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The French Presence
in the Spanish Military

Benito Tauler Cid (coord.)

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– Flag of the Borbon Regiment. 1796.

Obverse, at the end of the blades you can see three fleurs de lis.

Provenance: Museo del Ejército de Toledo.

– Soldier of the 17th Bourbon Line Infantry Regiment, from 1805.

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Benito Tauler Cid (coord.)

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Abbreviations

- AGI, Indias General Archive (Sevilla)
- AGMG, General Military Archive of Guadalajara
- AGMM, General Military Archive of Madrid
- AGMS, General Military Archive of Segovia
- AGRB, Archives Générales du Royaume (Bruselas)
- SEG, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre
- AGS, General Archive of Simancas
 - E, Estate
 - GM, War and Marine or Modern War
 - SGU, War Secretary
 - SP, Provincial Secretaries
- AHN, National Historic Archive (Madrid)
 - OOMM, military Orders
- BNE, National Library of Spain (Madrid)

Introduction

Benito Tauler Cid

Instituto de Historia y Cultura Militar

This ninth volume of the Cuadernos de Historia Militar focuses on the French presence in the various constituent parts of the Spanish militia, a presence that has its particularities and differences to those studied in previous volumes, but which can be traced over time, beginning with the Reconquest, both in terms of personnel and also in terms of materials and procedures. Another distinctive feature of this presence is the fact that, although France is one of the oldest nation-states in Europe, it is also one of the most extensive, having grown from and been shaped by provinces and regions that for long periods of history had been territories of other states or independent states: Gascony, Normandy, French Flanders, Alsace, Lorraine, Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Cerdagne, Roussillon, Avignon, etc.

As a consequence, this presence is unique and takes different forms over the centuries. We will find feudal contingents, units raised in territories outside the authority of the Most Christian King, rebellious nobles, adventurers, Frenchmen whose territories were new under the Crown of Saint Louis, and, alongside them, deserters, turncoats, Frenchmen serving the House of Bourbon, as well as the traditional stream of emigrants for political, social and religious reasons, together with regular French

units made up mainly of non-Frenchmen. From the Modern Age until 1800, the aim was to assign them, and in particular those serving as troops, to units of foreign nations with a predominance of the French language, such as the Walloon and Burgundian units, which were part of the armies of Flanders and Italy, or to serve during the 18th century in units that could be deployed outside the Peninsula.

Bearing in mind that the concept of nation that exists today cannot be applied to the states of the Middle Ages, and that in many of them the monarch was no more than a "primus inter pares", the nobility in southern France provided military contributions to the fight against the Muslims in Spain, especially after Charlemagne's failed invasion. This proved very important in the reconquest of the future kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon (along with that of the Catalan counties) especially in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries since at that time the Pyrenees were only a geographical and not a political barrier, and these kingdoms and counties extended on both sides of this mountain range. The French contribution to the reconquest carried out by León and Castile was much less, perhaps because of the geographical distance, although we do have references to the military aid of the "ultramontanos" at Las Navas de Tolosa or in the siege of Algeciras. On the other hand, the French military intervention in support of Henry of Trastámara was essential for the latter's reign in Castile and the consolidation of the Trastámara dynasty.

With the marriage of the Catholic Monarchs, the old alliance between Castile and France came to an end when Ferdinand the Catholic gave priority to Aragon's Pyrenean and Mediterranean policy. From then on, and until the establishment of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain, the struggle between the Spanish and French monarchies was permanent, which is why there were few French personnel and units in the armies of the Habsburgs. However, in the 16th century, several French captains served as commanders, notably the Constable de Bourbon, who died in the assault on Rome by the troops of Caesar Charles (Charles V) in 1527, and the Lord of Rôzne (Chrétien de Savigny), a soldier of the Catholic League who ended his days as the right-hand man of Archduke Albert.

But soldiers of French-speaking origin were not confined exclusively to the territories under French rule. This was the case of the Burgundians, inhabitants of Franche-Comté, who became in their own right one of the most loyal troops to the Habsburg

monarchy, serving first in regiments and then in the tercios, and were reputed to be one of the most battle-hardened nations. Among their commanders was Philibert of Chalon, Prince of Orange, who commanded the Spanish-Imperial and Medici units during the Siege of Florence in 1530.

The presence of Burgundian troops began in 1584, when the regiment was raised, originally commanded by Christophe de Rye, Marquis de Varambon, and later, as a tercio, by his brother Claude de Rye, Baron de Balançon. In 1621, after the Twelve Years' Truce, the Burgundian troops, both infantry and mounted, increased. Among the latter were the mounted arquebusiers; "youngster and many noblemen among them". Years later, in the cavalry under Cardinal Infante there were 7 companies with 587 horsemen, while in the Army of Alsace, under the command of the Duke of Feria, there were 5 companies with 450 troops.

This volume analyses the actions of Burgundian units in the following conflicts: the War of the Montferrat Succession (1613-1618), the early years of the Thirty Years' War in the Palatinate and the beginnings of the resumption of the Flanders War (1618-1624) and, finally, the War of the Mantuan Succession (1627-1631). In 1636, Franche-Comté was invaded by France, which led to the Ten Years' War (1634-1644), and in 1678 its annexation by France, which meant the gradual death of the Burgundian units in the service of the Spanish monarchy. In 1684, the "tercio viejo" of Burgundy was reformed into a company, which survived in 1699. The cavalry, too, had to be integrated into mixed Italian-Burgundian companies, until they lost their identity.

Other French-speaking troops that served under the banners of the St Andrew's Cross, or rather were financed by Philip IV and served as allied contingents, were the armies raised by Turenne and Condé in their respective Frondist rebellions during Louis XIV's minority and Mazarin's rule. Specifically, the Prince of Condé joined the Spanish troops after being defeated by Turenne in 1652, and served under our flags until the signing of the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659, when he was pardoned and returned to France.

The end of the War of the Spanish Succession meant that the existence of French units in the Royal Armies was no longer perceived, leaving only the individual enlistment of troops and officers. This also occurred in the Armada Real, where there

were a certain number of naval officers from the Royal Company of Midshipmen (1717-1826) born in France. There were also Spanish sailors trained as midshipmen in the French Navy ("La Royale"), who served in it and achieved successive posts and then went on to the Spanish Navy where they reached the rank of General, such as D. Blas de Lezo y Olavarría, Frigate Captain in "La Royale" and Lieutenant General of the Spanish Navy. Officers of French origin could also be found in the Corps of Naval Engineers and likewise the Royal Navy Medical Corps.

In history, there are periods of change that break with procedures and norms, such as the change from the "Old to the New Regime". With the French Revolution came the transition from royal armies to national armies, and with it mass conscription, the "demi-brigade", the officers of the "Grandes Ecoles", the Divisions, etc. innovations from France that spread throughout Europe. With the War of the Convention, French emigrants arrived in Spain and formed groups and units, such as the Royal Legion of the Pyrenees, which, after the Peace of Basel, was reformed into the Bourbon Line Infantry Regiment; it stood out in the War of Independence and received more personnel in its ranks from deserters from the imperial forces. Other units with an imperial past were organised in Catalonia, Galicia and Extremadura.

On 7 April 1823, French troops returned to Spain with the Hundred Thousand Sons of St Louis, but this time they were not integrated into the Spanish militia but acted as an army of occupation based on the agreements signed in 1824, until their total repatriation in 1828. The former National Army was in a state of purification and disbanded until 31 May 1828¹. In 1825, Lieutenant General Carlos de España, of French origin, was given command of the Royal Infantry Guard, making it a model for the Regular Army and a school unit that would provide the best officers and men for the elite units of both sides during the 1st Carlist War.

In this war, under the auspices of the Quadruple Alliance, the main French contribution was the arrival of the Algerian Foreign Legion, acting under the liberal flag. A professional unit, largely made up of non-French personnel, whose battalions ceased to be of a single nationality to become what is now the French Foreign Legion, the unit received reinforcements from France

¹ AGMS. Segovia Circulares-Leg 21.

during the war, with a total of 9,000 men passing through its ranks. The Carlists relied on French legitimists, generally officers. Most of them had served in France, as cavalry, artillery and engineer officers, so they were an important asset. They were joined by the "Algerian Battalion", made up of ex-legionnaire deserters.

During the Civil War 1936-1939, there were around 300 French volunteers on the nationalist side who served, according to their organisational criteria, in the traditionalist, falangist and militias Legion. Their value was more propagandistic than operational. The Burgos authorities sought to highlight the importance of French right-wing political support, to compare their contribution to the significant participation of some 10,000 men of French origin in the International Brigades in the People's Army of the Republic when the cards were played in the International Non-Intervention Committee.

In the People's Army, the French volunteers were organically incorporated into units of their nation and so, in addition to the International Brigades, we must add the "Escuadrilla España" organised by the French writer and aviator André Malraux, initially made up of French pilots, although other nationalities were later incorporated. There were also other Frenchmen acting as advisors and technicians supporting military technology, highlighting the arrival of armaments, material, and ammunition from French arsenals for the people's Army. In the military health services of both sides, French doctors and medics of both sexes were available for the medical care of the combatants. Finally, it is worth noting the importance of maritime traffic in goods and contraband from French ports, as well as the action of the French Navy's control patrols to protect the laws of the sea.

Chapter one

Hispanias and France, warriors during the Middle Ages

José Luis De Mesa Gutiérrez
Magistrate and historical researcher

Abstract

During the first centuries of the Reconquista, the French presence in Spain was very important in all aspects in what are today the Communities bordering France: firstly, militarily in the actual wars themselves; secondly, religiously since many bishops came from the other side of the Pyrenees; and thirdly with regard to the repopulation of the territories that were being seized back from the Muslim invaders. On the other hand, there are hardly any accounts of the French military contribution in the reconquest that started from Asturias and moved through the kingdoms of León and Castile, perhaps because of the geographical distance and also because of the lack of common borders until the union of the Hispanic kingdoms. In Castile, apart from the very important religious contribution from Cluny, the massive (according to troop numbers) French military contribution was limited and confined to the civil war between Peter I and his half-brother Henry II. This contribution gradually died out across various kingdoms until the 15th century, when any contributions made were merely personal or purely tokenistic.

Keywords

Reconquest, Aragon, Catalonia, Navarre, Castile, Granada Alfonso the Battler Peter I of Castile, Henry II of Castile, Peter IV of Aragon, Charles of Navarre, Prince Alfonso.

Introduction

The term Hispania, referring to Spain in the Middle Ages, or at least part of it, is a matter of debate, but it should not be forgotten that during that long period of time there was no political or supra-territorial unit in what is now our country.

During this period, different Christian kingdoms coexisted, such as Castile, Aragon, and Navarre. There were also Muslim taifas, which were sometimes united for personal reasons or because of vassalage ties, but not because they constituted a single state or nation in the modern sense. They would split again when those, who had united them around themselves, died and left the land to be divided among their children – there is ample evidence of this.

Very often medieval chronicles do not refer to Spain as a whole but rather mention the different kingdoms within it, including Portugal or Granada, to cover the entire geographical area of the Iberian Peninsula.

Even the medieval monarchs accepted this, and the name adopted in official writings was Hispania in its different grammatical forms. As Ramón Menéndez Pidal points out, Alfonso VI of Castile, León, Galicia, and Toledo came to be known as Imperator Hispaniae, which we would translate today as Emperor of the Spains, not of Spain. He was recognised as such by the king of Aragon and the princes of some Muslim taifas who did not normally adopt the title of king, like Zafadela, as their vassals did. In 1112, the daughter of Alfonso VI, Queen Urraca of Galicia, León, Castile and Toledo, was bestowed with the title *Totius Hispaniae Regina*, while her husband and arch-enemy Alfonso I of Aragon and Navarre held the title *Alfonsus Gratia Dei Imperator Leone et Rex Totius Hispaniae*. Some 20 years later, on 25 May 1135, Alfonso VII of León and Castile was crowned *Imperator Totus Hispaniae* in Toledo, in the presence of, among others, Ramón Berenguer IV of Barcelona, García Ramírez of Pamplona, Armengol of Urgell, Alfonso of Toulouse, William of Montpellier, the counts of Foix and Pallars and the Muslim Abu Cha'Far (Zafadola). These figures swore him fealty. Only Count Alfonso Enríquez of Portugal, who would shortly afterwards become his vassal, and Ramiro II of Aragon were absent from the ceremony.

During the rest of the Middle Ages, various kingdoms continued to coexist on the peninsula. Near full unity was not achieved until

the beginning of the 16th century when the crown of Navarre passed to Ferdinand of Aragon at which point the new state (not nation according to the ideas of the time, and in my personal opinion) could begin to be called Spain.

During the same period of time in what is present-day France, there were several regions, for example Gascony, which for many years were vassals not of a Gallic kingdom but of England. Incidentally, in those centuries, Scotland was an independent country on the British isle and rejected all attempts at annexation by the English monarchs. Elsewhere, the King of Navarre was of French origin and a vassal of France, while areas in what is now southern France, such as Roussillon and Cerdagne, formed an integral part of the Kingdom of Aragon, to which others, such as Provence, were linked by bonds of vassalage.

I hope this little explanation will help you understand why I use the word Hispania in the title of the chapter and not the actual word Spain.

Starting from the premise that the concept of nation that exists today cannot be applied to the states of the Middle Ages, and that in many of them the monarch was no more than a "primus inter pares", the nobles in southern France provided military contributions to the fight against the Muslims in Spain, especially after Charlemagne's failed intervention in it. This proved very important in the reconquest of the future kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon (along with that of the Catalan counties) especially in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, since at that time the Pyrenees were only a geographical and not a political barrier, and these kingdoms and counties spanned both sides of this mountain range. In the following centuries, these French vassals would very often intervene in the internal politics of both kingdoms.

As mentioned above, the French, or rather Frankish, contribution to the reconquest carried out initially by the kingdom of Asturias and later by its successors, the kingdoms of León and Castile, was on a much smaller scale. This could be possibly explained by the geographical distance, although Frankish migrants and merchants would enter those territories and in some towns they even had their own quarters. From a strictly militaristic point of view, leaving aside small contributions made by individuals or under-equipped groups, there is a reference to the military aid of the "*ultramontanos*" in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa or much later in the siege of Algeciras. Late in

the Middle Ages, the French military intervention in aid of Henry of Trastámara was essential for establishing his reign in Castile and the consolidation of the Trastamarist dynasty. The French monarchy, in turn, would seek help from the Castilian monarch in its struggles against England during the Hundred Years' War. While these allies became enemies after the war's end, it did not prevent some Frenchmen from fighting in the last battles of the Reconquista.

Background

This section will study the events that took place between 711 and 1050. At this time, the future Spanish kingdoms were not yet well defined and the records from the period are not usually very precise in the information given on the cooperation of the royals and nobles of the territories that today lie within the geographical limits of neighbouring France. It should always be borne in mind that the concept we have today of nation or country was not the same as it was in those centuries, in which loyalty to the monarch took precedence over, let us say, nationality or territorial origin.

In 711, the existing Visigoth kingdom in Hispania included not only the territories of the Iberian Peninsula, but also others located on the other side of the Pyrenees, in present-day France. This territory, known as Septimania, stretched from the Pyrenee Mountains to the Rhone River and included important cities such as Narbonne and Nîmes.

After the defeat of Don Rodrigo in the battle of Guadalete, the last Visigoth king, Andon, mustered what troops he could in Septimania in 714 and remained there until 717, when the Muslims, having defeated Amrus, Lord of Lleida, made an incursion into the region. Two years later, the wali (Governor) Al-Samh invaded Septimania, and the Visigoth king perished in a battle against the invaders in either 719 or 720. The Islamic troops managed to take the city of Narbonne, but failed in their attempt on Carcassonne.

But the wali did not give up his attempts and in 721 he invaded Aquitaine, ruled by Duke Odo (or Eudo), and headed for its capital, Toulouse, where many exiles from Visigoth Hispania and Septimania had taken refuge. Toulouse was besieged, but in battle Duke Odo defeated the invaders, killing wali Al-Samh.

The surviving invaders managed to take refuge in Septimania, but lost not only all the loot they had seized, including the Christian captives, but also their wives and children who accompanied them.

The Visigoths continued to put up resistance in Narbonne, Carcassonne, Nîmes and other towns. But in 725-726, the wali Ambasa ben Suhaym al-Kabi took these towns, and the Muslim army continued its attacks and plundering on the centre of modern France, Avignon, Lyon, and even the Burgundy region. During the following year, the Berber chief Munuza rose up against the Arabs and allied himself with the Aquitaine duke Odo, who even gave his illegitimate daughter in marriage to Munuza in 729 or 730. Duke Odo had reinforced his army with Goths and Hispano-Roman nobles from both Hispania and Septimania, who did not want to be under Muslim rule.

In 730, Abd-al-Rahman al-Gafiqi, who was the Muslim governor of Septimania, was appointed wali of Al-Andalus. In 731, he launched a campaign against Munuza who held his capital at Lllivia. Munuza was defeated by the wali's troops and perished while trying to flee from his pursuers. After the victory, the invaders, who included Visigoth and Hispano-Roman mercenaries, moved on to Burgundy and Provence, plundering them thoroughly before moving on to Aquitaine.

The Muslim army crossed the Pyrenees at Roncesvalles in 733, and towns such as Dax and Bayonne were conquered and sacked. Duke Odo tried to prevent them from doing the same with Bordeaux, but was defeated by the invaders, and the city was stormed and plundered. The duke and some of his troops managed to flee. The duke then went to Paris where he made an alliance with Charles Martel. The armies of both sides met and defeated the invader in the Battle of Poitiers, in which both sides fought with Visigoths and Hispano-Romans among their numbers. During the battle, wali al-Gafiqi was killed, and his surviving troops retreated to Septimania.

It should be noted that the Muslim chronicles make practically no mention of these events and that the *Mozarabic Chronicle of 754*, as Professor Senac points out, refers to the victors not as Franks but as Europeans¹.

¹ Senac, P. *Al-Andalus (8th-11th centuries)*. Pp 87-88.

In 737, Charles Martel sent an army, commanded by his son Childebrand, against the Muslims, which managed to take Avignon and expel them from the Rhone valley. As the *Chronicle of Fredegar* points out, the whole of Septimania returned to Christian hands, with several of its cities being destroyed because of the possible collaboration of its bishops with the infidels. Nevertheless, attempts to regain Sigean, even in 751, proved unsuccessful.

Muslim "aceifas" or raids on the coalescing France continued in the following years, but the Franks and Visigoths gradually succeeded in driving the invaders back across the Pyrenees. As a result, the Gothic counts based in the north of the Pyrenees and Septimania gradually recognised the supremacy of the emerging Merovingian France.

In 777, Sulayman Ibn al-Arabi, governor of Barcelona and Girona, met with the Emperor Charlemagne, to whom he proposed an alliance to put an end to the emir of Córdoba. Charlemagne accepted the offer and in the following year led two armies against the Muslim-held lands on the other side of the Pyrenees. One of them reached Barcelona, but al-Arabi did not hold up his side of the bargain. The imperial army, which entered through Septimania, comprised warriors from Bavaria, Austria, Lombardy, Septimania and Provence. It reached Zaragoza probably via Barcelona, Lleida, and Huesca.

The other army, which included Charlemagne himself, after entering via Roncesvalles, attacked Zaragoza but, when it was unable to conquer it, headed for Pamplona and destroyed it. The invading troops then set off back to France, but their rearguard was destroyed before entering the neighbouring country when they were attacked by Basques and Muslims. Among the Frankish dead was Roland, Duke of Brittany, whose legend and death gave rise to the epic poem *Le Chanson du Roland*, but a subject of much controversy among historians.

In 785, the inhabitants of Girona revolted against the Muslims and drove them out of the city. They then submitted to the Frankish king, as did the territories between the rivers Ter and Fluvia, as well as Cerdagne, Urgell, Ampurias and Besalú. For their defence, the Frankish armies had the port of Le Perthus opened.

In 793, the Muslims, after attacking Girona and Narbonne, defeated William of Gellone, Duke of Toulouse, near Carcassonne.

The invading army was commanded by Abd al-Malik ben Abd al-Wahid ben Mugit: "For several months, [the army] traversed this region in every direction, raping women, killing warriors, destroying castles, burning and plundering everything, chasing before it the enemy who fled in disarray. It returned safe and sound, carrying a booty the wealth of which God only knows"².

French chronicles mention a count, Aureolus, who with his men settled south of the Pyrenees, perhaps in Sobrarbe, from where he threatened Zaragoza and Huesca. Perhaps he and his men formed part of the Frankish expedition of between 797 and 800, led by Louis the Pious, son of Charlemagne. Coming from Barcelona-Lleida, it reached Huesca but failed to take it. As a result of the expedition, the Frankish kingdom annexed Ribagorza, after having attacked the cities of Lleida and Barcelona, the former being occupied in 800.

In the same year, a new Frankish invasion took place; three armies, commanded respectively by Louis the Pious, William of Gellone and Rostany of Girona, attacked and occupied Barcelona. The Christian troops, according to some sources, were made up of Franks, Gascons, Goths and Aquitanians, whereas the *Chronicle of Moissac* states that they were Aquitanians, Gascons, Burgundians, Provençals and Narbonese, while the Goths were the ones who besieged the city of Barcelona for several months before taking it. The army then headed towards Tarragona, Tortosa and the Ebro valley.

The information sources we have from the period very often do not have matching dates for the events that took place. According to the chronicles, in 800 a Frankish army tried to take Barcelona but failed. It then moved towards Lleida and Huesca, sacking the surrounding lands, but never occupying either those lands or those cities. Meanwhile, the Count of Toulouse managed to take control of Barcelona in 801.

The fall of Barcelona came about because at the end of the 8th century a rebel called Bahlul Ibn Marzuq, after rising up against Emir Al-Hakam I, reached an agreement with Louis the Pious. Thanks to this alliance, the Franks carried out an offensive from 799 until 801 against the Muslims established in Catalonia, from whom they took several fortresses, including the future Catalan capital.

² Al-Athir, I. *Annals of the Maghreb and Spain*. Translation by E. Fagnan.

In 802, the Navarrans, supported by Frankish soldiers, occupied Tudela. In 806, the Counts of Toulouse dominated Pallars and Ribagorza, while Count Aureolus temporarily established Frankish garrisons in front of the cities of Zaragoza and Huesca and the armies of Louis, also called Ludovic, unsuccessfully moved against Tortosa.

The French records are inconsistent on these expeditions. According to the *Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*, the Franks attacked Tortosa in 809, 810 and 811, while the *Annals of Einhard* only mention the one in 809. Muslim sources state that, in 808, Tarragona was taken by Louis of Aquitaine, who was defeated in his attack on Tortosa. Although, another author points to the existence of two Frankish attacks: one in 808 and another the following year³.

In 810, the French monarchy and the Cordoban emirate reached an agreement by which a Frankish count captured by the Muslims was released and Charlemagne was obliged to send an army to attack Huesca, which had been occupied by the rebel Amrus ben Yusuf.

In 812, another Frankish expedition arrived in Huesca from Aquitaine. In the face of the resistance of the inhabitants, the Aquitanians returned to their country. However, they recovered Sobrarbe, which in previous years had once again passed into Muslim hands, and Aznar Galíndez I was appointed to rule it. Perhaps this expedition is the one that, according to other sources, commanded by Heriberto, a son of the count of Toulouse, had failed at the walls of Huesca in 811.

In 811, after three unsuccessful expeditions, Tortosa finally capitulated to the Franks and declared itself a vassal of the Carolingian Empire, but the death of Emperor Charlemagne would put an end to military activities in the area.

A truce was established in 812 between Emir Al-Hakam and Charlemagne, which was renewed by Louis the Pious and ended in 820. As a result, in 822, several counts of the Hispanic March attacked the Segre valley, while two years later, the Counts Eblo and Aznar attacked the lands controlled by the Muslims from Navarre. The next truce was signed in 847 by King Charles the Bald and Emir Abd al-Rahman II. The latter's son,

³ Hayyan, I. *Crónica de los emires Alhakam I y Abderrahman II*.

Muhammad I, and that Frankish monarch would sign another between 863 and 865.

Curiously, in 827, a certain Aizo, a Gothic chieftain, rose up against the Franks in the Hispanic March and sent his brother to Córdoba to request the help of the Emir Abd al-Rahman II, according to the *Annals of Fulda*.

After the failure of these expeditions, it seems that a stable border between the Franks and Muslims was established in the area. In 822, Emperor Louis the Pious sent a new expedition, led by the Counts Eblo and Aznar, against the Muslims. They attacked and took Pamplona but were defeated by the coalition troops of the Navarran Iñigo Arista and his relatives, the Banu Qasi of Tudela, on their return to France. Eblo was handed over to Emir Abd al-Rahman II, but not Count Aznar, who was a relative of the Navarran leader.

Zurita claims that between 750 and 824 the kings and nobles of France crossed the Pyrenees on several occasions, inciting the reconquest of the territories between the Cantabrian and Mediterranean seas. However, he acknowledges that there is a lack of documentation on the topic, even if there is abundant oral evidence. He also points out that after 840, the drive to reconquer that had been led until then by the Frankish kings ceased, leaving the task to the King of Navarre, Iñigo Arista: "With his own men and with very little help from Guiana (Gascony) he made continuous war against the Moors of Sobrarbe and Ribagorza" and further on he states: "the forces of the Christians were growing every day, and particular help was coming from those who had fortified themselves in the mountains and many others who passed through from Guiana and Provence"⁴.

The same chronicler, referring to the time of Charlemagne, states: "Charles, King of the Franks, who by the glory of his deeds achieved the name of Emperor and Great, helped the Christian peoples settled between the gorges of the Pyrenees according to his needs"⁵.

In other passages he narrates that Louis, son of Charles, made war on the Moors, seized Lleida, Barcelona and Tarragona, laid siege to Huesca, with his armies led by Hisembardo, Hademaro, Bernardo Borrell, Wigeberto, Heriberto and Luitardo.

⁴ Zurita, J. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*. Volume I, Book V, pp. 31 and 32.

⁵ Zurita, J. *Gestas de los reyes de Aragón*. Book I, E 816, A 778.

He later adds: "the Pamplonans and the Basque forces who had established themselves in the Pyrenean ravines, which only they could reach, turned away from the Moors, surrendered themselves and all their baggage to the kingdom of the Franks". He finishes: "from the county of Bigorre, in Aquitaine, came Iñigo by the surname of ARISTA, who was made king of the Pyrenees of Sobrarbe, ruling from Pamplona"⁶.

According to a French record, Pepin I entered Vasconia with his troops and pacified the province in 819. The problem lies in knowing whether this Vasconia refers to the Spanish Basque provinces or to the French ones, while it should also be borne in mind that for many historians the French Basque area was Gascony at that time⁷.

In 828, the Mozarabs of Mérida requested military aid from the Frankish sovereign Louis the Pious to shake off the Muslim yoke. In his reply, the Gallic monarch announced that in the coming summer he would send an army "to our March", which would await there his orders to invade the lands occupied by the Muslims. He also offered the Mozarabs the possibility to migrate to France. In the end, the Frankish invasion never materialised.

As Professor Senac points out, the Muslims launched new offensives against the Hispanic March in 815, 827, 842 and 856, without the invaders recovering the territories that had been taken from them by the Christians. A border was established that stretched from the Mediterranean Sea to the north of Balaguer and Lleida.

Between 908 and 916, Count Bernard Unifredo, by order of Charles IV of France, liberated the regions of Pallares, Sobrarbe and Ribagorza from Muslim rule.

When the victorious Muslim campaign of Muez took place in 920, Frankish nobles and warriors are thought to have formed part of the Christian troops, as according to a Muslim chronicler: "The two Christians, Urdun [Ordoño], Lord of Galicia, and Sanyu [Sancho], Lord of Pamplona, called on their neighbours in those parts to come to their aid"⁸.

⁶ Zurita, J. *Gestas de los reyes de Aragón*. Book I, E 844, A 806 and E 883, A 845.

⁷ *Annales Regni Francorum*. Pp 150 and 151.

⁸ Lévi-Provençal, E. and García Gómez, E. *Una crónica anónima de Abd al Rahman III al-Nasir*. Pp 134-135.

After 975, there is a record of the Count of Gascony, William Sancho, helping his brother-in-law, King Sancho Garcés II of Pamplona, in his reconquest of lost lands. In 994, the Gascon count came to the aid of the Leonese King Bernard II with Gascon, Provençal and French soldiers.

Aragon

It should be pointed out that the aid to this kingdom from neighbouring France, logically due to its geographical proximity and the ease of communications at the time, was infinitely greater than that which the kingdom of Asturias, León and ultimately Castile received from 1000 to 1492 AD.

During the 11th and 12th centuries, the nobility from across the Pyrenees played an almost essential role in the reconquering ventures carried out by Navarre and especially Aragon. Their intervention had different characteristics in each century, since the nobles and knights who took part in the different expeditions in the first one hundred years returned to their territories of origin, while in the 12th century many remained in the reconquered regions thanks to the honours they were awarded for their deeds in battle.

In 1063, Pope Alexander II advocated for a crusade in Spain to be led by William, Duke of Aquitaine, and the pope's envoy, William of Montreuil, who was joined by many nobles, especially of Norman origin. As a result, in August 1064, in the occupation of Barbastro, King Sancho Ramírez of Aragon was effectively assisted by several nobles from the other side of the Pyrenees and their armies: William VIII, Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitiers, commanded the troops from Gascony and Béarn; Baron Robert Crespín of Lower Normandy led the Norman forces; Hilduin III of Ramerupt, who died during the campaign, led the crusaders from Champagne; and Tibhaud de Semur, Count of Chalon, led the Burgundians. They also included Viscount Aymery of Thouars, Robert of Anjou, Count Armengol of Urgell and Walter Giffard, also known as Giffard of Barbastro.

Lesser nobles came from Aquitaine, Burgundy, Poiteau, Vermandois, Champagne and Normandy. The Franks did not respect the surrender pacts and put Barbastro to the fire and sword. It was taken back by the Muslims without much effort in 1065 and remained in their power for another 35 years until it was wrested from them once and for all.

The crusading army was composed of two corps, one made up of troops from feudal France, which had to enter Spain via the old Roman road from Bordeaux to Pamplona, while the other, largely made up of troops from Italy logically, had to come over the eastern Pyrenees.

In 1073, a crusade led by Count Ebles of Roucy failed, as did a 1080 crusade led by William VIII of Aquitaine, both due to disagreements between the Aragonese monarch Sancho Ramírez and the papacy over the vassalage that the latter wanted to impose on the monarch.

Between 1083 and 1086, André of France, possibly André of Ramerupt, son of Hilduin IV of Ramerupt, received property and honours from the Aragonese monarch for his military services.

After the Castilian defeat at Sagrajas, also known as Zalaca, it seems that Alfonso VI, King of Castile, requested the help of the French nobility. According to a French chronicle, many of those nobles rose to the call and an army of French crusaders appeared in Castile during the winter of 1086 and 1087. Among the many nobles from Languedoc and Provence were William the Carpenter, Viscount of Melun, Hugh VI of Lusignan, Duke Odo I of Burgundy, his brother Henry, his cousin Raymond, Count of Amons, and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Count of Toulouse. Some of these nobles would later participate in the First Crusade. In any case, the Almoravid caliph had since returned to Africa and King Alfonso VI informed them that they could return to France⁹.

The expedition headed for Tudela, and besieged it. But the siege proved ineffectual and the city was not taken. However, the French crusaders did take Estella, after which they crossed the Pyrenees and returned home. Tudela fell into Christian hands in 1114 with the help of Gallic troops, led by, among others, the Viscount of Béarn, in the service of the King Alfonso the *Battler* of Aragon.

During the siege laid on the city of Huesca in 1096 by King Peter I of Aragon, the taifa of Zaragoza requested and obtained military aid from the Castilian-Leonese García Ordóñez, Count of Nájera. But the Aragonese monarch was victorious in the battle of Alcoraz, with 300 Gascon soldiers among his men.

⁹ *Crónica de Saint-Maixent*. Pp 148 and 149.

In 1101, a new French military contribution was made to the Aragonese reconquest, as King Peter I promoted a crusade to conquer Zaragoza, but it unfortunately failed.

In 1105, Alfonso of Aragon, in his successful reconquest of Egea, was assisted by nobles and soldiers from the other side of the Pyrenees, such as Gaston, Viscount of Gavaldan and Marsan, and Gaston d'Espes, Count of Bigorre. These could actually have been Gaston IV of Béarn and Centule II of Bigorre.

In 1106, King Alfonso I granted a house and lands to the widow and 3 sons of Cic of Flanders, a knight from the north of France, who had died with 5 of his sons in the service of the Aragonese monarch.

In the battle that took place in Valtierra in 1110, the men of Count Henry of Chalons fought alongside Aragonese and Castilian troops.

Following a council held in Toulouse, a crusade was preached across French lands and various Aragon prelates, of Gallic origin, were sent from the Hispanic side. As a result, from 1118 to 1120, the King of Aragon, Alfonso the *Battler*, waged a campaign of reconquest with the assistance of Gaston IV, Viscount of Béarn, Centule, Count of Bigorre, Bernard I, Count of Comminges, Peter, Viscount of Gabarret, Augier, Viscount of Miramont, Robert D'Aguiló, also known as Robert Burdet, Reginald de Bailleul, Gautier de Gervilla, Bernard Anton, Count of Carcassonne, Berenguer, Viscount of Narbonne, Arnold de Lavedán, son of the viscount of Labourd, as well as Guy de Lons, Bishop of Lescar, and Bernard de Astarach, Bishop of Auch. Gaston IV not only provided the largest human contingent, but also commanded all the troops that arrived from the other side of the Pyrenees.

Recruitment took place from Bordeaux and Limoges to the Pyrenees and from Carcassonne to Bayonne. The Gascons, commanded by Gaston of Béarn, entered Aragon through Somport and possibly through other passes, and grouped together at Ayerbe. They were the first to arrive to Zaragoza, defeating the Muslim troops that opposed them and then seizing the district of Altabas.

In this respect we can read in an Aragonese chronicle: "And Gaston of Béarn and the Gascons who proved themselves very well and the count of Perche who came there from France to serve God and the emperor"¹⁰.

¹⁰ *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*. Aragonese version, p 45.

On the same subject Zurita says: "In May (referring to the year 1118), the king gathered a large army from France against Zaragoza and its kingdom[...] While he was still in Castile, he sent for this enterprise to come from France, as has been said, many companies of men-of-war from the parts of Béarn and Gascony, whose generals were those who were named and other high lords who had followed him and served him in the past wars against the infidels; and according to the custom of those times, they called them and the men-of-war they had the Franks" ..."and after the month of June to the emperor's displeasure the Franks turned back, distrusting that the city could be taken, and also, according to what was written, because he chose not keep his promise to them, and only the counts, viscounts and the other captains with their men remained"¹¹.

Gaston of Béarn led the siege machines used to attack the walls of Zaragoza, just as he had led those used to take Jerusalem in the crusades. The siege began on 22 May and the city surrendered on 18 December. Muslim chroniclers, in order to diminish their defeat, greatly increased the number of foreign crusaders among the Christian ranks, some of them claiming that their numbers held 50,000 knights. In reward for his actions, the king would appoint Gaston as the lord of Zaragoza, Huesca and Uncastillo.

In the next year, the towns of Tudela and Tarazona fell under Christian dominion, although the sources consulted do not specify whether the fighters from France were still under the orders of the Aragonese monarch.

There is no word of Bernard, Count of Comminges, taking part in the following campaigns, and Peter, Viscount of Gabarret, died before being able to do so. On 17 June 1120, William IX of Poitiers, Duke of Aquitaine, nicknamed *The Troubadour*, along with 600 knights, took part in the Battle of Cutanda, in which the Christians were victorious. This nobleman was accompanied in the reconquest by Gassion, Viscount of Soule, who had taken part in the expedition of Peña Cadiella and would become lord of Belorado in 1125. His men came from Aquitaine, Gascony and the Poiteau. As a result of this battle, the towns of Calatayud and Daroca came under the control of *The Battler*.

¹¹ Zurita, J. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*. Volume I, Book XLIV, pp 138 and 140.

Fighting alongside Duke William in Aragon were possibly his family and vassals such as nobles from Saintonge, Limousin and Perigord like Raymond de Turenne and Geoffrey de Rochefort, nobles from Gascony and Guyena like Etienne de Caumont, William de Saint-Martin, Amanieud'Albret and Peter de Mugron, as well as Robert, Viscount of Tartas, Llobet, Viscount of Maremme, Bertrand, Viscount of Bayonne, the viscounts of Soule and Arvoucauve, and lastly William d'Heugas, Bishop of Dax. However, these names do not appear in the documents dating from the period which only number the knights that fought with the duke and do not mention any names. The duke and his men settled for their share of the spoils as a reward for their part in the enterprise.

In 1123, or in 1124 according to some accounts, the Aragonese reconquest was joined by Rotrou, Count of Perche and first cousin of the Aragonese monarch. He was accompanied by soldiers from Normandy, as well as by his brother Raymond, Gautier of Guidville and Sylvestre de Saint-Calais, among others. After fighting in Aragon in 1124 and 1125, Rotrou returned to France in 1125, accompanied by Reginald de Bailleul. The latter had also been a member of Alfonso's army.

In that year and the following one, Rotrou took part in the expedition to Peña Cadiella, in which Gaston de Béarn, Sylvestre de Saint-Calais and Reginald de Bailleul also took part. This expedition served as preparation for subsequent Andalusian campaign.

Gaston de Béarn took part in the reconquest of Andalusia, and later, in the defence of Monreal and the border. He would also create the so-called Militia of Monreal for the expedition against Valencia. A good crusader, Gaston de Béarn finally died in an ambush by the Muslims in 1130, who cut off his head, which was exhibited for several days in the streets of Granada: "He defeated the Christians and the head of their leader, Gaston, was taken to Granada in the second month of Yumada. It was paraded through the streets, on the tip of a spear, accompanied by the sound of drums. This brought a smile to the face of the Emir of the Muslims, Ali ben Yusuf, who was in Marrakesh"¹².

Gaston's body was recovered by his widow and son, who paid a sum of money, and his remains were buried in the Basilica del

¹² Idari, I. *Al Bayan al-Mughrib*. Translation by Maillo Salgado, F. *The fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba and the Taifa Kings*.

Pilar in Zaragoza, although the exact location of their resting place is unknown.

Sylvestre de Saint-Calais and Reginald de Bailleul are known to have taken part in the Peña Cadiella expedition, in addition to Gaston de Béarn, Rotrou and Gassion, Viscount of Soule.

Between 1118 and 1125, a nobleman from northern Gascony, Amauin de Blanquefort, also took part in the Aragonese reconquest. He was linked by family ties to the viscounts of Labourd and Tartas, who were regulars in the battles against the Muslims. He was joined by Guilhen Guiraud D'Arsac, another nobleman from the same region.

Between 1110 and 1130 two French knights: Castange and Pierre le Petit, who were brothers, fought in the service of *The Battler* and received great honours from him. Many other warriors from medieval France received various honours from the king of Aragon for their actions on the battlefield; quite a few of them returned to their lands of origin, but others stayed to live in the Aragon kingdom and continued to serve their king.

In 1124, another warrior of Gascon origin, Gaizco, appears in the surviving cartularies, but he disappears from them after 1132. The cause of his disappearance is unknown, perhaps he died, perhaps he returned to France.

Many of Rotrou de Perche's vassals and fighters settled in the district of Tudela, where they held important public offices – Robert Burdet de Culleil, Geoffrey Bertrand and Robert de Normantville became town governors, while Duran Pexon meted out justice.

In 1130, Count Hugh de Châlons and his son André fought in support of Alfonso I. This family's support for the reconquest dated back to 1080, when Hugh's father had fought alongside King Sancho Ramírez.

Also in 1130, but in another theatre of operations, Peter, Count of Marsan, accompanied King Alfonso in the siege of Bayonne. Helping *The Battler* in his reconquest, Arnold de Lavedán took part in the siege of Zaragoza and in the Peña Cadiella expedition, while Beltrán de Roucy, also known as Beltran, Count of Rissel and nephew to the Aragonese monarch, died in the battle of Fraga in 1134 after being named Count of Carrión. Another nobleman from beyond the Pyrenees who took part in these battles was Druas of Alençon. It should be noted that many of

the survivors of these French noblemen's retinues stayed to live and repopulate the Aragonese kingdom.

In 1132, Alfonso laid siege to the town of Tortosa with the help of French soldiers commanded by Ramon Bordet, Aimeric II of Narbonne, Centule II of Bigorre, Augier de Miramont and Gassion de Soule, several of whom were mentioned above.

In 1133 and 1134 the campaign against Fraga took place, in which the Viscounts Centule de Béarn and Aimeric II of Narbonne, Count Beltrán of Champagne, André de Châlons, the Norman Robert Bordet and Raymond Arnould took part, but they only managed to conquer Mequinenza. On 17 July 1134, the Christian and Muslim armies clashed at Fraga, with the Muslims being victorious. Most of the French nobles perished in the battle while the Aragonese monarch Alfonso I was wounded and died shortly afterwards. Only Rotrou de Perche and the lord of Castange are known to have survived.

