P. Dwyer, *War Stories*, p. 8; L. H. E. Kleinreesink and Joseph M. M. L. Soeters, 'Truth and (self) censorship in military memoirs', *Current Sociology* 64, 3 (2016), p. 376.

clouded by time, trauma, and creative writing?[5] The authors might believe their own narratives, others conclude, but their memoirs cannot be 'seen as providing objective historical data.'[6]

At the moment, the state of literature on memoirs from the Napoleonic period is especially paralysed by this paradox. Produced in greater numbers than ever before, war memoirs by soldiers from the Napoleonic Wars are rich, invaluable sources, but they are problematic to use for the exact question we often want them to answer – how did these soldiers experience war? After all, there are thousands of these books. Narrowing the focus to memoirs of the Peninsular War alone still leaves us with hundreds of these books. They were written in almost every imaginable literary style, at different times, for different reasons, by men who were mostly officers rather than ordinary soldiers. Their authors may have obscured, reduced, embellished, exaggerated, fabricated or entirely forgotten large parts of their wartime experiences, copied from others, or written down a story which had evolved dramatically over time through many oral re-tellings. Add to this the fact that they were published unevenly over a huge period of time, followed different patterns in different countries, were sold at different prices in different cities and have no one defined place within a very broad, disparate historiographical field, and memoirs appear clearly to be, as I emphasised in the introduction to this thesis, very awkward and unwieldy sources from a methodological point of view.

The starting point for my research, however, was to embrace this problematic nature: to suggest that if we cannot change the difficulties of memoirs as sources, perhaps we can at least make these difficulties productive. Rather than seeing soldiers' routine creativity with their narratives as a challenge, I suggest that we underline it, exploring the choices they made as storytellers, and their aims in deciding to publish their memoirs, rather than keep them private. Furthermore, rather than seeing the size and diversity of the genre as a challenge, I argue that we should explore it, taking advantage of the opportunities to see how war writing was different in different places at different times, and the patterns in which it might evolve. One of the central conclusions of this thesis, in fact, is that we need a new methodology for modern war memoirs, one which takes into account that memoirs can be approached as sources in a multiplicity of different ways, and that all of these help us to understand the interconnected processes of war memory, writing, and publishing.

---

[5] Hynes, *Soldiers' Tale,* pp. 16, 25; M. Hewitson, '"I Witnesses": Soldiers, Selfhood and Testimony in Modern Wars', *German History* 28, 3 (2010), pp. 310-325.
[6] Kleinreesink and Soeters, 'Truth and (self) censorship', p. 386.

A vital part of this new methodology lies in acknowledging the complex and active role played by veterans as the authors of these memoirs. Giving a voice to soldiers in the history of war should not only be about listening to their stories, but also about considering them as agents in their own right, people who consciously set out to shape the memory of the conflict and to achieve their own political, historical, literary and commercial aims. Peninsular War veterans used their published memoirs to argue for military reform, to influence government policy, and to bolster Europe-wide support for the ongoing Spanish liberal cause. They contacted and criticised historians' interpretations of the war, used government funding and networks of other military men to write the first official history of it themselves, and emphasised that they were authoritative writers of history, not simply its subjects. They wrote to newspaper editors, entered furious pamphlet wars, and used their memoirs as weapons against their political rivals. Most of all, they acted as professional authors, publishing wide oeuvres of non-military works, taking the initiative in the publishing process, and maintaining editorial control. In other words, Peninsular War veterans were not accidental authors but active and reactive ones. By continuing to relegate these veterans to a passive role, we neglect a crucial aspect of war memory and soldiers' writing, and propagate the assumption, wrongly made by Mosse in his influential work on the nineteenth-century foundations of the twentieth-century World Wars, that something like the 'myth of war experience' could have emerged by itself.

Of all veterans who wrote as active, political authors, it is perhaps ironic that Spanish memoirists best fit the pattern, given that both Spain and Portugal have long been dismissed by scholars of the Napoleonic period as backward, irrelevant, and incapable of producing anything comparable to the memoirs from Britain and France. Yet choosing to publish ephemeral, argumentative, self-justificatory accounts of their wartime actions, not ponderous literary narratives destined for family fireside reading, was a deliberate choice by these literate and aristocratic officers who had spent decades establishing a career under the *ancien régime* before the Peninsular War broke out. Aware of the shifting political context around them, they used war writing as a tool, blending old juridical traditions with new rhetoric to manage their public images, claim rewards, and win popular support. The evidence for an Iberian genre of war literature in the nineteenth century challenges the dominant pattern enforced by studies of France, Britain, and Germany. It shows the need for a more flexible definition of 'memoir' which is not limited to book-length, three-volume, Romantic-influenced adventure stories, but which includes war writing which was pamphlet-shaped, polemic, and prone to be used and re-used in the literature of later wars, from civil conflict at home to colonial campaigns overseas.

Time and space are also crucial aspects of the study of war memoirs, with both the interventions of others and the international movements of books fundamentally reshaping the genre. Indeed, what the First World War generation inherited at the turn of the century was a rich and recognised body of literature which had evolved dramatically since the end of the Peninsular War a hundred years earlier. After the deaths of their authors, war memoirs passed into the hands of a myriad of other actors, with family members and especially women playing a significant role in filtering which parts of the memoir, if any, would be made public. A host of editors, publishers and illustrators then made further changes to the books, altering everything from the title to the structure, size, price, quality, content, presentation and binding. Following commercial and political trends, memoirs were reinvented later in the nineteenth century as biographies, adventure stories, regimental histories, consumer objects and even a means of national military education, with both conscripts and schoolchildren being marketed to by publishers in the early twentieth century. Along the way, the messages in many of the original, early memoirs were obscured. Later editions both literally and figuratively presented a different picture of war experience, one in which colourful illustrations showed heroic action and individual violence, not the generalised and mundane brutality which lurked on the edges of soldiers' own descriptions of the Peninsular War.

At the same time, a consistent phenomenon of reprinting and translation abroad allowed soldiers' war stories to circulate widely, offering the possibility for narratives of the conflict to be exchanged and absorbed by erstwhile enemies, potentially breaking down borders. Yet instead the movements of memoirs were characterised by asymmetry, hostility, and a nationalistic appropriation of soldiers' voices, with translators cutting, criticising and challenging the texts which they interpreted in order to support their own versions of history. There is a powerful link between the actions of these translators, reinforcing the divisions between national narratives of the war which had already been separate in veterans' original memoirs, and the separation of the histories of what is still a war with at least three names to this day. The different connotations attached to the Peninsular War, the *Guerre d'Espagne* and the *Guerra de la Independencia* have roots in the nationalistic rebranding of soldiers' memoirs in the nineteenth century, enabled by strategic marketing and a booming publishing industry, which delivered these repackaged tales into the hands of an increasingly diverse audience as time went on.

All these different methodological considerations come together in the title of this thesis: 'war for sale', with a deliberate emphasis on the commercial aspect of military memory. Literature on war writing in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries continues to assume that soldiers' autobiographical writing was somehow fundamentally private: a matter of trauma, remembrance, and personal legacy, with circulation often limited to family and friends. In the past, this was perhaps more true. Miguel Martínez's study of common soldiers' writing in the early modern Spanish empire, for instance, unearths a number of veterans' autobiographies from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, pointing to the early influence of the *Breve Suma de la Vida y Hechos de Diego García de Paredes, escrita por él mismo* (first published in 1582). Nearly all, however, remained hidden from both their comrades and the public at large, most existing only as a single manuscript copy: Paredes' work, in fact, 'was the only soldierly memoir to ever see the light of print in the early modern period.'[7]

The nineteenth century, by contrast, was the great age of print. The decision of hundreds of Napoleonic veterans to write their memoirs coincided with rapid technological advances in printing, increasing literacy, and the gradual professionalization of both publishers and authors, allowing texts which might once have remained as handwritten artifacts to reach thousands of readers and undergo intricate processes of refinement, adjustment and reinvention. So while to an extent the common tropes of soldiers' writing – hardships, horrors, glories, and bravado – remained the same over the centuries, shifting from time to time with the influence of new literary styles, politics, and military reforms, Peninsular War memoirs and the war literature which came afterwards were different in their numbers, context, and spread. 'Modern' war writing is *sold* to an extent never seen before, affecting both the scope of an author's agency and the extent of his or her book's reach. It is sold by the authors, shaping and promoting their work with deliberate intent, wanting us to 'read all about it', as a newsboy of old might shout on the street. It is sold by family members, editors, publishers, booksellers and translators, all of whom have vested personal, social, political and economic interests in its commercial success. Moreover, it is bought by a large and varied audience, whose fascination with stories of war is encouraged by the many forms in which they are sold.

What the history of Peninsular War memoirs shows us is the convergence of several different factors, all resulting in the forging of a new relationship between veterans, the publishing industry, and the cultural representation of conflict. Responding to the needs and expectations

[7] Martínez, *Front Lines,* p. 192.

of a growing reading public, the efforts of individual veterans to make an impact with their narratives aligned with the concerns of publishers to shift copies from the shelves, culminating not only in the establishment of a recognisable genre of war writing, but also in its increased commodification and simplification as the decades went by – a phenomenon which has left a lasting legacy in the centuries which have followed. To return to the question posed at the start, our fascination with soldiers' tales of war is undoubtedly due to a multitude of human factors, from curiosity to nostalgia, thrill-seeking, or a comfortable sense of its unknowability. Yet this fascination is arguably also the product of a consumer element to war memoirs that has been encouraged and manufactured ever since the early nineteenth century. The mass appeal of stories of war experience today, in fact, might date back to the battlefields of the Napoleonic Wars, and the paths carved by memoirs of the Peninsular campaign may be the key to unlocking it.

