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CONTENTS

MESSAGE FROM THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF.

Thank you for your patience as I develop my editorial skills. I hope to improve with every issue, as I continue in the footsteps of my predecessors in making quality research on the Napoleonic era accessible to a broader audience of scholars and amateurs alike.

This issue opens with Susan Conner's fascinating look at the cadaver trade in 18th-century and Napoleonic Paris and its impact on the professionalization of surgeons. Next David Robinson examines how national biases influenced coverage given by the British, French and Dutch newspapers of the 1799 Anglo-Russian invasion of Holland. Two papers examine the French "empire" and imperial policies beyond Europe during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras: Pouyan Tabasinejad examines Bonaparte's evolving discourse with Egyptians in light of cultural differences while Sheragim Jenabzadeh discusses the little studied roles of the Ottoman and Persian East in French geopolitical machinations. In her article on the Battle of Rivoli, geographer Edna Mueller demonstrates how modern, accessible technologies (like Google Earth) can give historians a greater understanding of the influence of terrain and climate on military history. Nicholas Stark analyzes the often-overlooked impact of the French Revolution in Ireland in his contribution on the attempts of the United Irishmen to foment revolution. In his article on Napoleonic diplomacy in Switzerland, Wayne Hanley examines the role of General Michel Ney's mission to avert a civil war in in that country during the crisis of 1802-03. Next two articles explore the ironies of the Peninsular War: Dennis Potts investigates the Convention of Cintra which despite initial British political frustration, the treaty set in motion a chain of events leading to Anglo-Iberian victory, and Maria Zozaya Montes's case study of two Spanish prisoners of war show that despite official vilification of the French by the Spanish, the treatment of the prisoners by French villagers resulted in mutual respect and life-long friendships. And finally, John Stanley traces the key role Marshal Poniatowski not only in the affairs of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and Polish hopes for an independent state, but also his indispensable role during the campaign of 1813.

Wayne Hanley, Editor-in-Chief

Napoleon's 1812 Russian Campaign in World History: A Retrospective View
In cooperation with the Institute of World History (Russian Academy of Science)
Russian State University for the Humanities, Association Dialogue Franco-Russe
State Borodino War and History Museum and Reserve
Moscow, Russian Federation 9-13 July 2012

Old World, New World: Momentous Events of 1812–1814
Toronto, Ontario, Canada 29 July–2 August 2013

Napoleon and Revolutions Around the World
Havana, Cuba
In association with *La Muséo Napoleonico* and the *Office of the Historian of the City of Havana* 7-11 July 2014

Endings and Beginnings: The World in 1815
Brussels, Belgium
In cooperation with Vesalius College, Vrije Universiteit Brussel 6-10 July 2015

Shades of 1916: Ireland in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe
Dublin, Ireland
In cooperation with the Government of Ireland, Trinity College Dublin and The Napoleon Society of Ireland
11-16 July 2016

Napoleon's Final Days
Jamestown, St Helena
In cooperation with Enterprise St. Helena and the French Consul to St. Helena July, 2017

Oslo, Norway
July, 2018

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Friends or Enemies? Deconstructing the Enemy: the Wooden Virgin

by María Zozaya Montes*

This paper will present an analysis of a part of the Peninsular war that has been little studied, that of the Spanish prisoners in France. We will see how the image that some military engineers had of the French people (as friends), which does not correspond to the official version (as enemies) normally accepted.

Historical Context, the Fontainebleau Treaty

According to the Treaty of Fontainebleau, signed in 1807, Spain and France agreed to invade Portugal, which was a key for the British trade with Europe. Thus, theoretically, Napoleon's Army entered Spain to occupy Portugal. Actually, what the French were doing was to silently invade their ally's country. The Spanish people and part of the army where not in the mood to accept this situation, and conspired to fight the French. Within this context the insurrection of Madrid in May 1808 took place. After Madrid´s defeat, in June 1808 a few Professors of the Royal Academy of Military Engineers at Alcalá de Henares went to Valencia and Saragossa to organise their defences[1]. Those engineers and their adventures when they were captives will be the centre of our research.