Among the Frankish nobles killed in the battle, we can name Centule de Béarn as well as Bertrand de Laon, who had attained great influence at the court of King Alfonso I, although he does not appear in accounts prior to the battle. They were joined in death by Viscount Arnold de Lavedán, Olivie de Ramerupt, Hugh de Châlons and his son André. The defeat at Fraga signified the massive withdrawal of the French nobility from the Iberian reconquest.

In April 1204, a treaty of military assistance in the event of war was signed between King Peter I of Aragon, his brother Alfonso II, Count of Provence, and Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse.

During the reign of James I, this monarch was very often accompanied by French contingents in his military operations. It should not be forgotten that at that time the crown of Aragon also covered both sides of the Pyrenees – Roussillon and Cerdagne, now French, were an integral part of it and many nobles from the south of France were vassals of the Aragonese monarch. Thus, in the conquest of Mallorca, 1229-1230, we find contingents from the county of Béarn, a galley from Montpellier and adventurers from Provence. Also present was a very valiant French knight who had been banished from France by the name of Oliver de Thermens. He commanded a company, but died during the campaign.

The siege of Valencia in 1238 saw the participation of the archbishop of Narbonne, Pierre Amiel: "a very notable clergyman,

with forty knights and six hundred foot soldiers, and other barons who, by the fame of this war, came from France to serve the king"¹³.

In the following chapter the chronicler refers to them: "The French of the archbishop of Narbonne's company, as they were not very experienced in war with the Moors nor in their skirmishes, came too close within range of the city, and the Moors attacked, wounded and killed some of them".

In 1343 and 1344, there were wars between King James III the *Bold* of Mallorca and the king of Aragon which ended in the Aragon crown annexing not only the Balearic Islands, but also Roussillon and Cerdagne. These latter two lands had belonged to the crown of Mallorca to which many French soldiers paid allegiance. In 1343, news circulated that Roger de Comenge and other Gallic captains had raised troops in the neighbouring country to invade the Aran valley and Pallars, but no actual invasion occurred.

In the following year, Peter IV, King of Aragon, invaded Roussillon again and attacked the valley of Argelés, which was defended by the French captain Jofre Estendardo, who was taken prisoner when the town was taken by the Aragonese. Elne, defended by Captain Roger de Revenach, a Frenchman, was besieged. The captain was taken prisoner, while the French soldiers under his command were released.

On the other hand, to help the Mallorcan monarch, the French monarch sent a company of mounted men, who were attacked and decimated by the count of Pallars' men as they left towards the neighbouring country.

According to Zurita in Book VII, Chapter LXXVI, a French knight called Arnald de Rocafull offered his services to the king of Aragon. He would bring between 100 and 200 knights of his lineage or would bring the count of Armagnac with 500 to 1,000 men-at-arms and 3,000 labourers to the aid of the Aragonese, but Peter IV did not accept any of these offers.

In 1356, during his struggles against Castile, the Aragonese monarch enlisted the help of Gaston, Count of Foix, the viscounts of Narbonne and Cosesans, Roger Bernard de Foix, Viscount of Castellbó, as well as the count of Montlesan with their respective

¹³ Zurita, J. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*. Book III, Chapter XXX.

armies. According to Zurita, a French knight called Garbin, Lord of Abehir, also came to Zaragoza to help the king of Aragon.

In the following year, the Aragonese king entered negotiations with the count of Foix so that the latter could provide him with 500 horsemen. The count of Foix and the captal of Buch arrived at Magallón "with very good companies of warriors".

In 1358, at Girona, Peter IV managed to ally himself with a number of French and Gascon nobles, among them: Aymerich, Count of Narbonne, Jean de Greill, Captal of Buch, Arnauld and Beltrán of Spain, Guillem de la Esparra, Guillem de Pomer and Arnauld de Rocafull. "Having broken the truce and understanding he needed foreign troops to resist his adversary, he called on Aymerich, Viscount of Narbonne, and Juan de Greill, Captal of Buch, and Guillem de Pomer and Arnauld de Rocafull and the Viscount of Orta and other very important lords of France, who with such companies of horsemen as they could muster, came to serve him as he pleased in this war"¹⁴.

In 1366, Peter IV managed to get 100,000 florins from the king of France and the pope each, to which he added another 100,000 to pay off the mercenaries who were ravaging the Gallic lands and to get them to leave for Aragon to help him. According to Zurita, their leaders were Bertrand du Guesclin, Count of Longavila, a native of Brittany (in Spain known as Bertran de Duguesclin), the lord of Audrehem, Marshal of France, the lord of Clairvaux and the count of La Marche, as well as other very distinguished knights from Gascony and Picardy, who entered Spain with 10,000 men¹⁵.

Referring to these warriors, Zurita says: "there were innumerable people"... "The whole land was full of Frenchmen, Gascons, Normans, Bretons and Englishmen with different weapons and costume. It is said that they began to use in Spain equipment they called helmets and mail and harnesses for legs and arms, and those they called glacis and daggers and rapiers, because in the old days they used doublets and skullcaps and spears, and as before cavalrymen would call weapons and armour what is now said casually, from then on they called lances".

The chronicler recounts that they entered Barbastro, robbed the inhabitants in their houses and tormented them; they set

¹⁴ Zurita, J. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*. Book IX, Chapter XVI.

¹⁵ Zurita, J. *Gestas de los Reyes de Aragón*. Volume II, p 181.

fire to the church in which 200 people, who had taken refuge, all perished. Measures were taken so that when they passed through Zaragoza they would not indulge in such excesses.

In 1369, due to disagreements between du Guesclin and King Peter IV of Aragon, the king came to fear that du Guesclin would invade his kingdom, given that the Frenchman in the area of Soria "made a great show of companies of armed men" according to Zurita¹⁶.

In 1374, the count of Medinaceli, originally an illegitimate child of Béarn, and the Breton captain Jofre Rechon (perhaps Rechau) gathered several battalions of men-at-arms in the district of Molina with the intention of invading Aragon. They intended to take advantage of the fact that the prince of Mallorca was, with French soldiers (one captain being du Guesclin's brother), in Roussillon and Cerdagne attempting to recover those lands. In November of that year, Rechon invaded Aragon through the Borja area with 250 spearmen but, as the Mallorcan prince died of illness, his army headed by Captain Juan de Malatestit returned to Gascony.

According to Zurita, in 1384, the count of Ampurias rebelled against the king of Aragon, initially with a company of 300 Frenchmen commanded by Captain Vita. The rebel nobleman tried to bring into his service various groups of men-at-arms, some 1,000, who were moving through and plundering Languedoc. He also allied himself with the count of Comenge and Bernard of Aimerique, brother to the count of Aimerique. The French from Languedoc assembled at a place called Durbar, but one night they were surprised by the men commanded by Prince John, the Crown Prince of Aragon, and most of them were taken prisoner and taken to Perpignan.

The chronicler has this to say about the loyalty and fighting spirit of the French mercenaries: "When the king was in Vilanova on 23rd June of this year (1385), the French captains who were with their companies of armed men defending some of the count's forces, namely Vita, Giraut de Armeñaque, Olivo de Belmonte, Berni de Bar, Roberto de Ezerotz, Heudet de Quarenta, asked the king for safe passage so that they and their men could leave in safety and go to Caramanzo in the county of Ampurias and stay there. And the king ordered Bernaldo de Forcia to protect

¹⁶ Zurita, J. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*. Book X, Chapter IV.

them so that they could leave freely". Further on, referring to the month of July, he says: "the French armed forces that had deserted the count. The count managed to take refuge in Avignon, where he recruited some troops"¹⁷.

In the last year of his reign, Peter IV came into conflict with his son and successor, Prince John, who in 1386, allied himself with the count of Ampurias to defend his rights. The prince tried to bring troops from France to support him, asking the count to send him some companies of warriors he had in his service. He also asked the duke of Berri and the city of Toulouse to help him with men. For his part, the count of Ampurias obtained the assistance of Jean, Count of Bologna, which consisted of 800 men. These were joined by Captain Vita and the Viscount of Brinquel with 200 troops. However, some of them did not manage to enter Roussillon because of gradual desertion. The count therefore tried to recruit the men-at-arms commanded by Raymón de Torena, but the matter did not escalate because the Justice of Aragon sided with Prince John, who ended up reconciling with his father.

In 1389 and 1390, King John of Aragon had to confront the Count of Armagnac. The count placed his brother Bernard at the head of companies of men-at-arms from various nations, which invaded Empordà with them, taking several towns and besieging Besalú for several days. After several battles, in which royal troops came out the victors, the king left Girona with his men, which was enough for the enemy troops: "people who came with no purpose other than to steal and take what they could, abandoned the camp and did not dare to wait for him; and they took the road to Roussillon"¹⁸.

From France, these bands of men continued to make incursions into Roussillon. As a result, King John allied himself with the count of Foix and fought Armagnac's men, until Armagnac was ordered by the French king to Milan, where he died.

On the death of King John, his brother Martin was named to succeed him in 1395, but this was opposed by the count of Foix, who was married to a daughter of the deceased monarch. The count assembled a large number of warriors and hired: "the most distinguished captains in France, who

¹⁷ Zurita, J. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*. Book X, Chapter XXXV.

¹⁸ The concept of nation at that time did not refer to a state or country, as it does today, but to the region in which one was born.

were the captal of Buch and a nephew of his, and the captain of Lorda, the seneschal of Landes, Gallart de la Mota and the lord of Esparra¹⁹.

On 3 October 1395, the count of Foix invaded the Aragon kingdom with 1,000 men-at-arms of the so-called *bacinetes*, 3,000 *pilastres*, along with horsemen and 1,000 servants through the port of Aren. They failed at Barbastro and other towns, so they abandoned the Aragonese territory and went into Navarre. Another group of the count's forces, 300 men-at-arms and 1,200 infantrymen, threatened to attack Pallars, but in the end they did not do so. Other attempts that proved to be unsuccessful ceased in 1399 when the count of Foix died without an heir.

In 1409, Martin I sent a relief expedition to the island of Sardinia, which included Jean de Foix, Viscount of Castellbó, his brother Archibald, the lord of Lusa and other Gascon nobles, such as Guerao de Monleon, with their respective troops.

In 1461, Alonso of Aragon, commanding Aragonese troops and fighters from Gascony provided by the count of Foix, fought the Castilians. In 1462, King John II of Aragon, faced with the rebellion of the Catalans, managed to get Louis XI of France to lend him 300,000 gold escudos. He used this loan to recruit from the neighbouring country 700 spearmen as well as archers, liaison men, a number of infantrymen, and a proportionate amount of artillery, machinery, and ammunition. These men were commanded by the count of Foix, with Jean de Albrecht among their captains.

After passing through the port of Le Perthus, they managed to lift the siege of Girona on 6 August, defeated the count of Pallars' men, but failed at the gates of Barcelona. They then occupied Tarragona and headed towards the heart of Aragon, but before facing the Castilian troops, a truce was negotiated with them and the army was disbanded after entering Navarre.

In support of these, the King of France had sent another 700 lances, led by the duke of Nemours. Together, all the French forces seized Roussillon and Cerdagne, which had been ceded to the French as collateral for the sums that their services had provided to the King of Aragon.

¹⁹ Zurita, J. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*. Book X, Chapter LVIII.

Catalonia

The Countess Ermesinda of Barcelona had the Norman nobleman Roger (Rogelius) de Tosny and his men in her service for about 10 years. During this time, they devoted themselves to conquering cities, fortresses and carrying out attacks and raids on the Muslim-occupied territories of Catalonia. Roger's son Ralph also participated in all these activities.

Curiously enough, the Hispanic chronicles are silent on his presence but not so in the French ones, such as those of Ademar de Chabannes or Saint Pierre-le-Vif de Sens. The latter attributes the conquest of Girona and Tarragona to him, although Girona had already been reconquered by the time Roger arrived in Catalonia.

As Menéndez Pidal points out, referring to the territories that from the 12th century onwards received the name of Catalonia: "This Levantine region had been aided by Charlemagne and Louis the Pious with frequent military expeditions against the Muslims, but in the second half of the 9th century and throughout the 10th century this crusading interest ceased in France"²⁰.

In 1105, at the siege of Balaguer, fighters of Frankish origin took part, although the chronicles do not specify whether they were crusaders or mercenaries.

In 1113, Count Ramon Berenguer III invaded the islands of Mallorca and Ibiza, among the attackers was William V of Montpellier who came with 5 knights and other men. This enterprise was also carried out by Eimeric de Narbonne and Raymond Bacio, Lord of Arles, with his escort and many nobles from Arles, Roussillon, Bessieres, Nîmes and Provence.

In 1147-1148, the crusade to wrest control of Tortosa, in aid of Count Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona, was filled by many Frankish nobles such as the aforementioned William of Montpellier. He led the fighters arriving from Béarn and Narbonne, together with other feudal lords such as Bertrand of Toulouse and the abbot of Grassa, as well as many knights from French Occitania.

In 1149, the conquest of Lleida, Fraga and Mequinenza saw the participation of the army of Pierre de Gabarret, Viscount of

²⁰ Menéndez Pidal, R. *La España del Cid*. P 70.

Béarn, who was a relative of the count of Barcelona, and the army of a certain Brulhois.

Castile

Given that the kingdom of Asturias was one of the antecedents of the kingdom of Castile, it seems that its king Alfonso II the Chaste, in some unspecified year of the early Reconquista, requested and obtained money and men from Emperor Charlemagne to fight against the Muslims. However, the amounts of either remain unknown.

It can be assumed that between the reigns of Alfonso II and Alfonso VIII some French nobles fought with the monarchs of Asturias, León, and Castilla against the Muslims, although most of them would logically have fought with the monarchs of Navarre and Aragon and the Catalan counts due to reasons of geography. After all, Menéndez Pidal points out that in 1086, at the Battle of Sagrajas, also known as the Battle of Zalaca, French and Italian knights, who had come to Castile as crusaders, fought on the Christian side²¹.

As mentioned above in reference to Aragon, after the defeat at Sagrajas, a group of nobles from the south of France went on a crusade to Castile and, after being dismissed by Alfonso VI, took part in an attempt to seize Tudela. The duke of Burgundy decided to remain in Castile for family reasons. He was the nephew of Queen Constance of Castile and managed to get his brother Henry to marry Princess Teresa, the illegitimate daughter of King Alfonso, and Raymond, Count of Burgundy, to marry Princess Urraca.

“Having heard of these wars, many foreign Catholic knights decided to go over to King Alfonso the Sixth [...] among whom were Count Raymond, brother of the Count of Burgundy, Count Henry, a native of Lorraine. The other was his uncle, Count Raymond of Toulouse and Saint Gilles. King Alfonso with great pleasure admitted these and many others”²².

The Castilian monarch appointed Raymond as *Lieutenant of Extremadura*, who kept in his service a group of Burgundian or French knights, including Richard Guiscard, Robert Normant,

²¹ Menéndez Pidal, R. *La España del Cid*. P 117.

²² Ariz Monge, Father Fray L. *Historia de las grandezas de la ciudad de Ávila*. P 125.

Jacques Robert Guillen Beltran, Hugo de Remis and Robert de Charmis, who attended, some with their wives, a wedding that took place in the city of Ávila²³.

In 1147, during the temporary conquest of Almería led by King Alfonso VII of Castile the *Emperor*, William of Montpellier, who was a vassal of King Alfonso, and the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer IV, took part with troops of French origin.

There are no reliable records of French knights coming to Castile to fight against the Muslims until 1212. After the crusade against the Almohad Caliphate was preached in Spain, crusaders arrived at Toledo from Flanders, Italy, other Christian countries and above all from France, including the Archbishop of Bordeaux, the Bishop of Nantes and many barons, as well as knights and many people on foot. They were joined by Archbishop Arnold of Narbonne: "This archbishop made his entry into the city accompanied by a crowd from Gallia Citerior with instruments of war, standards, and weapons"²⁴.

According to the chronicler, the foreigners, whom he calls *ultramontanos*, i.e., from over the mountains (logically the Pyrenees), numbered 10,000 horsemen and 100,000 infantrymen, who, when they left Toledo, departed under the command of Diego López de Haro. After days on the road, they set up camp at Guadalferza and attacked the fortress of Malagón, which was conquered with the death of all its defenders. From there they continued their march to Calatrava and took it, at which point the majority decided to return to their countries of origin. It seems that their methods of fighting, which led to the death of all the prisoners, even if they had been promised to be spared, clashed with the customs, at least in Castile, of honouring the agreement not to kill captives if this had been promised.

In this respect, Ximénez de Rada points out: "For almost all the ultramontanos, having left the banner of the cross, also abandoned the wars and together decided to return to their lands [...] They left en masse, without trouble or fanfare"²⁵.

Only Archbishop Arnold of Narbonne remained, with nobles from the province of Vienne, along with about 120 knights and some princes. "Teobaldo de Blazon, from the land of Poiteau,

²³ Ariz Monge, Father Fray L. *Op. cit.*, p 132.

²⁴ Jiménez de Rada, R. *Historia de los hechos de España*. P 313.

²⁵ Jiménez de Rada, R. *Op. cit.*, p 315.

remained. He was a noble and valiant person, Hispanic by origin and from a Castilian family"²⁶.

This Teobaldo was the son of Pedro Rodríguez de Guzmán, a royal chamberlain of Alfonso VIII, who had fought the Muslims and died at the Battle of Alarcos years earlier. Queen Berenguela of Castile, "*The Great*" informed her sister Blanche, Queen of France, of his performance at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa: "Teobaldo de Blazon did not do so [abandon the Crusade], but served our father loyally and fought courageously in combat"²⁷.

Zurita, in his chronicle, calls the Battle of Las Navas the Battle of Úbeda and says: "People from France and Italy came on this enterprise. From France and Italy also came with devotion to serve our Lord in this holy war, large companies, among whom the main leaders were the archbishops of Narbonne and Bordeaux and the bishop of Nantes. And with them came many barons and high lords, with so many people of war." He points out that the count of Foix arrived with King Peter I of Aragon, adding that Archbishop Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada did not mention his presence in his work, but the Aragonese chronicler makes no allusion to the withdrawal of the *ultramontanos*²⁸.

In the unsuccessful campaign on Cáceres led by King Alfonso IX of León, groups of French crusaders from Gascony took part, including Savaric de Mauleon, who would later join the Fifth Crusade.

It seems that in 1318 Bermond II D'Anduze, Lord of Voute, was in Spain, accompanied by a number of knights and squires. They might have taken part in the disastrous expedition against the kingdom of Granada in which Princes Peter and John, the regents of Castile, were killed.

In 1343, during King Alfonso XI of Castile's siege of Algeciras, the royal received aid of 50,000 florins from the king of France, which the Castilian monarch used to pay the Genoese he had in his service. In terms of personal assistance, from France came: "Gaston de Béarn, Count of Foix, and with him came his brother Roger Bernal, Viscount of Castelbou – they brought a few companies from Gascuña where they were natives – but

²⁶ Jiménez de Rada, R. *Op. cit.*, p 315.

²⁷ De la Cruz, Fray V. *Berenguela la Grande. Enrique I el Chico (1179-1246)*. P 100.

²⁸ Zurita, J. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*. Book II, Chapter LXI, p 335.

many others who came with them were from other lordships, and came to serve God, and depended on their own"²⁹.

Those persons above lodged in the same place with the King of Navarre and other counts of France and Gascony not identified by the chroniclers. But historians of the time could only lament the actions of Foix and his brother, as well as the actions of his men in the crusade. Thus, on page 367 of the above-mentioned chronicle it is stated: "they were very cowardly in the fight", so they had to be saved by the count of Cabrera, which led to some of Foix's men regaining their courage, but their leader never fought, and both his attitude and that of his brother are severely criticised.

According to the chronicler, both Foix and his brother only dedicated themselves to intrigue, and the former tried to obtain the favour of King Alfonso. When he failed to do so, he asked the king to pay him, his brother and his men, which obliged the monarch to ask for a loan with which he paid them a month's salary: 200 to the count, 50 to his brother, 8 to the men on horseback and 2 to the men on foot, which on the other hand caused discontent among those who had been in the crusade the longest and had not yet received their stipends.

On another day, King Alfonso ordered Foix to keep watch. The count, grimacing on receiving the order, said he would go to carry it out, but he never went, claiming he was ill, which obliged the king to send other troops to keep watch. As the Frenchman continued to demand payment of his wages and the Castilian monarch was unable to obtain the money necessary to do so, Foix left the camp with his men, saying that he would return to the camp if his wages were paid. But he did not return because he died on arriving in Seville. The chronicler does not indicate what happened to his brother or his men, although it is to be assumed that they returned to their lands of origin.

William of Sergiaires and Jean de Rye, Lord of Balançon, also took part in the siege. The latter was captured by Muslims and spent 5 years in prison in North Africa. Jean returned to Castile in 1372 to request the return to France of the 1,000 Gallic soldiers serving the Castilian king, who were needed by the French monarch for his war against the king of England.

²⁹ Chronicle of Alfonso XI. Chapter CCXCIV, p 361. In *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*. Vol. I, edited by Cayetano Rossell.

Going back in time to 1357, the lord of Le Bret and his brothers arrived with cavalry to assist Peter I of Castile in his struggles against Peter IV of Aragon. In 1361, news spread that supporters of the Castilian king, the count of Armagnac and his son, John d'Armagnac, were preparing many cavalry and infantry regiments from the kingdom of France, intending to invade the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, which belonged to the kingdom of Aragon. The captal of Buch also came to Peter I's aid with men on foot and horseback.

In the following year, some sources state that the counts of Foix and Armagnac, the lord of Labrit and the captal of Buch, who were allies of the king of Castile, entered Aragon to attack the Egea region.

In 1366, Henry of Trastámara, who had fled from his half-brother, King Peter I of Castile, and taken refuge in France where he served the monarch, succeeded in getting both the king of France and the pope to help him in his quest to seize the Castilian throne. To this end, they provided him with money so that he could raise what were called the Great Companies or White Companies, made up of men from many countries who, after the truces signed between France and England, had become inactive, preferring to plunder the predominantly French territories in which they had established themselves, receiving the name *routiers*.

According to the writers of the time, in that year the lord of Le Bret and other knights in his service arrived in Castile, assuring the Castilian monarch that if he paid the French soldiers that were in the service of the pretender Henry, they would join his ranks, but Peter I refused to make any payment, so Le Bret and those who followed him returned to France.

While in Burgos, the monarch of Castile received news that his half-brother with a number of French knights had entered his domain: "And these were the captains of France. Bertrand du Guesclin, who was a very good cavalryman from Brittany, who was afterwards a strong count of France, and because he was a man of war and had good fortune in arms, they all took him as captain in this expedition. Other lords of the highest lineage came, as did the count of La Marche, who was of the fleur-de-lys lineage of the royals of France, and the Lord of Beaju, who was a high lord of France, and the marshal d'Audre[hem] who was a good cavalryman, marshal of France and native of Picardy,

and many other cavalrymen and squires and men at arms from France”³⁰.

The reason why the count of La Marche and the lord of Beaujeu, also Beaujeu, had entered Castile was because they were close relatives of Queen Blanche of Bourbon, who had been assassinated by her husband Peter I.

After entering Aragon by land and sea, they invaded Castile and proclaimed Henry king. The new king in turn discharged a large number of them, as the mercenaries had caused great damage to the kingdom and were costing money, paying them their stipends for the time they had served him. The Breton Bertrand du Guesclin, among others, remained in his service.

The events before and after the Castilian civil war will not be described, as I have recently recounted them on pages 28-51 of the chapter entitled “Britons in the Reconquista and in the Wars of the Iberian Peninsula, 12th to 15th Centuries” in *The British Presence in the Spanish Military*. International Journal of Military History no. 99. Military History Records 10, published by the Ministry of Defence in 2021.

But I will point out that du Guesclin with other French knights and, according to them, the king of France himself, advised Henry of Trastámara not to engage in direct combat with the troops of Peter I. They considered that the men provided by the *Black Prince* to Peter I were *the cream of the crop* of cavalrymen of that time and that it was more advisable to follow a *scorched earth* policy against them. But the pretender to the throne rejected their arguments, as neither he nor the nobles who supported him were in favour of this, but of fighting the enemy, following the rules of chivalry.

As a result, the battle of Nájera took place, and the cohorts of du Guesclin, the marshal of d’Audrehem and Bégue of Villanes and other French knights were in the vanguard of the Trastámara troops, all of whom, including du Guesclin, d’Audrehem and Villanes, were taken prisoner by their enemies. Henry was able to escape and, once safe in France, he again sought the help of the French monarch, who again granted it. Several knights did the same, including Bernal, an illegitimate son

³⁰ López de Ayala, P. *Crónica del rey don Pedro y del rey don Enrique*. II Volume, Chapter I, p 119.

of Béarn, Berni de Villamur, who had been taken prisoner in Nájera, and Bégue de Villanes.

In 1369, Bertrand du Guesclin arrived again to help the pretender Henry with 500 lances, which helped Trastámara to defeat Peter I at Montiel. During the siege, the Castilian monarch died at the hands of his brother with the controversial aid of the Frenchman.

In 1370, Bertrand du Guesclin and his retinue returned to fight for the Castilian King Henry II against Aragon and Portugal. The Lusitanian monarch finally had to sue for peace. The monarch of Castile discharged his French troops, handing over the lordships of Soria, Almazán and Atienza to du Guesclin, who returned to France at the request of the Gallic monarch, as King Henry had promised at Montiel. The town of Agreda was granted to Outier de Mauri, son-in-law of du Guesclin, Ribadeo to the Béguede Villanes, Villalpando to Arnau de Solier and Aguilar de Campo to JofreRelau. King Henry thus earned his nickname: *el de las Mercedes* (*the donor of favours*). Bertrand du Guesclin also received the Castilian titles of duke of Molina and duke of Trastámara (Henry was only count of Trastámara). In Aragon, he gained the title of count of Borja. He would lose all these on his final return to France. It should also be noted that another French knight, Bernard de Béarn, obtained the title of duke of Medina Celi, giving rise to this noble family in Spain.

In the time of John I of Castile, Jean de Rye mentioned earlier died during the battle of Aljubarrota, as did Arnau de Solier, who had become a marshal of Castile, fighting with 2,000 French lances for Castile against Portugal. After the entry of the English into the neighbouring country, King Charles IV of France after meeting with the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, agreed to send 2,000 lances to Castile, with 100,000 gold francs to pay them. On 14 May 1386, the first French troops landed at Santander, while the bulk of them arrived by land under the command of the Duke of Bourbon; the vanguard was commanded by Guillaume de Lignac and Gautier de Passac. Following his instructions, a scorched earth policy was enacted, truces were reached between the parties and John I sent the French away with great gifts for their chiefs and to the pleasure of the common people, since the Gallic soldiers had indulged in all sorts of excesses, as is the wont of mercenaries.

Between 1407 and 1410, in the campaigns that the Castilian Prince and King of Aragon, Alfonso, led against the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, several French nobles took part, including James II of Bourbon, Count of La Marche, who arrived in Castile with a group of between 60 and 80 knights and squires, including Guillebert (Gilbert) de Lannoy and Jacques de Marquette. In the 1407 campaign, John I, Count of Foix, was knighted. In 1410, shortly before the capture of Antequera, his brother Gaston de Grailly, known as the captal de Buch, was also knighted. Also figuring among them in the Castilian ranks was the knight Raimon D'Apcier, Viscount of Cauvisson.

In 1407, Guillebert de Lannoy took part in the unsuccessful siege of Setenil and in 1410 at the siege of Antequera, as well as in a raid on Malaga and another on Ronda in which he was wounded and lost his horse, but he was rewarded by Prince Ferdinand with two sorrels. When truces were agreed between Castile and Granada, de Lannoy took the opportunity to visit the Nasrid capital.

In 1454, a French embassy arrived in Castile, and as King Henry IV was leaving to fight the Muslims, several members of the delegation asked for permission to accompany the monarch on his expedition, to which King Henry agreed, providing them with arms and horses. The Castilian monarch had previously asked Charles VII of France to announce in his kingdom the crusade he was going to carry out so that French nobles and knights could join it, but very few responded to the call.

After one of the battles, one of these men was knighted. According to a chronicler, who never gives personal details, in another passage a French noble died who had come to make a name for himself³¹.

In 1457, Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, both of Burgundy, made donations to Antoine du Peage for his exploits against the Grenadians, as well as to Jean de Rebreviettes, who had defeated a champion of Grenada in single combat.

From 1482 to 1492, the armies of the Catholic Monarchs were joined by foreign mercenaries, among them French artillerymen. Some knights born in present-day France also arrived, such as the lord of Pregui and, in 1486, Philibert de Chandée, Count Schande in the Castilian chronicles, who curiously enough was a

³¹ Valera, D. de. *Memorial de diversas hazañas*. Various pages.

vassal and in the service of Henry VII, King of England. But the chronicles of the time, except for providing their names, hardly give any news about their actions if not ignore them completely.

Navarre

After the reconquest carried out by the kings of Navarre, French intervention in Navarre continued, given the political instability that took hold of the kingdom for many years. Between 1028 and 1030, according to French chroniclers, in a raid against enemy territory, King Sancho the Great was helped by the men of Sancho William of Gascony and Ramon I of Barcelona.

In 1275, the French monarch Philip the Bold, in aid of Queen Joan, sent an army to Navarre under the command of Constable Imbert de Beaujeu and Robert d'Artois, accompanied by the Counts of Foix, Armagnac and Perigord, Gaston de Béarn and other French nobles. The Gallic troops entered Spain via Jaca and Sangüesa (according to others via Canfranc) with the permission of the Aragonese monarch Peter. They reached Pamplona, entering the *Navarrería*, the rebel quarter, which was thoroughly sacked by the French and many of its inhabitants put to the sword. Later, the Frankish armies subdued other points of resistance, such as the city of Estella.

In 1283, the kingdom of Aragon was invaded by a joint force of Navarrans and French, who limited themselves to burning some towns and occupying castles, such as Salvatierra.

In 1335 there was a war between Navarre and Castile. The Navarran monarch was helped by his relative Gaston de Béarn, Count of Foix. The French noble and his men attacked Logroño, but when he was unable to take it, he withdrew to Viana.

Later, French aid was provided when Ferdinand the Catholic united Navarre with the rest of peninsular Spain, but this action was outside the period of the Reconquista, and is therefore not discussed here.

Chapter two

Burgundy bifront. The Franche-Comté between the wars of Flanders, Palatinate and Northern Italy (1615-1630)

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Abstract

The *Comtois*, subjects of the Hispanic monarch —as counts of Burgundy— in Franche-Comté, formed part of the armies of the Spanish Crown throughout the Habsburg government until its conquest by Louis XIV in 1674. The *comtois* or Burgundians fought in the European wars of the House of Austria with their own tercios (military units) or by joining others, displaying effectiveness on the battlefield that merited the recognition of the king's ministers as brave and loyal subjects. However, in their own county, which was very vulnerable as it was separated from any other territories of the Hispanic Monarchy and surrounded by foreign states, there was a constant fear of being invaded.

This paper aims to analyse the behaviour and role of the Franche-Comté and the *comtois* in the wars of the Spanish Monarchy by means of three war events that took place in the north and south of the province: the Monferrato Crisis (1613-1618); the first years of the Thirty Years' War in the Palatinate and the

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beginnings of the resumption of the Flanders War (1618-1624); and the War of Mantua (1627-1631). Throughout these 15 years of war, we will observe the contribution of Franche-Comté, a province traditionally forgotten by historiography, to the war needs of the Crown, as well as its defensive organisation in the face of the possibility of invasion.

Keywords

Spanish Monarchy, Franche-Comté de Bourgogne, Flanders, Milan, Palatinate, Army, 17th century.

An isolated province with loyal subjects

“There is only the county of Burgundy in this part of the country, which is far away and very distant from the other states and lordships, and so far that it would be a difficult and costly thing to send aid to it; and so I have always considered it good that during the past wars it has dealt with and been in neutrality with the French, and has taken advantage of the hereditary league that the house of Austria has with the Swiss, in which the state is included and which should be so in case of rupture. But the French are not to be trusted, and the Swiss neither, because they want to please the French, and also because they would like to have in their hands the part of the county that is close to them, and especially the salt mines. I have ordered the fortification of the town of Dola, which is the head of the State, and I have invested in it the aid granted to me, and you must see to it that the work, and that of Grey, is finished, and that the castle of Joulx is repaired, that other lands are fortified and that the other services that will be provided are for this; and the repair and provision of artillery and provisions and ammunition and other expenses for the time when it will be needed, because the County is the oldest patrimony of the house of Burgundy and capable of damaging the French on that side, depending on the occasion; and the vassals there have always been and are very faithful, and have served our ancestors, and you may be served by them, and so I entrust you the fortification, defence and conservation of the State in question”².

In Charles V's Instructions to his son Philip, the Emperor clearly summarised the state and characteristics of the County of Burgundy. Seen from Brussels as a *pays de par de là*, Franche-Comté or County of Burgundy was surrounded by the territories of Lorraine, Alsace, Switzerland, Savoy and France. Belonging to the Burgundian patrimony of the House of Habsburg, Franche-Comté was politically and administratively linked to all the provinces of the Netherlands and was, from Charles V's time until 1674, part of the territorial conglomerate of the —Spanish Monarchy—. The territorial distance that separated it from the

² *Instructions from Charles V to Philip II on foreign policy*. Augusta, 18 January 1548. Transcript in: Fernández Álvarez, M. (1975). *Corpus of Carlos V*. Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca. V. II, pp 569-592.

Netherlands or any other territory of the Spanish Crown gave this small province a sense of isolation and vulnerability, even during the long periods of peace it enjoyed. Without an army of its own, the defence of the province was always a complex matter. First, in the face of an attack, the province had to resist with militias in the strongholds of the territory. The most important towns in the county, like Dole and Gray, were walled and there were also other defensive infrastructures at strategic points, including the castle of Joux. Besançon, although not a county town but a free imperial town and therefore outside the jurisdiction of the Count of Burgundy, —the Hispanic monarch—, was located in the centre of the territory, so it was in the Crown's unquestionable strategic interest to protect it to maintain the security of Franche-Comté. Because of this convergence of interests, —Besançon needed the protection of a strong sovereign, and the Count of Burgundy protected it because of its key location—. In fact, since 1350 the Counts of Burgundy had been protectors of the imperial city³. This network of walled cities and fortresses meant they were able to fight off invasion.

However, it was always a limited and, of course, unequal resistance against armies whose strength was far beyond the province's capabilities, in particular those of France. The defence of Franche-Comté always depended on the aid that could be provided to them by the nearest territories, primarily the Netherlands —due to the link between them—, but also Milan. Aid that was not always of the same type. On the one side, there was the military aid that the armies of the two territories could send them, although with the disadvantages of the time required to prepare them —the economic cost— and the time that elapsed between their departure and arrival⁴. Logically, the

³ From 1390, the Counts of Burgundy, —also then Dukes—, were perpetual and hereditary guardians, protectors, and defenders of Besançon, and responsible for the security of the town and its inhabitants, including its metropolitan church. In addition to the rights of guardianship and protection, since 1451 the Counts of Burgundy had the rights deriving from the association established with Besançon by virtue of a treaty of perpetual alliance and confederation. This treaty allowed the Crown to appoint a judge and a captain with "authority and full knowledge of matters pertaining to the affairs of war", in addition to other powers. Letter from the Duke of Alba to Philip II, Brussels, 24 December 1571. *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (CODOIN). (1849). Madrid. Vol. XIV, pp 434-448.

⁴ Lucien Febvre insisted that distance was an essential characteristic factor of Franche-Comté. A letter took 15 days to reach Dole from Brussels, crossing alien territories. Milan to Namur was a 6-week route if everything went smoothly and

sending of this aid was subject to military or defensive needs in Flanders or Milan. On the other hand, the Crown could attack an enemy state from another of the Monarchy's territories to make the enemy divide forces and thus relieve pressure on the County, or it could even create —*diversions*—. On a reciprocal basis, its geographical location was, at times, an advantage for the Crown. Part of the "Camino Español", which formed the backbone of communication between Flanders and Milan, it was a safe passage for men and money, a meeting point for troops from different territories and a starting point for diversionary operations against the Crown's closest enemies.

Fortresses and militias were one part of the *Comtois* defence; the other part consisted of the treaties of the Hereditary League with Switzerland and neutrality with France. The Hereditary League was a treaty signed in 1511 with the Swiss Cantons in which two points were agreed. -The first was a good neighbourliness pact between the two parties, -and the second, known as *loyal regard*, forced them *a priori* to help each other in the event that one of the two parties was invaded by a foreign power⁵. The treaty of neutrality with France, signed in 1522, was even more significant because it meant reaching an agreement with the main enemy power of the Spanish Crown and the country to which Franche-Comté was most exposed. The treaty established, among other points, that neither of the two parties, — Spain or France—, could provoke war not or hostilities, invade or use any other kind of force on either of the two Burgundies, —the Spanish count and the French ducal—, or their subjects⁶.

there were no unforeseen events. Febvre, L. (1912). *Philippe II et la Franche-Comté. Étude d'histoire politique, religieuse et sociale*. Paris. P 62.

⁵ A very vague and inconcise point of the agreement stated that "if the countries of either party are attacked or invaded by force by either party, those of the other party shall, at their request, keep a watchful eye so that they are not pressured or bothered against right and reason". The Burgundians wanted to see in this point the commitment of the Swiss to help them militarily if they were attacked by France, but the Swiss understood it, —or wanted to understand it—, as diplomatic aid whereby through letters or sending delegations they would try to help to achieve peace by exhorting the king of France. See: Windler, C. (2010). De la neutralité à la relation tributaire: la Franche-Comté, le duché de Bourgogne et le royaume de France aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles. In Ch Janet, J. F. et Windler, C. (eds.). *Les ressources des faibles. Neutralités, sauvegardes, accommodations en temps de guerre (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)*. Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes.

⁶ The two treaties were first signed in the time of Governor Margaret of Austria (1506-1530) and were a tremendously effective instrument of protection to preserve the territory from possible conquest and the brutality of war. Windler.

These two treaties represented a veritable *diplomatic wall* that safeguarded a very exposed province destined to suffer the onslaught of the Spanish-French wars.

And so Franche-Comté needed the Crown to preserve its territory—and its privileges— but, reciprocally, Franche-Comté contributed to the Monarchy's forces. Although the province was smaller than other more populated and economically stronger territories, the Burgundians were soldiers held in great esteem by the Crown for their bravery and loyalty. This enormous consideration for the *Comtois* is evident in countless letters and in the consultations of the Councils of State or of Flanders. In a consultation of the Council of State on 4 February 1631, in which the problems arising from the reformation of the army of Flanders carried out that year were discussed the councillors analysed the level of effectiveness and bravery of the different nations fighting in the king's armies, placing the Burgundian army among the most capable and trusted: "Spaniards, Italians, and Burgundians will be left in the first position where trenches are to be dug"⁷. In a letter in which he expressed his opinion on the measures to be taken for the proper functioning of the army of Flanders, the Count Duke of Olivares reserved a privileged place for the *comtois*: "These two nations, Burgundians and Irish, are numerous in the armies of VMd, and are well treated, at ease and content"⁸. In 1637, two years after France officially entered the conflict and one year after Louis XIII's invasion of Franche-Comté, an anonymous paper,—probably by Miguel de Salamanca, overseer and accountant of the Artillery of the Netherlands—, was sent to a meeting in Madrid where the army of Flanders was to be discussed. It reads:

"that, although the 1,148 soldiers in the two Burgundian tercios [tercio del Marqués de Varambon and tercio del Conde de Saint-Amour] seem few, it is considered sensible to conserve them by making them the responsibility of the Sor Infante [Cardinal Infante, governor of the Netherlands and Burgundy] not only to try to adjust them to the number of people and companies there are, but to have in the army as many people as possible from this nation because

De la neutralité à la relation tributaire: la Franche-Comté, le duché de Bourgogne et le royaume de France aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles.

⁷ Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Estado (E), Leg. 2045, doc. 133, Council of State, Madrid, 4 February 1631.

⁸ AGS, E., Leg. 2046, doc. 15, Council of State, Madrid, 6 October 1632.

of the evidence that they always give of their courage and loyalty”⁹.

In short, the Burgundian *nation's* reputation for loyalty and effectiveness in the service of forces endured for many decades, which is why, whenever feasible within the possibilities of such a small territory, the Crown wanted to have Burgundian soldiers in its ranks.