Appendix

Portuguese war memoirs

Despite the lack of studies on literature produced by Portuguese veterans of the Peninsular War (or *Guerra Peninsular*), it does undoubtedly exist, both in published and manuscript form. Pamphlets by veterans can be found among the large collections of ephemeral material on the war held by the Arquivo Histórico Militar in Lisbon and the Instituto de Historia y Cultura Militar in Madrid, particularly in the Fraile collection. Several documents from the former are listed below, and while the latter specialises in Spanish pamphlets, many of these were also translated into Portuguese during the war.[1] Printed pamphlets and books can also be found through the catalogue of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal: an incomplete list also follows below.

Manuscript material

Jorge, Luís António, 'Memória das gloriosas e imortais acções das armas anglo-lusas na campanha de Portugal', s.d., 57 fols, Arquivo Histórico Militar (AHM), Lisbon, PT AHM/DIV/1/14/181/35.

Azevedo, Maximiliano de, 'Apontamentos do coronel Maximiliano de Azevedo sobre a Guerra Peninsular e revolução do algarve contra os franceses', [1813], AHM, PT AHM/DIV/1/14/244/04.

Both documents have been digitised and are available online through the database of the AHM: https://arqhist.exercito.pt/.

[1] A. Moliner Prada, 'La guerra de la independencia en España 1808-1814', in J. Couto (ed.), *Guerra Peninsular 200 anos* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional Portugal, 2007), pp. 27-29.

Published memoirs

Anon., 'Fragmentos Historicos relativos á Guerra Peninsular', in José Martiniano da Silva Vieira, *Recopilação de Cartas, e de alguns fragmentos historicos relativos à Guerra Peninsular* (Lisbon: Vieira & Tormes, 1840).

Anon., *Collecção de cartas do soldado portuguez* (Lisbon: Largo do Contador Mór, 1838).

Anon., *Golpe de vista: Sobre alguns movimentos e acções do Regimento de Infanteria N.º 18, na Guerra da Peninsula, pelo Auctor das Cartas do Soldado Portuguez, e do Cadetinho d'Almada* (Lisbon: V. J. de Castro & Irmão, 1844).

Banha, Theotonio Xavier de Oliveira, *Apontamentos para a Historia da Legião Portugueza ao serviço de Napoleão I, mandada sair de Portugal em 1808, narrativa do tenente Theotonio Banha, edição ordenada em 1863 pelo Ministro e Secretario d'Estado dos Negocios da Guerra, o Ill.mo e Ex.mo Sr. Visconde de Sá da Bandeira e commettida ao capitão Claudio de Chaby,* ed. Cláudio de Chaby (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1865 [1863]).

Cardoso, Manual José Dias, *Apontamentos e reflexões sobre as linhas do norte de Lisboa, ou linhas de Torres Vedras* (Lisbon: Viuva Neves e Filhos, 1823).

Carvalho e Silva, Ovidio Saraiva de, *Narração das marchas e feitos do corpo militar academico desde 31 de março, em que sahio de Coimbra, até 12 de maio, su entrada no Porto, offerecida ao Ill.mo e Ex.mo Senhor Manoel Paes de Aragão Trigozo do Conselho do Principe Regente, Fidalgo de sua Real Casa, Conego e Arcediago na Sé de Viseu, Deputado do Santo Officio, Primeiro Lente Jubilado na Faculdade de Canones, Vice-Reitor da Universidade, Desembargador da Meza do Desembargo do Paço, e Commandante do Corpo Militar Academico, por Ovidio Saraiva de Carvalho e Silva, estudante do 4.o anno de Leis, e alistado no Corpo Militar Academico* (Coimbra: Real Imprensa Universidade, 1809).

França, Bento (ed.), *A Legião Portuguesa ao serviço do Império Francês* (Lisbon: A. M. Pereira, 1889). (Based on the manuscript of Captain José Garcêz Pinto de Madureira.)

Bibliography

ARCHIVES

Archives Départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, Nancy: *Fonds Berger-Levrault.*

Archives Départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg: *Fonds Berger-Levrault; Police Générale et Administrative (1800-1870).*

Archivo General Militar, Segovia: *Section 1, Expedientes Personales (Célebres).*

Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid: *Diversos-Colecciones (Depósito de la Guerra).*

Archivo Real y General de Navarra, Pamplona: *Colección Espoz y Mina.*

Arquivo Histórico Militar, Lisbon: *Database (DIV/1/).*

Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid: *Rare Books Collection.*

Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon: *General Collection.*

British Library, London: *Bentley Papers.*

Cambridge University Library, Cambridge: *Rare Books Collection.*

Centre des Archives du Monde du Travail, Roubaix: *Fonds Firmin Didot; Fonds Imprimerie Magimel.*

Institut Mémoires de l'Édition Contemporaine, Caen: *Fonds Hachette.*

National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh: *John Murray Archive.*

The National Archives, Kew: *Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, Pensioners' Discharge Documents; Royal Hospital, Chelsea, Soldiers' Service Documents.*

University of Reading Special Collections, Reading: *Records of the Longman Group; Records of A. & C. Black Publishers Ltd.*

DATABASES

Base de données Léonore (Légion d'honneur), Archives Nationales, France.

Challis, Lionel S., *Peninsula Roll Call* (c.1949), digitized by *The Napoleon Series* (Jan., 2009), (http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/GreatBritain/Challis/c_ChallisIntro.html, accessed 19 Feb. 2015).

MCNbiografias.com, various articles by A. Gil Novales.
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online edn (Oxford University Press, 2018).
WorldCat.org

VISUAL SOURCES

Goya, Francisco de, *Goya: Disasters of War,* 2 vols (London: Folio Society, 2014 [1864]).

BRITISH MEMOIRS

i. MEMOIRS PUBLISHED DURING THE AUTHOR'S LIFETIME

Trevelyan, W. C. (ed.), *Autobiography of Andrew Pearson, a Peninsular Veteran: containing numerous anecdotes of the army, during a portion of that interesting period, which have never been published; also, an account of the defeat of General Wauchope's army, when commanding the second expedition to Egypt* (Edinburgh: W. Lang Rollo; London: J. F. Smith, 1865).

Dobbs, John, *Recollections of an old 52nd Man; by Captain John Dobbs (late 52nd Light Infantry)* (Waterford: T. S. Harvey, 1859).

Donaldson, Joseph, *Recollections of an eventful life, chiefly passed in the army; by a soldier* (Glasgow: W. R. McPhun, 1824).

Gleig, George, *The Subaltern* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T. Cadell, 1825).

Gronow, Rees Howell, *Reminiscences of Captain Gronow, formerly of the Grenadier Guards, and M.P. for Stafford: being Anecdotes of the Camp, the Court, and the Clubs, at the close of the last war with France. Related by himself. With illustrations* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1862).

Jones, John T., *Account of the War in Spain and Portugal and in the South of France, from 1808, to 1814, inclusive, by John T. Jones, Lieut. Colonel, Corps of Royal Engineers* (London: T. Egerton, 1818).

Jones, John T., *The Military Autobiography of Major-Gen. Sir John T. Jones, Baronet, Knight Commander of the Bath, late of the corps of Royal Engineers, aide-de-camp to the King* (London: s.n., 1853).

Kincaid, John, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade, in the Peninsula, France, and the Netherlands, from 1809 to 1815, by Captain J. Kincaid* (London: T. and W. Boone, 1830).

Leith Hay, Andrew, *Narrative of the Peninsular War by Major Leith Hay, F.R.S.E.,* 2 vols (Edinburgh: Daniel Lizars; London: Whittaker, Treacher and Arnot, 1831).

Patterson, John, *Camp and Quarters: Scenes and Impressions of Military Life,* 2 vols (London: Saunders and Otley, 1840), vol. 1.

Sherer, Moyle, *Recollections of the Peninsula, by the author of Sketches of India,* 2nd edn (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1824).

Vane, Charles William, *Narrative of the Peninsular War, from 1808 to 1813. By Lieut.-General Charles William Vane, Marquess of Londonderry, G.C.B. G.C.H., colonel of the 10th Royal Hussars* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828).

ii. POSTHUMOUS MEMOIRS

Wood, S. C. I. (ed.), *Reminiscences 1808-1815 under Wellington, by Captain William Hay, C.B., edited by his daughter, Mrs S. C. I. Wood* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, & Co., 1901).

Wylly, H. C. (ed.), *A Cavalry Officer in the Corunna Campaign 1808-1809: The journal of Captain Gordon of the 15th Hussars, edited by Colonel H. C. Wylly, C.B., with portraits and maps* (London: John Murray, 1913).

FRENCH MEMOIRS

i. MEMOIRS PUBLISHED DURING THE AUTHOR'S LIFETIME

Blaze, Elzéar, *La Vie Militaire sous l'Empire, ou Moeurs de la Garnison, du Bivouac et de la Caserne, par E. Blaze, Auteur du Chasseur au Chien d'arrêt,* 2 vols (Paris: Moutardier/Desforges, 1837).

Blaze, Sébastien, *Mémoires d'un Apothicaire sur l'Espagne, pendant les Guerres de 1808 à 1814,* ser. *Mémoires Contemporains* (Paris: Ladvocat, 1828), vol. 1.

Coignet, J.-R., *Aux Vieux de la Vieille! Souvenirs de Jean-Roch Coignet, soldat de la 96e demi-brigade, soldat et sous-officier au 1er régiment des grenadiers à pied de la garde, vaguemestre du petit et du grand quartier impérial, capitaine d'état-major en retraite,*

premier cavalier de la légion-d'honneur, officier du même ordre (Auxerre: Perriquet, 1851).