The popular and military insurrection took place at almost at the same time. What was the reason for the Spanish insurrection? Between October 1807 and May 1808 the French weakened the Spanish population. The Napoleonic army's system of living off the land depleted the provisions of the towns it passed through. Its troops often committed outrages when they got drunk or took advantage of the women of the areas they occupied. This situation was compounded by the rumours of the kidnapping in France of the rightful king, Ferdinand VII. José Bonaparte, who had been placed on the throne after the so-called "Bayonne Abdications," was seen as an intruder. For these reasons considerable ill will against the Napoleonic soldiers in 1808 and 1809 was generated among the Spanish population. In most parts of the

*I wish to thank to Odile Bouchut (CDN) for the information about Nancy´s Archives and its contents, to José María Portillo (UPV) for the information of "the myth" of Ferdinand VIII and to Juan Zozaya Stabell-Hansen for correcting the translation.

[1] This episode, and especially those of the prisoners, has been little studied. Mario Sala, *Obelisco histórico en honor de los heroicos defensores de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Fernando el Católico, 1908), 131-47.

Iberian Peninsula the vision of "the other," the Frenchman, soon became the incarnation of "the enemy." This opposition was strengthened as the war went on, which was also due to the religious campaigns against Napoleon as the Antichrist, with his image being compared to that of the devil in the company of the ambassador of evil such as Talleyrand.[2]

"The Wooden Virgin." The Difference between Spain and France in 1808

This image of "the other" is in my opinion summarised perfectly in the words of one of the military men who was in Zaragoza at the time. This was Baltasar Blaser, a treasury officer in June 1808,[3] who at that time was to be the father of the soldier Anselmo Bláser (the future War Minister in 1853-54). He held out during the whole of the first siege of the city of Zaragoza "with my weapons in my hand," as he would remember years later on requesting the corresponding military crosses before his superiors.[4] He was taken prisoner by the French, from whom he escaped once he was taken to France. Before that, the French interrogated him, and I consider his comments to be of great interest in demonstrating the gulf that existed between the Spanish and the French at the time.

He was interrogated about the treatment of the General in Chief, José de Palafox: "The enemy generals asked me various questions about the conduct of Your Excellency; they asked me how Your Excellency treated the French prisoners. I replied very well […]." Subjected to the court of ridicule, the French questioned the valour and patriotism of the Aragonese. Baltasar Blaser continued concerning the attacks on Palafox and his men: "they also asked me what that prize idiot was thinking of not to surrender under the Imperial Eagles, to which I replied saying that both General Palafox and the city of Saragossa would defend themselves down to their last drop of blood." At that point their religion was made fun of. On this subject Blaser declared that "the French gibed at him" that the Aragonese had "a lot of faith in the Virgin of el Pilar, which is made of a piece of wood," saying "that they would soon demolish her church and reduce the city of Saragossa to ashes" with their bombs, grenades, and cannons, "and that

[2] Presbítero Andaluz, *La bestia de siete cabezas y diez cuernos ó Napoleón Emperador de los franceses: exposición literal del capítulo XIII del Apocalipsis* (Málaga: Martínez, 1808), VII, VIII, 3. Charles Esdaile, *España contra Napoleón: Guerrillas, bandoleros y el mito del pueblo en armas* (1808-1814) (Barcelona: Edhasa, 2006), 147, 164. See also: Alexander Tchoudinov, "The patriotic war in the perception of the Russian People" and Vladislav Rjeoutski, Russo-French relations in the French diaspora in Russia, 1812", X Congress of the INS, RAS, Russia, Moscow, 9 July 2012.

[3] Archivo Municipal de Zaragoza [AMZ]: Box 08185; Signature 24-3/1-37; 24-3/8, 7rº; 1808-1821.