The County of Burgundy in the Monferrato Crisis (1615-1618)

The succession crisis that started in 1612 on the death of Francesco IV Gonzaga (1586-1612), Duke of Mantua and Monferrato, precipitated a conflict in Europe for the first time since the truce with the United Provinces in 1609¹⁰. Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy, sought to acquire the Duchy of Monferrato, which adjoined his territories, invading it in April 1613. At the beginning of the conflict, until September 1614, the Spanish position was ambiguous, attempting to resolve the crisis diplomatically in line with the policy of quietude of the Duke of Lerma, who feared that the conflict would escalate into a major one, especially with France¹¹. Faced with the failure of diplomacy, armed force was used from the summer of 1614 onwards¹². How the governor of Milan, Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis de la Hinojosa¹³, managed the crisis was widely criticised in Madrid, both by the Council of State and the monarch himself as lukewarm and damaging to the reputation of the forces of the Hispanic Monarchy¹⁴.

Charles Emmanuel's belligerent, hostile attitude to any agreement forced the war to be prolonged, and Madrid demanded greater resolve from the governor of Milan, given that until then there had only been minor skirmishes. In April 1615, Hinojosa entered Piedmont with the aim of taking the two most

⁹ AGS, E, leg. 2155, [Miguel de Salamanca, 1637].

¹⁰ Foranin-depth study see: Álvarez García, J. (2021). *Guerra en el Parnaso*. Doce Calles and the classic Pérez Bombín. (1975). *La cuestión de Monferrato 1613-1618*. Universidad de Valladolid.

¹¹ Álvarez, J. *Guerra en el Parnaso*. P 59; García, B. *La pax hispánica*. Pp. 93-94.

¹² Álvarez, J. *Guerra en el Parnaso*. Doce Calles. Pp 58-59.

¹³ On the Marquis de la Hinojosa, see: Williams, P. Juan Hurtado de Mendoza. *Diccionario Biográfico de la Real Academia de la Historia* [on line]. Available at: <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/20826/juan-hurtado-de-mendoza>

¹⁴ Pérez Bombín. Pp 92-93.

important positions in the duchy: Vercelli and Asti. To achieve this ambitious goal, the largest possible army was needed, for which it relied on troops from Naples, Spain, and other allied Italian principalities, —Tuscany, Lucca, Parma and Urbino—, in addition to the Milanese troops¹⁵. Franche-Comté was not on the margins of this offensive. On 10 March, the Marquis de la Hinojosa wrote to the Marquis de Guadaleste¹⁶, ambassador of the Monarchy in the Low Countries, asking for a diversion to be made on the border of the County of Burgundy with Savoy to divide the Duke's army¹⁷. The ambassador, —who consulted Archduke Albert—, proposed sending the Baron de Balançon's Burgundian *tercio* de Borgoñones¹⁸, but at the time he was short of men. Formed in 1584 for the wars with Flanders, this *Tercio* was undoubtedly the most important of the Burgundian *tercios* for its longevity, its successes on the battlefield and its field master, Claude de Rye, who was promoted to various positions of military and political responsibility. At the time of Hinojosa's request, the *tercio* had already made its mark during the siege of Ostend (1601-1604)¹⁹ and, in 1607, it had been

¹⁵ Pérez Bombín. Pp 128-129.

¹⁶ On the Marquis of Guadaleste, see: Sanz Cañanes, P. Felipe Folch de Cardona y Borja-Lanzol. *Diccionario Biográfico de la Real Academia de la Historia* [on line]. Available at: <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/14880/felipe-folch-de-cardona-y-borja>

¹⁷ AGS, E., leg. 2029, doc. 7, Madrid, Council of State, 10 April 1615.

¹⁸ Claude de Rye, Baron de Balançon, belonged to one of the most important families in the county of Burgundy. His father was Philibert de Rye, Count of Varax and de la Roche-St-Hippolyte, Baron of Balançon. In 1587, Philip II appointed him bishop of Dole in Franche-Comté. Subsequently, in 1594, he was appointed Captain General of the Flanders Artillery, and a year later the monarch granted him the government of Gelderland. In the same year, 1595, he was appointed Captain General of the Flanders Artillery. He died in 1597 at the battle of Turnhout against Maurice of Nassau. His paternal grandfather was Gerard de Rye of Balançon, Knight of the Golden Fleece, childhood companion and sumillers of Charles V. His uncles were Marc de Rye, Marquis of Varambon and Knight of the Golden Fleece, and Ferdinand de Longwy, Archbishop of Besançon (1586-1636) and provisional governor of Franche-Comté in the time of Philip IV (1630-1636). National Historical Archive (AHN), Órdenes Militares (OOMM), Santiago, Exp. 6991; Haynin, L. de (Monsieur du Cornet). (1868). *Histoire générale des guerres de Savoie, de Bohème, du Palatinat et des Pays-Bas, 1616-1627*, 2 volumes. Ed. by L.P. de Robaulx de Soumoy. Brussels. Volume I, p 245, t 2, p 359; Moreau, H. (2019). *Église, gens d'Église et identité comtoise. La Franche-Comté au XVII siècle*. CERF Patrimoines. P 23; Houben, B. (2014). Burgundians in the Brussels courts. In Vermeir, R., Raeymaekers, D. and Eloy Hortal Muñoz, J. (eds.). *A constellation of Courts. The Courts and Households of Habsburg Europe, 1555-1665*. Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2014, pp 229-230.

¹⁹ Du Cornet, T 1, p 18.

entrusted with the stronghold of Grol with 13 companies and 723 soldiers²⁰. Guadaleste informed Madrid of the possibility of raising some 3,000 Burgundians —which is what Hinojosa was asking for—, and using them either to carry out the request of the governor of Milan or to protect the County in case the Duke of Savoy decided to make an incursion from that side. If, once raised, these troops were no longer needed, they could be used to reinforce the badly undermanned Balançon Tercio. The Council of State was in favour of this levy in case the Italian question was not settled, proposing that the County provide some cavalry as well. Philip III wrote to Archduke Albert on 24 May to arrange everything as he saw fit²¹. However, when the letter arrived in Brussels, the Peace of Asti had already been reached (21 June 1615) which, *a priori*, ended the war against the Duke of Savoy, so the levy was not carried out²². The Asti agreement was considered by Madrid to be burdensome and humiliating for the interests and prestige of the Crown²³, so on 12 September 1615 the Marquis de la Hinojosa was replaced by Don Pedro de Toledo Osorio, Marquis of Villafranca²⁴. This new stage in Milan's government would be characterised by a warmongering and "reputationist" policy that would wipe out Hinojosa's conciliatory and hesitant one. During the first months of 1616, both sides prepared for the resumption of the war while formally feigning peace negotiations²⁵. Once again, Franche-Comté would be part of the new governor's war plans,

²⁰ AGS, Estado, leg. 2289, *Relación de la gente de pie y a caballo que sirve a SMg en su ejército*, 18 April 1607.

²¹ Archives Générales du Royaume (AGRB), Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg. 178, fol. 134, Letter from Philip III to Archduke Albert, Madrid, 24 May 1615.

²² AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg. 178, fol. 152, letter from Archduke Albert to Philip III, Mariemont, 27 June 1615; Álvarez, J. *Guerra en el Parnaso*. Pp 59-64.

²³ In addition to failing to meet all the requirements that Madrid considered unrenounceable, such as complete disarmament, the treaty included other conditions -introduced by France- that were manifestly contrary to Spanish prestige, such as the departure, first and foremost, of Spanish troops. Álvarez, J. *Guerra en el Parnaso*. P 64.

²⁴ The governor of Milan, Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis de la Hinojosa, was not only replaced but prosecuted between 1616 and 1617 for his actions during the Monferrato crisis, although the final sentence was in his favour: Álvarez, Ja. *Guerra en el Parnaso*. Pp 78-87. For a portrait of Don Pedro de Toledo, Marquis of Villafranca, see: Hernando Sánchez, C. J. Pedro de Toledo Osorio. *Diccionario Biográfico de la Real Academia de la Historia* [online]. Available at: <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/8740/pedro-de-toledo-osorio>

²⁵ Pérez Bombín. Pp 178-186.

although this time from the beginning of the invasion and in a more coordinated approach with Milan. As early as September 1614, at a meeting of the Council of State in Madrid, Don Pedro de Toledo set out a plan of action against Savoy consisting of a simultaneous attack from three fronts: the first, with galleys from Naples and Sicily on the Savoyard cities of Nice, —the main coastal city of the Duke of Savoy— and Villafranca; the second, from Franche-Comté with Burgundian and German troops; and the third from Milan²⁶. Once appointed governor general, the Marquis of Villafranca could implement his simultaneous attack strategy²⁷.

In May 1616, Villafranca reported on the diminished state of the army of Milan and asked Archduke Albert to order the levy that had been pending since 1615 in the county of Burgundy²⁸. This levy which, as we have seen, was requested but not carried out by the Marquis de la Hinojosa, had been approved by the Archduke, and he even promised to authorise it again in the event that hostilities were resumed²⁹. Don Pedro de Toledo now needed the levy to be implemented, requiring 4,000 infantrymen, a —thousand more than Hinojosa had requested—, and 400 horses. As in the 1615 preparations, this levy was financed by Milan, which sent 140,000 escudos to Franche-Comté for this purpose³⁰. Villafranca asked the Count of Champlitte, Governor

²⁶ Pérez Bombín. *La cuestión de Monferrato*. Pp 91-92.

²⁷ Milan probably turned to Franche-Comté to supply its soldiers because from the beginning of the conflict it was short of troops. In fact, throughout the crisis, the troops of other Italian princes allied with and protected by the Spanish Crown, such as those of the Duke of Parma, Mantua and Genoa, as well as from other territories of the Monarchy such as Naples, Sicily and Aragon, were called upon. Even if the men levied in the County of Burgundy did not join the Milanese army, they would enter the Duchy of Savoy on another front, which would force the duke to divide his army and thus weaken it against Milan's. Pérez Bombín. *La cuestión de Monferrato*. P 93; Álvarez, *J. Guerra en el Parnaso*. P 172.

²⁸ AGS, E., leg. 2299, letter from Don Pedro de Toledo to Archduke Albert, 11 May 1616.

²⁹ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg. 178, fol. 152, Letter from Archduke Albert to Philip III, Mariemont, 27 June 1615.

³⁰ Letter from the Marquis of Villafranca to Philip III, 19 August 1616, (CODOIN). (1849). Madrid. Vol. XCVI, pp 136-137. Milan would provide the money by sending Nicolás Cid, son of the overseer general of the army of Milan, Francisco Cid, who had been assisting him since 1615, AGS, E., leg. 2300, letter from Guadaleste to Philip III, Brussels, 6 August 1616. We know that the money was sent to the county of Burgundy from Villafranca himself, who specifies this in a letter: AGS, E., leg. 2300, letter from Villafranca to Archduke Albert, Milan, 23 July 1616. In the record of the expenses incurred in this conflict drawn up by the accountant general of Milan, Juan

of Franche-Comté, to organise the levy. He also urged that the passage of troops from the County to Savoy be forbidden and that no Burgundian should serve any foreign prince without authorisation from Brussels³¹. As for the officers of the Tercio, Villafranca asked Archduke Albert to accept, —as he would do—, the Marquis of Dogliani to carry out the levy³². Marc-Claude Rye, Marquis de Dogliani, was a Burgundian belonging to one of the most important families in the county of Burgundy. He served in the household of the Duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel, —hence his marquisate in Piedmont—, which may have had something to do with his choice to form this Tercio. Villafranca described him as a gentleman of “age and prudence”³³, as he was already 62 years old when he was entrusted with the task. Dogliani would also be put in charge of appointing the tercio officers³⁴, placing Jean-Jaques de la Tour as captain of one of the infantry companies. This Burgundian soldier had served in the Baron de Balançon’s Tercio since 1606, in the Spanish galleys during the capture of Larache (1610) and again in Flanders until the general reformation. His relevance lies in the shining career he developed in the following years, obtaining the title of Baron of Moncle and being appointed Maestre de Campo³⁵. Archduke Albert acted resolutely, ordering the Count of Champlitte to begin preparations at the end of May, even before receiving

de Ayzaga, on 16 July 1617 when the war was over, he calculated the cost of the levy of Burgundians at 149,189 escudos, which would be in line with what Don Pedro de Toledo had promised. This record is given in Pérez Bombín. P 232.

³¹ AGS, E, leg. 2299, Letter from Don Pedro de Toledo to Archduke Albert, 11 May 1616.

³² AGS, E., leg. 2300, letter from Guadaleste to Philip III, Brussels, 6 August 1616. Marc-Claude de Rye, Marquis de Dogliani (or d’Ogliani) and Baron de Dicey, was born in Amance (Franche-Comté) on 21 February 1554. In 1597, he married Chétienne Madruce, daughter of Frederic Madruce, Baron of Bauffemont. He was senior knight to Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy and governor of Chablais. For his services to the Duke of Savoy, he must have obtained the marquisate of Dogliani, as he resided in Piedmont with the permission of Archduke Albert. In the years following the crisis with Savoy, he rose through the ranks to become a member of the secret Council of Milan and ambassador extraordinary to the Sguissi Cantons (1624-1629). AGS, Secretarías Provinciales, leg. 2434, Marquis de Dogliani, 21 January 1626; Behr, A. Les diplomates de la Cour d’Espagne auprès des XIII cantons et des Grisons au XVIIe siècle. Pp 166 and 170; *Mémoires et documents inédits pour servir à l’histoire de la Franche-Comté*. (1868), Besançon. Volume 6, p 136.

³³ AGS, E., leg. 2300, Letter from Guadaleste to Philip III, Brussels, 6 August 1616.

³⁴ AGS, E, leg. 2300, Letter from Guadaleste to Philip III, Brussels, 6 August 1616.

³⁵ AGS, Secretarías Provinciales, leg. 2434, Jean Jacome de la Tour, Lord of Moncle, 15 October 1625.

the monarch's authorisation³⁶. Preparations for the Villafranca simultaneous attack strategy were under way³⁷.

The initial approach was to gather in the County of Burgundy a military contingent of Burgundians and Walloons —whose conscription was under way in parallel with those of Franche-Comté—, to be able to intervene quickly in Savoy³⁸. These forces would be commanded by Don Luis de Velasco, Marquis of Belvedere and captain general of cavalry of the army of Flanders, who would command a diversion on the border of the County with Savoy as soon as Don Pedro de Toledo executed the ordered³⁹. Although in May, Villafranca expressly requested command of the Borgoñones tercio for Dogliani, in August he arranged for the Borgoñones to be placed under Velasco's command: "Although the Marquis of Dogliani is an honourable gentleman and is apt for business, I do not know how apt he is for war"⁴⁰. The purpose of this intervention in the Duke of Savoy's rearguard would be to divide his forces just at the moment when Villafranca entered Piedmont in command of the army of Milan —with an estimated 30,000 infantry and 3,000 horses⁴¹—. After the attack, the *Comtois* would be in charge

³⁶ Villafranca also wrote to Ambassador Guadaleste to make the necessary arrangements with Archduke Albert: AGS, E, leg. 2299, letter from the Marquis of Guadaleste to Philip III, 29 May 1616; AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg. 180, p 73, letter from Albert to Philip III, 13 August 1616.

³⁷ The plan to attack the Duchy of Savoy remained a three-pronged assault: by crossing the Sesia River with the army of Milan and the Prince of Masserano; by sea —to Nice—; and from the north of Savoy with the Burgundian and Walloon troops, Pérez Bombín. *La cuestión de Monferrato*. P 195.

³⁸ Copy of a deciphered letter from the Marquis of Villafranca to Philip III, Milan, 22 May 1616, CODOIN. (1849). Madrid. Vol. XCVI, pp 93-94.

³⁹ Don Luis de Velasco y Velasco, Marquis of Belvedere from January 1616. His career was based on the exercise of arms in Naples —where he formed and commanded a tercio of Spanish infantry in 1591—, and Flanders where he took part in the siege of Ostend (1601-1604), among many other actions. He was captain general of artillery (1598) and captain general of cavalry (1604) in the army of Flanders. After the events of Monferrato he was appointed councillor of war in Madrid (1623) and councillor of state (1624). Sánchez Martín, J. L. Luis de Velasco y Velasco. *Diccionario Biográfico de la Real Academia de la Historia* [on line]. Available at: <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/16231/luis-de-velasco-y-velasco>

⁴⁰ AGS, E., leg. 2300, copy of a letter from Don Pedro de Toledo to Spinola, Milan, 6 August 1616.

⁴¹ Not all of them would enter Savoy; some would stay in fortresses and strategic points for state protection, so the bulk of the army was around 22,000 infantry and 2,000 horses, letter from the Marquis of Villafranca to Philip III, 19 August 1616, CODOIN. (1849). Madrid. Vol. XCVI, pp 138-141.

of presiding over all the towns and fortresses that were taken on the border with Savoy to secure the passage from Milan to-Flanders⁴². Last, if the army of Flanders joined the army of Milan during the course of the war, they would all be under the command of Don Pedro de Toledo⁴³.

At the end of the same month of May, Archduke Ferdinand of Styria also asked Brussels for a regiment of Burgundian infantry under the Flanders army to fight the Serenissima⁴⁴. Since August 1615, Archduke Ferdinand had been fighting the Venetians over the Uscoks in the so-called Gradisca War (1615-1617)⁴⁵. This confrontation in the Adriatic area, which ran parallel to the Monferrato war, prevented Venice from fully intervening in the Piedmontese situation and, consequently, Milan was able to disengage itself from the Venetian border⁴⁶. The archduke did not order the levy, considering that the money lent by Brussels to Baltasar de Zúñiga should be sufficient, although he left it in the hands of the king. It would appear that the levy of Burgundians to assist the Archduke did not take place as there is no reference to it, but it was replaced by a monthly payment that Villafranca had to make to Zúñiga, —approved by the Council of State—, to raise troops in the Empire⁴⁷.

In several letters sent to Brussels between May and August, Villafranca insisted on the importance of having Burgundian troops available for the planned operation. During the summer of 1616, the situation in Italy worsened and, faced with imminent conflict, the pace of the levy had to be accelerated. However, the Franche-Comté Parliament saw drawbacks in these levies. They feared that the participation of Burgundians in the Savoyard conflict would break the neutrality agreement

⁴² Letter from the Marquis of Villafranca to Philip III, 29 May 1616, CODOIN. (1849). Madrid. Vol. XCVI, pp 99-102.

⁴³ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg. 180, p. 89, copy of a letter from Philip III to Albert, 16 August 1616.

⁴⁴ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg. 179, p. 213, letter from Archduke Albert to Philip III, 28 May 1616.

⁴⁵ The Uscoks were a population of Balkan origin who settled on the Adriatic coast in the port of Segna in the 16th century under imperial protection. This population carried out piracy against Ottoman and Venetian ships with the consent of the Empire and the Spanish Crown, González Cueva, R. *Italia y la Casa de Austria en los prolegómenos de la guerra de los Treinta Años*. Pp 435-465.

⁴⁶ González Cuevas, R. *Italia y la Casa de Austria en los prolegómenos de la guerra de los Treinta Años*. P 444.

⁴⁷ González Cuerva. *Italia y la Casa de Austria*. P 443.

with France —which, as we have seen, protected the County in the event of war between the crowns—, therefore asking for their withdrawal⁴⁸. The Governor of Franche-Comté, the Count of Champlitte, sided with the Parliament⁴⁹. However, these requests do not seem to have had much effect, as the Burgundian levy continued.

Although the plan was drawn up in good time, the orders and money for the levies of Walloons and Burgundians were not executed in the same way. It seems that the Burgundian levy had already been made in mid-August and the captains had already been appointed through blank patents sent by Villafranca and distributed by the Count of Champlitte⁵⁰. This was confirmed by Spinola, who provided Philip III with an account of the preparations on 13 August, stating that 4,000 infantrymen and 400 horses were expected in Franche-Comté. However, the Walloon levy was not keeping pace. Although the Archduke was always favourable to Milan's requests, by mid-August Don Pedro de Toledo had still not given the order to begin the levy of 4,000 Walloons⁵¹. Moreover, he had only provided financially for the levies in the county of Burgundy, and nothing for Brussels⁵². Philip III wrote to Albert on 16 August ordering him to raise the levy immediately, and in September it was under way, with time of the essence. Albert appointed field masters, captains, and officers and appointed barracks in Luxembourg, close to Franche-Comté, to gain time⁵³. The

⁴⁸ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg. 180, p. 73, Letter from Albert to Philip III, 13 August 1616.

⁴⁹ Letter from the Marquis of Villafranca to the Marquis of Dogliani, 24 July 1616, CODOIN. (1849). Madrid. Vol. XCVI, pp 133-134.

⁵⁰ A Burgundian horse captain —who was never named— went to Brussels to inform the Archduke of the news of this levy, that it had now been done and the appointments made. We understand that the Marquis de Dogliani had some involvement, although he is not mentioned. AGS, E., leg. 2300, copy of a letter from Archduke Albert to Villafranca, Brussels, 13 August 1616.

⁵¹ AGS, E, leg. 2300, copy of letter from Spinola to Villafranca, 20 August 1616.

⁵² Don Luis de Velasco's report to Juan de Ayzaga states the payment of 76,000 ducats to the Duke of Nemours for his levy in the County of Burgundy. This is —different from that of Dogliani—, from which it can be deduced that the remainder of the 140,000 ducats that Milan sent to Franche-Comté, —which is recorded as total payment for the Burgundy levies was, as we have seen—, for the other tercio raised by the Marquis of Dogliani. AGS, E., leg. 2300, letter from the Marquis of Belvedere to Philip III, Brussels, 26 September 1616.

⁵³ AGS, E, leg. 2300, letter from Archduke Albert to Philip III, Brussels, 6 September 1616 and AGS, E, leg. 2300, letter from Spinola to Philip III, Brussels, 7 September 1616.

monarch's letter also confirmed the aid of Don Luis de Velasco in the Savoy operation⁵⁴.

On 10 September 1616, Don Pedro de Toledo was ready with his army "in the confines of Piedmont", on the border between Milan and Savoy. However, the army that was supposed to enter Savoy from Flanders via the *Comtois* border had not been raised. With invasion of the Duchy of Savoy by Milan and Franche-Comté at the same time ruled out, Don Pedro de Toledo asked for action to be speeded up so that the army of Flanders could help him as soon as possible. On 14 September, he entered Piedmont.

Brussels calculated that no matter how quickly the Walloons were recruited, they would not arrive until mid-November or early December. Consequently, at the end of September, it was decided to cancel the levy and instead send soldiers who had already been recruited⁵⁵. These soldiers would come from the garrisons on the banks of the Rhine and in Jülich, two thirds of which were Walloons and old soldiers of the army of Flanders⁵⁶. This change of plans was made without the consent of Philip III, although it was justified precisely to comply with the Monarch's orders to assist Villafranca issued in August. The start of hostilities with the Duke of Savoy was not the only pressing issue for Brussels. Winter was near, which was a major problem, as the person in charge of commanding the troops, Don Luis de Velasco, had expressed from the outset: "In those parts everything is mountains and the snows in November are so heavy that it is not possible to march with warriors or artillery", this also being an obvious waste of money⁵⁷. In fact, Villafranca did not want to delay the entry into Piedmont any longer for fear of an area "where the waters are so heavy", i.e., where there

⁵⁴ Don Pedro de Toledo had asked Don Luis de Velasco to command the Walloon and Burgundian tercios that were to enter Savoy, as we have seen. The Archduke informed him that Velasco's presence or not did not depend on him but that "it had to be by order of His Majesty with respect to the great position he holds in this army [Velasco was then Captain General of the Cavalry of the army of Flanders], and so this should be sought through Spain in case his person is needed there" AGS, E., leg. 2300, copy of a letter from Archduke Albert to Villafranca, Brussels, 13 August 1616.

⁵⁵ AGS, E, leg. 2300, letter from the Marquis of Belvedere to Philip III, Brussels, 26 September 1616.

⁵⁶ AGS, E, leg. 2300, letter from Archduke Albert to the Marquis of Belvedere, Tervuren, 24 September 1616 and letter from Archduke Albert to Philip III, 25 September 1616.

⁵⁷ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 180, p 151, letter from the Marquis of Belvedere to Philip III, Brussels, 23 September 1616.

was snowfall⁵⁸. The Marquis of Spinola agreed with Don Luis de Velasco⁵⁹, as did the secretary of the Spanish embassy in Flanders, Pedro de Savigo⁶⁰. Faced with the Brussels' reluctance, the governor of Milan rebuffed these concerns, arguing that it was colder in Flanders at that time of year and that the fighting was still going on, even though, paradoxically, he himself also warned of the difficulties that winter could bring. He insisted on asking the monarch for these troops to help him make his incursion into the Duchy of Savoy a success⁶¹. Furthermore, beyond the inconvenience of winter, there was another logistical problem. Bresse, a border territory between Savoy and Franche-Comté, had become a French possession in 1601 after the signing of the Treaty of Lyon⁶², affecting the Spanish military corridor connecting Milan with the Netherlands, —the famous "Camino Español"—. Spanish opposition to this agreement did not prevent it from being signed, but it did prevent consideration from being given to their demand for safe passage for their troops, which was reserved for the Duke of Savoy. To this effect, the narrow Valserina valley and a bridge over the Rhône, *pont de Grésin* for the passage of Spanish troops, the only remaining connection between the county of Burgundy and Savoy, were preserved⁶³. Don Baltasar de Zúñiga had already warned Spinola of this problem in a letter dated 31 December 1616, having travelled this route. The pass was so narrow and

⁵⁸ AGS, E, leg 2300, letter from the Marquis of Villafranca to the Marquis of Spinola, Candia, 10 September 1616.

⁵⁹ AGS, E, leg 2300, deciphered letter from Spinola to Philip III, Brussels, 26 September 1616 and a copy of a letter from Spinola to Don Pedro de Toledo, Brussels, 26 September 1616.

⁶⁰ Pedro de Savigo assumed the ambassadorship until the appointment of a new ambassador after the death of Felipe Folch de Cardona y Borja, Marquis of Guadalest. AGS, E, leg. 2300, letter from the secretary Pedro de Savigo to Philip III, Brussels, 27 September 1616.

⁶¹ Letter from the Marquis of Villafranca to Philip III, St. Germain, 10 October 1616, CODOIN. (1849). Madrid. Vol. XCVI, pp 146-148.

⁶² In the Treaty of Lyon (17 January 1601), Henry IV of France ceded the Marquisate of Saluzzo, the Valserina —and the strategic bridge of Gresin— to the Duke of Savoy in exchange for the territories of Bugey, Valromey, Gex and the Bresse, losing all the territories west of the Rhône. This agreement was a blow to the Spanish military corridor connecting Milan with the Netherlands, famously known as the *Spanish Way*. See: Hugon, A. (2001). *Le duché de Savoie et la Pax Hispanica. Autour du Traité de Lyon. Cahiers d'Histoire* 46, pp 211-242.

⁶³ AGS, E, leg 2301, copy of a chapter of a letter from the Marquis of Villafranca to Philip III, 9 February 1617; Parker, G. (1985). *El ejército de Flandes y el Camino Español 1567-1659*. Alianza Universidad. Pp 108-109.

surrounded by enemies —French on one side and Bernese on the other⁶⁴— that Zúñiga could not see how all the Walloon and Burgundian troops could pass into Savoy⁶⁵. Franche-Comté, although bordering on Savoy, was not a suitable province for the passage of troops, and even less so for any diversion, given that the contingent was too exposed⁶⁶. The fragility of this pass was also known to the enemy who in 1616 (the exact date is —unknown but had to be after September with the resumption of the conflict— under the Marquis de Lons, an ally of the Duke of Savoy) destroyed it, —in addition to the bridge of Lucey— to cut off this strategic pass and isolate Franche-Comté and the threat is posed. Spinola acknowledged to Philip III that Archduke Albert was aware of this problem, but that he had refrained from saying so because when the beginning of the levy of Burgundians had started he had not known Villafranca's plans and when he found them out the *tercio* had already been raised⁶⁷. A third problem was added to the seasonal and logistical ones: the economic one. The Treasury was in trouble and expenses had to be avoided, and Philip III was determined to discharge all the soldiers outside Milan until spring if a peace agreement could not be reached before then⁶⁸. For all these reasons, on 19 November the monarch, in accordance with the concerns coming from Brussels, ordered Archduke Albert to suspend Don Luis de Velasco's entry through Savoy, as it was

⁶⁴ The canton of Bern allied itself with the Duke of Savoy by means of a mutual support agreement (23 June 1617) and the sending of Swiss soldiers to the Duke. Although the agreement was signed months after Zuniga's letter this, along with the fact that it was a Protestant canton, supports the suspicions about the canton of Bern and its enemy status. Pérez Bombín. P 215.

⁶⁵ AGS, E, leg 2301, copy of a chapter of a letter from Baltasar de Zúñiga to Spinola, 31 December 1616.

⁶⁶ In June 1616, Villafranca wrote that "I have judged the diversion by the Savoy to be a good remedy, and occupying the strongholds with people of VMd of Burgundy would put an end to the inconvenience". In addition to justifying the attack from Franche-Comté to put an end to the "inconvenience" of the Duke of Savoy, it is possible that he was also referring to the narrow passage that closed the military corridor through the County of Burgundy, with the forts that secured it and dependent on France's will. Letter from the Marquis of Villafranca to Philip III, Milan, 12 June 1616, CODOIN. (1849). Madrid. Vol. XCVI, pp 119-112.

⁶⁷ Spinola's justification is dubious since the request for the levy of Burgundians was made in May 1616 and from the beginning Villafranca clearly stated the purpose of it: to divert Savoy from Franche-Comté as, in fact, in 1615 the Marquis de la Hinojosa had proposed. AGS, E, 2301, letter from Spinola to Philip III, Brussels, 25 February 1617.

⁶⁸ Pérez Bombín. P 202.

too late⁶⁹. Archduke Albert immediately dismissed the people levied in Franche-Comté⁷⁰.

The Villafranca offensive was successful, but by no means decisive. In fact, from November onwards, the war changed tack due to the onset of winter, —which forced the governor of Milan to shelter his troops in the barracks—, and the massive arrival of French aid to the Duke of Savoy from the Duke of Lesdiguières⁷¹. Spanish advances faded together with Don Pedro de Toledo's prestige. From the end of 1616, the Marquis of Villafranca was preparing for a new offensive in the spring. Having learned his lesson, this time Don Pedro de Toledo expressly asked Brussels for troops and in good time too —December 1616—. And, above all, he sent money: 40,000 ducats in December and a further 60,000 ducats in January 1617⁷².

The governor of Milan was still determined to enter through the county of Burgundy, even though he was aware of the difficulties of crossing the Rhone, which Balthasar de Zuniga pointed out: "there are certainly other safe passages", although he did not specify whether these were in the County or through other military corridors⁷³. For this purpose, Villafranca left a new levy of Burgundians in Franche-Comté in the hands of the king, but this time they would not be joined by Walloons; they would go from Flanders to reinforce the army of Milan through the Scythian corridor⁷⁴. Moreover, as Spinola warned regarding

⁶⁹ Faced with this decision, the Duke of Lesdiguières abandoned the surveillance of the *Comtois* frontier and moved to Piedmont to help the Duke of Savoy, Pérez Bombín. P 207. François de Bonne, Marshal of France, Duke of Lesdiguières, Governor of the Dauphinat and last Constable of France helped the Duke of Savoy with troops throughout the conflict and with his direct involvement in line with the French crown's anti-Spanish policy. See: Gal, S. (2007). *Lesdiguières. Prince des Alpes et connétable de France*. Grenoble, Presses Universitaires de Grenoble. AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 180, p 257, Madrid, letter from Philip III to Albert, 19 November 1616.

⁷⁰ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 180, p 300, letter from Albert to Philip III, 18 December 1616.

⁷¹ Pérez Bombín. Pp 211-212.

⁷² AGS, E, leg. 2301, letter from Villafranca to Spinola, Romanan, 21 December 1616. In Milan, a levy of 1,000 horses was made and 8,000 infantrymen and 1,500 horses were expected from Naples. Pérez Bombín. P 214.

⁷³ AGS, E, 2301, copy of a chapter of a letter from Villafranca to Philip III, 9 February 1617.

⁷⁴ The difficulty of the route through Franche-Comté was compensated for by an alternative route through the Catholic Swiss cantons. Permission for Spanish troops to pass along this second route was linked to an excessively burdensome financial

the Walloons: "There aren't enough of them to take as many" for Milan and Franche-Comté. If the diversion did not happen, the Burgundian troops would be used to reinforce Milan, which was in great need of men⁷⁵. Whatever the purpose, it was a good idea to plan the levy in the county. In addition to men, Don Pedro de Toledo needed weapons. He asked Spinola for the province's forces and, in particular, for the 600 or 700 that were in Besançon, or so Villafranca understood⁷⁶. What is more, Don Pedro de Toledo constantly complained about the military incapacity of the Milanese nobility, requesting good, prepared and experienced soldiers" to occupy positions in the infantry and cavalry officers, specifically two Burgundians: the Lord of Mandrá and Captain Gaughier, old and valiant soldiers who had been recommended to him⁷⁷. Aside from the good opinion Villafranca had of these two Burgundians, his criticism of the Italian nobles stemmed from the dissensions that had arisen in the government in Milan as a result of the defeats suffered in the first months of 1617⁷⁸. At the end of February of that year, Spinola confirmed to the governor of Milan that he had received the letter with the promised money and that everything had consequently been set in motion: the officers had already been appointed, the levies

compensation for the Treasury. Villafranca therefore sought a new pass through the Valtellina, a valley dominated by the Grisons, —Protestant Swiss cantons—. In March 1617, an agreement was reached with the League of Graubünden to use the new road. The Milanese Alfonso Casati, representative of the Spanish crown in the Swiss Cantons between 1594 and 1621, played a major role in this agreement. Pérez Bombín. P 236; Bragado Echevarría. (2017). *Los regimientos suizos al servicio de España en el siglo XVIII. Diplomacia, guerra y sociedad militar (1700-1755)*. Doctoral Thesis. University of Granada. Pp 66-67. On the Casati family see: Andreas Behr. Les diplomates de la Cour d'Espagne auprès des XIII cantons et des Grisons au XVIIe siècle.

⁷⁵ Pérez Bombín. P 204.

⁷⁶ Philip II established a garrison in the town of Besançon with the authorisation of Emperor Maximilian II. This Spanish garrison was established to protect the city from enemy attacks, —and especially Calvinists after the so-called "surprise of Besançon" invasion (1575)—, given that the Count of Burgundy —was— obliged to guarantee its security by the treaty of Guardiandad. In addition to securing the city, the Spanish Crown benefited from this garrison by being able to "intervene" in the affairs of Besançon, a free imperial city outside the jurisdiction of the monarch, AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 201, fol 236. *Copy of the memorial given by the German ambassador on behalf of the emperor* [October 1629].

⁷⁷ We have no information about these two soldiers, nor are they mentioned again later. Perhaps Gaughier may have something to do with the famous Simon Gauthiot, but this is speculation because of the similarity in the name. AGS, E, leg 2301, letter from the Marquis of Villafranca to Spinola, Novara, 26 January 1617.

⁷⁸ Álvarez. *Guerra en el Parnaso*. Pp 105-106.

would be made during the month of March and in April they would be on their way to Milan. Regarding Franche-Comté's forces, Brussels gave permission to the Marquis de Villafranca to acquire them, including the armaments of Besançon. At that time, the two Burgundian knights requested by Don Pedro de Toledo were in the county of Burgundy, so Spinola suggested to Villafranca that he entrusted the two captains with raising two companies of horses in that province⁷⁹. It would appear that the levy was carried out and, according to the assessment made by Melchor de Espinosa on 30 May 1617 regarding what was provided and paid for the army of Flanders during the months of January and February, the payment of the first amount for a levy of Burgundians amounted to 908 escudos and 35 plates, as recorded in the section of extraordinary and secret expenses⁸⁰. It seems reasonable to think that the levy was raised, although it is not mentioned again in the documentation we have.

Don Pedro de Toledo re-entered Piedmont on 21 May⁸¹. The campaign was a success for the Spanish forces, especially the capture of Vercelli (26 July 1617), the strongest city in the Duchy of Savoy. No tercio or Burgundian company appears in the Marquis of Villafranca's letters to Philip III reporting on the advances in the capture of this city, despite —mentioning other nations—. However, we know from the service records of some Burgundians that they were present in Vercelli. This was the case of Claude Gabriel de Mouchet de Battefort, Baron de Dramelay, who mentions the military action and, in fact, was awarded a habit of St James in 1617, probably as a reward for his participation⁸². From then on there were the occasional military events, —such as the capture of Felizzano by the Duke of Savoy—, but the Monferrato crisis came to an end that same year with the treaties of Paris-Madrid (6-26 September) and the Peace of Pavia (9 October).

⁷⁹ AGS, E, leg 2301, letter from Spinola to the Marquis of Villafranca, 21 February 1617.

⁸⁰ AGS, E, leg 2302, Melchor de Espinosa, *Tanteo de lo proveído y pagado para el ejército*, 30 May 1617.

⁸¹ Pérez Bombín. P 214.

⁸² "The Baron de Drameley, a Burgundian cavalryman in the habit of Santiago, in a memorial given to the Council, refers that he has served V.M. since the first wars in Piemonte, having been found in the site and capture of Bercei..., AGS, E, file 2801, Council of State, Madrid, 31 August 1638; National Historical Archive (AHN), Military Orders (OO. MM.), Santiago, file 5589; AHN, OO. MM., file 15,404.

The Palatinate, Flanders, and Franche-Comté's defence organisation (1618-1624)

The Bohemian revolt in 1618 was the starting point for a conflagration of unprecedented dimensions that swept up all the powers of Europe except for Russia. While it had its own episode in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), —the so-called Ten Years' War (1634-1644)—, Franche-Comté had previously been involved in the war on two stages: in the Palatinate and in the Flanders War.

The county of Burgundy continued to be used as a territory to transit troops to the Low Countries, albeit with increasing difficulty. Since the Treaty of Lyon (1601), and especially after the alignment of the Duke of Savoy with France from 1610, —as we saw in the previous section—, the western route of the "Spanish Way" became less and less frequented as it was too exposed. In the spring of 1620, during the Palatinate campaign, Archduke Albert ordered the governor of Franche-Comté, Adrien Thomassin, to organise the stages for an army coming from Italy⁸³. In June, 1,800 Neapolitans of the Marquis of Campolataro's Tercio passed through the territory, awaiting the passage of more Italian troops, including those of the Marquis of Ballon's tercio⁸⁴. At the end of that year, a column of 9,000 Spaniards and Italians moved towards Flanders to reinforce the army in view of the imminent end of the Twelve Years' Truce. As such, it was the last contingent to pass through this military corridor⁸⁵.

After the "Defenestration of Prague" (23 May 1618) marking the beginning of the Bohemian revolt, the royal ambassador to the Empire, Count de Oñate, warned of the dramatic consequences for the House of Austria if this imperial territory was lost. Don Baltasar de Zúñiga, an influential member of the Council of State in Madrid, considered the situation as serious as the ambassador had described it and decided to intervene on the German stage⁸⁶. Archdukes Albert and Elisabeth also saw the need for intervention, in their case to protect their territories: the Dutch were supporting the German Protestants and if the latter were

⁸³ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 184, p 41, letter from Archduke Albert to Philip III, Brussels, 28 April 1620.

⁸⁴ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 184, p 112, letter from Archduke Albert to Philip III, Tervuren, 30 June 1620.

⁸⁵ Wilson, P. *The Thirty Years' War. A European Tragedy 1618-16130*. Vol p 338.

⁸⁶ Parker, G. *La guerra de los Treinta Años*. P 65.

victorious they would return the favour in their war against the Spanish Monarchy, meaning that the Dutch would emerge stronger⁸⁷. In May 1619, 7,000 soldiers from the army of Flanders were sent to Vienna, and by the summer the imperial army already numbered 30,000 troops from multiple territories⁸⁸. In October, Archduke Albert asked for a larger force of 30,000 infantry and 5,000 horses, —a request he had already made the previous year without success—. Of these 18,000 were from Naples, Milan, and Spain and 12,000 were Germans, Walloons, and Burgundians⁸⁹. It seems that he was also unsuccessful in this new request.

In early 1620, the Count of Oñate again sent a letter asking Madrid to get involved to assist the Austrian Habsburgs, who then were under siege in their capital, Vienna. In the spring-time, the Crown decided to intervene by sending veteran troops from the army of Flanders to the Palatinate to distract the forces from the siege⁹⁰. Under the command of Ambrosio Spinola, 4 old tercios of Spaniards, Burgundians, Germans and Walloons, as well as 12 old companies of horses, were assigned. The Spanish Monarchy was determined to intervene on the German front, but he could not ignore the imminent “breaking” of peace with the Dutch the following year. In this context, —the forces to be divided between the Empire, already at war, and Flanders, which was about to break out into full-blown hostilities, had to be carefully considered striking a fair balance—. The high regard of the *Comtois* soldiers was evident. Philip III recommended that, of the tercios planned for Germany, the Spanish, and the Burgundian tercios should remain in Flanders, because if confrontation were to take place then he should like to count on “the most placid people to be found anywhere”⁹¹. The monarch repeated the warning he had given in May about the consequences of *de-brigading* the army in Flanders and the need to have there, in addition to other nations, a Burgundian tercio consisting of 2,000 troops and a cavalry force of 2,800 Spanish horses,

⁸⁷ AGRB, Secrétairerie d’État et de Guerre, reg 183, p 127, letter from Archduke Albert to Philip III, Mariemont, 30 October 1619.