Gouvion Saint-Cyr, Laurent de, *Journal des Opérations de l'Armée de Catalogne, en 1808 et 1809, sous le commandement du Général Gouvion Saint-Cyr, ou Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Guerre d'Espagne, par le Maréchal Gouvion Saint-Cyr* (Paris: Anselin et Pochard, 1821).

Guingret, Pierre-François, *Relation historique et militaire de la campagne de Portugal, sous le Maréchal Masséna, Prince d'Essling; contenant les opérations militaires qui se rapportent à l'expédition de Masséna, et les divers faits de l'armée de Portugal, jusqu'à la fin de la Guerre d'Espagne, par M. Guingret, Chef de bataillon, en demi-activité, et Officier de l'Ordre Royal de la Légion d'honneur* (Limoges: Bargeas, 1817).

Hugo, Joseph-Léopold-Sigisbert, *Mémoires du Général Hugo, précédé des mémoires du Général Aubertin,* in *Collection des Mémoires des Maréchaux de France et des Généraux français,* 4 vols (Paris: Ladvocat, 1823), vols. 1-2.

Langlois, Jean-Charles, *Voyage pittoresque et militaire en Espagne, Catalogne* (Paris: Engelmann, [1826-30]).

Le Noble, Pierre Madeleine, *Mémoires sur les Opérations Militaires des Français en Galice, en Portugal, et dans la Vallée du Tage, en 1809, sous le Commandement du Maréchal Soult, Duc de Dalmatie. Avec un atlas militaire* (Paris: Barrois L'ainé, 1821).

Naylies, Joseph J. de, *Mémoires sur la Guerre d'Espagne, pendant les années 1808, 1809, 1810 et 1811. Par M. de Naylies, Officier Supérieur des Gardes-du-Corps de Monsieur, Chevalier de Saint-Louis et de la Légion d'Honneur* (Paris: Magimel, Anselin et Pochard, 1817).

Parquin, Denis Charles, *Souvenirs et Campagnes d'un Vieux Soldat de l'Empire, par un capitaine de la Garde Impériale, ex-officier de la légion d'honneur, aujourd'hui détenu politique à la citadelle de Doullens, avec portrait de l'auteur,* 2 vols (Paris: Administration de la Librairie, 1843).

Rocca, Albert Jean Michel de, *Mémoires sur la Guerre des Français en Espagne, par M. de Rocca, officier de hussards et chevalier de l'ordre de la légion d'honneur,* 2nd edn (Paris: Gide fils/H. Nicolle, 1814).

Rogniat, Joseph, *Relation des sièges de Saragosse et Tortose par les Français, dans la dernière Guerre d'Espagne. Par M. le Baron Rogniat, lieutenant-Général du Génie* (Paris: Magimel, 1814).

Vedel, Dominique Honoré Antoine Marie de, *Précis des Opérations Militaires en Espagne, pendant les mois de Juin et de Juillet 1808, avant la capitulation du Général en Chef Dupont, à Baylen et Andujar ; suivi de pièces justificatives. Par le Lieutenant-Général Comte de Vedel* (Paris: Gueffier, 1823).

ii. POSTHUMOUS MEMOIRS

Vaillant, - (ed.), *A. Thirion, de Metz. Souvenirs Militaires* (Paris and Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 1892).

Ambert, Joachim, and Marie de Mirabeau (eds), *Souvenirs Militaires du Colonel de Gonneville publiés par la Comtesse de Mirabeau sa fille et precedés d'une étude par le Général Baron Ambert* (Paris: Didier, 1875).

B., L. de la (ed.), *Mémoires du Général Bigarré, Aide de Camp du Roi Joseph, 1775-1813* (Paris: Ernest Kolb, 1893).

Bapst, Germain (ed.), *Mémoires du Général Lejeune, publiés par M. Germain Bapst: De Valmy à Wagram,* 3rd and 4th edns (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1896).

Bauyn de Péreuse, Antoine-Louis-René-Prosper, 'Campagne de Portugal (1810-1811), Souvenirs d'un Lieutenant d'Artillerie', *Nouvelle Revue Retrospective,* 109 (1889), pp. 1-25; 113 (1889), pp. 97-133; 118 (1889), pp. 217-240.

Bigot, Charles (ed.), *Gloires et Souvenirs Militaires, d'après les mémoires du Cannonier Bricard, du Maréchal Bugeaud, du Capitaine Coignet, d'Amédée Delorme, du Timonier Ducor, du Général Ducrot, de Maurice Dupin, du Lieutenant general Duc de Fezensac, du Sergent Fricasse, de l'Abbé Lanusse, du Général de Marbot, du Maréchal Marmont duc de Raguse, de Charles Mismer, du Colonel de Montagnac, de Napoléon 1er, du Maréchal de Saint-Arnaud, du Comte Philippe de Ségur, du Général de Sonis, du Colonel Vigo-Roussillon* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1894).

Calmettes, Fernand (ed.), *Mémoires du Général Baron Thiébault, publiés sous les auspices de sa fille Mlle Claire Thiébault d'après le manuscrit original, par Fernand Calmettes. Portraits en héliogravure,* 3rd edn, 5 vols (Paris: Plon, 1894-96).

Darimon, Alfred (ed.), *Mémoires de François Lavaux, sergent au 103e de ligne (1793-1814), avec une introduction et des notes par M. Alfred Darimon, ancien député de la Seine* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1894).

Debidour, Antonin (ed.), *Le général Bigarré, aide de camp de Joseph Bonaparte, d'après ses mémoires inédits* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1880).

Duplan, Albert (ed.), *Vie Militaire du Lieutenant-Colonel Victor-Marie Duplan, officier de la Légion d'honneur. Mémoires et Campagnes* (Moutiers-Tarentaise: François Ducloz, 1901).

Dellard, Jean Pierre, *Mémoires militaires du Général Baron Dellard sur les guerres de la République et de l'Empire* (Paris: La Librairie Illustrée, 1892).

Gautier, Henri (ed.), *Le Général Baron Thiébault. D'Ulm à Austerlitz* (Paris: Henri Gautier, 1897).

Hennet de Goutel, Estienne (ed.), *Mémoires du Général Marquis Alphonse d'Hautpoul, pair de France, 1789-1865. Publiées par son arrière-petit-fils Estienne Hennet de Goutel* (Paris: Didier/Perrin, 1906).

Larchey, Lorédan, *Les Cahiers du Capitaine Coignet (1776-1850) publiés d'après le manuscrit original par Lorédan Larchey, illustrés par J. le Blant* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1888).

Larchey, Lorédan, *Les Cahiers du Capitaine Coignet (1776-1850), publiés d'après le manuscrit original par Lorédan Larchey, avec 84 gravures en couleurs et en noir d'après les dessins de Julien le Blant* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1896).

Larchey, Lorédan, *Mémoires patriotiques: les cahiers du Capitaine Coignet* (Librairie Hachette, 1883).

Le Maréchal Drouet, comte d'Erlon. Vie Militaire écrite par lui-même et dédié à ses amis, publiée par sa famille (Paris: Gustave Barba, 1844).

Lombard-Dumas, A. (ed.), *Souvenirs d'un vélite de la garde sous Napoléon I. Extraits des manuscrits de François-Frédéric Billon, par son arrière-neveu A. Lombard-Dumas* (Paris: Plon, 1905).

Marcel, Nicolas, *Campagnes Du Capitaine Marcel En Espagne et En Portugal (1808-1814), Mises En Ordre, Annotées et Publiées Par Le Commandant Var*, ed. Louis Marie Antoine Vincent Var (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1913).

Marbot, Jean-Baptiste-Antoine-Marcellin de, *Mémoires du Général Baron de Marbot*, 3 vols (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1891).

Noël, Lucien (ed.), *J. N. A. Noël, chevalier de l'Empire, colonel d'artillerie. Souvenirs Militaires d'un Officier du Premier Empire (1795-1832). Avec un portrait, une gravure et sept cartes ou plans* (Paris and Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 1895).

Rioufol, Maxime (ed.), *Notes du Général Waldeck Boudinhon sur la Guerre d'Espagne (1808-1810), précédées d'un biographie* (Le Puy: Gustave Mey, 1900).

Rousset, Camille (ed.), *Souvenirs du Maréchal Macdonald, Duc de Tarente, avec une introduction par M. Camille Rousset de l'Académie Française. Portraits d'après David et d'après Gérard* (Paris: Plon, Nourrit, 1892).

Routier, Ernest Léon (ed.), *Récits d'un soldat de la République et de l'Empire 1792-1830, publiés par son fils le colonel Routier* (Paris: Vermot, 1899).

Thiéry, Maurice, *Journal d'un officier français, ou Les Cahiers du Capitaine François 1792-1815,* 3rd edn (Tours: Maison Alfred Mame et Fils, 1907).

Vivien, Jean-Stanislas, *Souvenirs de Ma Vie Militaire (1792-1822),* ed. Emmanuel Martin (Paris: Hachette, 1905).

SPANISH MEMOIRS

i. MEMOIRS PUBLISHED DURING THE AUTHOR'S LIFETIME

Andriani, Luís María, *Memoria justificativa de la Defensa de Sagunto en 1811 por el General Andriani en refutación de un pasage de la historia de la guerra de la Independencia en España que dió á luz de 1835 á 1837 el Excmo. Sr. Conde de Toreno* (Madrid: Eusebio Aguado, 1838).