[4] AMZ: 24-3/8, 8rº; 19 September 1821.

the miracles of the virgin of wood would then be seen."[5]

I consider this last fragment, on the contrast between beliefs compared with the reality of technique through the metaphor of the virgin of wood, to be highly indicative of the unbridgeable distance between the Spanish and the French of the time. It reflects the difference between an unarmed people of fervent believers opposed to a nation in which the Enlightenment had triumphed, which also possessed military technique and preparation. The French made war with ammunition; the Spanish did not have much but were driven on by a strong religious sense and feeling of communal defence against the invader. This showed the contrast between traditional beliefs and the lay and scientific world of war technique and industrial development. That vision of "the other" as someone coming from another very different world to their traditional and religious one shaped images in the collective memory that in most cases were summarised in a narrow vision of the French enemy[6]. Most Spanish villages shared hatred of the French and the need to fight them to death.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE

It should be pointed out that there were exceptions, firstly among the pro-French elite that was convinced of the progress that their influence could bring to the country.[7] Secondly, in some regions, such as Galicia or León, the outrages of the British allies (drunks and mercenaries) meant that their inhabitants shouted proclamations such as "we want to be French."[8] But the

[5] AMZ: 24-3/8, 5v°; 19 September 1821. That attitude to threaten to demolish the symbols of religion was very common all over Europe and Russia, and generated the image of antichrists. See also: Sergei Khomchenko, "French Prisoners in Russia and the local Population"; X Congress of the INS-RAS, Russia, Moscow, 9 July 2012.

[6] Antoni Moliner, "La imagen de Francia y de su ejército en Cataluña durante la guerra del Francés (1808-1814)". Jean-René Aymes; Javier Fernández Sebastián, *La imagen de Francia en España* (País Vasco: Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1997), 15-33.

[7] Miguel Artola. *Los afrancesados* (Madrid: Alianza, 1989).

[8] Ricardo Robledo, *William Bradford: viaje por España y Portugal. La Guerra peninsular*

prevailing perception in Spain was that of considering the French to be the enemy, as has been reflected in multiple coeval documentary registers and subsequent studies.

The Confirmation of the Enemy

Once the war was over in Spain in 1814, other state policies also contributed towards the conformation of the French as the enemy. This was the attitude of Ferdinand VII and the official parliament after the king's return in 1814. It was decreed to establish a story that would have an effect in the fight against the French yoke.[9] An attempt was made to erase from memory the official alliances that Spain established with France in 1807 and 1808, alleging that it was all a trick played on the king. To the masses the "legitimate" Ferdinand VII had the image of the kidnapped king (whom they called "the desired one") who had been betrayed by Napoleon Bonaparte.[10] He did all he could to wipe away the memory of the alliances he established with the French state so as to "exchange" Spain for a life pension and other advantages that would ensure him a peaceful retirement after his abdication towards Napoleon.[11] Such strategies tended to indirectly strengthen the Spanish patriotism and the fight against the French enemy.

The state policy of the recognition of war merits after 1814 followed the same pattern.[12] It led to the erasing from the collective memory of any form of friendship with the French.[13] This was the case with the Spanish soldiers who wished to continue to serve the Spanish army after the war. They had to demonstrate that they had been hardened fighters against the French.[14] Those who had been

(Salamanca: Caja Duero, 2008), 27-29. He quotes: J.W. Ormsby. *An account of the operations of the British Army* (London: Carpenter, 1809).

[9] Richard Hocquellet, "Una experiencia compleja. La guerra de la independencia a través de la trayectoria de algunos de sus actores", in: *Sombras de mayo. Mitos y memorias de la Guerra de la Independencia en España (1808-1908)* (Madrid: Casa Velázquez, 2007), 45-47.

[10] José María Portillo, "Entre la monarquía y la nación: cortes y constitución en el espacio imperial español", in: J.M. Portillo, X.R. Veiga, M.J. Baz, *A guerra da Independencia e o primeiro liberalismo en España e América* (Santiago de Compostela: Juana de Vega, 2009), 133-137. Raúl Pérez López-Portillo, *La España de Riego* (Madrid: Sílex, 2005), 223-29.

[11] Paradoxically, whereas the studies have increased a lot with the bicentenaries, nowadays that false image is the main predominant in Spain (*which I learned from Jose María Portillo and I want to thank him the following information he gave me*). Conde de Toreno, *Historia del Levantamiento, Guerra y Revolución de España* (1836), edition of Richard Hocquellet (Pamplona: Urigoiti, 2008), Appendix.