⁸⁸ Parker, G. *La guerra de los Treinta Años*. Pp 67 and 69.

⁸⁹ AGRB, Secrétairerie d’État et de Guerre, reg 183, p 127, letter from Archduke Albert to Philip III, Mariemont, 30 October 1619.

⁹⁰ Parker, G. *La guerra de los Treinta Años*. Pp 75-76.

⁹¹ AGS, E, leg 2232, letter from Philip III to Archduke Albert, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 5 August 1620.

followed by Burgundians, Italians, and Germans⁹². On 9 August, an army of several nations left Flanders for the Palatinate, including 5 Burgundian horse companies: that of Claude-François, Baron de Ray; that of Claude de Bauyffremont, Baron de Scey; that of Baron de Dicey⁹³; that of François de Voisey, Lord of Cleron; and that of Jean-Jacques de la Tour, Lord of Moncle⁹⁴, the first three of which were cuirassiers and the last two harquebusiers. On the infantry side, there was the Baron de Balançon's Burgundian tercio, composed of 9 companies, which had played a decisive part in the battle of Alzey (August 1620)⁹⁵. Spinola made smooth progress in the Palatinate. The Battle of White Mountain (8 November 1620) ended the Bohemian revolt and the first phase of the Thirty Years' War with the victory of Emperor Ferdinand II and the Catholic cause.

The conflict in the Empire was soon joined by the resumption of the war with the United Provinces, as the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621) came to an end in 1621. The conflict coincided with two important changes: the reversion of the provinces of the Low Countries and Burgundy to the territorial ensemble of the Spanish Monarchy after the death of Archduke Albert (15 July 1621), and the first steps of the new reign of Philip IV. In April, the new governor of the Low Countries and Burgundy, the Infanta Isabella, and Spinola withdrew their troops from the Palatinate to the Low Countries, although they left some troops under the command of Don Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba in the Palatinate⁹⁶. The Burgundian horse companies and the tercio of Balançon, which in fact increased to 13 companies that year, stayed behind⁹⁷. In addition to those we already know, we must add two other Burgundian companies: that of François de Pontailier, Baron of Vaugrenans, with 100 horses; and that of Adrien d'Andelot, Lord of Reusmes, of a similar number⁹⁸.

⁹² AGS, E, leg 2231, letter from Philip III to the Marquis of Bedmar, Aranjuez, 9 May 1620.

⁹³ It is Marc-François de Rye, son of the Marquis de Dogliani. Du Cornet. *Histoire générale des guerres de Savoie*. Vol I, p 88.

⁹⁴ The company of Jean-Jacques de la Tour, Lord of Moncle, was one of those that made up the Marquis de Dogliani's Tercio, raised in 1616 in Franche-Comté with the intention of being a diversion for Savoy. Du Cornet. *Histoire générales des guerres de Savoie*. Vol I, p 11.

⁹⁵ Du Cornet. V I, pp 18 and 97.

⁹⁶ Parker, G. *La guerra de los Treinta Años*. P 84.

⁹⁷ Du Cornet. V I, p 122.

⁹⁸ Du Cornet. V 1, pp 100-101.

On the Flemish stage, the Burgundians took part in the first campaign against the Dutch at the Siege of Jülich (September 1621 – February 1622), or more specifically the company of Burgundian horses under the command of Captain Messieurs, whose bravery was repeatedly praised⁹⁹. In mid-1622, the Baron de Balançon's Burgundian Tercio went from the Palatinate to Flanders. As a result, a new Baron Beauvoir's tercio of Burgundians was created for the Palatinate, with 12 companies¹⁰⁰. In Flanders, the Baron de Balançon's tercio took part in the battle of Fleurus (26 August), commanded by Don Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, who was defeated by Mansfeld and Brunswick, and later in the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom (4 October). Satisfaction with the Burgundian troops is reflected in a comment by Don Fernando Girón, taken from a meeting of the Council of State in Madrid on 7 January 1624: "what was seen was that whenever the army of Vmg went towards the enemy, the Spanish infantry was at the forefront even when it was another's nation task, but always with the competition of only two nations, the Italians and the Burgundians"¹⁰¹. The capture of Breda (August 1624 – June 1625) was the most famous event of the Baron de Balançon's tercio, which excelled in the siege, allowing him to rule the city from 1625 to 1632.

The conscription of Burgundians for the army of Flanders, whether operating in the Low Countries or in the Palatinate, was not the only involvement of the County of Burgundy in the European conflagration. After the Battle of White Mountain (8 November 1620), France and England decided to intervene further in the conflict, given the successes of the Habsburg bloc. From that time on, there were constant threats of invasion of the territories that constituted a safe passage for troops on their way from Milan to the Low Countries. These began with Alsace. Warnings of a possible invasion alerted Archduke Leopold, who asked the Infanta Elisabeth for help. The protection of Alsace was a priority as it was an essential part of the military corridor through which Spanish, Italian and German troops passed, thus preventing the isolation of the army in Flanders. Furthermore,

⁹⁹ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 186, p 124, copy of a letter from Archduke Albert to Count Henri de Bergh, Juliers, 6 October 1621.

¹⁰⁰ Some companies had previously served the Balançon Tercio, including the company of Claude Mouchet, Baron de Battefort and Claude Thurey. Du Cornet. V I, pp 111 and 122.

¹⁰¹ AGS, E, leg 2141, Council of State, Madrid, 07 January 1624.

the loss of this territory would make even more difficult the preservation of already highly exposed territories, such as the Duchy of Lorraine and Franche-Comté. However, as we have just seen, the army of Flanders was too busy to take on another territory. Brussels could not help Alsace in the event of an attack, but a neighbouring territory could. Elisabeth called on the governor of Franche-Comté, Clériard de Vergy, Count of Champlitte, to help Alsace should it be needed. Since the end of 1621, a contingent had been in place for the defence of the Alsatian province¹⁰². Within its limited scope, the Franche-Comté helped Archduke Leopold by sending soldiers together with a "great relief of people" from the Duke of Feria, governor of Milan (1618-1626 and in 1631-1633)¹⁰³, between January and February 1622¹⁰⁴. In June of that year the threats were confirmed and the Count of Mansfeld intervened in Alsace. Philip IV ordered the assistance of the existing forces in the Palatinate, —those of Don Gonzalo de Córdoba and the Baron de Tilly—: "... and although it is good to preserve everything, it seemed to me to put it to VA [Infanta Isabel] that she should view the matters of Alsace [...] in themselves and in relation to the States of Burgundy and Italy as more pressing and important than those of the lower Palatinate"¹⁰⁵. The invasion was brief and in the same year Mansfeld left Alsace¹⁰⁶.

Franche-Comté was as exposed as Alsace. Fearing invasion, at the end of 1622 the County of Burgundy retreated and began to organise its defence, given that a new attack by Mansfeld was certain to come. Philip IV asked Isabella to come to his defence, as well as the Archduke Leopold, requesting him not to dismiss his men-at-arms in case he could help the County, as the County

¹⁰² In addition to Franche-Comté, aid for Alsace would be completed with the help of the Duke of Lorraine: AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 187, p 18, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 10 January 1622. This defensive strategy was approved by the king: AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 187, p 70, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 14 February 1622.

¹⁰³ See: Benitez Sánchez-Blanco, R. Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba. *Diccionario Biográfico de la Real Academia de la Historia* [online]. Available at: <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/8419/gomez-suarez-de-figueroa-y-cordoba>

¹⁰⁴ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 187, p 93, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 24 February 1622.

¹⁰⁵ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 188, p 65, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 28 July 1622.

¹⁰⁶ Wilson. *The Thirty Years' War*. P 420.

had done him some months earlier¹⁰⁷. During the Thirty Years' War, the Crown received multiple warnings announcing movements and possible enemy attacks on one of its states. However, many of them were discarded when, after review by the relevant Councils; there was insufficient evidence for them. The Royal Treasury could not afford to spend large sums of money on preventing attacks that would not take place. In fact, some scares were intended precisely to increase the Crown's expenditure, as the Marquis of Montesclaros pointed out:

"The letters and warnings that have been read are points on which it is necessary to consider and warn what is convenient, adjusting precautions to the certainty of the warnings and the disposition and prevention of the enemies of the Crown, without it being as easy as to force us to incur expenses without needing to do any more than send out gazettes without authority or signature to engage us"¹⁰⁸.

At the meeting of the Council of State on 9 June 1624, the warning from Spinola and the Marquis of Mirabel, ambassador of the Crown in France, were analysed, and Mansfeld's trips to England and France and the secret instruction to levy an army of people and enter Franche-Comté were informed of¹⁰⁹. The councillors considered these warnings to be true, so the County needed to be urgently secured in view of the high probability of invasion. In addition to the warnings, the expectation that the invasion of Franche-Comté aroused among several states gave further cause for concern, as the Duke of Albuquerque stated: "The company of Burgundy is highly coveted by those outside Italy and within it, and the most to be feared from what is understood"¹¹⁰. The councillor was referring to France and England, to the German Protestants, as well as to Savoy and Venice, who saw in the seizure of the province the acquisition of a strategic point to be able to intervene more directly in Italian affairs, — the Valtellina— or in Germany to wear down the power of the Habsburgs.

Council members, aware of the weakness of the province, considered several possibilities. The most widespread opinion

¹⁰⁷ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 189, p 26, copy of a letter from Philip IV to Archduke Leopold, Madrid, 8 December 1622.

¹⁰⁸ AGS, E, leg 2038, doc 14, Council of State, Madrid, 09 June 1624.

¹⁰⁹ AGS, E, leg 2038, doc 14, Council of State, Madrid, 09 June 1624.

¹¹⁰ AGS, E, leg 2038, doc 14, Council of State, Madrid, 09 June 1624.

was the need to call on the armies of Flanders and Milan to guarantee a minimum defence. But beyond the armies that traditionally assisted Franche-Comté, —which were in any case occupied—, other councillors pointed out the need to reinforce relief for the province in the form of other troops. The Marquis of Montesclaros included Archduke Leopold's army in Alsace in the defence, and Don Diego de Ibarra considered the possibility of calling on the Emperor's army "if he could free it". Don Fernando Girón considered that the Infanta should order the Count of Champlitte to raise an army of infantry and cavalry in the province for four months and, if this were not possible, that the Infanta should make up for it by sending people in the summer. Regarding city defence, Girón pointed out two that needed to be especially reinforced: Besançon and Grey. No mention was made, however, of the county's most important city, its capital Dole, which was also the most exposed since it bordered France. The geographical situation of the imperial city, in the centre of the County, in addition to its defences made up of a military garrison paid for by the Hispanic monarch¹¹¹, which could complicate the capture of the County by an invading army, may have played an important role in this assessment. Grey was the residence of the governors of Franche-Comté and therefore strategically located on the border. Executing everything planned required money. The Marquis of Aytona suggested that the 40,000 ducats a month that had been allocated to the Count of Tilly for East Frisia should go to Burgundy¹¹², an idea supported by other councillors who also thought it appropriate to suspend this attack because of the number of open fronts that the Monarchy had to deal with, especially the defence of Franche-Comté. This was Philip IV's decision and he communicated it to the Infanta Isabella on the 27th of June 1624¹¹³.

Despite this province belonging to the Low Countries, the Infanta Isabella insistently repeated that she could not defend Franche-Comté because the army of Flanders was engaged on so many fronts. As an alternative, she agreed with the Emperor to send people to Alsace to defend this province and from

¹¹¹ See footnotes 4 and 77.

¹¹² The aim was to take the county of Emden, a strategic point as it was situated at the mouth of the Ems on the North Sea's westernmost port and through which much of Westphalia's trade passed. Wilson. *The Thirty Years' War*. T 1, p 166.

¹¹³ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 190, p 250, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 27 June 1624.

there to help Franche-Comté in the event of an attack¹¹⁴. This solution did not convince the monarch; in September he again asked her to get involved in the defence of the County¹¹⁵. The monarch's insistence is understandable if we consider all the information that reached the Madrid court, including the information provided by the Duke of Feria. The governor of Milan took it for granted that the invasion would take place, although not necessarily that year, but certainly in the following years or in the event of a "serious rupture"¹¹⁶. Therefore, in the summer of 1624, he proposed to the Crown a series of preparations to organise the defence of the County. First, based on information he had received from people with knowledge of Franche-Comté, —whom he does not mention by name—, he saw it possible to raise an army of 5,000 or 6,000 infantrymen and 800 or 1,000 horses and arm them with supplies sent from Flanders. The arms would be transported from Rheinberg or Wesel to Breisach on the Rhine, completing the overland journey to Burgundy in just two days, this route being less costly than shipping arms from Milan. This crew was to include artillery, as the County had only 5 pieces and casting them in the territory itself was not feasible due to the time it would have required. Second, he proposed to raise an army of 3,000 infantrymen in Alsace to provide relief for Franche-Comté. At this point, the Duke of Feria was aware of the negotiations taking place with the Emperor to send part of his army there, judging it to be the easiest and most pressing thing to do. After the Empire, the governor continued with the Swiss confederation. He warned of the lack of commitment on the part of the Scythians to comply with the treaty of the Hereditary League, citing as an example the excuses used by all the cantons, except Fribourg, for not coming to the aid of Franche-Comté during Henry IV's invasion in 1595¹¹⁷. This mistrust was entirely justified by experience, but —as the Duke of Feria suggested— with negotiations and, above all, money they may act differently. The governor of Milan wrote the letter just as news of the beginning of the siege of Breda was starting

¹¹⁴ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 191, p 84, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 29 July 1624.

¹¹⁵ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 191, p 142, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 16 September 1624.

¹¹⁶ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 191, p 148, copy of a letter from the Duke of Feria to Philip IV, Milan, 7 August 1624.

¹¹⁷ On this event see: Delsalle, P. (2010). *L'invasion de la Franche-Comté par Henri IV*. Cêtre, Besançon.

to arrive, so he foresaw the difficulties that the army of Flanders would have in being able to send relief to the County. As a result, instead of sending infantry, which could be obtained from the County itself, he considered sending 6 or 8 companies of horses, which were not needed in the capture of a fortress. Last, via Brussels, the king had ordered the governor of Franche-Comté to improve the fortifications, which in the opinion of the Duke of Feria was essential as only two towns were in a position to withstand an attack: Dole and Grey. It is likely that at the meeting of the Council of State in June, Don Fernando de Girón did not cite Dole in his proposal to improve the fortresses of the County precisely because, like the Duke of Feria, he considered them sufficiently protected. They did, however, differ in opinion over Grey's fortresses. In any case, in both Madrid and Milan, three cities were identified as strategic: Dole, Grey and Besançon.

At the end of September, Philip IV sent the letter from the Duke of Feria to the Infanta Isabella so that she could evaluate the proposed measures and arrange for the defence of Franche-Comté as she saw fit¹¹⁸. Brussels had no choice but to turn to the County itself, to Milan and to the Emperor¹¹⁹. In Franche-Comté during the month of October, ten infantry companies were raised and distributed across the county's main strongholds. In total there must have been approximately 2,500 troops, half the number estimated by the Duke of Feria¹²⁰. Meanwhile, negotiations continued for the emperor to make available to Franche-Comté a large part of his army stationed in Alsace, and he urged the Duke of Feria to send what he could. The negotiations with the emperor, led by the Infanta and the king's ambassador to the court in Vienna, Francisco de Moncada, Count of Osona, were successful, although as initially planned. The Emperor financed an army of 6,000 infantry and 2,000 horses which were sent to Franche-Comté, avoiding being called back to the Alsatian army. The fundamental problem was finding accommodation for the imperial contingent in a province that was so small and so unaccustomed to doing so. Philip IV gave command of these soldiers

¹¹⁸ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 191, p 146, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 25 September 1624.

¹¹⁹ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 191, p 209, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, 27 October 1624.

¹²⁰ Although we do not have exact data on these companies, at that time each company consisted of about 250 soldiers. Maffi, D. (2021). *Los últimos tercios*. Desperta Ferro. P 162.

to the Infanta Isabella at the end of October so that she could use them as she saw fit¹²¹.

There was no agreement at the Council of State meeting on 1 December 1624 with the Infanta's defence plans for Spanish Burgundy, in particular the involvement of Milan¹²². This territory was as compromised as Flanders: Richelieu was targeting Italian affairs and if France declared war this would be one of the territories in conflict, needing all available forces to protect Lombardy. Consequently, the burden of defence of Franche-Comté was on the army of Flanders. The councillors of state discussed the possible responses to a hypothetical breach of peace with France: Louis XIII's army would either attack the Low Countries via Picardy or it would attack Franche-Comté. The councillors were in no doubt about what action to take, as expressed by Don Pedro de Toledo, Marquis of Villafranca, —by then a member of the Council of State—: "If necessity dictates, it is less inconvenient to raise the siege of Breda and go out to defend what is so much our own and so important than to persevere in it"¹²³. Nonetheless, at the time everything was just a hypothesis and the attack that had been planned for years had not yet taken place. Only the instructions for the infanta to take into account should the occasion arise, if the king so considered, were being arranged: It would be "very inconvenient for the reputation of the arms of VMd to raise the siege of Breda now, and it could only force it to remedy the damage to further loss of reputation"¹²⁴. With this clarity, the Count of Gondomar summed up the dilemma: the capture of Breda should continue and only be interrupted in case of force majeure, such as the rescue of Franche-Comté in the event of invasion.

In the debates of the Council of State and those of Flanders, as well as in the correspondence between Philip IV and the Infanta Isabella throughout 1625, there was less news of an enemy incursion into Franche-Comté than in the previous year. Although fears of an attack were not entirely allayed, which was —reasonable given the geographic location of the County—, it did seem less likely. At the end of that year, the Councillors of State in Madrid saw a communication from Jacques Bruneau, Secretary of the

¹²¹ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 191, p 219, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 31 October 1624.

¹²² AGS, E, leg 2038, doc 26, Council of State, Madrid, 01 December 1624.

¹²³ AGS, E, leg 2038, doc 26, Council of State, Madrid, 01 December 1624.

¹²⁴ AGS, E, leg 2038, doc 26, Council of State, Madrid, 01 December 1624.

Council of Flanders, warning of the intentions of the enemies of the Spanish Crown to reinstate the Palatine using the County of Burgundy as their parade ground, once conquered¹²⁵. It seems that the warning did not cause the slightest disturbance among the directors because they did not comment on it at that meeting, thus apparently granting it no credibility or urgency. It seemed that Franche-Comté was no longer an imminent target for the enemies of the Habsburgs, and that the danger that had loomed in 1624 had passed. However, the *Comtois* were aware that they could be victims of their geographical situation at any time due to a European war that had already been threatening their borders for seven years¹²⁶.

From Piedmont to Flanders (1627-1630)

The Mantuan episode of the Thirty Years' War once again turned the *Comtois'* attention to neighbouring Savoy. The extinction of the male line of the house of Gonzaga with the death of Vincenzo II (26 December 1627) opened up a succession problem that prompted the intervention of the European powers to establish themselves in such a strategic enclave as the Duchy of Mantua and the Marquisate of Monferrato¹²⁷. The Mantuan problem caught Madrid unawares, finding itself with a succession favourable to French interests with the takeover of Mantua and Monferrato by Charles, Duke of Rethel, son of the Duke of Nevers. The legitimacy in favour of Nevers was undoubted, but Milan's security was compromised by having a Frenchman on its western borders, who could ally himself with Louis XIII and even with the Duke of Savoy, —Charles Emmanuel I—. Intervention was justified by the ways in which the Duke of Rethel had taken possession. Mantua and Monferrato were fiefs of the emperor and, according to Olivares, Rethel must have asked Ferdinand II for permission to marry the niece of Vincenzo II, Princess Maria. Therefore, until the Emperor validated the marriage and

¹²⁵ AGS, E, leg 2039, doc 80, Council of State, Madrid, 28 December 1625.

¹²⁶ An example of this "tense calm" that must have been felt in the County was the memorial of Pierre de Merceret, Lord of Montmarlon. In 1626, this *Comtois* requested the fortification of the town of Salins, —of great economic importance because of its salt mines—, should France or the Swiss Cantons invade the County. AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 195, p 280, letter Pedro de Merceret, 3 December 1626.

¹²⁷ See: Fernández Álvarez, M. (1955). *Don Gonzalo de Córdoba y la guerra de sucesión de Mantua y del Monferrato, 1627-1629*. Madrid.

declared Charles of Nevers legitimate, the army of Milan was to occupy the territories in the name of Ferdinand II¹²⁸. Under this pretext -, and paradoxically without the endorsement of the emperor who did not want disturbances in Italy-, the Spanish and Savoyard troops began the invasion of Monferrato on 29 March 1628¹²⁹.

The entry of Milan's army into Piedmont carried with it the danger of causing France's entry into the Duchy of Savoy. Don Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, governor of Milan (1626-1629)¹³⁰, asked the Infanta Isabella for levies in the Palatinate and Franche-Comté to assist the Duke of Savoy and repel the French while intervening in Monferrato¹³¹. The assistance requested from Brussels was totally impossible. Already in April, the Infanta warned of the difficulty of being able to help in the Mantuan conflict in view of the problems in Germany and with the Dutch, the latter "raising many [people] and it will not be possible to unite this part [the Netherlands, Burgundy, and Palatinate] no matter how much diligence is done against them"¹³². If troops were taken out of Flanders, they would be so weakened that the Dutch would be able to make as much progress as they chose, with virtually no resistance from Brussels. In fact, between March and April 1628, levies were made in the county of Burgundy to complete the companies of the Burgundian tercios operating in the army of Flanders, which had been reduced by desertions or by the effects of the war¹³³. At that time there were two Burgundian tercios and a company of horses: the Tercio of the Baron de Balançon, based in Breda, —where its field master Claude de Rye was governor—, and

¹²⁸ Elliott, J. H. *El conde-duque de Olivares*. Pp 340-346.

¹²⁹ The Duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel I, allied himself with the Spanish Crown in this conflict because he did not like having a French sympathiser on his eastern borders, an area of expansion for the duchy.

¹³⁰ For a biography of Fernández de Córdoba see: Güell Junkert, M. Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba y Cardona-Anglesola. *Diccionario Biográfico de la Real Academia de la Historia* [on line]. Available at: <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/13273/gonzalo-fernandez-de-cordoba-y-cardona-anglesola>

¹³¹ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 198, p 168, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 04 April 1628.

¹³² AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 198, p 168, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 4 April 1628; Spinola would agree with the Infanta's estimation of the Dutch force, the most numerous that had been formed in years. AGS, E, leg 2042, doc 109, Council of State, Madrid, 20 August 1628.

¹³³ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 198, p 165, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 04 April 1628.

comprised of 15 companies with just 1,193 soldiers; and the Tercio de Baurdes —perhaps Baron Beauvoir—, with 9 companies and only 432 soldiers, and a company of horses of the Burgundian Claude Gabriel de Mouchet, Baron de Dramelay, with 44 men¹³⁴.

The army of Milan and the Duke of Savoy advanced to a stalemate in the fortress of Casale in Monferrato. With an ill-supplied and undermanned army, Don Gonzalo de Córdoba was unable to subdue the impregnable Casale, and so began a long siege that required all the force that the Crown was able to send in terms of men and money¹³⁵. Requests from Madrid and Milan to Brussels became more and more frequent and urgent: 3,000 German soldiers and 1,000 Lorraine and Burgundian soldiers were requested¹³⁶. Initially, Milan asked for the newly recruited soldiers from Franche-Comté and the Palatinate, but the Infanta Elisabeth could not do without these troops to replenish her tercios against the Netherlands¹³⁷. Alternatively, Elisabeth could order new levies as long as they were paid for by Milan¹³⁸. Fernández de Córdoba sent 32,000 ducats for the creation of a regiment in the Palatinate and a tercio in the county of Burgundy. This was ordered by the Infanta, although she warned that both territories were “worked with the levies that were lately made for here”¹³⁹. The state councillors agreed with the alternative presented by the Infanta, indicating to the monarch that if she decided to make the new levies she should provide money to Brussels either from Madrid or from Milan. —The money sent from Milan was not enough—¹⁴⁰.

¹³⁴ AGS, E, leg 2321, Relations soldiers and expenses of the army of Flanders, [February-March] 1628.

¹³⁵ Parker, G. *The Thirty Years' War*. P 138.

¹³⁶ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 22, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 06 July 1628.

¹³⁷ At the meeting of the Council of State, Spinola justified sending them to Flanders because they were recruited by the captains of the tercios operating there and “if they were sent elsewhere without their flags and without the officers who had raised them, they would all have been destroyed in two days”. AGS, E, leg 2042, doc 109, Council of State, Madrid, 20 August 1628.

¹³⁸ AGS, E, leg 2042, doc 109, Council of State, Madrid, 20 August 1628.

¹³⁹ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 28, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 11 July 1628.

¹⁴⁰ Thus, the *comtois* recruited between March and April joined the two Burgundian tercios already operational in the army of Flanders, different from the following levy —of 2,000 Burgundians— destined for a new tercio in Franche-Comté with the aim of intervening in Piedmont. In fact, the troops recruited during those months were

The more time passed, the worse things got. Count Duke of Olivares, the driving force behind the intervention in Mantua, hoped that the siege of La Rochelle would distance the French crown from the conflict¹⁴¹. Casale's resistance thwarted the plans, and from the summer of 1628 there were fears of French involvement in Italian affairs. The troops requested from the Infanta were also intended to intimidate King Christianissimo by moving his army into the "confines" of Flanders and Franche-Comté and to involve the Duchy of Lorraine and the bishopric of Verdun "so that they would rile things up at the same time and cause France both consternation and amusement"¹⁴². Attempts to strike fear were mutual. From August onwards, French intervention in the conflict was considered imminent. To the initial fear that Savoy might be attacked, it was now expected that Franche-Comté would also be attacked to divide the army in Milan and reduce the pressure on Casale¹⁴³. On 17 August, Philip IV again appealed to the Infanta to send aid as she saw fit to Savoy or to the County of Burgundy, without waiting for the money from Milan¹⁴⁴, while assuring her that the Crown would

already in Flanders when the letters arrived from the governor of Milan asking for them. AGS, E, leg 2042, doc 127, Council of State, Madrid, 11 September 1628.

¹⁴¹ From 1627-1628, Louis XIII and Richelieu were busy besieging the Huguenot city of La Rochelle, the stronghold and capital of the Huguenots. This siege was intended to definitively end the Protestant rebellion in France, —Richelieu's main concern in the early years of his rule—, as well as to recover all his ports. Wilson. *La guerra de los Treinta Años*. Pp 504-509.

¹⁴² AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 26, deciphered letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 8 July 1628; AGS, E, leg 2042, doc 109, Council of State, Madrid, 20 August 1628.

¹⁴³ In fact, as early as May Philip IV ordered the Infanta to create a tercio of Burgundians in Franche-Comté either to defend the province or to send it to the Duchy of Savoy quickly, showing that the idea of an attack on the County was present from the very moment the army of Milan stopped at Casale in mid-May. AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 198, p 269, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 31 May 1628.

¹⁴⁴ At first, Don Gonzalo de Córdoba considered the time required to carry out the levies excessive to be able to help Savoy, cancelling them in July and asking for the money back, which was done. However, barely a month later, and faced with the urgent need for troops, the governor of Milan again asked for these levies, but this time without providing an initial sum. In the end, it was the Crown who, in October, assumed the cost of the levies in view of the urgent need for them and before the arrival of the French at the end of the year. AGS, E, leg 2042, doc 109, Consejo de Estado, Madrid, 20 August 1628 and doc 127, Consejo de Estado, Madrid, 11 September 1628; AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 81, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 13 August 1628, fol 215, Madrid, 14 November 1628.

cover any extraordinary expenses that these mobilisations might entail¹⁴⁵. A month later, the levies began, one in the Palatinate for the regiment of the Prince of Barbançon and the other for a new *tercio* in Franche-Comté, the field master of which was Jean-Jaques de la Tour, Baron de Moncle¹⁴⁶.

In October, the Marquis de Mirabel, the royal ambassador in Paris, reported that the La Rochelle conflict was about to end and attention was turning to the Monferrato question¹⁴⁷. Faced with the impossibility of taking the fort of Casale, at the same time Fernández de Córdoba requested troops to protect himself from the probable attack by the French for the duration of the siege, which was expected to last a long time. Philip IV beseeched the Infanta Isabella: "It is not fair for such a small sum as is needed for this that so many millions should be pledged, even if the chalices were sold and all my wealth burned, it is certain that it would not have to come to this"¹⁴⁸.

To contain the French in Savoy while the siege of Casale continued, the Crown envisaged the following. The Prince de Barbançon's regiment, formed in the Palatinate, would head for Franche-Comté to join the Baron de Moncle's regiment, which was being raised there. While the governor of Milan estimated that a total of 8,000 to 10,000 men were needed to cope with the French army, in Madrid the approximately 4,000 Germans in the Palatinate and 2,000 Burgundian soldiers were considered sufficient to assist Charles Emmanuel of Savoy—or Don Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba if the situation so required—. This army was to be placed under the command of the governor of that province, Cleriard de Vergy, Count of Champlitte¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁵ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 84, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 17 August 1628.

¹⁴⁶ The order was given by the king in August and hastily executed as of September. AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 160, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 12 October 1628; AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 56, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 9 August 1628; AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 131, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 21 September 1628.

¹⁴⁷ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 184, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 31 October 1628.

¹⁴⁸ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 184, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 31 October 1628.

¹⁴⁹ Although in this letter of 30 October the king ordered everything to be placed under Champlitte's command, in another letter of 17 November he considered that it should be given to a "head who was a soldier", without naming anyone. Faced

It would be completed with the cavalry that Don Felipe de Silva could provide "as he has the position and carries the money". All in all, this would amount to between 10,000 and 6,000 troops. Last, the king's secretary, Juan de Neocolalde, would go to Brussels to "deal with Your Majesty on behalf of the prompt execution of this point"¹⁵⁰.

The strategy was designed, but its funding was not decided. This unresolved point is constantly repeated in the correspondence between Philip IV and Isabella: the monarch asks her to make an effort, promising provisions in the future to cover the extraordinary expenses that these levies entailed; and the Infanta clings to the impossibility of being able to send men or advance the money. In the prince of Barbançon's levy of Germans in the November, he himself took over the *laufgeld*¹⁵¹ in view of the shortage of money¹⁵². Unable to repay him, the Infanta decided to reward him by giving him as a pawn the county of La Roche in Luxembourg¹⁵³. Meanwhile, recruitment in Franche-Comté was in a state of "narrowness and poverty"¹⁵⁴, unable to support not only the 6,000 or so soldiers expected to be stationed there, but also the 2,000 expected for the tercio of Burgundians. Thus, by the end of November, the levy in the county of Burgundy was being undertaken with great difficulty, its sustenance and subsequent payment unable to be met on the province, requiring an urgent provision of money¹⁵⁵. Moreover, Isabella predicted that if the Franche-Comté was forced to try to maintain such a large number of troops, and was not

with this contradiction, the Infanta asked him to clarify to whom the command of the army should be given. AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 268, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 07 December 1628.

¹⁵⁰ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 187, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 30 October 1628.

¹⁵¹ Generally, the first month's salary was given to the soldier on the enlistment process. Maffi, D. *Los últimos tercios*. P 228.

¹⁵² In addition to the lack of money for the levies in Germany, there were also complaints from the German princes about exploiting a territory that had been worn out by previous levies and also about using the regiment outside of the country. AGS, E, leg 2042, doc 172, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 20 November 1628.

¹⁵³ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 200, p 162, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 29 April 1629.

¹⁵⁴ AGS, E, leg 2042, doc 172, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 20 November 1628.

¹⁵⁵ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 231, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 20 November 1628.

accustomed to doing so and could not do so, it could rebel and cause serious difficulties for the Crown. The insistence on the territory's poverty and this last warning by the Infanta was most likely related to the arrival in Brussels in November of the Burgundian Antoine Brun¹⁵⁶, sent by the Parliament of Dole. This event aligned with Franche-Comté's fears about the possible breach of the neutrality treaty with France if troops were allowed to pass through the County, —the same argument that was presented in 1616 with the preparations made by Villafranca—, adding to the calamitous state of the province, affected at that time by the plague. The Infanta Isabella must have to consider these requests and wanted to take them to Madrid.

After the capture of La Rochelle (October 1628), France sent its troops to Italy to assist the Duke of Nevers, who was besieged at Casale. Madrid asked the Infanta to send 6,000 or 8,000 infantrymen and 1,500 horses under the command of a solvent military officer to help the Duke of Savoy¹⁵⁷. This request is surprising as it broke with the already established planning and considering everything discussed above. They insisted on a military dispatch from Brussels, which since April had been reiterated as impossible, and they also asked for a military officer to lead the troops when the Count of Champlitte had already been chosen months earlier and had been accepted by the Burgundian nobleman¹⁵⁸. This was pointed out by the Infanta in a letter with overtones of stupefaction given the contradictory instructions and which she tried to clarify by rescuing the strategy

¹⁵⁶ Antoine Brun, son of Claude Brun, tax lawyer and councillor in the Parliament of Dole, began his career as attorney general of the same Parliament. Educated in philosophy and law, he was a brilliant orator and one of the best jurists of his time. He was a prominent figure at Dole in 1636 and maintained good relations with prominent ministers of the king, including the Cardinal Infante and the diplomat Saavedra Fajardo. He became a member of the Privy Council of Brussels and a member of the Supreme Council of Flanders and Burgundy in Madrid. See: Cambolas, A. De. (2012). El servicio al conde de Borgoña como objeto transnacional en la Monarquía de Felipe IV: Antoine Brun vs. Pierre Roose. In Esteban Estríngana, A. (ed.). *Servir al rey en la Monarquía de los Austrias: medios, fines y logros del servicio al soberano en los siglos XVI y XVII*. Madrid, Flint University and biography. Truchis de Varene, A. de. (1932). *Un diplomate franc-comtois au XVIIe siècle: Antoine Brun, 1599-1654*. Besançon, Imprimerie Jacques et Demontrond.

¹⁵⁷ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 220, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 17 November 1628.

¹⁵⁸ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 268, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 7 December 1628

established since the summer: Barbançon's regiment would join the Baron de Moncle's Burgundian Tercio in Franche-Comté¹⁵⁹.

As the year drew to a close, what was needed was not a review of military strategy but money to implement it. To the permanent deficit of the Royal Treasury was added the capture of the Indies fleet by the Dutch in Matanzas Bay (8 September 1628) with the consequent loss of millions of dollars and silver, further complicating the military commitments under way and those planned for the following year¹⁶⁰. The Infanta informed the Crown of several threats sent to her by governors, including the Count of Berghes in the town of Gelderland and the Burgundian, Baron de Balanzon, governor of Breda¹⁶¹. The latter sent the banknotes that had arrived with threats from his soldiers for lack of pay to Brussels. The "poverty and misery of all"¹⁶², as the Infanta wrote, left the Spanish Monarchy on the verge of rebellion and collapse.

The Count-Duke prioritised the preservation of Italy above all else, including Flanders. In January 1629, Philip IV insisted on the creation of an army in Franche-Comté. Once again, the purpose of accumulating forces in a strategic province was stated, either to assist the Duke of Savoy or to protect the County¹⁶³. Like on so many previous occasions, the Infanta responded tersely but directly that she had no way of financing this army¹⁶⁴. The Infanta's cold response must have been born of the weariness of repeating so many times that the plan Madrid was clinging to was not viable and that the limited resources it had—and even more given the setback of Matanzas—, were allocated to containing the strong Dutch enemy. As governor of the Netherlands and Burgundy, her responsibility was not Italy. Thanks to winter drawing in, the Valide thought he had a few months' grace before the French intervention, but Richelieu took a risk and the French army, led by Louis XIII, crossed the Alps

¹⁵⁹ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 268, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 07 December 1628.

¹⁶⁰ Elliot. *El conde-duque de Olivares*. Pp 364-365.

¹⁶¹ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 289, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 21 December 1628.

¹⁶² AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 199, p 289, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 21 December 1628.

¹⁶³ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 200, p 28, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 12 January 1629.

¹⁶⁴ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 200, p 90, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 03 March 1629.

at the end of February¹⁶⁵. Aid for the Duke of Savoy could no longer be postponed. The two troops formed for this purpose were waiting for money, from wherever, to be able to contribute to the war: the regiment of the Prince of Barbançon, constituted, waiting and being sustained by the contribution of the lands of the Empire where it was being accommodated, next to the Palatinate, but unable to mobilise; and the Tercio de Moncle in Franche-Comté, unable to sustain itself with little or no contribution from the province¹⁶⁶.

Pietro Lorenzi Barozzi, Secretary of State to the Duke of Savoy, arrived at the court in Brussels in January¹⁶⁷. He stopped in Brussels on his way to England and presented the Infanta with a list of proposals from Charles Emmanuel of Savoy¹⁶⁸. The Duke offered to pay the money needed for the stages from the Palatinate to the Duchy and three months' wages for Barbançon's regiment, or to advance it if the monarch would meet these costs¹⁶⁹. Considering the urgency of the situation in Italy, the state councillors in Madrid recommended sending 40,000 escudos to mobilise the troops of the Prince of Barbançon in case the Duke of Savoy did not send the money in time¹⁷⁰. The monarch resolved the problem. The Infanta decided to grant him the regiment, but at the monarch's expense, and the duke had to advance the money to mobilise the troops, as per his offer. The Duke of Savoy became a creditor of the Crown to be able to count on the Prince of Barbançon's troops¹⁷¹. This decision was based on keeping the Duke of Savoy on the Spanish side and avoiding the offers that the French were already making him at that time. As for the Baron de Moncle's Tercio de Borgoñones, Barozzi proposed that it be distributed in the neutral zone

¹⁶⁵ Elliot. *El conde-duque de Olivares*. Pp 368-369; Wilson. *La guerra de los Treinta Años*. P 509.

¹⁶⁶ The same request was made by the monarch on 25 March, but once again the Infanta could not honour it, as neither the Crown, nor the Duke of Savoy, nor Don Gonzalo de Córdoba had yet sent any money. AGS, E, leg 2043, doc 272, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 6 January 1629; AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, rég 200, p 107, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 25 March 1629.

¹⁶⁷ AGS, E, leg 2043, docs 279 and 281, Madrid, Council of State, 17 February 1629.

¹⁶⁸ AGS, E, leg 2043, doc 281, Lo que ha referido Pedro Lorenzi Barozzi, secretario del duque de Saboya, que pasa a Inglaterra, [January-February, 1629].

¹⁶⁹ AGS, E, leg 2043, doc 273, Brussels, n.d.

¹⁷⁰ AGS, E, leg 2043, doc 271, Madrid, Council of State, 14 February 1629.

¹⁷¹ AGS, E, leg 2043, doc 271, Madrid, Council of State, 14 February 1629.

between Savoy and Franche-Comté, which was reserved for the passage of troops of the Spanish crown—in the Treaty of Lyon (1601)—, i.e., the narrow Valserina valley and the Gresin bridge¹⁷². In fact, although he had levied men to assist the Duke of Savoy, Barozzi dismissed the *tercio* de Moncle and was only interested in the regiment of the Prince de Barbançon. This strange attitude may have had to do with the need to prioritise spending. Savoy had to advance the money and so opted for the largest regiment, the German one, above the pressing need for troops that would have prioritised proximity, which would have been those of the Baron de Moncle stationed in the nearby county of Burgundy. The Infanta consulted the governor of Franche-Comté about Barozzi's proposal, but by the time the reply came back, it was too late. France had occupied the Grésin passes and bridge immediately after entering the Duchy of Savoy in March 1629¹⁷³.

The provisions requested from Brussels to make the levies operational were resolved in different ways. At the end of February, Philip IV announced that he would send the 40,000 ducats for Barbançon's regiment to Italy. However, for the Baron de Moncle's *Tercio*, no provisions at all would be sent, —against the criterion voted in the Council of State to maintain payment at 30,000 ducats—¹⁷⁴, because as long as the *tercio* “does not leave Burgundy, its payment must be paid by those countries”¹⁷⁵. The Crown probably wanted to offload the financing of these soldiers from its battered treasury, passing the cost on to the Infanta and the County itself. Nonetheless, the councillors of state saw the *Tercio* as the only way to defend the province and the Crown was the only one that could sustain it: “because it is very necessary that with this regiment [the Baron de Moncle's *tercio* of Burgundians] guards the county of Burgundy because if the payment of the people who must be there is to be made by Flanders [...] it will not run as it should”¹⁷⁶. The Baron de Moncle's *Tercio* of Burgundians was the key to the defence of

¹⁷² On this strategic point we have referred to note 63.