Ballesteros, Francisco, *Respetuosos Descargos que el Teniente General D. Francisco Vallesteros ofrece á la generosa nación española en contestación á los cargos que S. A. la Regencia del Reyno se ha servido hacerle en su Manifiesto de 12 de Diciembre del año pasado de 1812 dirigido á la misma para su inteligencia* (Algeciras: Juan Bautista Contillo, 1813).

Cabanes, Francisco Xavier, *Historia de las operaciones del exército de Cataluña. En la guerra de la Usurpacion, campaña primera. Por el teniente coronel D. Francisco Xavier Cabanes, Ayudante Mayor de Reales Guardias Walonas, y Oficial de Estado Mayor en el Exército de Cataluña* (Barcelona: Brusi, 1815 [repr. Tarragona: s.n., 1809]).

Cabanes, Francisco Xavier, *Memoria acerca del modo de escribir la historia militar de la ultima Guerra entre España y Francia, escrita en Madrid en 1814, por El Brigadier de los Reales Exercitos Don Francisco Xavier de Cabanes, Capitan de Reales Guardias Walonas, y Gefe (que fué) del Estado Mayor del primer Exercito de Operaciones* (Barcelona: Brusi, 1816).

Carrafa, Juan, *Manifiesto que presenta a la Nacion Española Don Juan Carrafa, Teniente General de los Reales Exercitos, y Consejero en el Supremo de la Guerra, confutando la obra escrita por el Portugues José Biancardi, traducida al castellano, que tiene por titulo Sucesos de la Provincia del Alentejo, y el numero 7.o del Robespierre Español su fecha 27 de Mayo ultimo, impreso en la Real Isla de Leon en la Imprenta de Periu* (Cadiz: Antonio de Murguia, s.d.).

Espoz y Mina, Francisco, *Breve Extracto de la vida del General Mina* / *A Short Extract from the life of General Mina* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1825).

Espoz y Mina, Francisco, *Manifiesto de Don Francisco Espoz y Mina, Coronel y Comandante General de Navarra, a sus paisanos, contra la instrusa diputacion* (Cádiz: Guerrero, 1812).

Espoz y Mina, Francisco, *Memorias del General Don Francisco Espoz y Mina, escritas por el mismo,* ed. Juana María de Vega, 5 vols (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1851-52).

García de la Cuesta, Gregorio, *Manifiesto que presenta á la Europa el Capitan General de los Reales Egércitos Don Gregorio García de la Cuesta, sobre sus operaciones militares y políticas desde el mes de Junio de 1808 hasta el dia 12 de Agosto de 1809 en que dejó el mando del ejército de Estremadura,* 2nd edn (Palma de Mallorca: Miguel Domingo, 1811).

García Vicente, Tomás, *Documentos relativos a las operaciones de la Legion de Honor de Castilla, que mandaba en 1808 y 10 el Brigadier Don Tomás García Vicente, que la creó. Por el mismo Brigadier* (Madrid: Imprenta de la calle de las Fuentes, 1843 [Cadiz: Imprenta de D. Diego García Campoy, Plazuela de Orta, 1813]).

García-Marín, Fernando, *Memorias para la historia militar de la guerra de la revolución española, que tuvo principio en el año de 1808, y finalizó en el de 1814. Resumen histórico y exâcto de los principals sucesos del inmortal segundo sitio de Zaragoza, y de otros acontecimientos memorables de Aragon durante la misma guerra* (Madrid: Miguel de Burgos, 1817).

Garciny, Ignacio, *Quadro de la España, desde el reynado de Carlos IV. Memoria de la persecución que ha padecido el Coronel Don Ignacio Garciny, Intendente del exercito y reyno de Aragon, del de Navarra, y provincia de Guipuzcoa, Corregidor de la Ciudad de Zaragoza, actual Ministro del Consejo Real de las Ordenes. Parte Primera, desde dicho Reynado hasta la instalación de las Cortes* (Valencia: Benito Monfort, 1811).

González Peynado, Francisco, *Manifiesto que hace a la nación el brigadier D. Francisco González Peynado, benemerito a la Patria en grado heroico y eminente, segun real decreto de 9 de marzo de 1809, y diputado en Cortes por el reyno de Jaen. Por el qual hace ver la conducta que ha observado desde el principio de nuestra gloriosa revolución, y particularmente desde que entrò á servir su encargo en el Supremo Congreso Nacional desde el dia de su memorable instalacion; descubriendo el origen de los procedimientos con que se ha atacado la inviolabilidad de su caracter, y comprometido su honor y su opinion pública* (Cadiz: Vicente Lema, 1811).

Miranda, José de, *Diario de la defensa y evacuación del castillo de la villa de Alba de Tórmes en el mes de noviembre del año de 1812* (s.l.:,s.n. [1818]).

Moretti y Cascone, Federico, *Contestación del Brigadier Don Federico Moretti y Cascone, (en la parte que le toca) al Manifiesto del Teniente General D. Juan Carrafa* (Cadiz: Guerrero, 1812).

Cueva Alburquerque, José María de la, *Manifiesto del Duque de Alburquerque, acerca de su conducta con la Junta de Cadiz, y arribo del exército de su cargo a aquella plaza* (London: R. Juigné, 1810).

Palafox, Luis R. de, *Exposición de la Conducta Militar y Patriótica del Teniente General Marques de Lazan, y de las causas de su permanencia en Cádiz* (Cadiz: Viuda de Comes, 1811).

Picado Franco, Lino Matías, *Memorias sobre la Reconquista de Zaragoza, conservación de la plaza, y rendición de su castillo por las tropas españolas en julio de 1813. Donde se evidencia lo mucho que se equivocó el autor de la comedia titulada: Zaragoza reconquistada por Don Francisco Espoz y Mina: como también otros autores que han dado toda la gloria á este General* (Madrid: Repullés, 1815).

Portocarrero, Eugenio Eulalio, *Contestacion del General Marques de Campo-verde á varios puntos injuriosos á su persona, contenidos en el papel que con el título de la vindicta de su honor, presentó á la nacion española el General D. Pedro Sarsfield* (Valencia: Benito Monfort, 1814).

Santisteban, Rafael, *Manifiesto del Brigadier Don Rafael Santisteban, comandante de la 2ª seccion de caballería, sobre los sucesos ocurridos en el dia 21 de julio del presente año, en la accion de Castalla, mandada por el Mariscal de Campo Don José O'Donell, General en Xefe interino de los exércitos 2º y 3º* (Alicante: Nicolas Carratalá é hijos, 1812).

Senén de Contreras, Juan, *Sitio de Tarragona, lo que pasó entre los franceses el general Contreras que la defendió, sus observaciones sobre la Francia, y noticia del nuevo modo de defender las plazas* (Madrid: Ibarra, 1813),

Serrano Valdenebro, José, *Manifiesto de los Servicios hechos a la Patria por el Gefe de Esquadra Don José Serrano Valdenebro, desde el movimiento de la nación á la justa defensa contra la invasión que nos tiraniza, hasta su remoción del mando de la Sierra Meridional acordada por la Regencia en 2 de julio de 1811, lo presenta a las Cortes del Reyno* (Algeciras: Juan Bautista Contilló y Conti, s.d.).

Toledo, Pedro Alcántara de, *Manifiesto de las operaciones del exercito del centro desde el dia 3 de diciembre de 1808 hasta el 17 de febrero de 1809* (Seville: s.n., 1809).

Van Halen y Sartí, Juan, *Restauración de las Plazas de Lérida, Mequinenza y Castillo de Monzón por medio de una estratagema: Ocupación de estas por una de las divisiones del primer exército español en los dias 13, 14 y 16 de Febrero del año de 1814* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1814).

Venegas, Francisco Xavier, *Contestación al Manifiesto del Excmo. Sr. Duque del Infantado, dada por D. Francisco Xavier Venegas, en la parte que tiene relación con su conducta* (Cadiz: s.n., 1810)

Villava, Luis de, *Zaragoza en su segundo sitio, con nuevas notas y un apéndice. Por el Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Ejércitos Don Luis de Villava* (Palma de Mallorca: Brusi, 1811).

ii. POSTHUMOUS MEMOIRS

Alcalá Galiano, Antonio, *Recuerdos de un Anciano, por el excmo. Señor D. Antonio Alcalá Galiano* (Madrid: Luis Navarro, 1878).

Copons, Navia y Asprer, Francisco (ed.), *Memorias de los años de 1814 y 1820 al 24, escritas por el Teniente general Excmo. Señor Don Francisco de Copons y Navia, Conde de Tarifa, Caballero gran Cruz de la Real y distinguida Orden española de Carlos III, y de la militar de San Fernando y San Hermenegildo. Las publica y las intrega á la historia su hijo Don Francisco de Copons, Navia y Asprer, Coronel del arma de Caballeria* (Madrid: Atlas, 1858).

Sevilla, Rafael de, *Memorias de un militar,* ed. J. R. Díaz Valdepares (Caracas and Maracaibo: Empresa Washington, 1903).

Sevilla, Rafael de, *Memorias de un militar, sacadas de un libro inédito y arregladas por Don José Pérez Moris,* ed. José Pérez Moris (Puerto Rico: Nueva Imprenta del Boletín, 1877).

V., D. J. (ed.), *Historia verdadera del Sargento Francisco Mayoral, natural de Salamanca, fingido Cardenal de Borbon en Francia. Escrita por él mismo y dada á luz por D. J. V.* (Londres: Wotd, 1846).

TRANSLATIONS OF MEMOIRS

Anon (tr.), *War of the French in Spain, during the Reign of the Emperor Napoleon, by M. de Rocca, Knight of the Legion of Honour, to which is prefixed, a short biographical notice of the Author. Second American edition, translated from the second Paris edition* (Philadelphia: J. Dobson, 1823).