[12] María Zozaya, "Entre el secreto privado y la luz pública. La acción de las vicisitudes conmemorativas en el diario personal de un ingeniero", *VIIIth Congress Doceañista, Dos siglos llaman a la puerta* (Cádiz: Univerisity, 13 March 2012).

[13] Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective* (Paris: PUF), 1967.

[14] The patron they had to follow can be summarized on Shakespeare´s sentence of Hamlet´s: How "to be" a victim and "not to be" a

prisoners of Napoleon were purged and expelled from the army upon their return to Spain. In many cases this was simply because they were suspected of having been contaminated by liberal ideas due to their proximity to French citizens.

Spanish Prisoners of War in France: The Conversion from Enemy to Friend

Among the strategies that influence the perception of an enemy, those of an episode that I have been studying for five years, that of the prisoners may be included. The life they led in France is practically unknown owing to the policy of official concealment, and to the lack of studies about the subject. However, the contact of captivity in France meant that the initial image of the French as the enemy was converted into that of the friend. The experience of several years in that country (1809 to 1814 or 1816) reflects reconciliation and friendship.[15]

Whom are we talking about? The reference is to the many prisoners who were taken to France. Gregorio Marañón calculated that there were 100,000 captives; Jean René Aymes considers that there were at least 50,000. From Zaragoza alone 12,000 prisoners left for France in February 1809[16]. This figure reflects an immense number of varied experiences. 10% of these men were isolated in castles, other 10% escaped, but the remainder, 80% were relatively free as to their movements. In my view, at least 50% of them changed their opinion of the French enemy to consider the country a friend.

The sources I base my ideas on are diaries, isolated personal records, and the study of life histories. The main source for this study is the personal diary written by Second Lieutenant José María Román.[17] He and his engineer comrades participated actively in Saragossa's siege (1808-1809). After the Spanish defeat in February 1809, they fell prisoners of the Napoleonic Army. From 1809 to 1814 they were taken to Nancy, and then, in January 1814, to Caudebec. In April some of them fled to Spain, and some others remained in France till 1816, when they returned to Spain. That means an experience of five to seven years in the foreign country, which at the beginning was considered the enemy's.

coward "The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, or to take arms against sea of troubles, and by opposing end them? William Shakespeare. *Hamlet*, Act III, Scene I.

[15] In my opinion, that positive experience has not always passed the boundaries of the collective memory because it was hidden by the protagonists themselves, fearing censorship. It was especially hidden until Ferdinand VII died, and also this version lasted because the official version wanted to promote nationalism against the French enemy. María Zozaya, "Entre el secreto privado...

[16] Jean-René Aymes, *La guerra de la Independencia, 1808-1814: calas y ensayos* (Madrid: CSIC, 2009), 461-62.

[17] María Zozaya, *Viaje y prisión del Ingeniero José María Román durante la guerra de la Independencia* (Madrid: Lázaro Galdiano, 2008).

But in those years of prison in France multiple social networks of support and friendship were generated between the French and the Spanish. This affection was often originated in the characteristic manner of lodging the captives of the time.[18] They were allocated to a military barracks where they had a certain freedom of movement. They could also choose to live with a local resident who agreed to the arrangement, normally in exchange for compensation in the form of employment. The prisoners were given so much trust that some even acquired a sense of freedom, in my view owing to the ideological emancipation of the comparison with inquisitorial Spain under Ferdinand VII.[19]

This was the case of José María Román and several of his colleagues, soldiers and military engineers who had been taken prisoner. They arrived in Nancy in February 1809 and were installed in a military barracks[20]. As they could move about the town and had intellectual interests (they belonged to a highly qualified elite), they soon began to frequent the university and the public library. From then on, many of them came into contact with the inhabitants of Nancy, of whom they stressed their friendliness, and went on to occupy a room in their houses, mostly belonging to intellectuals.

As Román himself relates, when he had been in Nancy for two or three days he met Monsieur le Professor Blau in the public library. They began to exchange classes in Spanish and German. On 10th June 1809 he and Lieutenant-Colonel José Navarro[21] started to live in Monsieur Blau's house, where they continued until April 19th, 1814. During this five-year period they established a very strong academic, working, and friendly relationship. As in the networks of trust typical of modern times,[22] the links of friendship led to the establishing of social networks of various kinds.