¹⁷³ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 200, p 156, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 29 April 1629.

¹⁷⁴ AGS, E, leg 2043, doc 302, Madrid, Council of State, 21 February 1629.

¹⁷⁵ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 200, p 64, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 22 February 1629.

¹⁷⁶ Vote of the Marquis of Gelves at the meeting of the Council of State on 21 February 1629: AGS, E, leg 2043, doc 302, Madrid, Council of State, 21 February 1629.

the County, and they could not risk the money depending on Brussels. As financially strapped as it was, there was a risk that no money would arrive —as the Infanta had expressed on countless occasions—, endangering the security of the province. The Duke of Feria expressed his opinion as follows: “The province of Burgundy will be at great risk as long as it does not have a garrison of its own to defend it while it receives more aid, and so it seems that [the money foreseen] should be provided without delay”¹⁷⁷. Philip IV finally sent the 30,000 escudos for the Burgundian tercio¹⁷⁸. In March, through the Abbot of Scaglia, special envoy of the Duke of Savoy, who had been in Madrid since January¹⁷⁹, he requested that part of his troops be allowed to settle in Franche-Comté. The sterility of the territory and the fact of accommodating Baron de Moncle’s Tercio made it unfeasible¹⁸⁰. The “rupture” with France came in March 1629 when their troops entered the Duchy of Savoy and occupied the Susa Gorge¹⁸¹. In Franche-Comté, cut off from Savoy, —France took the Gresin bridge— and with the French army on the southern border, Madrid ordered the presidency¹⁸². On 7 March an agreement was reached between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy —which was confirmed in May—, and on 19 March Don Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, faced with the few forces sent by Madrid and Vienna, lifted the siege of Casale¹⁸³.

The situation changed dramatically. The end of the conflicts in Italy allowed the Infanta to use the regiments of the Palatinate and the County of Burgundy for her defence against the fear of

¹⁷⁷ AGS, E, leg 2043, doc 302, Madrid, Council of State, 21 February 1629.

¹⁷⁸ AGRB, Secrétairerie d’État et de Guerre, reg 200, p 150, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 05 April 1629.

¹⁷⁹ Elliott. *El conde-duque de Olivares*. P 380.

¹⁸⁰ Philip IV commissioned Isabella to find an alternative, but shortly afterwards the Mantua Peace Accords were reached, making the search for other options unnecessary. AGRB, Secrétairerie d’État et de Guerre, reg 200, p 111, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 26 March 1629.

¹⁸¹ This pass, now in Turin, is located at the confluence of the Cenischia and Dora Riparia torrents. It was a strategic point as it was the last pass before leaving the Alps, a natural barrier that made it difficult for the French army to get to Casale. At Susa in early March 1629, Spaniards and Savoyards tried unsuccessfully to stop the French by cutting off the passage with a six-metre high barricade. Wilson. *La guerra de los Treinta Años*. P 509.

¹⁸² AGS, E, leg 2043, doc 275, Madrid, n.d. [March 1629].

¹⁸³ Wilson. *La guerra de los Treinta Años*. P 509.

a major Dutch attack¹⁸⁴. Although the Mantuan conflict resumed shortly afterwards (June 1629)¹⁸⁵, the Burgundian troops would from then on be active on the Flemish stage. In May, the Dutch began the siege of the fortress of Bolduque, —the Spanish name for 's-Hertogenbosch—, with far more troops than those of the Spanish Crown, making all available reinforcements a must. On its way through the Duchy of Lorraine, the Baron de Moncle's tercio was expected to arrive in Wesel or Namur on 20 May¹⁸⁶. The Infanta was counting on the Baron of Balançon's Tercio together with Count Henry de Bergh to lead the relief for Bolduque¹⁸⁷, but it was unsuccessful, and on 14 September it fell into the hands of the Dutch. Wesel had also been lost a month earlier, on 19 August, a key location for the Spanish Crown's river blockade policy.

For the Spanish Monarchy, 1629 was a veritable *annus horribilis*. The Count Duke of Olivares confirmed that an international alliance was taking shape against the House of Austria, which augured an all-out confrontation, especially with France. In the Netherlands, the moral impact of the setbacks suffered was enormous as it became clear that Philip IV could not only win the war, but he could not even defend his subjects. The defeats were compounded by a hostile climate against the king's ministers there, sponsored by the disgruntled Flemish nobility. To prevent the collapse of authority, the Infanta's administration in Brussels was reformed by relieving some Spanish ministers

¹⁸⁴ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 200, p 160, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 29 April 1629.

¹⁸⁵ The Mantuan conflict ended on 19 June 1631 with the Treaty of Cherasco. This agreement benefited everyone except the Spanish Crown: the Duke of Nevers kept his inheritance, France kept the fortress of Pinerolo in the Italian Alps and garrisoned 2,400 men in Casale, and the Emperor was reinforced in northern Italy. The Spanish Crown got nothing out of this conflict, which cost it ten million escudos at a critical time for the royal treasury and with a very strong offensive by the Dutch in Flanders. Wilson. *La guerra de los Treinta Años*. P 526.

¹⁸⁶ In May, the councillors of state recommended that Baron de Moncle's tercio remain in Franche-Comté to defend it in the event of an attack, but the Infanta asked them to hold the enormous Dutch forces back. AGS, E, leg 2043, doc 237, Madrid, Consejo de Estado, 2 May 1629; AGS, E, leg 2043, doc 56, Brussels, letter from Don Gaspar de Pereda, 4 May 1629.

¹⁸⁷ In April 1629, the Baron de Balançon's Tercio de Borgoñones had 1,822 soldiers and officers. AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 201, p 195, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 9 September 1629; AGS, E, leg 2043, doc 50, Relación de oficiales y soldados de todas las naciones que hay en las cinco plazas abajo nombradas, Brussels, 29 April 1629.

of their position and integrating the Flemish and Burgundian nobility into political and military positions¹⁸⁸. In this context, in March 1630 the Marquis of Aytona recommended to Philip IV the appointment of prominent Flemish citizens to various posts in Brussels, among them the Baron de Balanzon, proposed as State Councillor at the Brussels court¹⁸⁹. Philip IV delegated the decision to the Infanta, who did not look favourably on these appointments. She considered that while all of them were worthy of being nominated, it might cause suspicion among other Flemish people who themselves were not granted a position. Balanzon's appointment was consequently postponed-, promising him the post when new members were appointed to the Council of State in Brussels-, instead offering him a seat on the Council of War in Madrid if the monarch accepted the offer¹⁹⁰. At the meeting of the Council of State on 24 May 1630, the councillors considered the Burgundian's appointment to be appropriate, and the monarch accepted it¹⁹¹. A month later, the Count of Champlitte, Governor of Franche-Comté, was also granted an income of 8,000 for life, —paid by way of the County treasury— at the proposal, once again, of the Marquis of Aytona and the Marquis of Leganés¹⁹².

Franche-Comté de Bourgogne, a small province between Flanders and Milan, contributed to the military effort of the Spanish Crown by providing soldiers who, according to contemporary accounts, displayed bravery and effectiveness on the battlefield. They were not the most numerous tercios, but they did play a leading role in many of the military actions that marked the first half of the 17th century, —Ostend, Jülich and Breda—. Their field masters and captains, who belonged to prominent *Comtois* families, served and followed their

¹⁸⁸ Elliott. *The Count-Duke of Olivares*. Pp 402-404.

¹⁸⁹ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 202, p 162, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 31 March 1630.

¹⁹⁰ AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 202, p 206, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 29 April 1630.

¹⁹¹ Madrid was very receptive to the idea of filling the seats of the Madrid councils to execute the strategy of rapprochement with the disgruntled nobility. For this reason, Philip IV and the Council of State told the Infanta to continue proposing names for the councils of Madrid "because there are many places for them". AGS, E, leg 2044, doc 119, Madrid, Consejo de Estado, 24 May 1630; AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 202, p 261, letter from the Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, Brussels, 31 May 1630.

¹⁹² AGRB, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, reg 203, p 11, letter from Philip IV to the Infanta Isabella, Madrid, 14 June 1630.

sovereign —king-count— on the European war chessboard to rise militarily and politically, as was the case with the Baron of Balançon and the Baron of Moncle. The County, although always fearful of breaking the international treaties that guaranteed its peace, was a key element for the transit of troops and money between Flanders and Milan and a logistical base for the Crown's war projects. In the "Burgundian" excerpt of his Instructions, Emperor Charles ends with some advice which, decades later, at least in the exercise of arms, appears to have still been valid: "The vassals from there have had and always have great loyalty and served our ancestors, and you can be served by them".

Chapter three

Lack of tradition. Frenchmen in the troops of the Monarchy in the 17th century

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Abstract

During the 17th century, in addition to other nationalities, French-speaking troops also served under the flags of the St Andrew's Cross or rather, under the financial sponsorship of the King of Spain, more sporadically than other types of units, without any organic organisation, and primarily grouped around members of nobility.

This included the corps enlisted by Turenne and Condé in their respective Frondist uprisings during Louis XIV's underage years and Mazarin's rule. Specifically, Prince de Condé joined the Spanish troops after being defeated by Turenne in 1652, and served under our flags until the signing of the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659, when he was pardoned and returned to France.

Keywords

Catholics, Huguenots, La Fronde, auxiliary corps, Marshal Turenne, Prince de Condé.

Refugees, exiles, and rebels: the French at the service of the Spanish monarchy at the turn of the 17th century

Unlike other nationalities that served more than prominently under the flags of the Spanish Habsburgs, the French constituted a totally secondary entity throughout the 17th century, and in few cases did they form organic units, regiments, companies, composed of men of the said nationality. Above all, they were a handful of men, with royal titles, who embraced the service of the Catholic King in these years in defence of their own honour. The service of a few royal personages or nobles of French origin to the Spanish crown in the period from 1520 to 1660, was mainly motivated by a strong dissatisfaction with their treatment while serving the King of France and the attraction of the King of Spain's territories, in particular Flanders, responding to classical impulses. For all these men, who followed the Constable de Bourbon, Prince Henri de Condé, Marie de Medici, Gaston d'Orleans, or the great Condé, just to mention the most famous, the King of Spain was seen as an ally, a protector or, better still, as a partner thanks to whom they could regain their own position of prestige and power in France¹.

One notable exception in this almost appalling scenario, marked by the total absence of units of Gallic origin was the recruitment in 1602 by the Duke of Aumale of 1,000 armoured horses supposedly from Lorraine, since the companies included several Frenchmen who fled their homeland after the victory of Henry of Bourbon, under the banners of one of the great exiles of the French Catholic League². These units did not stay long in

¹ Osborne, T. (2000). Chimeras, monopolies and stratagems. *French Exiles in the Spanish Netherlands during the Thirty Years' War, The Seventeenth Century*, XV, 2. Londres, Taylor & Francis. Pp 149-174; Hugon, A. (2004). *At the service of the Catholic King. "Honorable Ambassadors" and "Divine Spies". Diplomatic representation and secret service in Spanish-French relations from 1598 to 1635*. Madrid, Casa de Velázquez. Pp. 324-357.

² Descimon, R. and Ruiz Ibáñez, J. J. (2013). *Los franceses de Felipe II. El exilio católico después de 1594*. Madrid, Fondo de Cultura Económica. P 295. From 1594 onwards, the failure of the Catholic League in France saw several hundred radical Catholics leave the country and settle in the Catholic Netherlands and, to a lesser extent, in other territories of the King of Spain, such as Milan, or in countries linked to the Monarchy, such as Genoa. On the phenomenon of the migration of supporters of the League, I refer to the pages of Descimon and Ruiz Ibáñez, *Philip II's Frenchmen*, cit. *passim*. More generally, on the attitude of the French nobility during the religious wars and their politics, see Sandberg, B. (2010). *Warrior Pursuits. Noble Culture and Civil Conflict in Early Modern France*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

the ranks of the army of Flanders, as these companies were reformed almost immediately.

Many of the captains in command of this troop were clearly of French origin, such as Marshal de Rosne's youngest son, Nicolas de Savigny, who died fighting the mutineers at Hoogstrate. His father, Charles Saladin d'Anglure de Savigny, grandee of France, became master-marshal general of the army of Flanders at the end of the previous century and was killed by a cannon shot on 2 August 1596 during the siege of Hulst³. It is worth noting that after the death of Charles de Savigny, no other Frenchman succeeded in gaining a position of importance in the armies of the Monarchy, until the arrival in Flanders of Prince de Condé in 1653.

Other Frenchmen, who had followed the path of exile after the defeat of the League, joined the Spanish army because "serving under the banners of the Burgundian cross was a good way to stay in Flanders and deserve the favours of the Catholic King"⁴. But, as José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez reminds us, none of the great family groups that followed the path of exile, the Dukes of Aumale, the Rosnes, the Colas, the Rossieu, were able to found a family caste while serving Habsburgs⁵. The high combat mortality rate saw many of the exiles perish quickly. Just in the battle of Nieuport on 2 July 1600, Adam Aubert de Lislet and the Count de la Fère fell in battle, while the Duke of Aumale himself and Jean Tondu were seriously wounded⁶.

In the following years, two nephews of Marshal de Rosne were appointed to the King's service: Nicolas de Savigny and Gaspard d'Anglure. Guillaume de Fages served in the Spanish infantry, as did his cousin Jean IV de Colas, the son of Jean III de Colas. He started to serve in the royal troops from 1603 and reached the rank of horse captain during the Monferrato War⁷. In 1617, Jean returned to Flanders where he joined his brother, Jacques II de

³ Descimon and Ruiz Ibáñez. *Los franceses de Felipe II*. Cit, pp 161-164, 296.

⁴ Descimon and Ruiz Ibáñez. *Los franceses de Felipe II*. Cit, p 297.

⁵ Descimon and Ruiz Ibáñez. *Los franceses de Felipe II*. Cit, pp 297-298.

⁶ Descimon and Ruiz Ibáñez. *Los franceses de Felipe II*. Cit, p 298.

⁷ In the course of the First War of Succession of Mantua and Monferrato, some cavalry companies of the Flanders army were sent to Milan to reinforce the Spanish military apparatus in the region. On the performance and composition of the Spanish forces, I refer to Mesa Gallego, E. de. (2020). *El ejército de la Monarquía Hispánica y la guerra de Monferrato (1614-1617)*. In García García, B. J. and Maffi, D. (eds.). *El Piamonte en guerra (1613-1659). La frontera olvidada*. Madrid, Doce Calles - Fundación Carlos de Amberes. Pp 127-156.

Colas, and two years later, the youngest of the brothers, Louis de Colas entered royal service. Of the three, it was undoubtedly Jacques II who came to occupy the most important positions in the military ranks of the army of Flanders. His two brothers were killed in battle; he became a field master and was still serving under the flags of the Spanish Monarchy in 1639. It seems that the Colas heirs continued to maintain very good relations with the most illustrious houses in Flanders during the 1650s, and some of them followed the military tradition of the family⁸.

At the same time as in Flanders, Milan also played a key role in caring for some of the League's refugees, especially during the years of the Count of Fuentes' government. Pedro Enriquez de Acevedo, already a veteran of the army of Flanders, who served as the governor and general of the State of Milan from 1600 to 1610, the year of his death, played a key role in transforming this state, thanks to the mismanagement of funds designated for classified expenses, into an important place of agitation for former radicals from all over France⁹. A great defender of the authority of the Monarchy, the Count, developed a policy aimed at strengthening Milan's position as the centre of Spanish geostrategy in the Mediterranean. He reinforced the army and worked resolutely against the adversaries of the crown, the King of France, the Duke of Savoy and the Republic of Venice in the first place¹⁰, which in the Count's view served not only to keep alive the hope of revenge on the part of the *ligueurs*, but above all, to maintain a certain number of people who still had various channels of links with the old communities and were extremely useful for gathering information on the politics of Henry IV. In fact, very few of those who enjoyed a post in Milan were

⁸ Descimon and Ruiz Ibáñez. *Philip II's Frenchmen*. Cit, pp 298-299.

⁹ Hugon. *At the service of the Catholic King*. Cit, pp 426-427. On the use of the money reserved for classified expenses to increase the number of entertainers close to the governor, I refer to the considerations of Giannini, M. (1997). City and suburbs of the State of Milan in the financial policy of the Count of Fuentes (1600-1610). In Brambilla, E. and Muto, G. (eds.). *La Lombardia spagnola. Nuovi indirizzi di ricerca*. Milan, UNICOPLI. Pp 191-208.

¹⁰ On Fuentes' policy, I refer to the pages of Fernández Albaladejo, P. (1992). *De llave de Italia a corazón de la monarquía: Milán y la monarquía católica en el reinado de Felipe III*. In Fernández Albaladejo, P. *Fragmentos de monarquía. Trabajos de historia política*. Madrid, Alianza Editorial. Pp 185-237; Álvarez-Ossorio Alvaríño, A. (2008). El gobierno de Milán, and Signorotto, Gianvittorio, Milan: Foreign Policy, both in Martínez Millán, J. and Visceglia, M. A. (dirs.). *La Monarquía de Felipe III, vol. IV, Los reinos*. Madrid, Fundación Mapfre. Pp 445-466 and 1032-1075, respectively.

military personnel, the vast majority being refugees, who had seen, by royal decree of 19 October 1599, their pensions moved from the galleys of Genoa to the coffers of the *Milanese*, with many of them continuing to reside in that city without serving¹¹. Others were notorious spies, such as the religious La Farge or the Breton cleric Pierre David, at the service of the Duke of Guise. Pensions and posts were terminated in 1611 at the time of the general reform imposed after the Count's death by the Constable of Castile, in order to reduce military expenditure and, in particular, the classified expenses that had reached a worrying level¹².

An auxiliary corps: the army of the Duke of Lorraine in the war against France

Auxiliary forces were not troops strictly speaking of the King of Spain, but the forces of an ally, or those recruited by one of the German princes, who during the Thirty Years' War specialised in recruiting and maintaining mercenaries with the aim of selling them to the highest bidder, making them available in exchange for the payment of a sum of money agreed between the parties. These troops maintained their commander in chief, their generals, and their officers and were in fact organised as an entirely independent army, operating under the terms of an agreement signed between the two parties¹³.

The Duke of Lorraine, lord of a strategically important territory between France and the Holy Roman Empire, is a typical case of a warlord giving his army as an auxiliary corps in exchange for money and a military alliance that provided, in his case, for the reunification of his estates.

¹¹ Descimon and Ruiz Ibáñez. *Los franceses de Felipe II*. Cit, p 235.

¹² In 1605, out of a total expenditure of 1,014,810 escudos, classified expenses involved a disbursement of more than 29,000 escudos, to which were added another 43,585 escudos for unforeseen expenses, which also included several secret items and the value of the entertainment given to persons who served close to the governor, which were included in the military expenditure. AGS, E, leg 1294, doc 115, *Summary report of the income and expenses of this state, both ordinary and extraordinary, for the present year 1605, and of the expenses necessary to make up for and failure to make up for said expenses and charges mentioned above*, 28 September 1605.

¹³ On the composition and performance of auxiliary forces in the Spanish army, I refer to Maffi, D. (2020). *Los últimos tercios. El ejército de Carlos II*. Madrid, Desperta Ferro Ediciones. Pp 241-251.

During the 16th century, the Dukes of Lorraine were strictly neutral in the game between the big European powers. Formally, the duchy had ceased to be an imperial fiefdom in 1542, but despite this, the dukedom continued to enjoy the protection of the Holy Roman Empire with which it maintained close economic and political ties. Moreover, the Duke continued to be a feudatory of the King of France thanks to the latter's concession of the Duchy of Bar, which made the Duke one of the most powerful vassals of the crown of Saint Louis¹⁴. An ambiguous status that the dukes retained throughout the 16th century, that allowed them to continue with a series of offices and grants from the crown of France, immersed in the wars of religion. An example is the case of Duke Charles III, who was appointed lieutenant general of the kingdom in 1574¹⁵, and at the same time enjoyed the protection of the King of Spain, who allowed the passage of Spanish troops marching from Milan to Brussels via the Spanish Road. Despite the double protection agreed, the duchy was not exempt from a series of invasions by German Protestant troops who crossed its territory on the aid of their Huguenot co-religionists¹⁶. Nor could he exempt himself from granting, on some occasions, permission to Philip II's ministers for enlisting troops for the army of Flanders or to garrison the Franche-Comté of Burgundy, at the mercy of Henry IV's invasion, as in 1595.

Charles III's successors showed all their ability to keep the duchy neutral, in particular Henry I, who played the role of mediator in the early stages of the Thirty Years' War, but on his death the rise to power of the young Charles IV radically changed the situation as he immediately took a pro-Spanish imperial stance. He also took an obvious part in the infighting in the neighbouring kingdom of Gaul by supporting the Queen Mother's party; an action that soon provoked the irritation of the Protestant powers and Louis XIII's France.

In fact, Charles IV of Lorraine was deprived of his estates by the French invasion of 1633, when Richelieu seized his lands, strategically nestled between France and Germany¹⁷. A manoeuvre

¹⁴ Whaley, J. (2013). *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire, vol. I, Maximilian I to the Peace of Westphalia 1493-1648*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. P 628.

¹⁵ Knecht, R. J. (2000). *The French Civil Wars, 1562-1598*. London, Longman. Pp 180-181.

¹⁶ Knecht. *The French Civil Wars*. Cit, p 227.

¹⁷ When Henry IV of France attacked the Earldom in 1595, only the prompt intervention of a relief army sent from Milan, under the command of the

that served both to provide a forward base of operations against the Netherlands and the Empire, and to punish the Duke for his active participation in the French infighting, in which he supported the Cardinal's enemies, in particular, the Queen Mother and the King's brother, Gaston d'Orleans¹⁸.

From then on, Charles IV found himself in the uncomfortable position of being a Duke without a dukedom, with only a small body of troops at his disposal, representing his entire dowry and the only card in his hand to deal with the other European powers to return to his possessions. His troops were therefore a precious commodity, which he was not prepared for any reason in the world to sacrifice on the battlefield, and this non-belligerent attitude characterised his entire policy in the years that followed.

In 1634 the Duke allied with Spain and the Empire by pledging to fight the enemies of the House of Austria in exchange for a substantial amount of money: but this collaboration was neither easy nor destined to succeed. France's entry into the war forced Lorraine to take part in the defence of Franche-Comté, but despite the agreements that obliged him to put 13,000 men in the field¹⁹, Charles IV never managed to muster even half that figure. By early 1637, his army numbered only about 2,600 men²⁰, and by February 1638, his 8 regiments (3 infantry and 5 cavalry) had been reduced to very small numbers²¹.

Constable of Castile, managed to restore the situation by recovering one after another, the towns that the French had occupied in a hit-and-run operation. Delsalle. (2010). *The invasion of Franche-Comté by Henri IV*. Besançon, Editions Cêtre. On this occasion, two regiments of soldiers from Lorraine, some 6,000 men, were enlisted to act in coordination with the Constable's forces that were arriving from Milan. AGS, E, leg 1280, doc 24, the Marquess of Caracena to the King, 8th November 1659.

¹⁸ Bercé, Y.-M. (1996). *The Birth of Absolutism. A History of France 1598-1661*. Manchester, Manchester University Press. Pp 131-133. On the life of Duke Charles IV of Lorraine, we also refer to the modest work by Fulaine, J.-C. (1997). *The Duke Charles IV of Lorraine and his army 1624-1675*. Metz, Editions Serpenoise.

¹⁹ Dubost, J.-F. (2009). *Marie de Medici. The Queen Unveiled*. Paris, Payot. Pp 722, 763, 804-805, 807.

²⁰ The King to Cardinal Infante, 13 June 1636, in Lonchay, H. others (eds.). (1930). *Correspondence from the court of Spain on Dutch affairs in the 17th century*. Volume III. *Summary of the correspondence of Philip IV (1633-47)*. Brussels, Royal Academy of Belgium - Royal Historical Commission. P 120.

²¹ Royal Academy of History, Salazar and Castro, A-87, 216. 169-170, *list of troops...*, undated (but 1637).

Duke Charles not only failed to comply with the capitulations, but on several occasions refused to commit his troops to combat in order to preserve them, and in reports sent to Madrid, his men were depicted as unruly and entirely dedicated to plundering the territory they had to defend. When the Duke's forces withdrew from the Earldom, there was a great sense of relief in the country, as they had fared worse than the French soldiers²². It was in these last years that the Spaniards held the Duke in low regard, an underrated figure in the most favourable of scenarios. Cardinal Infante spoke of him as an extravagant and disreputable subject²³; and the Count Duke of Olivares said that his actions gave rise to little applause²⁴, and some years later, there were harsher words defining him as: "useless for all good and the occasion of infinite evils, expenses, discomforts, and disobedience²⁵".

The Duke's behaviour gave rise to continuous complaints, not only because he preferred not to engage in action, but also because on 2 April 1641, he reached an agreement with Cardinal Richelieu, which allowed him to return to his lands. The internal difficulties suffocating the Cardinal, such as the rebellion of several royals, forced him to reach a commitment with the Duke. Nevertheless, after the death of the Duke of Soisson at La Marfée (1641), Richelieu retraced his steps and once again invaded the country, expelling the Lorraine from it again, suspecting the Lorraine of conspiring with the French royals against Richelieu. Exiled for the second time, Charles IV tried to return to his estates, and in 1642, he invaded the country with his troops without achieving satisfactory results²⁶.

From 1644 onwards, after having executed a new agreement with the Spanish monarchy, he remained to fight on the side of Spain in the southern Netherlands with all his troops, some 5,400 men²⁷. But their attitude to the situation in previous years had not changed in any way. In June 1645, Marquis of

²² AGS, E, leg 2339 n.d, list of all regiments..., 20 February 1638.

²³ Louis, G. (1998). *The Ten Years' War 1634 -1644*. Besançon, University Press of Franche-Comté. Pp 109-119.

²⁴ AGS, E, leg 2155, n.d., Council of State consultation, 19 January 1641.

²⁵ Royal Academy of History, Salazar and Castro, A-87, 216. 44, Olivares to Don Antonio de Sarmiento, 28 November 1638.

²⁶ AGS, E, leg 2155, n.d., Council of State consultation, 8th October 1689.

²⁷ Martin, P. (2002). *A Thirty Years' War in Lorraine 1631-1661*. Metz, Serpenoise. Pp 146-151, 273-278.

Castel Rodrigo complained bitterly about the poor discipline shown by his troops and how the Duke did nothing about it²⁸. Only the difficult situation in which the southern territory of the Netherlands found itself, threatened with invasion, led the Council of State in Madrid to advise Philip IV to keep these units in service, while maintaining some reservations and refusing to grant the money requested by Charles IV, in order to increase the number of men at his service²⁹. In fact, in the course of the campaign, the Duke refused to get involved in the fight and devoted himself exclusively, as was reported by the Duke of Amalfi, to the preservation of his army: "He always shows good intentions, but when it comes to the point of having to risk his troops, he does not resolve to support them in greater numbers than his own"³⁰. So much so that in February, Philip IV, disappointed by his ally's behaviour, sent instructions to the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo to study the possibilities of getting rid of him, provided that this did not lead to the withdrawal of his troops. Soldiers who, although very unruly, they preferred to keep them because of the very bad strategic situation, given that Flanders had been invaded, and many places had fallen into enemy hands³¹.

The complaints against the Duke's dubious attitude were repeated in the campaign of 1646 when the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo described him as a coward who was unwilling under any circumstances to risk his only precious asset: his men³². In fact, he always set out on the campaign trail too late, hampering the progress of operations and only rarely engaging in

²⁸ AGS, E, leg 2061, n.d., *general summary of the people of war...*, undated (but summer 1644).

²⁹ AGS, E, leg 2063, n.d., Council of State consultation, 26 July 1645.

³⁰ AGS, E, leg 2063, n.d., Council of State consultation, 13 June 1645. By the end of the year, the ducal forces numbered some 6,500 men. AGS, E, leg 2064, n.d., Council of State consultation, 21 December 1645.

³¹ AGS, E, leg 2064, n.d., the Duke of Amalfi to the King, 6 November 1645. An opinion that was restated in Madrid by the Marquis of Santa Cruz who pointed out that "the Duke of Lorraine will never risk them because he has neither estate nor money except what these small troops give him". AGS, E, leg 2063, n.d., Council of State consultation, 21 November 1645.

³² AHN, E, leg 1411, n.d., the King to the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo, 4 February 1646. On the progress of military operations during the 1645 campaign, which saw the loss of Mardyke, Hulst, La Mothe, Linken, Bourbourg, La Bassée, Saint Venant, Armentières, Menin, Liliers and Ath, see Maffi, D. (2014). *En defensa del Imperio. Los ejércitos de Felipe IV y la guerra por la hegemonía europea (1635-1659)*. Madrid, Editorial Actas.

actual combat. At the end of the year, upon a catastrophic series of defeats³³, the generals of the army of Flanders came to the conclusion that it was much better for the royal service to discharge his mercenaries and send them out of the country they were plundering. The change of government, with the arrival of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, led to the renewal of alliance pacts with Charles IV, in the hope that he would be more willing to lead his troops, thus making it possible to launch a series of major offensive operations against the French³⁴. The Archduke's decision was no doubt also motivated by the need to prevent the Duke from allying with the French and transferring his people to serve the enemy³⁵. An agreement that many thought possible, because it would have allowed the Duke to recover part of his territories, after his last positions in Lorraine: La Mothe and Longwy, had surrendered to the enemy respectively in 1645 and 1646³⁶.

However, the estimates made by the general paymaster of the army that the Duke could go on campaign with 8,000 men³⁷, did not turn out to be true, as his forces were actually much smaller: about 3,000 troops in 1648³⁸, and they were much more effective in plundering the King's territory than in fighting his enemies³⁹. The description sent by the Archduke himself states as follows: "The harshness of the treatment of the Lorraine people is more rigorous than that of the transit or passage of the enemies, because they took away all the furniture, cattle, grain, violated the maidens and women, the churches and consecrated places, broke into the castles of the gentile men, they raided small villages, trying to surprise them, beat them with sticks, killed people and committed everything that malice and rage could suggest, even to the point of setting fire to buildings by means of gunpowder and in other ways that the treatment was

³³ AGS, E, leg 2066, n.d., Council of State consultation, 23 August 1646.

³⁴ In a few months, the Spanish lost Courtrai, Longwy, Bergues-Saint-Winoc, Furnes and, above all, Dunkirk. Maffi. *En defensa del Imperio*. Cit, pp 94-96.

³⁵ AGS, E, leg 2167, n.d., Archduke Leopold Wilhelm to the King, 8 June 1647.

³⁶ Redlich, F. (1964-65). *The German Military Enterpriser and His Work Force. A Study in European Economic and Social History*, 2 vols. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH. Vol II, pp 5-7.

³⁷ Wilson, P. (2009). *Europe's Tragedy. A History of the Thirty Years' War*. London, Allen Lane. P 684.

³⁸ AGS, E, leg 2167, n.d., *general list of officers and soldiers...*, 29 September 1647.

³⁹ Redlich. *The German Military Enterpriser*. *Op cit*, II, p 5.

more severe than that of the enemies"⁴⁰. The reasons for this brutality could be explained by the fact that these mercenaries, left without winter quarters, since the agreements with Spain stipulated that only during the campaign months would they receive their bread, provisions, and their soldiers' pay, therefore, they had no choice but to live on the territory that had the misfortune to host them, which meant that they had to raze the countryside to the ground.

By 1649 the Spanish authorities were in despair at the behaviour of the Duke and his people, whose numbers had dwindled to no more than 4,000 soldiers⁴¹. However, the development of the Fronde uprising, which as we shall see led to the near shut-down of the French army's operations, made it advisable for the Archduke to renew the pacts to prevent the local Lorraine from going on campaign and helping the rebellious French princes. In these years, Charles IV's attitude gave rise to suspicions about his real intentions. Not only did he continue to refuse to engage in action against the enemy, but he also had dealings with the Spaniards, the Frondists and Cardinal Mazzarino at the same time. In 1652, the news that the Duke had agreed with the French Court's favourite to leave the Princes to their fate in exchange for 500,000 guilders and a few jewels, caused a stir⁴². In fact, the ducal forces did not take part in any action and on several occasions, the Spanish generals, reported that he had come to an agreement with their enemies⁴³.

The 1653 campaign exacerbated tensions between the Duke, the Spanish, and the Prince of Condé, and in July, there were rumours that on this occasion also the Duke had agreed with Mazzarino to do nothing and, on the other hand, to hinder the movements of the Spanish army⁴⁴. Charles IV's actions during the siege of Rocroi, when he withdrew his forces, were, for many, a clear demonstration of a blatant violation of the pacts and proof of his constant communication with the French⁴⁵.

⁴⁰ As when in May 1648 they refused to leave their barracks to march against the French: AGS, E, leg 2068, n.d., Archduke Leopold Wilhelm to the King, 22 May 1648.

⁴¹ AGS, E, leg 2068, n.d., Council of State consultation, 14 June 1648.

⁴² AGS, E, leg 2073, n.d., the Count of Fuensaldaña to the King, 29 December 1649.

⁴³ AGS, E, leg 8519, n.d., 194-195, Secretary Navarro to Antonio Brun, 1 July 1652.

⁴⁴ AGS, E, leg 2078, n.d., the Count of Fuensaldaña to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, 25 July 1652.

⁴⁵ AGS, E, leg 8520, n.d., 203-205, Antonio Brun to Pedro Avarro, 7 July 1653.

Moreover, the savage behaviour of his men in various circumstances endangered not only the stability of the southern Netherlands, as in 1651, when, as a result of the devastation to which they subjected the province of Namur, the Spanish authorities feared that desperate peasants might take up arms⁴⁶, but also relations with neighbours. In the winter of 1653 the Lorraine entered Dutch territory and plundered some villages, provoking the prompt reaction of the Dutch troops⁴⁷, endangering the peace agreement with the United Provinces, which threatened to carry out a series of reprisals, so much so that Antonio Brun thought about the possibility that Dutch troops might join forces with His Majesty's enemies⁴⁸. The destruction of the Archbishop of Cologne's territories in the winter of 1651 was one of the motivations that led this elector to turn away from friendship with Spain⁴⁹. The destruction carried out by the Duke's men also provoked the reaction of the Elector of Mainz, who in 1652 tried to unite the Rhineland states to confront Charles IV's gang of plunderers, an action that the French were soon able to take advantage of to seek allies in Western Germany⁵⁰.

In February 1654, the Council of State with Don Luis de Haro, the Marquesses of Leganés and Velada and the Count of Peñaranda, saw in the Duke, nothing more than a mere opportunist who was taking advantage of the circumstances because: "The experience of so many years has shown that the main interest of the Duke of Lorraine is that the war lasts and that his troops are preserved, being his portable Lorraine and those that make him important, trying not to risk them on all occasions without paying attention to anything else⁵¹".

A set of factors that already in 1652 had led Philip IV to send instructions to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm to act against the Duke at his discretion in case conditions worsened⁵². Outraged by Charles IV's behaviour, the Archduke finally decided to resort

⁴⁶ AGS, E, leg 2086, doc 2, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm to the King, 7 March 1654.

⁴⁷ AGS, E, leg 8518, n.d., 202-203, Secretary Navarro to Antonio Brun, 24 July 1651.

⁴⁸ AGS, E, leg 8520, n.d., 13-15, Antonio Brun to Pedro Avarro, 15 January 1653.

⁴⁹ AGS, E, leg 8520, n.d., 51-52, 61-63 and 82, Antonio Brun to Pedro Navarro, 30 January and 3 and 17 February 1653.

⁵⁰ AGS, E, leg 2358, n.d., Archbishop of Cologne to the King, 9 May 1651.

⁵¹ When they created the Rhenish League comprising several West German states, placed under their patronage: Roberts, M. (1982). *La Svezia e il Baltico, 1611-1654*. In Cooper, J. P. (ed.). *History of the Modern World*", vol. IV, *The decline of Spain and the Thirty Years' War 1610-1648 / 1659*. Milan, Garzanti. P 478.

⁵² AGS, E, leg 2083, n.d., the Council of State, 18 February 1654.

to force, and in February 1654, the Count of Garcies received instructions to arrest him and imprison him in Antwerp's Castle.⁵³ In the following weeks, the Lorraine native was taken to the Peninsula, where he was held in a gilded cage in Toledo; only the signing of the Peace of the Pyrenees led to the release of the Duke, who returned to his estates.

His imprisonment did not put an end to complaints against his troops. The latter, under the command of Francis of Lorraine, continued to fight alongside the royal forces, but, as always, their contribution was derisory. On the occasion of the siege of Arras (1654), the Spanish generals again regretted their attitude, in particular because the *Lorraine* refused to attack the French forces of Turena when they broke through the Spanish lines, and were considered the main culprits for the resulting disaster⁵⁴. The end of the relationship with these turbulent mercenaries came at the end of 1655, when in November, Francis of Lorraine and his soldiers, just over 3,800 in all, abandoned and went into the service of the French crown, fighting in the following years up to the Peace of the Pyrenees for Louis XIV⁵⁵.

The French Fronde and the army of Prince de Condé

There is no need to mention how the Kingdom of France was the stage of a real civil war between 1648 and 1652, when the parliament of Paris and then the grandee nobles went into open warfare against the Crown.⁵⁶ However, it seems appropriate to underline how the outbreak of the Parliament Fronde and then of the princes, opened up a series of opportunities for the Monarchy to take advantage of the services of some main leaders of the rebellion, by sealing a series of pacts and treaties with them that provided for the service of a few auxiliary troops, paid for by the King of Spain, remaining under the command of their former generals.

In reality, the Frondists' collaboration with the Hispanic authorities was never easy or smooth. During the campaign of 1649, the Spanish generals continually complained about the bad conduct

⁵³ AGS, E, leg 2086, doc. 2, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm to the King, 7 March 1654.

⁵⁴ AGS, E, leg 2086, doc. 1, Council of State consultation, 31 March 1654.

⁵⁵ AGS, E, leg 2083, n.d., the Count of Fuensaldaña to the King, 28 August 1654.

⁵⁶ Fulaine. *Duke Charles IV of Lorraine. Cit*, pp 169-171.

of the Frondistas who did nothing to favour Spanish operations in France⁵⁷.

Nor were relations easy with the Marshal of Turenna, Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne-Bouillon, Viscount of Turenna, who in April 1650 had signed a pact of allegiance with Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, by virtue of which he put himself at the service of Spain⁵⁸. Turenna had joined the Fronde in the course of the previous year and, because of a lack of money and men, decided to seal a treaty with the governor of the Netherlands, pledging to support the Spanish troops with an auxiliary force supported by Spanish money.

In reality, the French general was never able to muster a large number of troops, nor was he able to develop a large constituency among the supporters of the Fronde. In addition to this, practically from the very beginning, relations between the allies were never good, with the Viscount always pressuring his allies to act in French territory, contrary to Spanish interests, which wanted first and foremost to recover the lost territory and not to venture into an operation so far from their logistical bases, with little chance to stay in French territory. In fact, Turenna's strategy did not achieve results despite the means employed: the invasion of France during the campaign of 1650 did not produce any lasting results, and in December, the French Marshal and the Duke of Lorraine were defeated in a resounding manner near Rethel (13 December)⁵⁹. It was the straw that broke the camel's back with a furious Turenna who decided to return to the service of Louis XIV, by reconciling with Cardinal Mazarin.

Louis II of Bourbon, Duke of Enghien and Prince IV of Condé, represented something different. He was a "prince of the blood", with a large following in the country, a real court, extensive fiefdoms, a large number of vassals and servants, and a wide network of friendships within the armies, where many officers had been able to make a career thanks to his patronage⁶⁰. A character of such calibre was followed in exile by grandee

⁵⁷ On the Fronde, which ravaged France from 1648 to 1652, the reference works remain Kossmann, E. H. (1954). *La Fronde*. Leiden, Universitaires Pers; Ranum, O. (1993). *The Fronde. A French Revolution 1648-1652*. New York and London, W.W. Norton & Co. A more recent outlook is provided by Goubert, P. (1992). *Mazzarino*. Milan, Rizzoli. Pp 175-280.

⁵⁸ Maffi. *En defensa del Imperio. Cit*, pp 112-113.

⁵⁹ Bérenger, J. (1987). *Turenne*. Paris, Fayard. Pp 289-290.

⁶⁰ Maffi. *En defensa del Imperio. Cit*, pp 116-117.

nobles such as François de Vaudetar, Marquess of Persan, the young Jean-Henri de Durfort, Duke of Duras and future Marshal of France, Guillaume, Count of Guitant, Jean, Count of Coligny-Saligny, and the Count of La Suse. Because of all these circumstances, he was able to enter Spanish service in 1651 with an army of 4-5,000 men, recruited at his own expense, with another large body of troops of some 10-12,000 fighters in Guyenne, where he could also count on the support of the city of Bordeaux, as well as a few fortresses whose governors had come out in his favour. In 1650 and 1651, the Prince held control of the towns of Stenay, Clermont, Jamets, Dijon, Saint-Jean-de-Losne, Bellegarde, Verdun, Blaye, Brouage, La Rochelle and Saumur⁶¹.