Anon. (tr.), *Diario histórico de los sitios de Zaragoza, por J. Daudevard de Ferussac, vertido al español por F. J. J.* (Zaragoza: Librería de Cecilio Gasca, 1908).

Anon. (tr.), *Memoires du Duhemse, de Vaughan, de D. Maria Ric, et de Contreras*, ser. *Collection complémentaire des mémoires relatifs à la révolution française* (Paris: G.-L. Michaud, 1823).

Anon. (tr.), *Memorias del Mariscal Suchet, Duque de Albufera, sobre sus campañas en España, desde el año 1808 hasta el de 1814, escritas por él mismo, traducidas en español, con el mas particular esmero* (Paris: Bossange, 1829).

Anon. (tr.), *Memorias sobre la guerra de los franceses en España, escritas en francés por Mr. Rocca, oficial de Úsares, y Caballero de la Cruz de la Legion de Honor, y traducidas por el Sargento Mayor de infantería, y primer Ayudante del Regimiento de Burgos 21 de linea D. A. A.* (Madrid: Imprenta que fué de García, 1816).

Anon. (tr.), *O Subalterno. Traduzido do inglez* (Liverpool: F. B. Wright, 1830).

Butler, Arthur John (tr.), *The Memoirs of Baron de Marbot, late lieutenant-general in the French army, translated from the French by Arthur John Butler, late fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in two volumes with portrait and maps,* 2 vols (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1892).

Butler, Arthur John (tr.), *The Memoirs of Baron de Marbot, late lieutenant-general in the French Army, translated from the French by Arthur John Butler, late fellow of Trinity*

College, Cambridge, with portrait, 4th edn (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1893).

Butler, Arthur John (tr.), *The Memoirs of Baron Thiébault (late Lieutenant General in the French Army), translated and condensed by Arthur John Butler, translator of Mémoires du Général Marbot*, 2 vols (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1896).

Canga Argüelles, José (tr.), *Observaciones sobre la Historia de la Guerra de España, que escribieron los Señores Clarke, Southey, Londonderry y Napier, publicadas en Londres el año de 1829 por Don José Canga Argüelles, Ministro jubilado del Consejo supremo de las Indias, &c, y reimpresas en virtud de permiso de S. M.,* 3 vols (Madrid: D. M. de Burgos, 1833-6).

Carey, M. (tr.), *The Narrative of Captain Coignet, soldier of the Empire 1776-1850, edited from the original manuscript by Lorédan Larchey and translated from the French by Mrs M. Carey, with one hundred illustrations* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1897).

Cohen, Jean (tr.), *Relation d'un voyage forcé en Espagne et en France dans les années 1810 à 1814 par le Général-Major Lord Blayney, prisonnier de guerre,* 2 vols (Paris: Bertrand, 1815).

Douglas, Robert B. (tr.), *From Valmy to Waterloo: Extracts from the Diary of Captain Charles Francois, a Soldier of the Revolution and Empire, with a preface by Jules Claretie of the French Academy* (London: Everett, 1906).

Galiay, Francisco, and Francisco Rodrigues Landeyra (trs), *Versión y crítica de la Relación del sitio de Zaragoza del Teniente general barón de Rogniat* (Zaragoza: Mariano Escar, 1908).

Gosselin, Charles (tr.), *Journaux des sièges entrepris par les alliés en Espagne, pendant les années 1811 et 1812; suivis de deux discours sur l'organisation des armées anglaises, et sur les moyens de la perfectionner; avec notes; par M. John T. Jones, Lieutenant-Colonel des Ingénieurs Royaux* (Paris: Anselin et Pochard, 1821).

Gosselin, Charles (tr.), *Mémoire sur les lignes de Torrès Védras élevées pour couvrir Lisbonne en 1810, faisant suite aux journaux des sièges entrepris par les alliés en Espagne* (Paris: Anselin, 1832).

Guiard, Charles (tr.), *De Saint-Sébastien a Bayonne : journal de campagne d'un officier subalterne de l'armée de Wellington, 1813-1814* (Bayonne: Lamaignière, 1884).

Méras, E. Jules (tr.), *Recollections of an officer of Napoleon's army, by Captain Elzéar Blaze, translated from the French* (New York: Sturgis and Walton, 1911).

Méras, E. Jules (tr.), *Recollections of Leonard, Hairdresser to Queen Marie-Antoinette* (New York: Sturgis and Walton, 1909).

Mercer, John C., *Surgical Memoirs of the Campaigns of Russia, Germany, and France, by Baron D. J. Larrey, surgeon-in-chief of the hospital of the royal guard, ex-inspector general of the military medical staff, ex-prime surgeon of the Grand Army in Russia, Saxony, etc, translated from the French by John C. Mercer, of Virginia, Student of Medicine* (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1832).

Ruiz, Angel Salcedo de (tr.), *La guerra de la independencia contada por un oficial francés: Memorias de M. de Rocca (el segundo mario de Mme. de Staël) nuevamente traducidas al castellano, arregladas y anotadas por Don Angel Salcedo Ruiz, auditor de Brigada del Cuerpo Jurídico militar* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Revista de Archivos, 1908).

Salcedo Ruiz, Angel (tr.), *La guerra de la independencia contada por un oficial francés: Memorias de M. de Rocca (el segundo mario de Mme. de Staël) nuevamente traducidas al castellano, arregladas y anotadas por Don Angel Salcedo Ruiz, auditor de Brigada del Cuerpo Jurídico militar* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Revista de Archivos, 1908).

Savine, Albert (tr.), *L'Espagne en 1810 - souvenirs d'un prisonnier de guerre anglais, d'après les documents d'archives et les mémoires* (Paris: Michaud, 1909).

Senén de Contreras, Juan (tr.), *Rapport du siège de Tarragone, de l'assaut et de la prise de cette place, par les Français au mois de juin, 1811* (London: Henry Hay, 1813).

Senén de Contreras, Juan (tr.), *Relation of the siege of Tarragona and the storming and capture of that city by the French in June, 1811* (London: J. Booth, 1813).

Sharp, Granville (ed.), *L'Aide de Camp Marbot: Selections from the Mémoires du Général Baron de Marbot, edited with notes, by Granville Sharp, M.A., late assistant master at Marlborough College* (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co.., 1897).

Simeon, Stephen Louis (tr.), *Recollections of Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum,* ed. Camille Rousset, 2 vols (London: R. Bentley and Son, 1892).

Viollet, A. (tr.), *Histoire de la guerre d'Espagne et de Portugal, pendant les années 1807 à 1813; plus la campagne de 1814 dans le midi de la France, par le colonel sir John Jones,* ed. Alphonse de Beauchamp, 2 vols (Paris: Mathiot, 1819).

Waller, John Augustine (tr.), *Memoirs of Military Surgery, by D. J. Larrey […] abridged and translated from the French by John Waller, surgeon of the Royal Navy, in two parts,* 2 vols (London: E. Cox and Son; Edinburgh: A. Black, 1815).

Willmott Hall, Richard (tr.), *Memoirs of Military Surgery, and Campaigns of the French Armies […] from the French of D. J. Larrey, M.D.* (Baltimore: Joseph Cushing, 1814).

FICTIONAL & GHOST-WRITTEN MEMOIRS

Anon, *Vicissitudes in the life of a Scottish soldier* (London: Henry Colburn, 1827).

Conan Doyle, Arthur, *The Exploits of Brigadier Gerard* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1991).

Maginn, Daniel, *Tales of military life, by the author of 'The military sketch-book'* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829).

Maginn, Daniel, *The Military Sketch-book: Reminiscences of seventeen years in the service abroad and at home* (London: Henry Colburn, 1827).

Pina y Ferrer, Victorio, *Memorias de un Patriota: Levantamiento de Zaragoza: Paginas de 1808, por Victorio Pina y Ferrer, oficial del archivo y biblioteca del Ilustre Colegio de Abogados de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: C. Ariño, 1889).

Roberts, David, *The military adventures of Johnny Newcome, with an account of his Campaign on the Peninsula, and in Pall Mall: with sketches, by Rowlandson, and notes; by an officer*, 2nd edn (London: Patrick Martin, 1816).

Wood, George, *The Rambles of Redbury Rook: or, a caution to his own species how they embrace the profession of arms* (London: s.n., 1826).

REFERENCE WORKS

Beauvais, Charles-Théodore, and Jacques Philippe Voïart (eds), *Victoires, conquêtes, désastres, revers et guerres civiles des Français, de 1792 à 1815, par une société de militaires et de gens de lettres* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1821), vol. 25, appendix 'Tables du Temple de la Gloire'.

Bertie, David M. (ed.), *Scottish Episcopal Clergy, 1689-2000* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 2000), p. 270.

Bibliografía de la Guerra de la Independencia (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2008).

Bigmore, Edward C., and Charles W. H. Wyman (eds), *A Bibliography of Printing*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014 [1880-1886]).

Bromley, Janet, *Wellington's Men Remembered: a register of memorials to soldiers who served in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo 1808-1815,* 2 vols (Havertown: Pen and Sword, 2012), vol. 1.

Brown, Philip A., *London Publishers and Printers, c. 1800-1870* (London: The British Library, 1982).

Burke, John, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland,* 4 vols (London: Henry Colburn, 1836).

Burke, John, and John Bernard Burke, *A General Armory of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: Edward Churton, 1842).

Burnham, Robert, 'Appendix: British Memoirs of the Napoleonic Wars', in R. Muir et al., *Inside Wellington's Peninsular Army 1808-1814* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Military, 2006).

Catalogue des Livres de Fonds – Librairie Auguste Picard et Fils, 82 Rue Bonaparte, Paris (Paris: Picard, 1913).