Let us first consider the academic field. José María Román entered the social circles of the French intellectual elite; his friend Professor Jean Blau allowed him to attend private university classes of physics. Moreover, he introduced him to and brought him into close contact with Monsieur Lamoreux and Monsieur Mollevant, his teachers of the state classes

[18] Gutmaro López, *Crimen y castigo. Cárceles, delito y violencia* (Madrid: UCM, 2003).
[19] María Zozaya, "Prisionero en Libertad", *Experiencia y memoria de la revolución* (Cádiz: Universidad, 2011), 185-87.
[20] María Zozaya, "Armas, alimentos, casacas y casernas. Vida cotidiana en tiempo de Guerra y prisión", *Homenaje a Domínguez Ortiz* (Granada: Universidad, *forthcomming*).
[21] About him: Mario Sala, *Obelisco histórico en honor…* 152-53.
[22] José María Imizcoz "Actores, redes procesos: reflexiones para una historia más global". *Revista da Facultade de Letras. História* V (2004), 115-40.

of Fine Arts and History.[23] Thanks to the personal networks related to Monsieur Blau he came into contact with the academic milieu and became a member of the social circles of the professors of Nancy.

Jean Blau likewise helped José María Román with his training, teaching him German until he was capable of translating the language. Also, he "insisted on my learning Greek, in which language he gave me many lessons."[24] Thanks to this instruction, twenty years later he wrote a book on Greek grammar. In his introduction to this work he acknowledged the importance of the place where he had been a prisoner in France, when "the luck of arms took me to France as a prisoner from the Plaza de Zaragoza."[25]

Secondly, Monsieur Blau also obtained work for Román. The latter related that when in February 1812 the French state reduced prisoners' pay, "leaving them only able to survive with difficulty," Blau found him a modest but intense job as copyist of the plans of the land registry. But as this job was not to his liking and occupied all his time "to the detriment of my studies, he found me further work giving Latin classes to persons of his acquaintance, firstly having me teach his children."[26]

As a cause and consequence of all this, thirdly he achieved a close relationship with Jean Blau. On the one hand, he called him "my friend Monsieur Blau."[27] He mentioned that when he said farewell to Professor Blau in January 1814, he was "sure of leaving a true friend in Nancy to whom I will always be grateful." Moreover, he wrote a few lines about him to express his admiration for his many human, religious, and scientific qualities:

> Albeit with the appearance of a simple man, Monsieur Blau combines the good qualities of his soul with very solid learning his knowledge of the Greek language is deep and that of Latin, German, and Greek extremely extensive; he has vast erudition and complete knowledge of ancient geography, antiquity, etcetera. A true Christian and the loving father of a large family, to whom he gives an excellent education; a teacher who watches over his disciples and does everything possible to place his friends, Monsieur Blau is one of the most estimable men that can be

[23] María Zozaya, *Viaje y prisión del Ingeniero…*, 99-102.
[24] María Zozaya, *Viaje y prisión del Ingeniero…*, 99.
[25] José María Román, *Nueva gramática griega* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1832) I, I.
[26] María Zozaya, *Viaje y prisión del Ingeniero…*, 102.
[27] María Zozaya, *Viaje y prisión del Ingeniero…*, 103.

found, and it is impossible to know him without loving him.[28]

These links of affection with short or long-term employment ramifications may well have been repeated with other prisoners. In this case they were also sealed with very strong family links that were far-reaching for the time, i.e. those of Román being the godfather in the Catholic faith of Monsieur Blau's youngest daughter, Anne Marie Madeleine, as is recorded in the Nancy registry office.[29] Román wrote in his diary:

During my stay at the house five of Blau's children were born, which in addition to the six he already had made for a large family […]. I was the godfather of the youngest daughter, born in January 1813: and my true godsons in affection were my disciple José, Adolfo, the first I saw born at the house, and the next son, Félix.[30]