The support granted to the Prince in the years of the Fronde was particularly onerous for Spain, since from the time of his entry into the service of the King of Spain, which occurred at the end of 1651 thanks to the Treaty of Mauberge (26 October 1651 followed by a second pact sealed in Madrid on 6 November), until November 1653, the general paymaster of the army had given his troops more than 750,000 escudos, in addition to another 200,000 escudos for accommodation received directly from the communities of Flanders⁶². Not to mention the sending of an expeditionary force to Bordeaux in the course of 1652 with more than 4,000 men⁶³, mostly Irish, who a few months later surrendered without a fight.

However, relations between the Prince and his Hispanic allies were never easy. In this respect, it should not be forgotten that the campaigns of 1652 and 1653 featured differences of opinion between the senior commanders of the Flanders army and the French army, over the strategy to be employed in the conduct of the war against France. Condé pressed to continue the invasion of the neighbouring Gallic country, to the detriment of the reconquest of the lost positions in the Netherlands, which was the policy followed by the Spanish generals⁶⁴. In the words of

⁶¹ For an insight into the power of the maison de Condé see Béguin, K. (1999). *The Princes of Condé. Rebels, courtiers and patrons in the France of the Grand Siècle*. Paris, Champ Vallon. Pp 23-84.

⁶² Béguin. *The Princes of Condé. Cit*, pp 123, 129.

⁶³ AGS, E, leg 2186, n.d., *account of the money given to the party of the Prince of Condé*, undated (but around the end of 1653).

⁶⁴ AGS, E, leg 2079, n.d., *list of the infantry...*, 4 September 1652; AGS, E, leg 2079, n.d., *List of the people at war*, 6 September 1652.

their governor, the Prince seemed to pursue only his own interests, without any regard for those of the King of Spain⁶⁵. In addition to this, the Frenchman was also notable for his rivalry with the Duke of Lorraine: it was no secret that there was an unforgiving hatred between the two of them.

At the end of August 1653, with the loss of Bordeaux, the city had finally surrendered on 31 July because of the delay in the arrival of the Spanish relief armada⁶⁶, and with the end of the Fronde, the Prince had no other possession left but Stenay⁶⁷. From then on his forces consisted mostly of a few German mercenary regiments that were part of the army of Flanders: just in the year 1652, the Count of Fuensaldaña gave 7 infantry and 8 cavalry regiments to Condé⁶⁸. The Prince's forces included Irish tercios, already soldiers in the army of Flanders, some units enlisted in Liège, which during the Thirty Years' War was a considerable centre of enlistment for the warring sides⁶⁹, and some French companies, especially cavalry. In theory, this was not a large force; the agreements signed in 1653 provided for him to have some 7,000 paid and armed men at the royal treasury's expense. In fact, in order to please the Prince, the military authorities of the Netherlands were obliged to hand over a considerable number of forces to him; in 1652 alone, some 15,000 soldiers⁷⁰. In 1655, Condé set out on campaign with 8,400 troops⁷¹, in 1657 the army's records showed that more than 15,000 men were available in his units, and in 1659, he could still count on 8,203 troops.

In fact, his mercenaries behaved no better than those of the Duke of Lorraine. As the Spanish authorities did not provide their troops with any kind of lodging, they had no choice but to live at the expense of the people⁷². A problem for which a

⁶⁵ Maffi. *En defensa del Imperio. Cit*, p 123.

⁶⁶ AGS, E, leg 2080, n.d., Archduke Leopold Wilhelm to the King, 4 October 1653.

⁶⁷ Fernández Albaladejo, P. (2009). *La crisis de la Monarquía*. Madrid, Editorial Crítica. Pp 349-350.

⁶⁸ AGS, E, leg 2080, n.d., Archduke Leopold Wilhelm to the King, 16 August 1653.

⁶⁹ AGS, E, leg 2078, n.d., the Count of Fuensaldaña to the King, 6 February 1652.

⁷⁰ Helfferich, T. (2007). A Levy in Liège for Mazarin's Army: Practical and Strategic Difficulties in Enlisting Troops in the Thirty Years' War. *Journal of Early Modern History*, XI. Leiden - Boston, Brill. Pp 475-500.

⁷¹ AGS, E, leg 2083, n.d., *Different chapters of the instruction brought from Flanders by Don Baltasar Mercader, undated* (but late 1653).

⁷² Letter from Archduke Leopold Wilhelm to the King, 26 June 1655, in Lonchay, H. others (eds.). (1933). *Correspondence of the court of Spain on the affairs of*

solution was found only in the autumn of 1655, when the Flanders paymaster began to provide lodging for his men. However, unlike the Lorraine, Condé's soldiers were more disciplined and willing to fight on the battlefield, as the Spaniards themselves acknowledged⁷³. In this respect, the Gallic prince did not spare his forces and during the siege of Arras (1654), the relief of Valenciennes (1656), the sieges of Condé (1656) and Saint-Ghislain (1657), as well as the relief of Cambrai (1657), his troops showed courage. The Germans and also the Irish, who still numbered over 1,000 men in 1659, were considered soldiers of value⁷⁴, so much so that they were considered for transfer to the service of the King of Spain in the war against Portugal⁷⁵.

While his troops did not cause too many difficulties, the actual problem the Spanish authorities encountered was always linked to relations with the Prince: these became strained even in the years after 1653. Condé was proud and stubborn, sometimes threatening to withdraw with his soldiers if his demands were not granted, as he did in the autumn of 1653, in order to obtain winter quarters for his people⁷⁶. At the end of the campaign, by way of compensation and to appease his spirit, he managed to garrison only his own men in the square of Rocroi, even though it had been taken by part of the army of Flanders and was considered a spoil of war.

New difficulties also arose towards the end of the year, so much so that at the beginning of 1654, the Archduke proposed to leave him in command of an army corps all his own, which would have to operate near Stenay "and with this army, he should make war without mixing with Your Majesty's arms"⁷⁷. A plan that was not put into effect because of the sudden French advance that siege the aforementioned square. Stenay guarded one of the entrances to Luxembourg and its siege provoked new differences of opinion between the Spanish command and Condé, who was pressing Leopold Wilhelm and the Count of Fuensaldaña

the Netherlands in the 17th century. Volume IV. Summary of the correspondence of Philip IV (1647-65). Brussels, Royal Academy of Belgium - Royal Commission of History. P 496.

⁷³ AGS, E, leg 2080, n.d., the Count of Fuensaldaña to the King, 06 October 1653.

⁷⁴ AGS, E, leg 2080, n.d., Archduke Leopold Wilhelm to the King, 2 August 1653; AGS, E, leg 2093, n.d., *matters discussed at the meeting held in the presence of His Highness...*, 19 January 1658.

⁷⁵ AGS, E, leg 2095, doc 95, Marquis of Caracena to the King, 8 November 1659.

⁷⁶ AGS, E, leg 2170, n.d., the King to the Marquess of Caracena, 3 December 1659.

⁷⁷ AGS, E, leg 2083, n.d., Archduke Leopold Wilhelm to the King, 18 November 1653.

to move the whole army to his aid, while the generals of the King of Spain did not want to risk their troops to free a town they did not consider of great importance. In the end, in order to make a diversion and to satisfy Condé's constant complaints, who insistently asked for a major operation, it was decided to march against Arras. We know that this action did not only fail to prevent the fall of Stenay, but caused a catastrophe when Touraine's army fell upon the besiegers⁷⁸.

Disagreements among the high command continued even in the weeks following the disaster, with Condé, who always wanted to fight, and Fuensaldaña, with the other generals, who did not intend to risk the men who had been painstakingly and expensively mustered after the ruin of Arras. A confrontation that on several occasions brought the two generals to the brink of open defiance, and the Count of Fuensaldaña complained on several occasions to the Governor asking for instructions because he could no longer put up with the French prince's aspirations⁷⁹. At the end of the year, in order to compensate the prince for the loss of his last stronghold in French territory and put an end to his continuous complaints Condé obtained, despite the disaster, for the aid given on the occasion of the siege of Arras, the cession of Le Catelet and La Capelle⁸⁰.

The arrival of John Joseph of Austria did not improve the situation with the Prince, who remained an intransigent character who, despite achieving successes such as the reliefs of Valenciennes (1656) and Cambrai (1657), always seemed unwilling to collaborate with the Spanish military leadership in the region. A situation that could only be remedied when Condé returned to France after the signing of the Peace of the Pyrenees.

Not only on the battlefield did the resentful French general pose a problem for the Spanish authorities, but also the question of the prince's pardon hindered and derailed the chances of a peace agreement with the French.

The great Hispanic triumphs of 1655 and 1656 effectively opened up the possibility of a favourable conclusion to the duel with

⁷⁸ AGS, E, leg 2083, n.d., the Council of State, 18 February 1654.

⁷⁹ Schulten, K. (2009). *The Independence of the United Provinces (1559-1659). One hundred years of sieges and wars*. Paris, Economica. P 308.

⁸⁰ Barrionuevo, J. de. (1968). *Avisos de don Jerónimo de Barrionuevo (1654-1658)*. Edition and preliminary study by Antonio Paz y Melia, 2 vols, Madrid, Library of Spanish Authors. Volume CCXXI, p 79.

France, and in fact Mazzarino sent his representative Hugues de Lionne to Madrid to establish diplomatic conversations in search of an agreement. This mission, according to some historians such as Robert Stradling⁸¹, John Lynch⁸², and Richard Bonney⁸³, failed only because of Philip IV's will not to abandon the Prince of Condé to his fate, thus losing a great opportunity to obtain peace. An opinion against which Jonathan Israel spoke out, for whom, Mazzarino never had the intention of reaching an agreement, and the Lionne mission was only a propaganda attempt to present terms that were unacceptable, in order to show that Spain was the one that did not want peace.⁸⁴ The recent opinion of Daniel Séré seems less convincing. In his view, the military failures had indeed endangered the position of Cardinal Mazzarino, who saw himself threatened by a new Fronde⁸⁵, so he was indeed looking for a way out of the war, and the negotiations collapsed only because of the matter of Condé's pardon⁸⁶.

The Prince's uneasy shadow also had repercussions on the attempts for peace in the Pyrenees, when Philip IV had to accept harsher conditions in order to obtain the rebel's pardon and allow him to return to his possessions in France⁸⁷.

Among the loyalists who followed Condé in his exile in the Netherlands, it seems logical to highlight the presence of the young François-Henry de Montmorency-Bouteville, the future Duke of Luxembourg, Marshal of France, who began his apprenticeship at the service of the Prince and His Catholic Majesty, in the arms. Following his master, the young Bouteville arrived in Brussels in 1653 and his *Spanish* period is one of the least known of his life, as French historians have almost completely silenced this period of his life. Gallic authors also credit the future Marshal

⁸¹ AGS, E, leg 2189, n.d., Archduke Leopold Wilhelm to the King, 10 December 1654.

⁸² Stradling, R. A. (1981). *Europe and the Decline of Spain. A Study of the Spanish System, 1580-1720*. London, Allen & Unwin. Pp 180-181.

⁸³ Lynch, J. (1992). *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change 1598-1700*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell. P 169.

⁸⁴ Bonney, R. (1992). *The European Dynastic States 1494-1660*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. P 239.

⁸⁵ Israel, J. I. (1997). Spain and the Europe from the Peace of Münster to the Peace of the Pyrenees 1648-1659. In Israel, J. I. *Conflicts of Empires. Spain, the Netherlands and the Struggle for World Supremacy 1585-1713*. London, The Hambledon Press. Pp 141-142.

⁸⁶ On this see also the opinion of Bercé. *The Birth of Absolutism. Cit*, p 190.

⁸⁷ Séré, D. (2007). *Peace of the Pyrenees. Twenty-four years of negotiations between France and Spain (1635-1659)*. Paris, Honoré Champion. Pp 264-271.

of France with a number of great ventures, emphasising on several occasions his command of the Prince's cavalry corps and underestimating, it must be stressed, the contribution of the army of Flanders in the many battles in which Condé's forces were involved. In particular, the young officer took part in the siege of Arras (1654) where he covered the retreat of the Spanish forces after the defeat suffered under the city walls, he was one of the protagonists of the relief of Valenciennes (1656) and the fall of Saint-Ghislain (1657), and also took part in the battle of the Dunes (1658)⁸⁸. These services cost the Notre-Dâme upholsterer, for on his return to France in 1659, he had to wait several years before regaining the trust of Louis XIV.

Conclusions

As a result of Condé's departure for France, the presence of French soldiers in the armies of the Monarchy virtually ended, although not all of Louis II de Bourbon's men left the country or the service to the Catholic monarch. One of the prince's generals was still in Flanders serving as a cavalry general. He was Jean-Gaspard-Ferdinand, Count of Marsin, who was not actually a native of France but of Liège, and who had begun his military career in the troops of the arch-Christian king before going on to serve in the prince's forces.

Marsin's military career was not particularly brilliant. For as a cavalry general, he was primarily responsible for the defeat suffered near Ghent —an honourable defeat, as the sources remind us, for the troops of the army of Flanders, who fought a hard and bloody battle with the French, who in the end left more dead on the field than the enemy⁸⁹— forcing the city to surrender, leaving it unable to receive help. An episode that put a definitive end to Marsin's career, which ceased after this.

The final decades of the 17th century did not see the presence of other Gallic soldiers, unless we consider as such a few hundred Burgundian knights and soldiers who remained at the service of the king after the loss of the Franche-Comté of Burgundy in 1678, in the ranks of the Catholic Monarchy. It could not have

⁸⁸ On the discussions between the two countries and the matter of Condé's pardon, see Séré. *Peace of the Pyrenees. Cit*, pp 313 ff.

⁸⁹ Fonck, B. (2014). *The Marshal of Luxembourg and the command of the armies under Louis XIV*. Seyssel, Champ Vallon. Pp 61-65.

been otherwise given the constant militarisation of the French nobility, increasingly regulated and subjected to the service of the Sun King, which had lost, after the Fronde, its traditional spirit for rebellion, seeking the support of foreign sovereigns⁹⁰.

⁹⁰ AGS, E, leg 2106, n.d., Marquis of Castel Rodrigo to the Queen, 7 September 1667.

Chapter four

Frenchmen in the service of the Spanish Royal Armada (1650-1835)

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Abstract

The author has studied the French origin of the officers of the Spanish Navy after the frequent periods of war between Spain and France during the Habsburg dynasty.

At the end of the Spanish War of Succession, the ranks of the new (1718) Military Navy of Spain, or Spanish Royal Navy, will be truffled with French surnames. In total are studied in this article, twenty-five midshipmen born on French soil, fourteen born in Spain to French father or mother, all of them settled in the Royal Company of Marine Guards; six French general officers, then called *generals of the Navy*, incorporated into the Spanish Royal Navy; several naval engineers of the same origin and the French doctors who founded the Corps of Surgeons of the Royal Navy. After the initial remittance, due to the aforementioned War of Succession, the French Revolution will be the one that will induce them to come to serve the King of Spain.

The author has synthesized in two tables the careers of those Navy officers, offering the biographies of the most outstanding. And he has dedicated other sections to general officers,

engineers, and doctors. He has also sought to describe the stelae that these officers have left in the Navy to this day.

Keywords

Spain, France, Army, Navy, Generals, Midshipmen.

Introduction

Between the first war against France (1521-1529) and the fourth (1552-1559), during the reign of Charles I of Spain —and largely because he was crowned as Charles V of Germany— there was a natural state of war between the two Pyrenean powers. With Philip II, things did not get any better. From his enthronement until 1559, he had to fight to dominate Italy, and between 1595 and 1598, for the Holy Catholic Faith threatened in France. It should also be recalled that, in order to bolster its enmity towards Spain, France even allied itself with the Ottoman Empire, despite the Most Christian title of its king.

After the twelve-year truce in the Flanders War, in which France and England supported the Netherlands as much as they could in order to weaken Spain, and in the context of the Thirty Years' War, Philip IV was at war with the French (1635-1659) until 'The Pyrenees are no more'. However, there were no Pyrenees to the north, and with the Sun King on the throne, the War of Devolution (1667-1668) was waged, in which Spain suffered as it had suffered with the independence of Portugal, supported by the French white companies, and with the revolt in Catalonia. And after 'the devolutions', that of the Reunions (1683-1684), which can be considered as one, although, between the two, for similar reasons, we were in the Franco-Dutch war (1672-1678) against the Gauls, of course.

At the turn of the century, the Nine Years' War, or War of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697), pitted France against the Augsburg League, which included the Spanish Crown. In 1689, after England joined the League, it was renamed the Grand Alliance. With all this military background, it is not surprising that there was little if any military exchange (if we may use that term for the Austrian era) between the two nations. Perhaps a meeting point between Gauls and Spaniards was the Sovereign Order of St John of Jerusalem (commonly known as the Order of Malta), which was sometimes denied bread and salt by the French sovereigns, who had to seek the protection of the Spanish, as Jean Parisot de Valette could attest during the great siege of the island in 1565, a clear precedent for Lepanto.

Upon the death of H.M. King Charles II, the War of Succession began, which made us unquestionable allies of the French on

three occasions (Family Pacts), which, together with other problems that we will briefly analyse, would fill the ranks of the eighteenth-century Army and Navy with Gallic surnames.

As for those who served in the Royal Armada, we have detected twenty-five gentlemen, born on French soil, as well as fourteen born in Spain with a French father or mother, settled in the Royal Company of Sea Guards (in the day, midshipmen). We have also located six general officers (at that time known as 'generals of the Navy', as it was not until 'the Glorious Revolution' that the word 'admiral' was used in the Royal Armada to designate the most senior ranks). We will also mention several engineers from France and the French doctors who founded the Corps of Surgeons of the Royal Armada. Undoubtedly, after the initial exchange due to the aforementioned War of Succession, it was the French Revolution that induced many of them to come to serve the King of Spain.

Two important figures of the Royal Armada, Blas de Lezo y Olavarría and José Diego Gutierrez de los Ríos y Zapata de Mendoza, 5th Count of Fernán Núñez, are a curious and particular case, as both were French sea guards and the former continued in the *Royale* up to the rank of commander and, after the siege of Barcelona in 1714, went on to serve in the Spanish Navy¹. This was due to the invitation extended by Louis XIV to his grandson Philip V for young Spanish sons to study in the French Sea Guard Companies, due to the lack of Spanish naval power and to obtain officers for the new Armada. The influential Count of Fernán Núñez, who was to become captain general of the Spanish galley squadron, soon returned to Spain with the rank of sublieutenant, but Lezo suffered his three major war wounds serving the King of France.

Spanish midshipmen born in France

The twenty-five gentlemen born on French soil are listed in the table (no. 1) below:

¹ Blanco Núñez, J. M.(2001). *La Armada en la primera mitad del siglo XVIII*. Madrid, Izar.

Frenchmen in the service of the Spanish Royal Armada (1650-1835)

N.º	NAME	GM N.º	BIRTH	ENTRY	VICISSITUDES
1.	Pedro Despuis	36	Bayonne, France	07.02.1717	His father was captain of sea and war in ships of the Royal Armada. Prisoner of the British in Sicily
2.	Claudio de Lucas y de Bre	261	France, 1699	01.06.1718	Died 21.08.1724
3.	Juan Cortty y Philipon	458	Santañán?	07.02 Reg. Brabante 1727	French parents, although he may have been born in Spain.
4.	Luis María Mathurin Herbieux y Mellac	459	Saint Maló 1714	18.10.1727	His father Jácome, Col. Brabante Inf. Regt. Reformed. Sr. de Mellac. He was sent as Ensign to the Borgoña Regt. 27.09.1730.
5.	Arduino Nandín y Guerin	489	Loudun (Poitiers), 1710	08.07.1728	His father, Louis Nandin, adviser to the King and <i>lieutenant general for criminal matters in this country</i> (France).
6.	Alejo Pigeón Lieure	493	Dolz, 1711	09.09.1728	Father, Captain of Infantry (Inf.) and Sr. de Douboulay
7.	Francisco Caudron de Canteix	568	Dovay, 1715	18.04.1732	Father, Pedro de, Sr. de Quentin. He was sent as captain of dragoons in Aragón Regt. on 23.03.1736
8.	Adrián Caudron de Canteix	612	Dovay Arras 1719	22.12.1734	Brother of the former and lieutenant general of the R. A. in 1795. Died in Cartagena, 10.01.1796.
9.	Felipe Roulliero y Martínez	769	Paris, 1723	26.02.1741	His father, valet to H. M. the King of Spain. His mother was wet nurse of the King of Spain. He became a captain of dragoons on 16.06.1745.
10.	Francisco de Cordeyl y Bousquet	836	Toulon, 1726	19.12.1743	His father, captain of dragoons and Knight of San Luis. He became a lieutenant in the Brussels Inf. Regt. on 19.02.1746.
11.	Marcos Fonguion y Coson	1384	Argismon (Angulema) 1743	21.07.1761	His SG dossier disappeared. But we know he was Sub Lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers (1772-1774) and returned to the General Corps as lieutenant second class on 30.04.1774. His engineer's reports said: "He is talented, but he is inclined to serve in the Armada" ² .

² Sánchez Carrión, J. M. *Gautier...* Vol II, p 153.

N.º	NAME	GM N.º	BIRTH	ENTRY	VICISSITUDES
12.	Juan Ramonet	1871	Languedoc	20.02.1775	Informed by H.M.C.'s ambassador in Paris and by that of the King of France in Madrid. Served in the French Navy.
13.	Jacobo (Santiago) de Liniers y Bremond	1952	Niort (Poitiers) 25.07.1753	16.1.1775	Crusader in Malta, he was a page Grand Master. His father Knight and Sr. del Grande (illegible) el Valle and other places, commander in the French Navy. His paternal grandfather, Sr. de Saint Pompain et de Chateau Musset, captain in the French Navy.
14.	Joaquín Pignatelly	2042	Paris?	05.03.1777	His father, Joaquín Atanasio Pignatelli de Aragón y Moncayo, ambassador of H.M.C. in Paris.
15.	Carlos Pignatelly	2407	Paris 1773	12.06.1786. Exempted due to minor age.	Son, like the former, of the Count of Fuentes, Grandee of Spain 1st class, he was a commander in 1795 and commanded the frigate <i>Diana</i> , taking part in the operations of the siege of Rosas (02.1795).
16.	Carlos Saint Cricq y Mazarredo	2456	Orthez (Béarn) 1772	05.05.1778	Nephew of Admiral Joseph de Mazarredo. Absolute sick leave 05.03.1790
17.	Teodato de Bonnefoy y Lisne	2533	St. Roman de Chissort (Angoulême) 1773	19.07.1790	His father was a lieutenant in the French navy and a knight of the military order of Saint Louis and of the Order of Malta. His file states that an ancestor came to Spain with Bertrand Du Guesclin.
18.	José Soubiron y Montcalm	4412	Loubier, 1780	23.04.1796	Son of the Count of Soubiron and M. ^a Elena de Montcalm. Brother of the following 20,21 and 22.
19.	José Jorbin Darcussin	4298	Avignon, Parish Sancti Agnoli, 25.08.1775	Company. Com. 08.05.1791	Knight of Malta, language of Provence, ensign in 1795. Son of the Count of Jorbin
20.	José Burgues y Dessufret	4371	Toulon, Puerto Sta. María, 28.II.1778	08.01.1794	His father Claude-Lorenzo Burgues Demissiessy, Brigadier of the French Navy and Knight of the Order S. Louis.

Frenchmen in the service of the Spanish Royal Armada (1650-1835)

N.º	NAME	GM N.º	BIRTH	ENTRY	VICISSITUDES
21.	Hipólito Soubiron y Montcalm	4468	Loubier ³ 1781	28.06.1800	Exempted presentation of documentation due to his recognised nobility and impossibility to bring it as archives were burnt during the revolution in France.
22.	Carlos Soubiron y Montcalm	4492	Castelnaudary (Languedoc) 04.06.1785	13.12.1800	Idem.
23.	Carlos Barton	4505	Toulon, 14.12.1788	20.11.1802	Died 15.12.1803. His maternal grandfather, a French midshipman.
24.	Donato Soubiron y Montcalm	4514	Castelnaudary (Languedoc) 23.02.1788	23.02.1803	Idem.
25.	Charles-Joseph Barton and Dutillet	4516	Toulon, 16.12.1788	12.03.1803	Twin? brother of the 23rd. The catalogue states that the dates are 'clearly' altered. Crusader in Malta

Table no. 1. Spanish midshipmen born in France to French (22) or Spanish (3) families. Taken from the Válgoma- Finestrat Catalogue⁴

Notes to Table 1.

- Transferred to the Army: 4
- Retired, dead or missing at an early age: 4
- Armada Generals: 2
- They continued their careers in the Royal Armada: 4
- With ignored career: 8
- Sons of French naval officers: 4
- Children of French Army personnel: 3
- Titled nobles of France: 5

³ There are several French towns named Loubière or Louvière, with the data we have it is not possible to determine exactly which of them it is, but we suppose it will be the one in the current Department of Aveyron in Occitania.

⁴ Válgoma y Díaz Varela, D. and the Baron of Finestrat. (1943). *Real Compañía de Guardias Marinas y Colegio Naval. Catálogo de pruebas de caballeros aspirantes*. Madrid. We have studied the first 5 volumes of the Royal Companies (1717-1833).

Biographies of those who reached rank of general

Adrián José Caudrón de Cantín⁵

He served on several ships as a midshipman and was promoted to ensign on 29 August 1737. On 19 February 1738, he embarked on board the ship of the line *Europa*, part of the squadron of Benito María Spínola, Marquis of Spínola, leaving for Havana and Cartagena de Indias, where he had the honour of taking part in the famous defence immortalised in the person of Blas de Lezo. Wounded twice in that defence, he was promoted to sublieutenant on 9 July 1740 and to lieutenant second class on 19 December of the same year.

Again assigned to Havana, on the same ship *Europa*, he left that port for Veracruz on 19 April 1741, in the squadron of Rodrigo de Torres, Marquis of Matallana, and on 25 October of the same year he left to deliver the *situados* (salaries and income of the officers stationed there) in the windward islands, returning to Havana where he was promoted to lieutenant on 17 November 1741.

He volunteered to take part in the expedition mounted in Havana against the English colonists of La Carolina, sailing from Havana on 5 June 1742 and, upon arriving in Florida, he was given command of a division of schooners with which he took part in the capture of the port and castles of Gualquiru. From there he went back to Florida, escorting a convoy, and returned to Havana to the ship in which he was posted. The General-in-Chief of the expedition recommended Caudron to H.M. for his excellent behaviour, pointing out that he had performed his services without any reward whatsoever.

Once again on the ship *Europa*, and as part of the squadron of the Marquis of Matallana, which left for Cadiz loaded with ten million pesos in 1744, he arrived at La Coruña, where he disembarked.

After a year (1745-1746) aboard the *Santa Isabel* of the squadron of the Marquis de la Victoria, he embarked on the *Constante* (until December 1748), from which he disembarked to serve in the Navy battalions and to make two commissions, in the mail xebecs, to Oran carrying funds.

⁵ We reproduce here the biography written by the author and published in the Biographical Dictionary of the Royal Academy of History.

He returned to the *Constante* and left for the Costa Firme with the squadron of the bailiff⁶ "fra" Julián de Arriaga, carrying troops to dominate the province of Caracas, which was then in revolt. Once the appeasement of Caracas was over, they left for Cartagena de Indias and Havana, where they embarked funds that they transported to Cádiz.

In 1751, he embarked on the ship of the line *Dragon*, under the command of captain Pedro Stuard, which beat and captured the Algerian *Danzink*, Caudron's conduct was praised by his captain.

After serving on board of various ships and other voyages to America, he was promoted to commander on 20 March 1754, embarking as first lieutenant in the ship of the line *Bizarro*, stationed in Havana, with which he went to Veracruz to look for armaments for the West Indies squadron, and on 16 March 1756 he took command of the same ship, from which, after various commissions in West Indian and Tierra Firme waters, he disembarked on 26 March 1759 when his ship was paid off as useless.

After two new assignments as first lieutenant, always in Havana, he returned to Cadiz on the *Diligente*, also as first lieutenant, and on 13 July 1760 he was promoted to captain, taking command of the last ship mentioned above, which he took to Ferrol to be paid off.

After Spain's entry into the Seven Years' War, he took command of the ship of the line *Gallardo*, which formed part of the squadron of the Count of Vega Florida and, after the signing of the peace agreement, he disembarked and was assigned to the department of Cartagena.

Promoted to brigadier on 20 December 1763, on 15 February 1765 he took command of the ship of the line *Triunfante* and, as part of the squadron commanded by the Marquis de la Victoria, which transported the Infanta Grand Duchess of Tuscany from Cartagena to Genoa and returned bringing on board the Princess of Asturias, due to the marriage arranged between the two Crowns. On the same ship under his command, he carried out several more commissions in the Mediterranean, most of them with cargoes of arms, munitions, and money for the Spanish fortresses in Italy, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the Duchy

⁶ Dignity granted to the professed knights of the Order of Malta, who were in charge of a territory under their jurisdiction, called bailiwick.

of Parma, in one of which he recovered from Barbary pirates a Spanish pinkie with a cargo of wine.

On 1 January 1767, he handed over command of his ship and went ashore. On 18 September 1769 he took command of the ship of the line *Velasco* and on 25 October of the following year of the *Vencedor*, which, forming a division with the *Monarch*, and the latter under the command of the Marquis of Casa-Tilly, took to Cádiz a cargo of munitions of war, fabrics, and the crew for the ship of the line *Atlante*, which was being fitted out at La Carraca. He disembarked on 30 June 1771.

Between 12 November 1772 and 1 July 1774, he held the post of sub-inspector of stores and spare parts, which he left to move to the department of Cádiz and after being promoted to squadron commander on 20 December 1774, he returned to Cartagena, where he took up his insignia as second in command of the squadron of the Marquis of Casa-Tilly, in the ship of the line *Monarca*. With said squadron he left for Brazil, transporting the army of General Ceballos, for the operations of the war of the Colonia del Sacramento. After the signing of the peace with Portugal, he disembarked in Cadiz in November 1779 and, at the beginning of 1780, he was assigned to Cartagena, where he was appointed member of the Board of Assistance of that Department.

On 14 January 1789 he was promoted to lieutenant general and remained in Cartagena, where he distinguished himself in directing the operations for the evacuation of Oran at the end of 1791, preparing there everything necessary to carry it out. On an interim basis, he took command of the Department when the Marquis of Casa-Tilly went to Cadiz on 14 January 1793, and before the new captain general, Miguel Gastón, took up his post on 6 February 1793.

Adrián Caudrón de Cantín died in Cartagena on 10 January 1796, aged seventy-seven and with sixty-one years of service in the Royal Armada.

Santiago de Liniers y Bremond

We are particularly pleased to review the biography of this officer, who was loyal, brave, enlightened, and victorious over the English on several occasions; from whose clutches he twice saved the Viceroyalty of La Plata, of which, on his merits, he

became Viceroy, being finally ignominiously executed by the independence fighters in Córdoba del Tucumán.

His father and his paternal grandfather, both served in the '*Royale*' (as the French Navy is still called today) as shown in table no. 1, both had their nobility origins in the distant 13th century and in the Poitou region (capital Poitiers) and Sr. Jacques, or Sr. Jacob, which is the name that appears in the catalogue of sea guards, is a clear example of loyalty to the Crown, when nationalities were developing thanks to the Revolution, and serving a different nationality from that of the place of birth was not a problem as long as loyalty to the new Lord was assured. Therefore, after serving as page to the Grand Master of Malta and attaining the rank of knight in the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Santiago joined the Royal Cavalry Regiment of Piedmont (Savoy) in Carcassonne in 1769, with the rank of second lieutenant.

The Flour War, a clear revolutionary precedent, in the spring of 1775, must have stirred the spirit of the young second lieutenant, who must also have been impressed by the news from Spain with the preparations for what would soon be the failed landing in Algiers. In any case, he presented himself to his colonel, who was the Baron de Talleyrand, of the influential house of the later Prince of Benevento, requesting his discharge, after which he joined the Royal Armada in the adventurer class and joined the squadron of González de Castejón, embarking on the *San José* (70 c.), under the command of captain José Barona, preparing for Algiers, whose failure would take place between 30 June 1775 and 8 July 1775. The *San José* was one of the ships that attacked with its accurate fire the enemy batteries mounted on the beach (a 10-gun fort (c.) and two fortresses), after receiving fire from the latter, which caused 4 dead and 16 wounded⁷, where Santiago Liniers had his baptism of fire. On his return to the peninsula, he applied for and obtained leave to become a sea guard in the Royal Company of Cádiz, where he was appointed in his last promotion⁸, that of 1775, as in 1776 the new Companies of Ferrol and Cartagena were ordered to be created, as well as transferring the one in Cádiz to the Island of

⁷ Blanco Núñez, J. M. (2004). *La Armada en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*. Madrid, IZAR. P 104.

⁸ The concept of promotion was very different to that of today, as the Cadiz system was extremely flexible, the gentlemen were incorporated throughout the year and, according to their knowledge, were distributed into different classes, and for the less advantaged, the career could last up to 8 years.

León. Therefore, those who joined in 1775 were the last of the original Company created in Cadiz in 1717.

In that class of '1775', that of Liniers (97 gentlemen), we find names that suffice to understand his worth and to find the first contacts with the viceroyalty where he would achieve immortality, that of La Plata, namely: Rafael Guerra y Mondragón, commanding officer of the frigate *Santa Dorotea*⁹, which had him in his garrison; the sub-lieutenant of the Murcia José de San Martín, the III Marquis de la Romana; Dionisio Alcalá-Galiano; José Leandro Imblusqueta y de Rodrigo, born in Buenos Aires in 1753, first Creole from Buenos Aires to settle in the Company; Juan Gutierrez de la Concha (his companion in everything in the Plata and, unfortunately, even in the mass grave of Córdoba del Tucumán), the one before him, settled three days before; Luis Flores, born in Buenos Aires in 1760, son of the viceroy of La Plata and lieutenant general of the Royal Armada, Manuel Flores; Federico de Gravina y Napoli; Antonio Van Halen y Morphy...

At that time, there were four officer posts in the Royal Armada, ensign and lieutenant second class, sublieutenant and lieutenant of ship, and two commander posts, commander and captain. Liniers would pass through the officer ranks at meteoric speed, and would obtain the rank of commander on 21 December 1782, that is, six years after his promotion to ensign and, as was also the custom at the time, all of them obtained by merit in the field:

- For taking part in the Ceballos-Casa Tilly expedition to the Río de la Plata, embarked on the brig Hope and participating in the occupation by force of the island of Santa Catalina, to Ensign.
- For manning one of the captures, a 24-gun frigate, of the famous convoy of 55 sails captured by Luis de Córdoba and entering with her in Cádiz, to sublieutenant.
- When Menorca was reconquered in 1781, for capturing two English merchant frigates anchored in Mahón under the shelter of the guns of the Fort de la Reina, leading 16 smaller

⁹ Fernández Duro, C. (1902). *Armada española, volume VIII*. Madrid. P 166. He fought an unequal battle with the English ship of the line *Lyon* in the waters off Alicante on 15.07.1798, which captured her after a heroic defence in which the *Dorotea* had 20 dead and 32 wounded.

vessels that boarded the said frigates in broad daylight, and for the valour shown in that action, to lieutenant.

- For his action in the floating battery *La Tallapiedra*, in the (1792) great siege of Gibraltar, after which he took command of the brig (captured from the English) *Fincastle*, with which he captured another enemy of the same class carrying a battery of artillery and all the uniforms of three regiments. When, with such a prey and the ship under his command, he joined the Córdoba squadron, Luis ordered a signal of approval to be hoisted and sent a letter praising his performance and the proposed promotion to commander.

During his time in the rank of lieutenant. He contracted his first marriage (11.04.1782) with a young lady from Malaga of French origin, with a father from arts, Juana de Membielle, who died in 1786, leaving a son, Luis de Liniers y Membielle (born in Malaga in 1783, MG no. 2.812, of the catalogue Válgoma-Finestrat), who would settle as a midshipman in Cadiz on 14 July 1800, would continue his career up until lieutenant and would become the II Count of Buenos Aires, a title he would manage to change, in the Cortes of Cadiz, to Count of Loyalty.

As a commander, he served on board the frigate *Santa Sabina*, belonging to the hydrographic commission presided over by Vicente Tofiño, which drew up the Spanish Maritime Atlas and, after a brief period in Joseph de Mazarredo's evolutions squadron, he was assigned to the Río de la Plata Naval Station, whose capital was Montevideo.

When the Malaspina-Bustamante expedition stopped in Montevideo, Liniers met (20.09.1789) with two of his classmates, Gutierrez de la Concha and Alcalá-Galiano, and collaborated with them as much as he could and knew how. At that time he drew up a plan for the defence of Montevideo based on gunboats, whose clever provisions were confirmed in the British assault of 1807. He also submitted to the authority a study on whaling, meat salting and profits from the exploitation of sea lions¹⁰. Santiago's older brother, the (French) Count of Liniers (Santiago Luis Enrique), also resided in Montevideo, since fleeing from the Revolution, he had settled here, coming from Spain. With royal permission, he set up meat cubes, starch and

¹⁰ Destefani, L. H. (Dec.1963). *La destacada carrera naval del jefe de escuadra don Santiago Liniers*. RGM. Pp 657-673.

brandy factory, in which, by Royal Decree of 31 August 1790, his brother became a collaborator, but the company ended up failing financially.

On 3 August 1791, Santiago Liniers remarried in Buenos Aires, with María Martina de Sarratea y de Altolaguirre, of Basque descent; they would have nine children: María del Carmen de los Dolores Tomasa, María de los Dolores Enriqueta, José Atanasio, Santiago Tomás, Martín Inocencio, Mariano Tomás, Juan de Dios, Francisca Paula and María de los Dolores de la Cruz Concepción.

On 17 September 1792, after ten years as a commander, he was promoted to the rank of captain.

Again at war with Great Britain (07 October 1796), he was appointed commander of the *flotilla* of gunboats armed in Montevideo for the defence of the River Plate; he fought some battles against blockading forces of that power and kept open the lines of communication between Maldonado and the capital of the naval station.

Once peace was signed in Amiens (27 March 1802), Santiago Liniers asked the viceroy (who was Field Marshal Joaquin del Pino y Rozas, from 21 May 1801) to appoint him interim governor of the Thirty Towns of the Guaraní and Tapes Missions, arriving with his family in Candelaria¹¹ on 6 March 1803¹².

He was relieved of his post on 28 March 1803, although his successor, Bernardo de Velasco, was not appointed until 3 January 1804. Before the handover, he submitted a memorial to H.M. the King (July 1804), describing the situation of those territories and proposing measures of promotion and government to improve it. On 4 September 1804, he applied for a new posting, when (as was practically the general rule at the time) he was owed eighteen payments. On 13 October 1804, he embarked for Buenos Aires, with his entire family, in

¹¹ The then large-department of Candelaria included the present-day Itapúa in Argentina (except for the town of San Cosme) and those of San Ignacio and the Capital; it included the town of Candelaria, departmental capital and capital of the governorate, and the towns of Santa Ana, Loreto, San Ignacio Miní and Corpus, on the left bank of the Paraná River, and on the right bank, those of Encarnación de Itapúa, Trinidad and Jesús.

¹² Barrios Pintado, F. Santiago Liniers y Bremond. *Diccionario Biográfico de la RAH*. Madrid.

Encarnación de Itapúa (Candelaria), on the smack¹³ *Nuestra Señora del Pilar*. In the middle of the voyage, his wife went into labour and subsequently died, perhaps of an infectious disease. A few days later their two-year-old daughter Francisca de Paula died¹⁴.

The new Viceroy of La Plata, the 3rd Marquis of Sobremonte, Rafael de Sobremonte y Núñez (April 1804 to 10 February 1807) assigned Liniers as commander of the Buenos Aires naval station and, as he had already done in Montevideo, armed a division of gunboats. When the British invasion squadron, commanded by Commodore Popham (5 ships of the line, 7 transports; 5 chiefs, 8 naval officers, 46 army officers, 99 non-commissioned officers and 1,466 infantrymen, commanded by Major General Beresford. In addition, two doctors and 8 field guns) from Cape Town, went to the Plata, Sobremonte (early June 1806) appointed Liniers commander of the fort at the inlet of Barragán, as this place seemed to be the ideal place for the landing of the British force. On 24 June 1806, effectively, the British squadron attempted to land at Barragan, but, faced with the vigorous reaction of the fort, it did so at Quilmes (some 30 km downriver on the right bank of the River Plate), taking the city of Buenos Aires on 27 June 1806.