Crowdy, Terry E., *Incomparable: Napoleon's 9th Light Infantry Regiment* (Oxford: Osprey, 2012).

Curwen, Henry, *A History of Booksellers, the Old and the New* (Bristol and Tokyo: Thoemmes Press and Kinokuniya Company, 1996 [1873]).

Fierro, Alfred, André Palluel-Guillard and Jean Tulard (eds), *Histoire et Dictionnaire du Consulat et de l'Empire* (Paris: Laffont, 1995).

Low, Sampson (ed.), *The English Catalogue of Books, January 1835 to December 1900,* 6 vols (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1976).

Myers, Robin (ed.), *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, 1554-1920* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1985).

Oman, Charles, 'Appendix III. Bibliographies of English Diaries, Journals and Memoirs of the Peninsular War', *Wellington's Army, 1809-1814* (London: Edward Arnold, 1913), pp. 375-383.

Peddie, Robert Alexander, and Quintin Waddington (eds), *The English Catalogue of Books (including the original 'London' catalogue) giving in one alphabet, under author, title and subject, the size, price, month and year of publication, and publisher of books issued in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1801-1836* (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1963).

Pollock, Arthur William Alsager, 'Historical Record of the Services of the Ninety-Fourth Regiment', *Colburn's United Service Magazine, and Naval and Military Journal,* part 3 (1868), pp. 243-257.

Summerville, Christopher, *Who was Who at Waterloo: A Biography of the Battle* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2013).

Tulard, Jean, *Bibliographie critique des mémoires sur le Consulat et l'Empire* (Geneva: Droz, 1971).

Tulard, Jean, *Nouvelle Bibliographie Critique des Mémoires sur l'époque napoléonienne, écrits ou traduits en français* (Geneva: Droz, 1991).

SECONDARY LITERATURE

Adorno, Rolena, 'History, law, and the eyewitness: protocols of authority in Bernal Díaz del Castillo's Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España', in Elizabeth Fowler and Roland Greene (eds), *The project of prose in early modern Europe and the New World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 154-175.

Afflerbach, Holger, and Hew Strachan (eds), *How Fighting Ends: A History of Surrender,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Alexander, R. S., 'The Hero as Houdini: Napoleon and 19th-century Bonapartism', *Modern & Contemporary France* 8, 4 (2000), pp. 457-467.

Alker, Sharon, 'The Soldierly Imagination: Narrating Fear in Defoe's Memoirs of a Cavalier', *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 19, 1-2 (Fall, 2006), pp. 43-68.

Álvarez Junco, José and Adrian Shubert (eds), *Spanish History since 1808* (London: Arnold, 2000).

Álvarez Junco, José, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2011).

Anderson, Olive, 'The Political Uses of History in Mid Nineteenth-Century England', *Past & Present* 36 (Apr., 1967), pp. 87-105.

Andújar Castillo, Francisco, *El sonido del dinero: Monarquía, ejército y venalidad en la España del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2004).

Arielli, Nir, and Bruce Collins, 'Transnational military service since the eighteenth century', in Arielli and Collins (eds), *Transnational Soldiers: Foreign Military Enlistment in the Modern Era* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 1-14.

Arnold, Eric A., 'Some observations on the French opposition to Napoleonic conscription, 1804-1806', *French Historical Studies* 4, 4 (1966), pp. 452-462.

Audoin-Rouzeau, Stephane, 'French Children as Target for Propaganda', in Hugh Cecil and Peter H. Liddle (eds), *Facing Armageddon: The First World War Experience* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Select, 2003), pp. 767-779.

Baggerman, Arianne, Rudolf Dekker and Michael Mascuch (eds), *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self: Developments in Autobiographical Writing since the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

Baldwin, Peter, *The Copyright Wars: Three Centuries of Trans-Atlantic Battle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

Barczewski, Stephanie L., *Myth and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Britain: The Legends of King Arthur and Robin Hood* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Battesti-Pelegrin, Jeanne, 'Nommer l'innommable: à propos de la rhétorique des "proclamas" populaires pendant la Guerre d'Indépendance', *Les Espagnols et Napoleon: Actes du Colloque International d'Aix-en-Provence 13, 14, 15 Octobre 1983* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1983), pp. 205-228.

Bell, Bill, 'Authors in an Industrial Economy: The Case of John Murray's Travel Writers', *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780-1840* 21 (Winter, 2013) (http://www.romtext.org.uk/articles/rt21_n01, accessed 12 Nov. 2015).

Bell, Bill, 'Review: Victorian Paratexts', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 27, 1 (1999), pp. 327-335.

Bell, David A., *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800* (Cambridge, M.A. and London: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Berenson, Edward, *Heroes of Empire: Five Charismatic Men and the Conquest of Africa* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2011).

Bertaud, Jean-Paul, 'La place de l'officier dans le régime napoléonien', in Paul Viallaneix and Jean Ehrard (eds), *La bataille, l'armée, la gloire, 1745-1871: Actes du colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand*, 2 vols (Clermont-Ferrand: Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 221-230.

Bevan, Iain, 'John Murray, Richard Griffin and Oliver & Boyd: some supplementary observations', in John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (eds), *Printing Places: Locations of Book Production and Distribution since 1500* (London: The British Library, 2005), pp. 147-151.

Botrel, Jean-François, 'L'aptitude à communiquer: alphabétisation et scolarisation en Espagne de 1860 à 1920', in *De l'alphabétisation aux circuits du livre en Espagne, XVIe-XIXe siècles* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1987), pp. 105-140.

Botrel, Jean-François, *La diffusion du livre en Espagne (1868-1914)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1988).

Bourke, Joanna, 'Introduction "Remembering" War', *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, 4, Special Issue: Collective Memory (Oct., 2004), pp. 473-485.

Bourke, Joanna, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face to Face Killing in 20th Century Warfare* (London: Basic Books, 1999).

Bourke, Joanna, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London, Reaktion Books, 1996).

Bourke, Joanna, *Fear: A Cultural History* (London: Virago Press, 2006 [2005]).

Bourke, Joanna, *Wounding the World: How Military Violence and War-Play Invade Our Lives* (London: Virago, 2014).

Bouvier, Paul, '"Yo lo vi." Goya witnessing the disasters of war: an appeal to the sentiment of humanity', *International Review of the Red Cross* 93, 884 (Dec. 2011), pp. 1107-1133.

Bowen, Wayne H., and José E. Alvarez (eds), *A Military History of Modern Spain from the Napoleonic Era to the International War on Terror* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger Security International, 2007).

Boyd, Kelly, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

Bravo Lledó, Pilar, 'El Depósito de la Guerra. Documentación en el Archivo Histórico Nacional', *Revista de Historia Militar* 115 (2004), pp. 11-53.

Brown, Philip A., *London Publishers and Printers, c. 1800-1870* (London: The British Library, 1982).

Brubaker, Rogers, and Frederick Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', *Theory and Society* 29, 1 (Feb., 2000), pp. 1-47.

Bubb, Alexander, 'The Life of the Irish Soldier in India: Representations and Self-Representations, 1857-1922', *Modern Asian Studies* 46, 4 (Jul., 2012), pp. 769-813.

Burdiel, Isabel, and Roy Foster (eds), *La historia biográfica en Europa: Nuevas perspectivas* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2015).

Butrón Prida, Gonzalo, and José Saldaña Fernández, 'La historiografía reciente de la Guerra de la Independencia: Reflexiones ante el Bicentenario', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 38, 1 (2008), pp. 1-27.

Calvo Maturana, Antonio, *Cuando manden los que obedecen: la clase política e intelectual de la España preliberal (1780-1808)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2013).

Campos Matos, Sérgio, 'Portugal: the Nineteenth-Century Debate on the Formation of the Nation', *Portuguese Studies* 13 (1997), pp. 66-94.

Canales, Esteban, 'Militares y civiles en la conducción de la Guerra de la Independencia: la visión de Francisco Javier Cabanes', in José Antonio Armillas Vicente (ed.), *La Guerra de la Independencia. Estudios,* 2 vols (Zaragoza: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2001), vol. 2, pp. 955-988.

Casas Delgado, Inmaculada, *Romances con Acento Andaluz: el éxito de la prensa popular (1750-1850)* (Seville: Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 2012).

Chartier, Roger, and Henri-Jean Martin (eds), *Histoire de l'Edition Française,* 4 vols (Paris: Promodis, 1984).

Chevalier, Maxime, '"Don Quichotte" et son public', in Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz (ed.), *Livre et Lecture en Espagne et en France sous l'ancien régime – colloque de la Casa de Velasquez* (Paris: Editions A.D.P.F., 1981), pp. 119-123.

Chouliaraki, Lilie, 'From war memoirs to milblogs: Language change in the witnessing of war, 1914-2014', *Discourse & Society* 25, 5 (2014), pp. 600-618.

Cohen, Deborah, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2001).

Cole, Sarah, 'Enchantment, Disenchantment, War, Literature', *PMLA* 124, 5 (Oct., 2009), pp. 1632-1647.

Colley, Linda, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).

Connelly, Owen, *The Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon, 1792-1815* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006).

Cookson, J. E., 'The Napoleonic Wars, Military Scotland and Tory Highlandism in the Early Nineteenth Century,' *The Scottish Historical Review* 78, 205, part 1 (Apr., 1999), pp. 60-75.

Couto, Jorge (ed.), *Guerra Peninsular 200 anos* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2007).

Daly, Gavin, 'A dirty, indolent, priest-ridden city: British soldiers in Lisbon during the Peninsular War, 1808-1813', *History* 94, 316 (Oct., 2009), pp. 461-482.