This attitude of collaboration, friendship, and fraternity (which in my opinion could have been a result of Masonic links),[31] was maintained by the next person who lodged Román after he was deported again. On 5th January 1814 he and his companions left Nancy for Caudebec, in Normandy. Upon his arrival on 7th February, Román was lodged at the home of Monsieur Le Sage, to whom he later declared that he "owed many favours" because of the exemplary way he was treated. A strong friendship grew up between the two men and Monsieur Le Sage helped his guest in any way he could. This friendship also took the form of protection, which was extended to Román's companions even at the expense of the host's own safety. This was shown when the order was given for the prisoners to leave for Caen on 2nd April. Given that the allies had already taken Paris, Monsieur Le Sage "insisted on keeping him in hiding at his home until a final decision was taken. When it was pointed out to him that I could not be separated from my friends, he was generous enough to have them stay also."[32] Monsieur Le Sage's life would have been at risk had he been discovered sheltering them, which reveals

[28] María Zozaya, *Viaje y prisión del Ingeniero*…, 102.

[29] Her name was Anne Marie Madeleine, and in the document Roman was described as a prisoner: "*Joseph Marie Roman, officier du génie espagnol, prisonnier de guerre, en dépôt en cette ville, âgé de 28 ans*". Archives Departementales de Meurthe et Moselle, Civil Registry office of Nancy, France, 5 January 1813. *I am very grateful to Odile Bouchut (CDN) who found this document and transcribed me the information.*

[30] María Zozaya, Viaje y prisión del Ingeniero…, 102-03.

[31] Freemasons used to sign with three points (meaning the brotherhood) or equivalents, like three lines. Napoleon legalized masonry, so at that time was not dangerous either to share that kind of sociability or to speak about the spirit of liberty or fraternity. When Blau signed in the National Registry office of Nancy to register the birth of her daughter, we notice that distinctive masonic mark. Archives Departementales de Meurthe et Moselle, Nancy, 5 January 1813.

[32] María Zozaya, Viaje y prisión del Ingeniero…, 123.

a high degree of union, friendship, and ideological proximity. His protection also included financial support, such as when in April they escaped towards Paris and:

> When the generous Monsieur Le Sage realised that I had no money, he obliged me to accept eight Louis d'or coins for the journey. For all these favours and the excellent treatment I was given at his home I will be eternally grateful to him, and also to his wife and brother.[33]

Such references reflect the union and the support that existed between some of these prisoners and the inhabitants of the city where they were sent. They coincide with multiple declarations collected by Jean René Aymes regarding the deportees, and likewise with the private records of prisoners such as Sergeant Braulio Foz, who was held between 1810 and 1814 in Wassy, in the Haute-Marne district. He coped very well there owing to the freedom of movement he was given and the kindness of the locals. He learned Greek and pedagogical techniques that he would later bring to Spain in the form of various publications. At the end of the war he mentioned that the French saw him leave "with great regret."[34] Foz left this direct account of the friendship that arose; it can be inferred that in the case of other prisoners (especially in the case of learned men) such as José Ezpeleta in Montpellier, the marquis of Amarillas, Joaquín Blake in Saumur, after being in Chateau de Vincennes, or José Cortines Espinosa de los Monteros, who would later be a member of the Legion D´Honneur,[35] this good treatment and these positive relations also existed.

A Friendship that had to Remain Concealed

In these periods of captivity in France the general lack of a feeling of enmity with the French is clear. When it did exist it was justified by unfair or violent behaviour, normally on the part of the military leaders. The feeling of friendship and support was in general reciprocal between the French and their Spanish prisoners. However, this vision could not be spread on the return of the latter to Spain. If this account of union and friendship had been heard of in Spain in 1814, it would have classed as suspicious

[33] María Zozaya, Viaje y prisión del Ingeniero…, 123.

[34] Jacques Ballesté "Algunos aspectos de la influencia francesa en la vida y obra de Braulio Foz (1791-1865)", Jean-René Aymes; Javier Fernández Sebastián (Coords), *La imagen de Francia*…, 153-54.