Liniers, taking advantage of a visit to his father-in-law in the 'Sarratea mansion', assessed the enemy force and, appreciating its weakness, set off for Montevideo to request reinforcements to launch the reconquest. Liniers would become the commander of all the forces, naval and land, and would shine in the small street battles, in which he would lead, with his example and his bravery, the civilians and become a true popular leader¹⁵.

His aforementioned classmate, commander Juan Gutierrez de la Concha, who held the post of governor of Córdoba del Tucumán, and whose role would also be decisive, joined in Colonia the force organised by Liniers in Montevideo, thanks to the activity of the governor of that naval station, the brigadier of the Royal Armada, Pascual Ruiz Huidobro, to whom the naval officers under his command and those of the Boundary Commission with Portugal volunteered to command the small

¹³ Smack, a type of brigantine schooner widely used at the time on the River Plate coast.

¹⁴ https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Santiago_de_Liniers [Accessed on 27.07.2021].

¹⁵ Destefani, L. H. *Op. cit.*

units forces available. This force of Liniers, 50 veterans, 100 Catalan militiamen and 100 militiamen from Montevideo¹⁶, left Montevideo by land for Colonia del Sacramento on 22 July 1806, where it arrived on the day of its saint patron and incorporated 133 militiamen, 3 guns and 2 howitzers.

In Colonia, they embarked in the *flotilla* that was placed under the command of Gutierrez de la Concha and, despite the intended British blockade (2 frigates, 1 corvette and 1 brigantine that was beaten by the gunboats of lieutenant second class Jacinto Romarate), they managed to cross the river and land at Las Conchas (today Tigre), on 4 August 1806, where 320 sailors, both naval and merchant seamen, joined them.

Following the strategic principle of surprise, Liniers arrived at the Retiro on the following day, the 10th, with Concha as second in command and lieutenant second class Córdoba as major general (chief of staff), dislodging a British advance guard equipped with artillery, causing 60 casualties. The following day, two 18-pounder guns from the schooner *Dolores* were added and, with a truly fortunate aim, he shot down with them the mizzenmast of a British frigate that had the flag hoisted at its peak, which stimulated the incorporation of volunteers, bringing his troop up to 1700 men.

On the 12th, Liniers, tirelessly active, decided to attack the city of Buenos Aires, dividing his force into three columns, one under his direct orders, which would advance along Reconquista Street (named after him for his deed); another, under the command of Colonel Pinedo, along Maipú; the third, under Concha, along Correo Street (now Florida). In the confusion of the initial fire fight, Concha's column advanced down the street assigned to Pinedo. Faced with the Spanish push, the British began to retreat. Sublieutenant José Miranda y Fontao heroically charged, throwing his horse against an enemy cannon and, despite being wounded, took the piece. Finally, the British took refuge in the fort and General Beresford signed the surrender which he handed over to Liniers' aide, the lieutenant of the Buenos Aires Dragoons, Hilarión Quintana. British casualties were 412 killed and wounded, their own 180.

¹⁶ The various sources consulted differ on these numbers, Destefani, e.g., says there were 500 volunteers and 100 militiamen.

The people of Buenos Aires, in anger, prevented the return of Viceroy Sobremonte, due to his shameful flight, and proposed to the Town Council that Liniers be appointed governor of Buenos Aires. In fact, on 14 August 1806, the open Town Council ratified the appointment of Liniers as military governor of the city and sent the communication with the proceedings to the Royal Audience of Spain.



Buenos Aires, house of Martín Simón de Sarratea. Where Liniers lived (1808 and 1809). In it, the general is said to have signed the surrender in 1806 (Wikipedia)

For this successful reconquest, Santiago Liniers was promoted to brigadier in the Royal Armada on 24 February 1807.

Liniers, adjusting his chinstrap after the victory (as Admiral Togo would recommend in the following century), organised the forces necessary for the defence of the city. To this end, on 6 September 1806 he issued this proclamation:

"[...] The just fear that we may again see our coasts covered by the same enemies that we have just seen disappear, fleeing from the energy and vigour of our invincible effort, makes me hope that you will run eagerly to lend your name to the defence of the same fatherland that has just owed you its restoration and liberation. To this end I

hope that you will come to give constant witness to your loyalty and patriotism, gathering from the soil which you have so recently reconquered. Come then, *the invincible Cantabrians, the intrepid Catalans, the brave Asturians and Galicians, the fearsome Castilians, Andalusians and Aragonese*; in a word, all those who, calling themselves Spaniards, have made themselves worthy of such a glorious name. Come, and united with the brave, faithful and immortal American, and the other inhabitants of this soil, we shall challenge these warlike enemy hosts in separate bodies, and by provinces, and enlist your name for the successive defence [...]"¹⁷.

In just a few months, he was able to create an army of 9,000 men, uniformed, disciplined and combative.

Popham, with his squadron intact, remained in the River Plate and on 8 October 1806, he received a reinforcement of 2,000 men, sent by the British government, unaware that his invasion had failed and that Buenos Aires was once again in the hands of its rightful owners. He was then summoned to the Metropolis where he was tried for having left Cape Town undefended and proceeding without express orders from his government, but was acquitted.

But, perhaps in view of the rich booty sent to London by Popham, the British government decided to conquer the viceroyalty of La Plata, taking Montevideo first, as its strategic location allowed it to effectively control access to the River Plate from there. For this purpose, an occupation force under the command of General Samuel Auchmuty set sail from Plymouth, aboard a transport fleet convoyed by ships of the Royal Navy, which arrived at La Plata on 14 January 1807. Auchmuty, aboard the frigate *Diadema*, anchored within gun range of Montevideo, urged the surrender of the city, where the 'rejected' Viceroy Sobremonte was, and who did nothing useful to prevent the British landing.

We commented above on the report that Liniers had submitted in 1790, which showed the weakness of the city due to its land front (the same occupying logic as always when the enemy is expected by sea, as also happened in Cavite in 1898) and where

¹⁷ www.elarcondelahistoria.com [Accessed on 29.07.2021].

he said that if any force wanted to land to occupy it, it would do so in Maldonado, as indeed the British would do on this occasion.

After occupying Montevideo, the British launched themselves on Buenos Aires, but the fierce defence mounted by Liniers, Concha (who had to surrender his position when he was attacked by a force twice his own and ran out of ammunition) and the heroic officers under his command, such as the aforementioned Romarate, who with 40 men held out against 400 British and withdrew when less than twenty of his men were still alive, managed to repel the invaders and requested an armistice, returning defeated to England.

Liniers was promoted to squadron commander on 26 November 1807 as a reward for his triumph, and was immediately appointed Viceroy of the River Plate and commander of its naval station. In addition, the King granted him the title of Count of Buenos Aires, which his son, the 2nd Count, as we have already said, changed to Count of Loyalty.



The squadron commander Santiago Liniers

After the ups and downs of the Napoleonic peninsular invasion, and with the arrival of the news of the "Second of May", Viceroy Liniers sent to the Central Board of Aranjuez (19 June 1809), through his own son, the sub-lieutenant Luis de Liniers y Membielle, who was carrying the contribution of the Plata for the war against the Emperor, and also requesting a post at the front (it is well known that, in the War of Independence, practically all the personnel of the Royal Armada fought on land) for such a singular courier, saying: "[...] who will never be so happy as when he finishes his career, carrying in his spirit the sweet name of his King to the mansion of righteous souls"¹⁸. If some might have harboured doubts and assumed 'frenchifierness' in the Viceroy's conduct, his conduct in the manner of Abraham cleared them away, his loyalty to the King shining above all other considerations.

He would not be aware of these loyalties, or obfuscated, intriguing and envious minds would warm the mind of Elío¹⁹, then governor of Montevideo, who would accuse him of the aforementioned 'frenchifierness', which would lead to his replacement by the lieutenant general of the Royal Armada, Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros. Liniers retired to Córdoba where his close friend and companion, Gutierrez de la Concha, ruled. Then came the Argentinean May Revolution (Buenos Aires), the arrest of both of them and four more Spanish loyalists, and their execution by firing squad in the village of Los Surgentes, a place on Monte de Los Papagayos or Chañarcillo de Los Loros, then located on the Royal Road from Córdoba to Buenos Aires, and subsequent burial in a mass grave on which they placed a cross with this name inscribed as a way of identifying the remains: CLAMOR (Concha, Liniers, Allende, Moreno, Bishop Orellana²⁰, Rodríguez).

¹⁸ Destefani, L. *Op. cit.* P 671.

¹⁹ Francisco Javier de Elio y Olóndriz (Pamplona, 5 March 1767 – Valencia, 4 September 1822). Lieutenant General of the Royal Army. General commander and governor of Montevideo in 1805, of the Isla de León in 1812 and appointed by the Council of Regency as the last viceroy of the Río de la Plata in 1810, which he was only able to exercise over a small part of the Eastern Bank (present-day Uruguay). Later, as captain general of Valencia, he was responsible for Ferdinand VII's turn to absolutism.

²⁰ The bishop, Rodrigo Antonio de Orellana, whose death sentence was finally commuted and who had to confess and witness the execution of the other five, was able to escape to Brazil and return to Spain.

In 1864, the mortal remains of Liniers and Concha were repatriated on board the brigantine *Gravina* and, since 09 June of the same year, they have been resting in the Pantheon of Illustrious Seamen in San Fernando.



Commemorative plaque in homage to Santiago Liniers, it is attached to the wall of the Sarratea house. (Wikipedia)

The trail of Liniers in the Spanish Armies and Armada

One of the sons of Santiago's second marriage, Mariano Tomás de Liniers y Sarratea, born in Montevideo in 1801, when he was only 5 years old, obtained a scholarship from the Viceroy of Peru to study, until he came of age, as a reward for the reconquest of Buenos Aires led by his father. He joined the Cavalry. He took part in the Peruvian campaign alongside his brother Santiago and, after Ayacucho, where he fought under Canterac's orders, he went to the Peninsula, serving in the grenadier corps of the royal guard and becoming colonel-in-chief of the corps. He fought in the Carlist Wars and was awarded the Cross of San Fernando. He was the founder of the Spanish branch, which

today is the only one in which the surname is maintained. He died in 1881

Among the great-grandchildren of Santiago, from this Spanish branch, sons of Santiago Liniers Sarratea, we find:

Juan José de Liniers y Muguiro (1877-1932), infantry colonel, one of the founders of the Spanish legion; he took part in the African campaign and was discharged from the army with the proclamation of the Republic in 1931. His brother Tomás de Liniers y Muguiro (1887-1941), a cavalry major, was discharged from the Army, like his brother, with the proclamation of the Republic; he belonged to the Princess Hussars Regiment and the Royal Escort of Alfonso XIII and took part in the African campaign with the Alcántara Cavalry Regiment, where he was wounded. Lucía de Liniers y Muguiro was the mother of Carlos Crespi de Valdaura Liniers, who was a brigadier general in the Cavalry and had a diploma in General Staff.

Among the great-great-grandchildren (sons of Juan José), we find Enrique de Liniers y Urbina, colonel of Infantry and Santiago de Liniers y Urbina, colonel of Cavalry who was chief of the Moorish escort of General Franco.

Among the descendants of Tomás Liniers y Muguiro are Tomás de Liniers y Pidal²¹(1913-1987), who entered the General Military Academy in Zaragoza at the age of 16 and later in the Cavalry Academy in Valladolid, where he was ranked first in his class. He was a professor at CESEDEN, Commander General of Melilla, Captain General of the Canary Islands, Chief of Staff of the Army and General of the Army posthumously; and his brother Alejandro (1918-1979) became a colonel in the Air Force.

Colonel Enrique de Liniers y Urbina had two military sons: Enrique de Liniers Vazquez, Captain of the Navy, and Ignacio de Liniers Vazquez, Colonel of Infantry.

Descended from Santiago Liniers Urbina is José María Liniers Portillo, who retired as a Cavalry Captain

The following military personnel are descended from the sisters of the above:

From Concha de Liniers Urbina, Rafael and Ignacio Delibes Liniers, who retired as Artillery major and captain of the Air

²¹ I would like to thank his son Javier de Liniers Bernabéu and Captain Enrique de Liniers y Vazquez for the information.

Force; from Teresa de Liniers Urbina: Pedro Losada Liniers, colonel of Cavalry; finally, from Manuela, Ramón García-Noblejas Liniers who is today lieutenant colonel of Infantry in the same reserve status.

Therefore, the Liniers lineage is still present in the current Navy, worthily represented today by our good friend and comrade Captain Enrique Liniers y Vázquez, and also in the other two Services.

Spanish sea guards of French descent (father or mother)

In this table (no. 2) we outline the 14 Sea Guards found.

N.º	NAME	GM N.º	BIRTH	ENTRY	VICISSITUDES
1.	Juan de Eon y Hubrechezt	558	Madrid, 1714	14.02.1731	Father. Guillermo de Eon y Frotet, Saint Malo, M. de Villebagues crusader at Alcantara in 1707. His mother is from Madrid.
2.	Vicente González de Bassecourt	625	Pamplona, 1721	26.11.1735	Knight of Santiago. <i>Born during the time when his parents were here.</i> His father, Juan, Field Marshal and Ass. Gen RG Corps and Governor of Pamplona. His mother Maria, born in Grigny. Hero, died heroically as Capt in the defence of the Morro de La Habana fortress, 1762.
3.	Pedro Stuard y de Portugal	635	Madrid, 1720	09.05.1736	Son of the 1st Duke of Liria (Scottish naturalised French) and Xérica, and Duke of Berwick, born in the castle of Saint Germain, Paris. Victorious in Almansa. Pedro, outstanding career as a sailor. Great Equerry.
4.	Vicente Laffite y del Castillo	672	Carpio, 1732	28.01.1738	His father, Jean Laffite, born in Puch, bishopric of Condom, Provence, Guiana. Colonel of the Münster Inf. Regt. His mother from Seville.
5.	Francisco de Siechan y Mayorga	2099	Seville, 1756	10.03.1777	His father Diego, from Roscot (Brittany), his mother from Seville, had an academic uncle from France. His grandfather was Sr. de Ksabyet (Brittany) and a captain in the French Navy.

N.º	NAME	GM N.º	BIRTH	ENTRY	VICISSITUDES
6.	Augusto de la Cosse y Labarte	2786	?	14.11.1799	Emigrants from Toulon? Perhaps they came in Lángara's squadron, who gave order for them to settle in Cádiz 07.04.1797.
7.	Federico de la Cosse y Labarte	2787	?	14.11.1799	Died 14.10.1800. Parents originally from Beaumont
8.	Guillermo de Aubarede y Pérez de Oteiro	2801	San Roque, 1784	14.07.1800	His father, William of Aubarede Beauchamp, Count of Aubarede ²² and of Becerel, Baron of Desbroyeres, retired captain, attached to the San Roque Main Staff, born in Belfort. His mother, Raimunda Pérez de Viacoba, from San Roque, daughter of the perpetual alderman of Gibraltar.
9.	Melchor de Aubarede y Pérez de Viacoba	2927	San Roque, 1790	09.01.1806	Brother of the former.
10.	Antonio de Aubarede y Pérez	3024	San Roque, 1799	26.08.1813	Brother of the former.
11.	Nicolás Aubarede y Pérez	3053	Algeciras, 1805	09.03.1818	Brother of the former.
12.	Marcos Fonguion y Bryant	4481	Cartagena, 28.10.1785	26.07.1800	His grandfather, a commander, French graduate, from Angoulême, and his father, also from Angoulême, was SG 1384, No. 11 in Box No. 1, and his mother was daughter of the famous English builder Edward Bryant (Isle of Wight, England).
13.	José Walsh y Moloné	4061	Cadiz, 1766	06.02.1782	Son of Philippe (Morlaix, 1732). Consul of Denmark in Cadiz. His mother M. ^a Luisa Moloné was born in Cádiz.

Table 2, SG gentlemen of French origin, born in Spain. Taken from the Válgoma- Finestrat Catalogue

Notes to Table 2

- Died at a young age: 1
- Naval captains: 2
- Armada-Generals: 1
- Career unknown: 9
- Sons of French naval officers: 1
- Children of French Army officers: 3

²² The County of Aubarede is a French noble title created by Charles VI of France, in favour of Reynald d'Aubarede. The county was located in the former province of Guiana (Guiana), until 1789 when it was lost with the French Revolution, the Aubarede family being one of the oldest in the province (Wikipedia, [accessed 22.06.2021]).

The Aubarede

Among those listed in table 2, we do not find any general officers, but we will mention the Aubarede saga which, in the royal service, lasted until the 20th century.

Guillermo de Aubarede y Pérez de Oteiro (SIC, we assume, in Galician, Outeiro): Brigadier of the Royal Armada Director of the Spanish Hydrographic Deposit, he carried out commendable cartographic work. He crossed into the Military Order of Santiago. His father had arrived in Spain in 1782, as aide-de-camp to his cousin, the Duke of Crillon, at the time of the siege of Gibraltar and the reconquest of Mahon. Charles III conferred on him the command of a company of dragoons of the Pavia Regiment, and Charles IV (1804) granted him, by Royal Decree, perpetual authorisation to hold the French title of Count of Aubarede in Spain, and he retired with the rank of colonel of Infantry.

Lieutenant Colonel José Aubarede Kierulf (born on 03.07.1873 and entered the service on 02.09.1891), grandson of Guillermo de Aubarede y Pérez and son of Serafín de Aubarede y Bouyón, commanded the Marine Expeditionary Battalion that landed at Al Hoceima and was one of the 30 wounded of this battalion. When he formed it on land and began to harangue it, it received a Moorish attack that killed the unit's chaplain and wounded several others, including himself, without breaking formation. He later commanded the General Albacete Fuster Marine School, retiring as Honorary Brigadier General on 15.01.1932.

After having had many descendants in the Armada, the last representative in it was the commander Ramón de Aubarede y Leal, born on 29.05.1900 and died in 1944. In July 1936, as commanding officer of the submarine C-4, he was imprisoned, together with his officers, on the prison-ship Monte Toro, docked in the port of Malaga.

General officers and private officers, who were not former Sea Guards, of French descent or birth

Marquis de Duquesne (Paris, 1750)

Born in Paris in 1750, he was the great-grandson of the great admiral Duquesne, Michel-Ange Du Quesne de Menneville, marquis²³

²³ On 17.09.1882, Alfonso XII granted the Marquisate of Du Quesne, as a Spanish title, in favour of Francisco Du-Quesne y Arango, Rostán de Estrada y Quesada,

Du Quesne (c. 1700 – 17 September 1778) and French governor general of New France (French possessions from Canada to Louisiana, both included). The Marquis was born in Toulon, France and served in '*la Royale*' between 1752 and 1755. Fort Duquesne, built in 1755 at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers (now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), was named for its demands for the enforcement of French claims in North America. In 1758, he sailed from Toulon with a division of his command to reinforce another, under the command of La Clue, which had sailed for Louisbourg (Nova Scotia) to help its defenders who were besieged by English forces. La Clue had been forced to enter Cartagena in the face of the threat of Henry Osborne's English squadron. When Du Quesne presented before Cartagena, he was attacked by the aforementioned Osborne squadron, two of his ships were captured, including his own flagship. Louisbourg ran out of relief, and surrendered a year later. In despair, La Clue²⁴ had returned to Toulon in April 1758.

The great-grandson's incredible story, as far as his integration into the Royal Armada is concerned, begins in Fort Royal (now Fort-de-France) Martinique, in 1793, when he commanded the French Navy ship *Ferme*. There he received the news of the guillotining of Louis XVI; then, in agreement with his crew, he sailed with the ship he commanded to Havana and went 'with everything' to the Spanish Armada, officers, garrison, and crew. With the restoration of Louis XVIII, he returned to France where he was promoted to rear-admiral. However, he returned to Havana, where he died on 22-03-1834. It is very curious that his third son, José María Lázaro, a French rear-admiral, stopped in Havana with a division of his command, fell ill and went to die in the same Havana house where he was born.

Cipriano de Autrán, chief engineer and captain of the Royal Armada, alive²⁵

He was born in Toulon on 26 June 1697 and died in Puerto Real on a date that we cannot specify. Around 1716, he began to work in the shipyard founded in that town by José Patiño,

Member of Parliament (1881-1884), Colonel of the Militia in Havana, descendant of the Marquis who passed to the Spanish Crown in Havana.

²⁴ Jounz, R. (1932). *Histoire de la Marine Francaise*. Paris, Payot.

²⁵ At the time, the "alive" were those in active service and the 'reformed' were those in retirement.

who built the first three warships of the Bourbon Armada. He then went to the Pasajes shipyard (13 January 1719), as a boatswain's mate in the construction of the rigging factory, with a monthly salary of 50 *escudos* a month. In 1720, he joined the Guarnizo shipyard, then the main shipyard on the Peninsula, where he imposed himself on the Spanish or Gaztañeta system of construction, to which he eventually introduced some 'French-style' modifications, but he was a firm advocate of the former and this led him to strong discussions with Jorge Juan at the Builders Board (1754).

Autrán coincided with Juan Pedro Boyer in Guarnizo, who would become his close collaborator, and with him, also French by origin, he would build the 114-gun *Real Felipe*, three 70-gunships-of-the-line more (including the *Princesa*, which, when captured by the English, 19.04.1740²⁶, was 'copied' in many of its forms) and two 64-gun.

Autrán published his "Method, rules and proportions for the building of vessels" (1742) which was applied in La Carraca, whose shipyard he had joined around 1733, and in Havana. In 1742, he was appointed captain of the armory workers, commander of the arsenals, general director of constructions, King's ships-gauger and captain of the port of Cádiz.

He carried out in-depth studies on woods, introduced black poplar for the ships blocks to replace the expensive walnut, and also introduced woods from Cuba. He was promoted to the rank of alive captain of the Royal Armada, which contrasts sharply with what we will see with the next director of constructions, Gautier, who was given Army ranks, which seems to indicate the naval corporation's sympathy for Autrán. He was also made a knight of the Order of Saint Louis King of France.

He married a lady from the Santander region, Lucía Teresa Díaz-Barcenilla y Torre (Quijano, Piélago Valley), he had three sons, the eldest of whom followed his father's profession and two served in the Army, Francisco, who was a captain in the King's Dragoon Regiment and José, Artillery lieutenant and a crusader in the Order of Santiago.

²⁶ She was commanded by commander Pablo Agustín de Aguirre, who fought for 11 hours against three English ships (*Lermox, Kent and Oxford*) and surrendered when he had 70 dead and 80 wounded on board.

Juan Pedro Boyer, Captain of the Royal Navy, alive

We do not know where he was born, but we do know that he was born on French soil. Juan Pedro Boyer, a close collaborator of the former, was previously at the Santoña shipyard (24.06.1719) as a sub-shipbuilder, together with four other Frenchmen, but after the destruction of that shipyard in the same year by a combined Anglo-French action, he moved to Guarnizo where, as we have seen, he worked closely with Autrán.

Appointed captain and captain of the armoury workers, he was transferred to Cartagena in 1742 to begin the construction of new galleys. On secondment, he visited the mountains of Moratalla, Caravaca and Cehegín to find suitable timber. It should be remembered that in 1748 the Marquis of Ensenada created the Maritime Province of Segura, with its capital in Orcera, to exploit the timber in the Segura mountain range. In September 1749, he wrote a report which, among many other things, said:

“My first concern when I arrived in Moratalla was to find out if it was true that there were oaks and other trees suitable for construction.” In that town he met Juan Cortés, a carpenter sent by the quartermaster of the Naval Department to do some research in the nearby mountains, informing him “that in them he had found nothing more than ordinary trees like those of Moratalla, which are holm oaks, and a species of oak called Bornes, or Quexigo, of very poor quality, from which none of the main pieces such as keels, stems, stern-posts, beams, bridges, steps, fore-feets, beam knees, side waterways, wales, floor timbers, or any kind of woodwork of every kind [...] I consider that if the lack of other resources would force (notwithstanding the greater expense of taking it to the loading dock) to make use of this holm oak wood, assuming that the bornes wood is useless, in such a case the holm oaks should be cut from the mountains and forests where there are many healthy trees and of better quality from which many useful pieces can be extracted, such as first and second bridge curves, some breast-hooks, and futtocks, some floor timbers and a quantity of first, second, third and fourth backwards futtocks, which cannot fail to be found in mountains of such a large area”²⁷.

²⁷ *The mountains of Moratalla in the middle of the 15th century XVIII* (Texts: Jesús Garitacelaya) - Región de Murcia Digital (regmurcia.com). [Accessed on 11.08.2021].

From this point on we have not found any more information about this builder, being unable, due to the pandemic time in which we are writing, to go to the Álvaro de Bazán Archive.

Juan Francisco Gautier, founder of the first Corps of Engineers of the Navy

Born in Toulon, 14 May 1733, son of Laurent Gautier and Anne Audibert. He studied at the Royal Seminary of the Navy in his native city, where he excelled in Geometry, and in 1750 he joined the Toulon arsenal as a student builder. At the end of 1760, the Dauphin of France, at the suggestion of the quartermaster of Toulon, commissioned him to build a 64-gun model ship as a gift for his nephew Prince Ferdinand of Parma. The model caused great admiration among the professionals of the time. Between May 1761 and February 1762, he remained in Parma, where he travelled to deliver his model and to instruct the young Prince Ferdinand in shipbuilding techniques.

When the Seven Years' War broke out, the minister, the Duke of Choiseul, demanded his return to Toulon to work on the design and construction of a new ship, and so, incorporated into the arsenal, he built a 74-gun, inspired by the Parmesan model; this ship was the *Provence*, 50 m long, 13.4 m beam and 1150 tons displacement. Six months later, Gautier was received by the minister, who awarded him the coveted title (he had applied for it twice without success) of shipbuilder.

The fall of the Marquis of Ensenada (22.07.1754) led to the ostracism of his great collaborators, the naval captains Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa. Ensenada's successor, the bailiff "fra" Julián de Arriaga, had to deal with the consequences of Spain's unfortunate entry into the war (the Seven Years' War) when France had already lost it. For the Armada, the loss of Havana meant, in addition to the ships burned or sunk by the British, the paralysis of the magnificent Havana arsenal, which had been operating since 1748 with great success. Between 1751, when Jorge Juan was appointed Director of Shipbuilding (nowadays, DIC) and 1762, the Royal Armada had received, on average, 35 ships a year, using the 'wrongly called English' or Jorge Juan system for their construction.

The French Minister of the Navy appointed Gautier, who arrived in Madrid in January 1765 to draw up construction regulations

as had been the custom since Francisco Antonio Garrote 1691 and to begin building ships, frigates and smaller vessels right away. At the Guarnizo shipyard, he would begin the construction plan for six ships-of-the-line and four frigates, and there he would have under his command the lieutenant José Romero y Fernández Landa, a disciple of Jorge Juan, who would serve as a link between the Frenchman and the 'wise Spaniard', so that the latter, although exonerated from his position as shipbuilding director, was able to give his opinion on Gautier's projects²⁸.

The most coveted tactical factor at that time was speed, as the one with the most sail (as the one with the biggest speed was called at the time) could escape if he was in a disadvantageous situation and catch the enemy in the opposite case. In order to achieve the desired speed, the 'rib of the ship', formed with the frames, could distance or bring the latter closer together in such a way that: if close together, the hull would be stronger and heavier, with a slower run; if further apart, it would be faster but less resistant to enemy fire. The English and Spanish were more about resistance and the French were more about speed, and the system developed by Gautier (which we call French) also increased the length of the ships, so that they could deploy more sail at the expense of stability. Gautier built in Guarnizo five 70-gun ships-of-the-line, headed by the famous *San Juan Nepomuceno* (1766), and four frigates. The system²⁹ of construction, which we know as French, implemented by himself and based on that of the French engineer Henri-Louis Duhamel implemented in 1750.

From Guarnizo he moved to Ferrol where his criticisms of the Jorge Juan system, expressed in a report submitted to the Commander General of the Department, Count of Vegaflorida, set him against those who praised the 'wrongly called English' system, despite which, in 1769, he was appointed Director General of Constructions and Careening with the rank of Colonel of the Army. He immediately published his:

"Regulation of oak wood necessary to make a 70-gun ship-of-the-line, according to the system approved by H.M., 1769; Oak timbers necessary to build a 44-gun

²⁸ Blanco Núñez, J. M. (2004). *La Armada en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*. Madrid, Izar. Pp 80-81.

²⁹ Blanco Núñez, J. M. (2004). *La Armada en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*. Madrid, Izar. Pp 81-82.

frigate, n.d. Demonstration of the timbers, nails, pine, metals, bitumen, rigging, fabrics and other materials which, with a distinction of the parts of the work in which they are used, are necessary for the construction of a 74-gun ship-of-the-line, the carriages of these, the launch and boats, rigging with their rigging and sails, according to the current arrangement of the Brigadier³⁰ General Engineer of Hydraulics and Construction, D. Francisco Gautier, n.d.”.

In 1770, under his advice, the first Corps of Engineers of the Armada was created, organising it, like almost everything else, in the French style, and he was appointed Engineer General of the Armada. This first Corps of Engineers would exist (albeit very languidly) until 1824.

In Ferrol, he built the ships-of-the-line *San Pedro*, *San Pablo* and *San Gabriel*, the first to be built in Spanish shipyards with their plans drawn up in advance. The trials of the first one (1773), under the command of captain Juan Tomaso, showed certain deficiencies that the said commanding officer proposed to modify. Gautier compared this ship with others and made various modifications, achieving, when the *San Miguel*, built by this French system, was launched in Havana “[...] which became notorious for being the best of all [...]”³¹, thus ending the controversy between *Jorge-Juanistas* and *Gotherinos*. When Arriaga reorganised the arsenals, he introduced a technical command, which he gave to the engineers.

From 1774 onwards, Gautier, who had most of the officers of the General Corps against his system, requested his retirement on several occasions, but his requests were not granted, and he was posted to Cartagena in 1775. Arriving at the Secretariat of the Navy in 1776, González de Castejón promulgated the new Ordinances of the Arsenals, which transferred a large part of the powers of the general engineer to the inspector of arsenals³² (of the General Corps).

In Cartagena, Gautier met Josefa Tacón y Foxá, whom he married in 1776 and by whom he had four daughters.

³⁰ Rank to which he was promoted in 1770.

³¹ Salazar, L. M. (1888). *Juicio crítico de la Marina Militar de España*. Ferrol.

³² The inspector was in charge of the sub-inspectors, who were, in fact, the ones who would later be called: “commander general of the Arsenal of ...”.

For the "Great Siege of Gibraltar", he presented a plan for an attack by sea "bringing together 12 armoured ships-of-the-line", whose hulls he would protect with various materials, from iron to wool, but it was the poorly constructed floating batteries of the Chevalier d'Arçon that would fail against the walls of the artillery of the City.

In 1782, at the age of forty-nine, he applied for retirement with the rank of brigadier and with advantageous financial conditions, but it was a year later when the Count of Montmorin, ambassador of Louis XV in Madrid (1777-1783), asked Floridablanca for Gautier's services, to which the Spaniard agreed on the condition that he could entrust him with works that were compatible with his absence from Spain. He was therefore able to travel with his family to Toulon on 1 January 1785, with a pension reduced to 35,000 *reales de vellón* per year.

We omit the rest of his biography as it's no longer connected with the Royal Armada. He died in Paris on 15 March 1800, being, from 1772, a knight of the Royal and Distinguished Order of Charles III.

Ignacio Dauteville, Lieutenant General in the Royal Armada

He entered the service of the Spanish Crown during the siege of Barcelona (1714) and took part in the recovery of Majorca, the last bastion of the 'Austrians', and in the campaigns in Sardinia and Sicily. When the Corps of War Officers of the Royal Armada (later General Corps of the Armada) was created in 1717, he was incorporated into it with the rank of captain (of ships) (thus in the plural, later singularised in the Ordinances of 1748). Commanding the 80-gun Santa Isabel, part of Juan José Navarro's squadron, he was present at the battle of Toulon (1744) and for his merits in that action he was promoted to squadron commander, taking command of one that crossed the Barbary coasts and carried out a state commission to the Regency of Algiers, returning to Cartagena on 22.05.1744. Immediately (26 May 1744) he took command of another of eight ships with which he sailed for Toulon, returning the following year to Cartagena, being promoted to the rank of lieutenant general and appointed commander general of the Department of Cartagena, where he died on 15.01.1756, aged 70 years and 48 years of honorable and meritorious service to his King and Queen.

Juan Bautista Bonet, Lieutenant General of the Royal Armada

Son of a French shipbuilder who served in Cartagena, the place of his birth in 1709 (at that time Cartagena was the headquarters of the Spanish Galleys squadron, where he had settled in 1668 from Puerto de Santa María; in 1727, it was chosen, together with Ferrol and Cádiz, as the headquarters of the Captaincy General of the Department). He began serving in the Royal Armada in the adventurer class and joined the General Corps as an ensign. When the Marquis de la Ensenada began the construction of the four large arsenals, the three departmental ones and the one in Havana, Bonet directed the first works of the one in Cartagena. He commanded the ship-of-the-line *Invencible*, part of Andrés Reggio's squadron, and took part in the 'indecisive and useless' battle of Havana³³, where he was wounded.

He was also head of the Naval Station de la Mar del Sur, in Callao de Lima, and commander of its squadron, later moving to Havana to take over from captain Juan Antonio de la Colina. In the latter, he effectively promoted the works in its Arsenal. However, his excessively punctilious nature brought him into frequent confrontations with the Captain General and Governor of the island of Cuba.

He embarked as second-in-command of the Córdoba squadron, when combined with the French squadron under Count de Guichen, and took part in the capture of an English convoy of 24 sails, which they put into Brest. He was also present at the battle of Cape Espartel and died a natural death in Cartagena on 08 January 1785.

Honorato de Bouyon Souché, Commander of Engineers
in Havana

Born in Vence (Provence) in 1753, he entered Spain as a cadet in the Walloon Guards, whose regiment he joined on 09 September 1770. When Juan Francisco Gautier founded the Corps of Naval Engineers in 1770, Bouyon was his pupil, as well as that of Bonet and the English builder Edward Bryant, joining the Royal Armada as an ensign on 23 June 1781 and promoted to sub-lieutenant on 16 September of the same year.

³³ Blanco Núñez, J. M.^a. (2001). *La Armada en la primera mitad del siglo XVIII*. Madrid, IZAR.

Embarked in the Moreno squadron when the reconquest of Mahón took place, he drew up plans to prepare the force's landings and distinguished himself in the recovery of six English vessels that were sheltering under the protection of the batteries of the San Felipe fort, which he carried out with '*admirable foresight*'³⁴. He also contributed to the construction of two 16-gun batteries in Cala Fornells and in the repair of another one to beat the walls of San Felipe.

Back in Algeciras, he organised the careening of Barceló's famous gunboats and, in the absence of artillerymen, set up a battery in one of the trenches in the Campo de Gibraltar. Soon afterwards, he was second-in-command to Santiago Liniers on the captured English brig *Finkastle*. He was promoted to lieutenant second class on 02 March 1782, embarking on the floating battery *La Pastora*, from which he got out alive... He was promoted to lieutenant on 21 December 1782, returning to the *Finkastle*, taking part in the capture of another English brig, the *Minerva*, which was carrying troops and clothing. Assigned to the Cartagena arsenal, 20 May 1783, he designed its mould loft and took part in the construction of the ships-of-the-line *San Antonio* (3rd of that name, delivered in 1785 and of 74 guns) and *San Fulgencio* (delivered in 1787 and of 64 guns). On 09 May 1788, he was promoted to commander and second engineer of the Corps of Engineers.

Between 1789 and 1797, the Armada ordered the construction of six 34-gun frigates in the recovered arsenal of Mahón, for this, Honorato was assigned to this arsenal, attached to the command of engineers, and on 29 May 1789, he was appointed commander of engineers. On 25.11.1791, he was appointed to the sub-inspection (the sub-inspectors of Arsenals, were the heads of these establishments, and depended on the inspector general, an organisation that was due to González de Castejón). During his command in Mahón, he built two new slipways and, in addition to the six frigates mentioned above, he built the brig *Corso* and sixty launches including gunboats, bombard boats and howitzer carriers.

On 26.05.1792, he was assigned to the Havana arsenal, where he launched the *Príncipe de Asturias* (2nd of that name, aka: *Los Santos Reyes*, 112-gun, flagship of Federico Gravina at Trafalgar) which he would deliver in 1794. He also built the frigate

³⁴ Pavía Pavía, F. de P. (1873). *Galería biográfica de los generales de Marina*. Madrid.

Amphitrite (24-gun delivered in 1793) and also in this arsenal he was engaged in the construction of gunboats.

The great problem of Spanish shipbuilding, both in Havana and in the peninsular shipyards, was the lack of trees tall enough for the manufacture of the rigging, which since the beginning of the 16th century used to be imported from the Nordic countries. To solve this problem, many attempts were made from Havana, both in the Yucatan and in Florida. Bouyon was commissioned to reconnoitre forests in Louisiana and also travelled through several Cuban forests to supply timber to the Havana arsenal. He was promoted to captain and chief engineer on 21 April 1798, when the ruin of the Royal Armada was approaching by leaps and bounds. Posted to Cadiz, he embarked on the 74-gun ship-of-the-line *San Leandro*, which was on the point of sinking if he had not fixed the ship's royal pump himself.³⁵ He arrived at the end of 1802 and was promoted to chief engineer on 16.09.1804. At La Carraca, he was dedicated to the careening and enlistment



Squadron Leader Honorato de Bouyon
(<https://www.bing.com>)

³⁵ Anonymous. (Feb 1948). 'Salvage of the ship-of-the-line of H.C.M. named *San Leandro*, 74-gun, by the Brigadier and Engineer Director of the Royal Navy, Honorato Bouyon and his son Félix, Sublieutenant and Engineer Extraordinary, from the inevitable shipwreck of which it was threatened in her navigation from the port of Havana (SIC) in Cuba to Cadiz, where she was carrying a treasure of eight million pesos fuertes, destined to help the Peninsula'. In *Revista General de Marina*. Madrid. T 134, pp 209-212.

of a large number of minor-vessels (since 1796, due to lack of resources, ship building had been paralysed in the four arsenals, the last ship delivered to the Armada, before Trafalgar, was the *Argonauta*, in Ferrol in 1796).

Bouyon was promoted to brigadier on 21 October 1806 and returned to Havana to take charge of logging, but on 29 May.1809 he was appointed commander of engineers at Cartagena, where he requested (14 February 1812) a four-year leave of absence at half pay, to establish himself in Havana in some industry connected with the sea. Once in Cuba, we do not know the date, he was again appointed commander of engineers in its Arsenal until he passed to reserve status on 20 October 1827, with residence in Havana. He made a trip to Cadiz in 1840, but soon returned to Cuba. He was promoted to squadron commander, without improvement in pay or honors of the rank, and died in Havana on 29 March 1849.

Juan Joaquín Moreno d'Houtier, Lieutenant General in the Royal
Armada

This brilliant naval general, born in Ceuta on 24 November 1735 and deceased in Cadiz on 4 September 1812, was the son of Francisco Javier Moreno Vas de Mendoza y Vázquez de Mondragón, a native of Ronda, field marshal of the Royal Armies, and Catalina D'Houtier y Berthier de la Motte, heiress through the maternal line of the barony of Berthier in France. He was commissioned as a sea guard in the Cadiz Royal Company (4 March 1751), was promoted to ensign in 1754, sub-lieutenant 1757 and lieutenant in 1760. With this rank, he went to Havana in the squadron of the Marquis of Real Transporte when Spain entered the Seven Years' War against Great Britain.

He took part in the defence of the Morro Castle as a staff officer of the heroic captain Luis Vicente de Velasco (1762), who was seriously wounded in the head by a bombshell and suffered from it for the rest of his life. Still convalescing, he requested and obtained to pass back to the Morro, after which he continued fighting on board the *Aquilón*. After the capitulation of Havana, Moreno returned to Cadiz as a passenger.

Continuing his career, he was promoted to lieutenant (15.01.1766) and commanded the frigate *Jesús Nazareno*, during the expedition to Louisiana, entering the Mississippi River (1769), being

promoted to commander (21.04.1774). The following year, he was First lieutenant of the ship-of-the-line *San José*, taking part in the relief of Melilla, and in the frustrated landing at Algiers.

Already a captain (17 February 1776), he commanded the *San Julián*, cruising North American waters. In the blockade of Gibraltar, during the American War of Independence, he commanded a division made up of a ship-of-the-line (*San Miguel*), two frigates and a xebec, being dragged by the currents into waters under the fire of English artillery (1780), however, before getting out of his predicament, he beat a ship-of-the-line and four enemy frigates anchored in port. For this and for previous actions, he was promoted to brigadier (19.06.1781), continued to command the *San Miguel* and made several captures among the English traffic for Gibraltar. As part of Luis de Córdova's squadron, he took part in the blockade of the stronghold, the attack of the floating batteries, which ended the 'great siege' and the battle of Cabo Espartel (1782). He immediately suffered a strong gale, which threw his ship against land, and she was lost near the walls of the rocky stronghold, although, before evacuating, he put her afire so that she would not fall into enemy hands, and he was acquitted at the mandatory court-martial. Very soon afterwards, he was promoted to squadron commander (14 January 1783).