Daly, Gavin, *The British Soldier in the Peninsular War: Encounters with Spain and Portugal, 1808-1814* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Dawes, Kathryn L., 'Anonymity and the Pressures of Publication in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* 4 (May, 2000) (http://www.romtext.org.uk/articles/cc04_n03/, accessed 12 Nov. 2015).

Demoor, Marysa (ed.), *Marketing the Author: Authorial Personae, Narrative Selves and Self-Fashioning, 1880-1930* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

Divall, Carole, *Napoleonic Lives: Researching the British Soldiers of the Napoleonic Wars* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2012).

Domergue, Lucienne, 'Les livres importés en Galice au XVIII[e] siècle', in *De l'alphabétisation aux circuits du livre en Espagne, XVIe-XIXe siècles* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1987), pp. 433-446.

Durán de Porras, Elías, 'La ayuda inglesa en el levante español durante la Guerra de la Independencia: el papel del cónsul británico P. C. Tupper', *Revista de Historia Militar* 56, 112 (2012), pp. 197-228.

Durán López, Fernando, 'Fuentes autobiográficos españolas para el estudio de la Guerra de la Independencia', in Francisco Miranda Rubio (ed.), *Fuentes Documentales para el Estudio de la Guerra de la Independencia* (Pamplona: Ediciones Eunate, 2003), pp. 47-120.

Durán López, Fernando, 'La autobiografía como fuente histórica: problemas teóricos y metodológicos', *Memoria y Civilización* 5 (2002), pp. 152-187.

Dworkin, Anthony, 'The Laws of War in the Age of Asymmetric Conflict', in George Kassimeris (ed.), *The Barbarization of Warfare* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), pp. 220-237.

Dwyer, Philip (ed.), *War Stories: The War Memoir in History and Literature* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2017).

Dwyer, Philip G., '"It Still Makes Me Shudder" Memories of Massacres and Atrocities during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', *War in History* 16, 4 (2009), pp. 381-405.

Dwyer, Philip G., 'Public Remembering, Private Reminiscing: French Military Memoirs and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', *French Historical Studies* 33, 2 (2010), pp. 232-258.

Dwyer, Philip, 'Napoleon Bonaparte as hero and savior: image, rhetoric and behavior in the construction of a legend,' *French History* 18, 4 (2004), pp. 379-403.

Dwyer, Philip, 'War Stories: French Veteran Narratives and the "Experience of War" in the Nineteenth Century', *European History Quarterly* 41, 4 (2011), pp. 561-585.

Englund, Steven, 'Monstre Sacré: The Question of Cultural Imperialism and the Napoleonic Empire', *The Historical Journal* 51, 1 (Mar., 2008), pp. 215-250.

Esdaile, Charles, '"Par delà les monts et dans le lointain": l'armée britannique dans la péninsule ibérique (1808-1814)', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 336 (Apr.-Jun., 2004), pp. 53-70.

Esdaile, Charles, 'War and Politics in Spain, 1808-1814', *The Historical Journal* 31, 2 (Jun., 1988), pp. 295-317.

Esdaile, Charles, *Peninsular Eyewitnesses: the Experience of War in Spain and Portugal 1808-1813* (Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen and Sword Military, 2008).

Esdaile, Charles, *The Peninsular War: A New History* (London: Penguin, 2003).

Esdaile, Charles, *The Spanish Army in the Peninsular War* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1988).

Ferguson, Christopher, 'Autobiography as a Micrometer for Empire: How a Nineteenth-Century English Tailor was – and was not – an Absent-Minded Imperialist', *History* 100, 339 (2015), pp. 58-84.

Fernández, James D., *Apology to Apostrophe: Autobiography and the Rhetoric of Self-Representation in Spain* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992).

Finkelstein, David and Alistair McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History*, 2nd edn (London and New York: Routledge, 2013 [2005]).

Finkelstein, David, 'Unraveling Speke: The Unknown Revision of an African Exploration Classic', *History in Africa* 30 (2003), pp. 117-132.

Flitter, Derek, *Spanish Romanticism and the Uses of History: Ideology and the Historical Imagination* (London: Legenda, 2006).

Folger, Robert, *Writing as Poaching: Interpellation and Self-Fashioning in Colonial relaciones de méritos y servicios* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011).

Ford, Caroline C., 'Which Nation? Language, identity and republican politics in post-revolutionary France', *History of European Ideas* 17, 1 (1993), pp. 31-46.

Forrest, Alan, 'Honourable Villains: Veterans of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', *Mittelweg 36* 24, 5 (2015), pp. 32-45.

Forrest, Alan, Étienne François, and Karen Hagemann (eds), *War Memories: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in Modern European Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Forrest, Alan, Karen Hagemann, and Jane Rendall (eds), *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790-1820* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Forrest, Alan, *Napoleon's Men: The Soldiers of the Revolution and Empire* (London and New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2002).

Fraser, Ronald, *Napoleon's Cursed War: Popular Resistance in the Spanish Peninsular War* (London: Verso, 2008).

Gamsa, Mark, 'Cultural translation and the transnational circulation of books', *Journal of World History* 22, 3 (Sept., 2011), pp. 553-575.

Gertosio Páez, Alberto, 'Los abogados en el Chile indiano a la luz de las "relaciones de méritos y servicios"', *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos* 27 (2005), pp. 233-250.

Gil Novales, Alberto, 'Antes de Clausewitz: La ilustración de Juan Sanchez Cisneros y la ciencia militar de Juan Romero Alpuente', *LLULL* 5 (1983), pp. 17-26.

Goldstrom, J. M., *The Social Content of Education 1808-1870: A Study of the Working Class School Reader in England and Ireland* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972).

Goytisolo, Luis, *El porvenir de la palabra* (Madrid: Taurus, 2002).

Grab, Alexander, 'Army, state and society: conscription and desertion in Napoleonic Italy (1802-1814)', *The Journal of Modern History* 67, 1 (Mar., 1995), pp. 25-54.

Gray, Robbie, 'Self-made Men, Self-narrated Lives: Male Autobiographical Writing and the Victorian Middle Class', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 6, 2 (2001), pp. 288-312.

Griffin, Robert J. (ed.), *The Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

Guzmán Pérez, Moisés (ed.), *Impresores y Editores de la Independencia en Mexico: Diccionario* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 2010), pp. 35-37.

Hanley, Lynne, *Writing War: Fiction, Gender, and Memory* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991).

Harari, Yuval Noah, 'Armchairs, Coffee, and Authority: Eye-witnesses and Flesh-witnesses Speak about War, 1100-2000', *The Journal of Military History* 74 (Jan. 2010), pp. 53-78.

Harari, Yuval Noah, 'Military Memoirs: A Historical Overview of the Genre from the Middle Ages to the Late Modern Era', *War in History* 14, 3 (2007), pp. 289-309.

Harari, Yuval Noah, 'Scholars, Eyewitnesses, and Flesh-Witnesses of War: A Tense Relationship', *Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas* 7, 2 (Jun. 2009), pp. 213-228.

Hazareesingh, Sudhir, 'Napoleonic Memory in Nineteenth-Century France: The Making of a Liberal Legend,' *MLN* 120, 4 (Sept., 2005), pp. 747-773.

Heberlein, Regine I., *Writing a National Colony: The Hostility of Inscription in the German Settlement of Lake Llanquihue* (Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2008).

Hewitson, Mark, '"I Witnesses": Soldiers, Selfhood and Testimony in Modern Wars', *German History* 28, 3 (2010), pp. 310-325.

Hippler, Thomas, 'Les soldats allemands dans l'armée napoléonienne d'après leurs autobiographies: micro-républicanisme et décivilisation', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 348 (2007), pp. 117-130.

Hopkin, David M., '*La Ramée,* the archetypal soldier, as an indicator of popular attitudes to the army in nineteenth-century France', *French History* 14, 2 (2000), pp. 115-149.

Hopkin, David M., 'Storytelling, fairytales and autobiography: some observations on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French soldiers' and sailors' memoirs', *Social History* 29, 2 (2004), pp. 186-199.

Hughes, Michael J., *Forging Napoleon's Grande Armée: Motivation, Military Culture and Masculinity in the French Army, 1800-1808* (New York: New York University Press, 2012).

Hurl-Eamon, Jennine, 'Youth in the Devil's Service, Manhood in the King's: Reaching Adulthood in the Eighteenth-Century British Army', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 8, 2 (Spring, 2015), pp. 163-190.

Hynes, Samuel, *The Soldiers' Tale: Bearing Witness to Modern War* (New York: Penguin, 1997).

Iglesias Rogers, Graciela, *British liberators in the age of Napoleon: volunteering under the Spanish flag in the Peninsular War* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

Isaac, Peter, 'John Murray II and Oliver & Boyd, his Edinburgh agents, 1819-1835', in John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (eds), *Printing Places: Locations of Book Production and Distribution since 1500* (New Castle and London: Oak Knoll Press and The British Library, 2005), pp. 131-146.

Ivins, Jr., William M., 'Goya's Disasters of War', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin,* 19, 9 (Sept., 1924), pp. 220-224.

Jiménez Bartolomé, Ana María, '"Los otros combatientes" en la Guerra de la Independencia: el papel femenino', in Paulino Castañeda Delgada (ed.), *Las Guerras en el Primer Tercio del Siglo XIX en España y América,* 2 vols (Madrid: Deimos, 2005), vol. 2, pp. 347-364.

Kagan, Richard L., 'Clio and the crown: writing history in Habsburg Spain', in Richard L. Kagan and Geoffrey Parker (eds), *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic World: Essays in honour of John H. Elliott* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 73-99.

Kamen, Henry, *Imagining Spain: Historical Myth and National Identity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008).