[35] Francisco Borja Medina, *José de Ezpeleta, Gobernador de la Mobila* (Sevilla: CSIC-EEHA, 1980), LXVII-LXIX. Archives Nationales site de Paris; Fonds de la Légion d´honneur aux archives nationales; Commandeur de l´ordre Royal de la Légion d´honneur : LH/596/36, 8 Janvier 1841. Pedro Agustín Girón, *Recuerdos (1778-1837)* (Navarra: Universidad, 1981), II. Nicolás Benavides, *El capitán General don Joaquín Blake Joyes* (Madrid: TSGE, 1960), 509-10. Se also: Jean-René Aymes, *La guerra de la Independencia*…, 470-73.

and pro-French. It would have been treason because of alliance with the country of the enemy, which meant the matter was silenced.

The contrast between personal experience and the official version is very revealing of the need to keep this memory of alliance hidden. None of this personal experience of union with the French narrated by José María Román in his private diary was recorded in official sources. In military reports, the period of captivity was summed up in a mere sentence. Román mentioned "he was a prisoner from 2nd May of the year mentioned until late May 1814.[36] Likewise, in his request for a cross for war merits in 1816, he argued that he had "the medal that was granted to the prisoners who fled the depots in France."[37] In other words, these official references did not mention the experience in France and therefore the friendship generated with the French was silenced. In this sense it is revealing that the cross was not granted until 1821 during Spain's Liberal period (1820-23).

"Deconstructing the Enemy"

That is what I call the next stage in the relation of friendship generated between the Spanish captives and French citizens, when the latter took matters a step further. They considered the Spaniards' cause to be a just one in contrast to that of Napoleon, which was ruining the French economy and depleting its inhabitants by calling them to arms. They treated them as equals and with their actions condemned Napoleon's imperial attitude. They joined forces with the Spaniards and supported them economically, intellectually and from an employment point of view. It seems that they themselves considered Napoleon to be the enemy and the Spanish prisoners to be their friends. Braulio Foz mentioned how they had tears in their eyes when he left. They supported José María Román and his companions with daily acts of kindness, and gave them provisions or money on their departure. They concealed him and his companions to enable them to escape from the next prison decided by Napoleon, risking their lives to do so (in what could be considered a variant of the Stockholm syndrome). As well as with this practical help, on occasions they supported their cause in writing as they considered it a just one.

That was the official point of one of the most outstanding members of Nancy´s Academy, the "Société Royale des Sciences, Lettres et Arts," in the Public Session 14th August 1814. While reporting obituaries, Professor Monsieur Lamoureux made a digression about the common utility of the public libraries. Then, he spoke about the "Spanish prisoners in Nancy" (although they had already left

[36] Archivo General Militar de Segovia [AGMS]: Legajo R.2757, nº 28514.
[37] AMZ: 28-1/79 (11), 1821-1822.

the 4th January 1814). He recognized their value and honour and the injustice of the Peninsular War:

> Brave Spaniards […]; to whom our hospitable city hastened to offer not only the solace that valiant misfortune deserves, but also all facilities to satisfy the most noble of passions, that of learning; [our library and university was for you] a refuge that was always open to help you forget the injustices of fortune![38]

This affirmation, together with the protective attitude of the French who concealed or supported the prisoners, reveals the lack of hatred between French and Spanish military men and intellectuals. What is more, their cause was supported because it was considered just, and the attitude of the state towards them unjust. Because of this, union was achieved in a process that could be referred to as the deconstruction of the enemy, in which the French were seen as friends–and the Spaniards to the French–as they themselves disagreed with the measures of the Napoleonic state.

[38] *Bulletin of the « Société Royale des Sciences, Lettres et Arts »* (Nancy: SRSLA, 1816-1818), 19-20.

Conclusions: imprecise limits of the enemy

We have studied a part of the history that has not been much studied until now: That of prisoners. We have analysed how the French enemy became a friend in the eyes of the Spanish prisoner. Likewise, the French themselves considered the war planned by Napoleon to be unjust and helped the Spaniards. In many cases they defended this idea with both word and action, establishing multiple networks with the prisoners. They supported the latter materially and symbolically, lodging them in their houses and befriending them in libraries and universities.

Unfortunately the attitude of concealing these alliances to favour transnational strife has prevailed right up to the present day. Historiography has ignored the union between the French and the Spaniards because it was in opposition to a nationalist and patriotic view of history. However, future research will begin to fill this wide gulf, which was perpetrated by a war at European level with its conciliatory stories.