Kennedy, Catriona, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Military and Civilian Experience in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Kleinreesink, L. H. E. and Joseph M. M. L. Soeters, 'Truth and (self) censorship in military memoirs', *Current Sociology* 64, 3 (2016), pp. 373-391.

Krüger, Christine G., and Sonja Levsen (eds), *War Volunteering in Modern Times* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Latané, Jr., D. A., 'The Two Dr. Maginns', *Notes & Queries* 48, 2 (2001), pp. 136-37.

Lenihan, Pádraig, and Geraldine Sheridan, 'A Swiss Soldier in Ireland, 1689-90', *Irish Studies Review* 13, 4 (2005), pp. 479-497.

Linch, Kevin, *Britain and Wellington's Army: Recruitment, Society and Tradition, 1807-15* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Lloyd, David W., *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998).

Lopez, François, '"Lisants" et lecteurs en Espagne au XVIIIe siècle: ébauche d'une problèmatique', in Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz (ed.), *Livre et Lecture en Espagne et en France sous l'ancien régime – colloque de la Casa de Velasquez* (Paris: Editions A.D.P.F., 1981), pp. 139-148.

Lorblanchès, Jean-Claude, *Soldats de Napoléon aux Amériques* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012).

Lynn, John A., *The Bayonets of the Republic: Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France, 1791-94* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

Lyons, Martyn, *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Lyons, Martyn, *Readers and Society in Nineteenth-Century France: Workers, Women, Peasants* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

Maestrojuán Catalán, Francisco Javier, *Ciudad de vasallos, Nación de héroes. Zaragoza: 1809-1814* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2003).

Mancing, Howard, *Cervantes' Don Quixote: A Reference Guide* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 2006).

Martin, Brian Joseph, *Napoleonic Friendship: Military Fraternity, Intimacy, and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century France* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2011).

Martínez Bara, José A., 'Fuentes para el estudio de la imprenta en el Archivo Histórico Nacional', *Cuadernos para Investigación de la Literatura Hispanica* 9 (1988), pp. 207-226.

Martínez Martín, Jesús A. (ed.), *Historia de la edición en España (1836-1936)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001).

Martínez Martín, Jesús A., *Lectura y lectores en el Madrid del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991).

Martínez, Miguel, *Front Lines: Soldiers' Writing in the Early Modern Hispanic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

Matilla, José Manuel, 'Estampas españolas de la Guerra de la Independencia: Propaganda, Conmemoración y Testimonio', *Cuadernos dieciochistas* 8 (2007), pp. 247-265.

Maynes, Mary Jo, *Taking the Hard Road: Life Course in French and German Workers' Autobiographies in the Era of Industrialisation* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

McCalman, Iain, et al. (eds), *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

McConachy, Bruce, 'The Roots of Artillery Doctrine: Napoleonic Artillery Tactics Reconsidered', *The Journal of Military History* 65 (Jul., 2001), pp. 617-640.

Miranda Rubio, Francisco (ed.), *Fuentes Documentales para el Estudio de la Guerra de la Independencia* (Pamplona: Ediciones Eunate, 2003).

Montroussier, Laurence, 'Français et Britanniques dans la Péninsule, 1808-1814: étude des mémoires français et britanniques', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 348 (Apr.-Jun., 2007), pp. 131-145.

Mosse, George L., *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

Murphy, Andrew, *Shakespeare for the People: Working-Class Readers, 1800-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Nadel, Ira Bruce, 'Apologize or Confess! The Dilemma of Victorian Autobiography', *Biography* 5, 3 (Summer, 1982), pp. 189-204.

Napier, William, *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the year 1807 to the year 1814, by W. F. P. Napier, C. B., Lt. Colonel H. P. Forty-Third Regimen*t, 6 vols (London: John Murray, 1828), vol. 1.

Pancier, F., 'Deux apothicaires de l'armée d'Espagne (1808-1813): Sébastien Blaze et le neveu de Parmentier', *Revue d'histoire de la pharmacie* 26, 103 (1938), pp. 355-362.

Parkes, Simon, 'Wooden Legs and Tales of Sorrow Done: The Literary Broken Soldier of the Late Eighteenth Century', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36, 2 (2013), pp. 191-207.

Petiteau, Natalie, 'Les Français face au temps de l'Empire', *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle* 25 (2002), pp. 29-41.

Petiteau, Natalie, *Guerriers du Premier Empire: expériences et mémoires* (Paris: Les Indes savantes, 2011).

Petiteau, Natalie, *Lendemains d'Empire: les soldats de Napoléon dans la France du XIXe siècle* (Paris: La Boutique de l'Histoire, 2003).

Petiteau, Natalie, *Napoléon, de la mythologie à l'histoire* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1999).

Pizarroso Quintero, Alejandro, 'Prensa y propaganda bélica 1808-1814', *Cuadernos dieciochistas* 8 (2007), pp. 203-222.

Ramsay, Neil, *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture, 1780-1835* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

Reder Gadow, Marion, and Pedro Luis Pérez Frías, 'Memorias de Guerra y Crónicas de Viajeros, dos visiones de la Guerra de la Independencia y de Andalucía', *Baetica: Estudios de Arte, Geografía e Historia* 32 (2010), pp. 419-448.

Richardson, John, 'Atrocity in Mid Eighteenth-Century Literature', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 33, 2 (Spring, 2009), pp. 92-114.

Richter, Noë, *La lecture et ses institutions: la lecture populaire, 1700-1918* (Bassac: Editions Plein Chant, 1987).

Rodríguez Morín, Felipe, 'La "Impía" Imprenta y Librería Mallorquina de Miguel Domingo (1810-1814)', *Cuadernos de Ilustración y Romanticismo* 19 (2013), pp. 365-390.

Roldán Vera, Eugenia, 'The History of the Book in Latin America (including Incas, Aztecs, and the Caribbean)', in Michael F. Suarez, S. J. and H. R. Woudhuysen (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to the Book,* 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), vol. 1, pp. 408-417.

Roldán Vera, Eugenia, *The British Book Trade and Spanish American Independence: Education and Knowledge Transmission in Transcontinental Perspective* (Aldershot, UK and Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2003).

Rose, Jonathan, 'Altick's Map: The New Historiography of the Common Reader', in Rosalind Crone and Shafquat Towheed (eds), *The History of Reading, Volume 3: Methods, Strategies, Tactics* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 15-26.

Rowe, Michael, 'France, Prussia, or Germany? The Napoleonic Wars and shifting allegiances in the Rhineland', *Central European History* 39, 4 (Dec., 2006), pp. 611-640.

Saglia, Diego, *Poetic Castles in Spain: British Romanticism and Figurations of Iberia* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000).

Sánchez Hita, Beatriz, 'Las empresas periodísticas del marqués de Villapanés: literatura y prensa absolutista en las Cortes de Cádiz', *El Argonauta español*, 9 (2012), (http://argonauta.revues.org/783, accessed 10 Apr. 2016)

Semmel, Stuart, *Napoleon and the British* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

Shaw, Philip, 'Abjection Sustained: Goya, the Chapman brothers and the *Disasters of War*', *Art History* 26, 4 (Sept., 2003), pp. 479-504.

Smith, Alan E., 'La recepción de la primera edición de Los desastres de la Guerra de Goya (marzo, 1863) en el Madrid del joven Galdós', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 86, 4 (2009), pp. 459-474.

St Clair, William, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Steedman, Carolyn, *An Everyday Life of the English Working Class: Work, Self and Sociability in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Thoral, Marie-Cécile, *From Valmy to Waterloo: France at War, 1792-1815* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Toler, Pamela D., 'Eyewitness to Horror', *MHQ: Quarterly Journal of Military History,* 29, 4 (Summer, 2017), pp. 86-88.

Torrance, Marie-Christiane, 'Some Russian Attitudes to France in the period of the Napoleonic Wars as revealed by Russian Memoirs (1807-14)', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 86C (1986), pp. 289-303.

Traugott, Mark (ed.), *The French Worker: Autobiographies from the Early Industrial Era* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1993).

Vega, Jesusa, 'The Dating and Interpretations of Goya's "Disasters of War"', *Print Quarterly* 11, 1 (Mar., 1994), pp. 3-17.

Viallaneix, Paul, and Jean Ehrard (eds), *La bataille, l'armée, la gloire, 1745-1871: Actes du colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand,* 2 vols (Clermont-Ferrand: Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, 1985), vol. 1.

Vigil de Quiñones y Alonso, Rogelio, 'El Mariscal del Campo Don José de Miranda y Cabezón, primer laureado del ejército español, defensor del Castillo de Alba de Tormes (Salamanca), en la Guerra de la Independencia (1812)', *Hidalguía: La Revista de Genealogia, Noblea y Armas* 21, 119 (Jul.-Aug., 1973), pp. 527-532.

Waller, Philip, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations: Literary Life in Britain 1870-1918* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Warner, William B., *Licensing Entertainment: the elevation of novel reading in Britain, 1684-1750* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1998).

Wheedon, Alexis, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market 1836-1816* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), ch. 1.

Wilfert-Portal, Blaise, 'La place de la littérature étrangère dans le champ littéraire français autour de 1900', *Histoire et mesure* 23, 2 (2008), pp. 69-100.

Woloch, Isser, *The French Veteran from the Revolution to the Restoration* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

Wright, Christine, *Wellington's Men in Australia: Peninsular War veterans and the making of Empire, c1820-40* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Zecher, Carla, Gordon M. Sayre, and Shannon Lee Dawdy, 'A French Soldier in Louisiana: The Memoir of Dumont de Montigny', *The French Review* 80, 6 (May, 2007), pp. 1265-1277.