In command of a ship, he was part of Félix de Texada's squadron of evolutions, but when the Spanish Crown broke off hostilities against the French Convention (1793), he joined the Lángara squadron which, combined with Hood's English squadron, occupied Toulon (1793).

Promoted to lieutenant general (25.01.1793), he was appointed second-in-command of the squadron of the Marquis of Socorro. In 1795, he transferred his insignia to the ship-of-the-line *San Nicolás*, of the Lángara squadron, taking command of the forces stationed in Cartagena. In 1797, in the squadron of José de Córdova y Ramos and as its third commander, he took part in the ill-fated battle of San Vicente (14.02.1797), in which he hoisted his insignia on the *Príncipe de Asturias*, and with his decisive and timely intervention contributed to alleviate some of the disaster in which the squadron fell due to General Córdova's lack of foresight. Even the enemy praised his behaviour, receiving a letter from Nelson which, among other things, stated:

"[...] the commander-in-chief, Sir John Jervis, has asked me to send you a gazette in which news is given of the

ship of H.E. He affirms that it was H.E. who saved the Holy Trinity on that afternoon, and Sir John Jervis is ready to certify that a three-masted ship bearing the insignia of an admiral of the line undertook the bizarre action of crossing the English squadron between the Victory and the Egmont [...]”.

Charles IV granted him the *encomienda* of Lopera, in the Order of Calatrava, with a substantial annual income.

By R.O. of 26 September 1799, he went to organize the squadron of the Department of Ferrol, flagship the *Real Carlos*, and while at anchor in the departmental capital, he suffered the English attack of 25 August 1800. In cooperation with the command of the Department, Lieutenant General Melgarejo, he ordered the landing of five hundred men from his garrisons (belonging to the Regiments of Asturias and the Military Orders, due to the shortage of forces from the Corps of Marine Battalions), who took part in the brief battle of Brión (26 August 1800) and immediately went on to occupy posts in the defence of the city of Ferrol. Moreno established his squadron in an extended fortress, towards the inlet of Santa Lucía, the battery of La Cortina del Parque del Arsenal, he wrote: “I manoeuvred in order to separate the squadron from the heights that dominated it, and that night (the 25th) it was placed in front of the hammerhead of the arsenal”.

With the British withdrawn, unable to move the siege artillery to the heights overlooking the Ferrol estuary, and whose admiral worriedly observed the lowering of the barometer, anchored as he was in open waters, the City was saved from an attack that would perhaps have changed (as in Gibraltar) the Spanish geography. Moreno was thanked by Royal Order, as were the other participating commanders.

Operating with the squadron under his command, combined with Linois’ French squadron, anchored in Algeciras, he was attacked by the English Admiral Saumarez’s six-ship strong squadron. The French, in order to avoid being captured, cut the cables and let themselves go against the coast. The British were badly damaged when they were hit by the coastal batteries of Campo de Gibraltar, and withdrew to their port. The Moreno squadron then suffered the great tragedy of the ships-of-the-line *Real Carlos* and *San Hermenegildo* which, in foggy weather, suffered the attack of the English *Superb* which, passing between them,

discharged her batteries and disappeared in the misty darkness of the night, the two Spaniards clashed between them and both were blown up, killing more than two thousand men. Moreno fully justified his action: his insignia was hoisted on the *Sabina* by order of the Captain General of Cadiz, Joseph de Mazarredo, and the formation was appropriate. At his own request, he presented himself at the Court, and both the King and Godoy welcomed him kindly; he continued in command of his squadron, flying his insignia on the ship-of-the-line *San Fernando*, until, once peace was signed, she was paid off.

He immediately commanded, on an interim basis, the department of Cadiz (01 January 1802) and, on the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Asturias, received the insignia of the Spanish Order of Charles III. On 18 January 1804, he took command of the Department. As a consequence of the battle of Trafalgar, he acted diligently in the salvage of the battered ships during the heavy storm that followed the battle. When the events of 2 May in Madrid took place, Admiral Rosilly's French squadron, the ones that were saved from the battle of Trafalgar, was in Cadiz anchored in the Santa Isabel pool; it was made up of five ships of the line and a frigate and 3,674 men, already repaired from the damage suffered in the aforementioned battle. Moreno was still in charge of the Department at the time of the attack against this squadron (the first victory over the French in the War of Independence) and directed a large part of the operations that led to its surrender. For his meritorious services, the Seville Supreme Junta granted him the use of the Red Sash on an equal footing with its members (29 August). The French flag of the ship-of-the-line *Héroie* is preserved in the Naval Museum in Madrid.

On 3 September, he was appointed Minister of the Supreme Council of War and Navy and on the 16th he handed over command of the Department, retaining the honours of Captain General until his death after sixty-two years of service.

Army engineers at the service of the Armada for the construction of the large 18th century arsenals

As they belonged to the Army, we will simply mention the military engineers of French origin who worked on the fortification of the capitals of the Maritime Departments created by José Patiño in 1726.

Cadiz

The Flemish Jorge Próspero de Verboom worked in the Cadiz works, some of his projects were based on those of the French engineer A. Bertau³⁶.

Ferrol

Francisco Montañigú de la Perille, born in France in the 17th century and died in La Coruña in 1733, participated in the design of the defensive castles of the estuary, notably San Felipe.

Cartagena

They worked on the construction of the Arsenal and harbour defences: Alexandre de Rez, born in Paris (France), c. XVII, died in Cartagena, 1732. and Antonio Montañigú de la Perille, brother of Francisco, born in France, 1688, died in Cartagena, 1735³⁷.

Frenchmen in 18th century Naval Health Service

When King Philip V ascended the Spanish throne, he was accompanied by a court of professionals that included the health professionals who were to care for him, his immediate family and the rest of the royal retinue. Once in Spain, Philip V appointed his personal physician, the Frenchman Honoratus Michelet, the first Chamber Physician and President of the Royal Court of Protomedicine, thus giving priority to French doctors and breaking with the tradition of the 'House of Austria' of appointing Spanish professors of medicine from the Universities of Alcalá de Henares, Valladolid etc. For this reason, the Professor of Medicine at the Royal University of Cervera, Félix Janer, wrote in 1819, highlighting what the arrival of these French doctors at the Spanish Court meant:

"If then, when the throne of Spain was occupied by Don Felipe Quinto, many things were mounted in the French style, as was consequently the case, there were at Court some French surgeons, will it be surprising that the colonels

³⁶ Plan du Projet fait pour fortifier le front de la porte de terre de Cadix du côté du terrain, 1710, D. par A. Bertau (Bibliothèque nationale de France, GE D-16506).

³⁷ Both have biographies in the *Diccionario Biográfico de la RAH*.

of some regiments, free in their choice, imitated the example of the Court and chose foreign surgeons, especially when there were several regiments of foreign troops in the kingdom, and it had just been occupied by foreign armies during the long war of succession”.

Indeed, as Janer noted, the foreign armies that took part in the War of Succession led to the incorporation of many health professionals, mainly French, but also Italian, German, Swiss, British, and Irish³⁸.

On the other hand, in those eighteenth-century battles, a very high percentage of casualties were traumatic, which meant that surgeons, and even barbers, were more necessary than doctors, since, at that time, the doctor *did not touch the sick* and surgeons and barbers were the ones who fixed fractures, amputated, stitched, cut, trephined, etc. The lack of good surgeons, who at that time in Spain were people of the trade, led to the large import of foreign doctors, most of whom formed part of the Walloon Royal Guard Regiment, Irish, Italian, Walloon and Swiss Regiments. Diverse bibliography show how, once the War of the Spanish Succession was over, many of these surgeons joined the civilian world, practising their profession in Spain.

The various navies of the time of the Habsburgs, which were at a low ebb during the War of the Spanish Succession, did not play a particularly important role until, when the siege of Barcelona came to an end, the King ordered them to be merged into a single Royal Armada, which took part in the maritime blockade of Barcelona, in its capture and in the subsequent expedition to take Mallorca, which ended the war; then, the ‘Italianist’ policy imposed by the Valide Alberoni upon the arrival of Isabella de Farnese led to the campaigns for the conquests of Sardinia and Sicily.

At the beginning of the 18th century, the Naval Health Service was in the hands of the Protomedic, a Royal appointment, who was its head and director. There were no Frenchmen among the Protomedics of the Naval Health Service of the same century, but there were among the Chief Surgeons. In the navies and fleets that preceded the Royal Armada, doctors did not embark,

³⁸ Pallarés Machuca, F. J. (2016). *La llegada a España de la moderna cirugía y su reunión con la medicina durante el s. XVIII, vista a través de los cirujanos mayores de la Armada y de otros cirujanos que pudieron o debieron serlo*. Real Academia de Medicina y Cirugía de Cádiz.

but rather surgeons and barbers, and when there was a sufficient number of the formers, a chief was appointed who was called the Chief Surgeon of that navy.

In 1708, Pedro José Gutiérrez de los Ríos, IV Count of Fernán Núñez and Governor General (due to his father's absence) of the Armada of the Ocean Sea, requested the King to appoint Fray Ambrosio de Guiveville, his personal surgeon, to the post of chief surgeon of the said Armada, as the post was vacant, which took place on the first of June of the same year. Ambrose de Guiveville thus became 'Chief Surgeon of the Armada of the Ocean Sea', a post that the Royal Armada inherited, except for the command of the Spanish Galleys, which remained independent until its dissolution in 1748.

Friar Ambrosio de Guiveville had arrived in Spain in 1679, accompanying the future queen, Maria Luisa de Orleans, which reaffirms his French origin and, furthermore, it will be confirmed by Pedro Virgili, chief surgeon of the Armada and first Director of the Royal College of Surgery of Cadiz, who, speaking about Guiveville's abandonment of his position, says: "[...] as a French national, his post always remained attached to his person, without him being able to take care of that which was the obligation of his job [...]". However, Guiveville took part as Chief Surgeon of the Armada in the aforementioned expeditions to take Mallorca (1715) and Sardinia (1717). In addition, Guiveville held a doctorate in medicine and surgery from the University of Pavia.

The next Chief Surgeon of the Royal Armada was also a frenchman, Jean Lacomba, from Lagarde in the Department of Limoges. He came to Spain with the troops involved in the War of the Spanish Succession and Spanishised his real name, which was Jean Le Combe Pandrino. As a high-ranking surgeon, he was a member of the army of the Duke of Vendôme that took Barcelona in 1714. It is quite possible that, during that siege, he met José Patiño, Quartermaster General of Catalonia, who, in 1718, because Guiveville was in Seville, appointed Lacomba as chief surgeon of the squadron that was formed for the conquest of Sicily. He was also present at the relief operations in Ceuta in 1720, the year in which he applied to the King for his official appointment as Chief Surgeon of the Armada, which was signed by the royal hand on 05 October 1720. Lacomba would be 'the father' of the Spanish Naval Health Service in the 18th century. In 1724, Patiño ordered him to create a permanent corps of surgeons for the Royal

Armada. In 1728, he sent Patiño a draft regulation, which was approved on 25 May 1728. These regulations contained 25 articles, setting out the number of surgeons who were to form this Corps, their functions, their different ranks and their dependence, their title: *Ordinances concerning Surgeons* and the date of its promulgation is considered to be the date of the creation of the Corps of Surgeons of the Armada.

Lacomba remained in the post until his death in 1748, and during those years he organised everything concerning the duties of the Corps' doctors, such as attending the hospital to see operations considered difficult by Lacomba himself (trepanation, etc.), the way to consult in ships, the obligation (subject to a fine) to look after the surgical boxes that were given to them on embarking and which they had to return to the chief surgeon at the end of the commission, etc. Lacomba planned what Virgili and the rest of the chief surgeons of the eighteenth-century Armada would soon carry out.

Although we cannot document it, another surgeon of the Royal Armada who could be French was Francisco Roger (Rogert or Royer), who was the surgeon who achieved the greatest glory in the Royal Armada during the first half of the 18th century, as he was first assistant of chief surgeon of the Armada, family surgeon at Court, royal blood-letting surgeon, first lieutenant of chief surgeon of the Armada, chamber surgeon to the king and, finally, first chamber surgeon to the Duke of Parma, when the latter, the prince Philip, who had previously been admiral general of Spain, conquered the duchy of Parma. And he could be French because, in 1728, he was sent in commission to the Court to look for competent surgeons and surgical boxes for them, where, according to his own confession, he was called by Philip V's first chamber surgeon, the also Frenchman Juan Bautista Legendre, who incorporated him into the Court as surgeon to the Royal Family.

In the same year, 1728, he accompanied Legendre as his assistant when, on the occasion of the wedding of Barbara de Braganza with the Infante Fernando, the Court moves to Seville. His career at Court was always linked to the aforementioned Infante Felipe, whose Frenchienness was notorious, as he normally expressed himself in French. Moreover, when he accompanied the infant Admiral on the expedition to Parma, he appointed the chief surgeon of the Armada, the Frenchman Juan Lacomba, as his 'adient power'.

In short, in the medium term, these French surgeons would achieve that their teachings would be embodied in the Royal College of Surgery of Cadiz, which the Armada founded on 11 November 1748, and that the 'trade' of surgeon would be elevated to the category of 'Latin doctor' and even that the Corps would soon receive the great honour of its officers being allowed to carry sabres, as in the Corps of War Officers (today's General Corps of the Armada).

Chapter five

The French presence in the armies of Spain at the change from the Old to the New Regime: men, units, commands and procedures

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Abstract

At the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, the French units that had fought alongside the Royal Armies disappeared. From then on, and for the next fifty years, the French presence was limited to French troops and individually enlisted French officers. Many of the officers rose to prominent positions in the militia units. This period ended with the Revolution and the change from the Old to the New Regime, which brought about major political and military transformations in France that would spread throughout Europe. With the Revolution and the Convention War, French emigrants arrived in Spain, who were formed into units. After the Peace of Basel, they were organised into the "Bourbon Regiment", which would be joined in the War of Independence by other units made up of former imperial servicemen.

The end of the War of Independence did not mark the disappearance of the French from the Spanish ranks. Those who chose to remain did so mainly in the Royal Guard, influencing the events of June and July 1822, which led to the arrival of the Hundred Thousand Sons of Saint Louis on 7 April 1823, who acted under the French flag as an army of occupation, giving way to the Absolutist Decade.

Under this umbrella, Lieutenant General Carlos de España reorganised the Royal Infantry Guard, a school unit for commanders and troops, which would provide the best fighters for both sides in the next national crisis, the 1st Carlist War. There was also a French presence in this war, with the Legion of Algeria on the Liberal side and the French Legion of Algeria, the French Legitimists and the Algerian Battalion on the Carlist side.

Keywords

Family pacts, absolutist nobility, deserters, émigré, Imperial Forces, Legion of Algeria

An unbroken shadow 1700-1840

The presence of French personnel¹, troops and, above all, officers with organic units, was intermittently common in the different elements that made up the Spanish armies in the 18th and first decades of the 19th centuries. Moreover, the contribution of organisational measures, concepts, and procedures of French origin in the aforementioned period would turn out to be an even more important element of the French presence in the general context of the "Spanish militia" than the actual physical presence of the personnel themselves. From 1702², the Spanish military organisation sought to be compatible with the French one, a situation that was reinforced in 1704 with the overhaul of the units of the Royal Armies³ into regiments, battalions, squadrons, and companies.

This presence in the period was initially defined as a consequence of the War of the Spanish Succession and of the establishment of the House of Bourbon at the Court of Madrid, and later with the successive pacts among the Bourbon branches⁴. In addition, during the early reign of Philip V and due to the attitude of a significant proportion of the nobility of the old Spanish kingdoms, foreign officials provided an extra degree of trust. Later on and throughout the century, this sentiment transformed into personal loyalty to the projects of the monarchs, a situation that the different ministers of the Spanish monarchs would have to deal with and which would arrive with the minister Floridablanca.

¹ The concept of the nation as it exists today would emerge during the period covered by this article. Some of the territories that underpin today's France were regions and areas that were formerly part of other political organisations. These include Gascony, French Flanders, Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Alsace, Lorraine, Sardinia, Roussillon, and Basse-Savoie, among others.

² On 10 April 1702, Philip V promulgated the *Ordinances of Flanders*, one of the main objectives of which was to facilitate cooperation between the allied and Spanish forces and especially those of France, as is made clear in Articles 135, 136 and 138, in which the organisation and designation of the traditional higher commands gave way to the French organisation.

³ The Royal Ordinance "On the Strength of the Regiments of Infantry, Cavalry and Dragoons" was issued on 28 September 1704, based on the French organisation, which meant overhauling the organisation and posts and abandoning the names *Tercios* and *Trozos* of the Armies of the House of Austria.

⁴ Treaty of Escorial in 1733, the 1st Family Pact, which would be extended in 1743 with the Secret Treaty of Fontainebleu, the 2nd Family Pact, and last the Treaty of Paris of 15 August 1761, the 3rd Family Pact, in which the main points were the equalisation of prerogatives and titles of origin between the two monarchies.

For 140 years after the War of the Spanish Succession, the presence of personnel and units created on the basis of men from the current territories of France in the ranks of the Spanish militia covered a spectrum of very different forms. This presence would vary from individual presence and enlistment in units of other nations, to collective enlistment and the marshalling of personnel for the formation of traditional units of foreign personnel who, for political or socio-cultural reasons, had to leave their homeland, giving rise to regiments and legions. There were also the units organised and incorporated into the French armies, but theoretically without Frenchmen, which would be ceded to the Spanish service, fighting under the flag of the Catholic Monarchy.

As neighbouring powers, France and Spain have had periods of both alliance and enmity, but from⁵ 1700 onwards, with the House of Bourbon heading both states, positions were gradually brought closer and the Family Pacts were signed, two with Philip V and one with Charles III. Among many other things, and in the areas of administration that are relevant here, these established above all the possibility that officials could move from the service of one monarchy to that of the other, with the same jobs, rights and circumstances⁶, this change of service often more a consequence of the interests of the monarchs or the governments than the need for the social integration of groups, as was the case in other nations.

In this period spanning from 1700 to the first half of the 19th century, the French armies had their highs and lows due to their ability to bounce back and shine once again, becoming the model for other European continental armies to imitate. And so after the disaster of the Seven Years' War (1756-63) came the victories of the American War of Independence, fruits of the Duke of Choiseul's army and navy reforms⁷, which not only influenced the French army, but also had repercussions on military affairs

⁵ With the exception of the War of the Quadruple Alliance 1717-20.

⁶ This idea has been present since the beginning of Philip V's reign. Thus, in early 1702, Philip promulgated the Ordinances of Flanders, in whose article 138 he established a higher post than that of Field Marshal, Lieutenant General, since the old Spanish ranks "were embarrassing and incompatible with our allies, especially the French", the idea being that "the Pyrenees did not exist".

⁷ Étienne-François, Count of Stainville and Duke of Choiseul, 1719-85. He underwent military training in his youth, then left the army for political life. He was ambassador and then Secretary of State and Foreign Affairs, War and Navy, (1758-61/1766-70) to Louis XV.

in Spain⁸. Then came the Revolution with its initial defeats and subsequent lessons, which would give way to the Empire that would mark another operational zenith with Napoleon. Most of the French reforms were related to organisation and recruitment, producing important advances in the organisational, tactical-logistical and training fields that would give rise to a conceptual presence in the Spanish ranks, together with the at times modest presence of personnel that would shape the organisation and operational procedures in the Spanish armies.

Throughout history there have been periods of change that cause a rupture with the established procedures and norms. One of them was the change from the Old to the New Regime; with the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, Napoleon, and last the "New Europe" born in Vienna, first essentially absolutist and then transitioning to the bourgeois monarchies of the 1930s. The changes of the period were profound: the transition from the king's armies to the national armies, the mass conscription, the citizen soldiers, the "demi-brigade" as a new organisational and tactical framework procedure, the Guard units that changed the tactical concept of reserve employment and effort, the divisions that ceased to be part of the "army" to become the great tactical and logistical pawn of the armies, the new officer from the Grandes Écoles (Saint-Cyr and Polytechnique), all of them innovations that originated in France, by Frenchmen or by men serving France who would extend out and later reach Spain.

The end of the War of the Spanish Succession meant the disappearance of the Army of the Two Crowns, and with it the French units and most of the French officers who had served the interests of Philip V, leaving officers and troops mainly in units of other nations, the number of which increased due to needs inherent in the Campaigns in Europe, the Italian Peninsula, Europe, Africa and Overseas.

French emigrants arrived with the French Revolution and the Convention War, joining together with volunteer parties to form various units, including the "Royal Legion of the Pyrenees". After

⁸ An example is Grimaldi's 1765 request to Choiseul to send French engineers capable of ensuring that both Spanish shipbuilding and naval artillery met French standards. Choiseul sent Jean-François Gautier, a marine construction engineer, who understood Grimaldi's objectives perfectly: "My duty is to look upon the wagons of Spain and France as forming a single Armada" More on Gautier in Blanco, J. M. *Chapter 4 of this volume. Franceses al servicio de la Real Armada.*

the Peace of Basel, the "Regiment of Bourbon Infantry"⁹ was created based on French personnel, the aim of which was its perdurance.

In the *guerra de la Independencia 1808-14*, War of Independence, the "Regiment of Bourbon Infantry" would stand out as a very strong element of the army, receiving in its ranks more French personnel and also foreign personnel from the Imperial Forces, amounting to approximately 17% of these forces operating in the Peninsula, which were made up of non-French personnel¹⁰. Officers from the French high nobility served in this Regiment who later leant towards absolutism, developing outstanding careers, one of which was Lieutenant General Carlos de España¹¹. But it was not the only unit that would include defectors and former Imperial personnel. Several others were organised in Catalonia, Galicia and Extremadura, with the Battalion of Foreign Volunteers of Extremadura standing out operationally, fighting in the 4th Division of Marshal José Pascual de Zayas y Chacón.

Although levies were planned to fill up the regiments of some nations, after the War of Independence recruitment for the new National Army tended to be of Spaniards. The Royal Decree of 1 June 1818¹² and the subsequent orders detailing it lead to the total reorganisation of Ferdinand VII's army and the theoretical disappearance of foreign regiments or Spanish regiments with foreign names, but not of foreign personnel. This was evidenced by the events of 7 July 1822, with the battalions of the Royal Guard as protagonists, triggering the great crisis of the Liberal Triennium, which would soon bring an entire French

⁹ There was also a Bourbon Line Cavalry Regiment with a long tradition and much seniority in the Army, based on national recruitment, which disappeared during the reorganisation of the Plan Norte, with Seville as its last garrison.

¹⁰ Sañudo J. (2012). *Base de datos sobre las unidades militares en la guerra de la Independencia española 2.ª edición*. Madrid, Ministerio de Defensa..

¹¹ Born in Ramefort Castle, Alta Garona (F) 1775. He was the son of Henri d'Espagne, marquis d'Espagne. He served with his father in the Príncipes army. He entered into the service of Spain in the Queen's Battalion, a corps of emigrants, later joining the Bourbon Regiment: During the War of Independence, he organised the Castille Sharpshooters battalion, commanded the 3rd division of the 5th Army and later the 2nd division of the 4th Army. On 20 June 1818, he received the title of Count of Spain. Martín-Lanuza Martínez, A. (2012). *Diccionario Bibliográfico del Generalato Español reinados Carlos IV y Fernando VII*. Forum for the Military History of Spain Navarra. P 293.

¹² A.G.M. Segovia, Secc Div 10- leg 156, in Gómez Ruiz, M. and. Alonso Juanola. (2000). *El Ejército de los Borbones*. Madrid. Volume V, volume 2, p 25.

army to Spain. On 7 April 1823, under the French flag and at the head of a French army of more than 90,000 men, the Duke of Angoulême crossed the Bidasoa and then the Pyrenees with the aim of helping to change the political system in Spain.

Seven months later, part of these forces, amounting to some 45,000 men, would remain in Spain, becoming an army of occupation through a series of agreements signed by the highest Spanish authorities, and at the express wish of Ferdinand VII, until the last of them left Spain in 1828¹³.

Under French occupation, the Spanish army began to be overhauled. It was the French officer, Carlos de España y Cabalby¹⁴ who, on taking command of the Royal Infantry Guard, reorganised and instructed it, making it the reference model to be imitated by the Regular Army and the school unit for commanders and troops. In the 1st Carlist War, he provided the cadres and men for the elite units of both sides: the Royal Guard itself on the Elizabethan side, and on the Carlist side for the battalions of the Guías, the Grenadiers and the Castilian Division.

In this war, in 1835, the Algerian Foreign Legion arrived in Spain. This was dictated in part by political interests, on the one hand of the French King Louis-Philippe d'Orléans, and on the other the need for support from the Christian governments in Spain (supporters of Maria Christina of Bourbon-Two Sicilies), and of the interpretation of the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, signed in London on 22 April 1834 by France, the United Kingdom, Spain and Portugal¹⁵, and of its additional articles dated 18 August 1834¹⁶. The agreement with the French government was signed in Paris on 28 June 1835. It was by far the best and

¹³ The last garrison abandoned was Cadiz.

¹⁴ His role as an organiser and trainer of units stands out in his career. On 14 February 1825, he received the command that would make him most famous, the Royal Infantry Guard. He left a deep impression and legacy on the officers under his command, as can be seen in Fernández de Córdova, F. (1856). *Mis memorias íntimas*. Madrid. Royal House printers.

¹⁵ The representatives of the 4 powers were: the United Kingdom, with Palmerston as the main driving force behind the Treaty; the French representative, the Prince of Talleyrand; Portuguese ambassador Morais Sarmiento; and, on the Spanish side, Manuel Pando Fernández de Pinedo, Marquess of Miraflores.

¹⁶ The 4 Additional Articles "defined the various aid obligations to His Catholic Majesty in the Carlist crisis, the focal point for France and Great Britain being the contribution to the closing of land frontiers and maritime control, Art. 1 referring to the King of the French.

most operational of the three "Auxiliary Divisions/Legions" that participated in the conflict.

The Algerian Foreign Legion would act under the Queen's Flag and its personnel would wear the Spanish insignia and not the French tricolour. The Corps was initially composed of 6 battalions¹⁷, each of a different nationality totalling 4,843 men, which could be increased to 12,000, armed and equipped initially by France. The command of the Legion was held by Colonel Bernelle of the French Army, trained at the Military School of Saint Cyr, who would serve in Spain with the provisional rank of "Field Marshal", and the officers were a solid group of professionals composed of some French with Germans, Belgians, Italians, and Poles. From an operational perspective, it was a professional, trained and hardened group. The battalions lost their nationality during the campaigns, producing the amalgamation of all nationalities and forming the basis of today's French Foreign Legion.

The Legion arrived on 15 August 1835, receiving reinforcements from France during the early years of the campaign¹⁸. Up to 9,000 men passed through it, maintaining the strength of the initial battalions and able to form two squadrons of Polish lancers, and an artillery battery with six pieces.

In July 1837, the Legion was overhauled with both the cavalry, the "lancers", and the artillery, the battery, fully integrated into the Spanish army, while the rest of the Foreign Legion gradually disintegrated until its definitive disbandment in December 1838. Political changes in France subsequently left it without reinforcements, leading to its depletion, extinction,

¹⁷ Three battalions were essentially German, one Polish, one Belgian and one Italian. There had been another battalion composed of Spaniards, which was discharged in 1834 and its personnel, some 275 men, were transported to the port of Cartagena on the Peninsula in French ships. On 10 May, the personnel were ordered to enlist in Spanish corps. The investigations carried out uncover that 31 of them were considered to have participated in the 1827 partitions or to have been denounced as Carlists, traditionalists, by their comrades, most of them exalted liberals, and were sent home. Another 244 were left under arms and sent to Valencia. Bullón de Mendoza, A. (1992). *La 1.ª guerra carlista*. Madrid, Acts. P 144.

¹⁸ French reinforcements would arrive among these reinforcements, 2009 enlisted from the Metropolitan Infantry, most of whom would not go on to Spain: Jaufret, J. C. and Thiers, A. (1980). *España y la Legión Extranjera (1835 - 1839)*. International Journal of Military History. Issue no. 49. Madrid, IHCM. See more in Porras y Rodríguez de León, G. de. (2004). *La Expedición Rodil y las legiones extranjeras en la 1.ª guerra carlista*. Madrid, Ministerio de Defensa. Dupré, H. (1942). *La «Légion Tricolore» en Espagne (1936-1939)*. Paris, Editions de la Ligue Française.

and discharge on 1 January 1839. At the time of withdrawal, there were 222 troops, including 29 French officers and 34 foreigners, 25 French NCOs and troops and 134 foreigners. The French Legion took part in a multitude of actions, combats and battles, including Vitoria, Arlaban, Ebro, Estella, Royal Expedition, Huesca, and Barbastro, among others.

The Algerian Legion was not the only Frenchmen in this civil war. The Carlists had French legitimists in their ranks, generally former officers. They were the first foreign contingent in size and number, amounting to approximately 150. These personnel had military knowledge, most of them having served in the French Army¹⁹, and included cavalry, artillery and engineer officers, who were much needed by the Carlist forces as they were in short supply.

Mention should also be made of the "Algerian Battalion", made up of deserters and discharged French Legion soldiers who joined the Carlists due to the poor living conditions in the Elizabethan ranks. They fought with great efficiency until the Battle of Barbastro, when they clashed with their former comrades in a mythical battle, which led to their virtual disappearance and the loss of the French Legion's fighting capacity.

These two groups mark the "official" disappearance of frenchmen in the Spanish militia, apart from some individuals who took part in the other Carlist uprisings in the second half of the 19th century. Frenchmen can be traced through the Zuavos Carlista Battalion,²⁰ and later there were French surnames among the ranks of the troop personnel, usually arriving as replacements for Spaniards recruited as soldiers or personnel of French descent fully incorporated as Spaniards into the officer ranks.

The Italian and Wallon shadow. Italian campaigns and family pacts

The end of the War of the Spanish Succession brought an end to the military collaboration between the French and the Spanish,

¹⁹ Roldan González, E. (1992). La participación extranjera en las guerras carlistas. *Military History Journal*, Issue no. 73. Madrid, Institute of Military History and Culture.

²⁰ On this battalion see Pacheco Fernández, A. and Suárez de Vega, F. J. (2019). *Wils y el Batallón de Zuavos Carlistas. Guerra de Cataluña, 1868-73*. Valladolid, Gallard Books.

finding themselves on different sides in the War of the Quadruple Alliance. The reign of Philip V, with his policy of direct and indirect territorial recovery²¹, involved a great deal of military activity with campaigns abroad:

- Sardinia Campaign 1717.
- Sicily Campaign 1718.
- Scottish Campaign 1719.
- War of the Polish Succession 1734. (In Italy).
- War of the Austrian Succession 1740-48. (In Italy).
- In addition to the African Expeditions (Oran) and the projections to the Ultramar/Overseas.

It also entailed a major reform process and the subsequent expansion of His Catholic Majesty's army to once again achieve an army created to operate in two very distant and different arenas: Europe and Overseas. Given the need for manpower, multinational recruitment continued, especially for infantry units, while at the same time trying to maintain foreign infantry regiments.

The line infantry continued with regiments of our traditional nations, Irish, Italian and Walloon, which were joined by the recruitment of Swiss infantry regiments with a view to continuity. In line with traditional troop recruitment procedures, having lost the base territories from which the nations' recruits were drawn, particularly in the case of the Walloons, there was a notable shortage of recruits, except during campaigns when the regiments were able to recruit prisoners, soldiers who changed sides, or deserters. In this section, deserters from the French monarchy or from the Napoleonic forces who were transferred to the Spanish or Hispanic ranks were mostly integrated into Walloon or Burgundian units. This recruitment was complicated and more difficult during peacetime. Clear evidence of this was that foreign regiments kept recruiting parties in towns close to the French border to recruit deserters and French personnel, even if they were garrisoned in places as far away as Oran. This was the case for the Brabante Regiment garrisoned in Oran in 1778, which kept "recruiting centres" in the square of Pamplona and in the town of Irún, with prominent recruiting parties under the

²¹ Direct action would be taken to recover Menorca and Gibraltar and indirect action to gain territory in Italy, Naples, Sicily and Parma for Spanish princes, but outside the sovereignty of the Catholic Monarchy.

command of junior officers.²² The presence of Walloon regiments would also be common in the Atlantic and Mediterranean ports²³, where it was generally easier to recruit foreigners.

As part of the Royal Armies reform process and with a view to unifying procedures and giving continuity to the units, the publication of the fixed names of the regiments was ordered on 18 February 1718. The number of Walloon line regiments was 14, but the reality of the recruitment situation, the Catholic Monarchy's finances and support for the nascent Kingdom of Naples meant that in 1739 there were only three regiments left²⁴: Flandes²⁵, Brabante²⁶ and Bruselas²⁷.

The recruitment of foreign personnel became easier with all the foreign activity. There were more human resources opportunities but, on the other hand, the integrating concept of "nation" was lost, as can be seen in the journals passed to the Walloon line infantry regiments²⁸ in the 1750s. The three regiments could be defined as theoretically Catholic legions of foreigners. Its troop personnel included personnel from the Austrian Empire and French territories. This was the case with Flanders, with

²² AGMM 6637.9 *Order to complete the Brabante Regiment in 1778*.

²³ An example is the case of the Flanders Regiment in 1770. AGMM documents Leg. 46, N.46

²⁴ In the spring of 1834, on the occasion of the accession of the future Charles III of Spain to the throne of the Kingdom of Naples, the following Spanish regiments of the Walloon nation Amberes - Burgundy - Hainaut - Namur and the Irish regiment of Limerick were ceded as a base for his army.

²⁵ This Regiment is completely independent of the Spanish line infantry Regiment, called Flanders or Cuenca according to the historical periods, whose nickname was "Flanders School" and which was always made up of Spaniards.

²⁶ This Regiment was raised by seat rents based on the La Commerie Regiment in the service of Venice, raised at Cagliari, Sardinia. Rey Jolí, C. (1951). *Colección de documentos de regimientos (Orgánica)*. Sección de Historiales. Section of the Institute of Military History and Culture, donated circa 1951. Madrid, Document Brabant Regiment, pp 1-3.

²⁷ Regiments raised by seat rents in 1734, taking the name of Corsica. In 1737, it was incorporated into the Walloon brigade. Rey Jolí, C. (1951). *Colección de documentos de regimientos (Orgánica)*. Sección de Historiales. Institute of Military History and Culture. Madrid, Brussels Regiment, pp 1-2.

²⁸ Ministerio de Defensa. (1993). *Uniformes militares*. The Army of Ferdinand VI State of Magazine inspection passed by D. Antonio Manso to the Walloon Line Infantry Regiments:

- Flanders Regiments, pp 128 and 152. AGS G.M Leg 2.761. La Coruña, 21 September 1753.
- Brabant Regiment, pp 130 and 153. AGS G.M Leg 2.764. Ávila, 25 January 1754.
- Brussels Regiment, 499 soldiers and 18 French sergeants pp 132 and 154. AGS G.M Leg 2.761. La Coruña, 11 September 1753.

1275 troop personnel, made up of Portuguese, French, Flemish, Irish, Piedmontese, Italians, Swiss, Germans, Hungarians and Poles, although it is said that the sergeants and soldiers were mainly French. In the Brabant Regiment, with 1,291 men, 697 were French (49.69%) and the rest Flemish (2), Italians 388, and Germans, among others. The Brussels Regiment, with 1,162 men, had 499 French soldiers, 45 Flemish, 2 Dutch, 165 Italians, and 161 Germans, among others, and among the sergeants 18 were French, a total of 44.49% of the troops. In the Magazines and among the French, the Alsatians, Lorraineans, Rosellorians were distinguished.

All these difficulties would become evident, and although the concept of nation would be maintained, there would be a tendency to homogenise the processes of recruiting foreigners in part, as was made clear with the publication of the *Reglamento del nuevo pie en que Su Magestad manda se establezcan los cuerpos españoles, irlandeses, italianos y walones de la infantería de su exercito* (Regulations of the new bases by which His Majesty commands the Spanish, Irish, Italian, and Walloon corps of the infantry of his army)²⁹. This regulation of a homogenising nature for both recruitment and for the organisation of the units would gradually iron out the organisational particularities of the agreements of the regiments of the different nations, and the troops would become more global. In addition, and given that the units did not have their full war staff, personnel were taken from other units following the usual procedures to meet the numbers for the expeditionary units, such as, for example, the Italian Milano Regiment, which had to provide 120 men to complete the Brabant Regiment garrisoned in Oran in 1778³⁰.

The French Revolution changed many things, including the system of foreign conscription of both troops and officers for the regiments of the Catholic Monarchy, as most of the conscription territories came under the authority or influence of the Revolutionary Government. The exceptions were Ireland and Switzerland. With the arrival of the revolutionary forces and the occupation of Liège in 1792, the existing recruitment pool for the Walloon Guard was closed off, and the last three regiments of the Walloon Infantry had to be overhauled: Brabant, Flanders and Brussels. Genoa and its port remained the main recruiting ground.

²⁹ Published by Order of SM: in Madrid by Antonio Marín in 1750.

³⁰ AGMM 6637.9. *Order to complete the Brabante Regiment in 1778*

The Brabant regiment was first reformed in 1791, by royal order of the 28 November 1791, and the national staff was merged into the Spain Regiment, with the Hibernia Regiment receiving the foreign personnel of the Brabant³¹.

The Flanders regiment was reformed as the 2nd Battalion in the Italian of Naples by Royal Order of 22 March 1792, with the existing French and French-speaking personnel joining its ranks, a circumstance which, as we have seen, was not novel³². At that time, 254 Frenchmen were serving in the Naples Regiment, which was garrisoned in Melilla. There was a conspiracy shortly after the outbreak of war with the Convention to assassinate Governor Don José Rivera on 30 April 1793 and the city was set on fire. One of the leaders of the conspiracy was a Grenadier Lieutenant of the Naples Regiment, Captán graduate of French origin, named Mr Lambert. This conspiracy was part of the revolutionary movement, manifested in different branches and actions of espionage and revolts in the time before and during the different wars between the Convention and the European Monarchies, in the Spanish case the War of the Convention 1793-95. They were carried out by revolutionary units to destabilise the situation among the Spanish states, and one of the objectives was the uprising in Catalonia³³.

Last, by the regulation of 2 September 1792, the Walloon Regiment of Brussels was done away with and reformed into the Ultonia Regiment³⁴.

The Royal Guards included the Reales Guardias Valonas Regiment (RGVR), which numbered up to 6 battalions in 1727 under Philip V and later during the reign of Charles III. Theoretically, it was made up of Walloons, until the Ordinance of 3 December 1773, which authorised Catholic volunteers from other nations to join³⁵. The

³¹ Like it had received the foreign personnel of the Milan Regiment, Italian infantry, Conde Clonard. (1859). *Historia orgánica de las Armas de Infantería y Caballería* 22 Volume XI-2. Madrid. P 341.

³² Count Clonard. (1859). *Historia orgánica de las Armas de Infantería y Caballería*. Madrid. P 153.

³³ Comments by the Marqués de Vallehermoso, Military Governor of Malaga. In Estado Mayor Central del Ejército. *Campañas en los Pirineos a finales del siglo XVII. Volume I Antecedentes*. (1949). Madrid, SHM. P 79.

³⁴ Count Clonard. (1859). *Historia orgánica de las Armas de Infantería y Caballería* 22 Volume XI-2. Madrid. P 355.

³⁵ More on the subject of recruitment of foreigners by the RGVR and their transfer to other foreign line infantry regiments in Glesener, T. (2018). No debemos ser mirados como extranjeros. Las corporaciones militares flamencas y las reformas

main “Walloon recruitment points in peacetime” were in Genoa and above all in Liège, where around 500 men were recruited a year for the RGVR, whose life and orders were conducted in French, until the time of the French Revolution³⁶.

Among the mounted institutes, cavalry and dragoons the only long-lived foreign units³⁷ were the Italian and Walloon Companies of Corps Guards³⁸ and the Irish Dragoon Regiments, of which the longest surviving was Edinburgh. The more elite nature of the mounted corps and the greater comfort of the service facilitated the recruitment of nationals from among the field personnel, making the recruitment of national or foreign units unnecessary. The Irish dragoon regiments, with their special consideration, were exceptions to the above, but were gradually disbanded, leaving only the Edinburgh Regiment in service and into which all foreign personnel of any nation were to be concentrated by order of 1740. In 1742, it already had 163 foreigners out of its 362 men and in the 1755 review it kept its multinational nature as there was only one officer with an Irish surname³⁹. Subsequently, its squadrons would be sent to Ultramar, their fortunes later traced and studied, and the regiment was disbanded by virtue of the Royal Decree of 20 September 1765.

The situation described above was no different for officers than for the troops. At the end of the War of Succession most of the French officers returned, leaving some engineers in the service of Philip V⁴⁰, in addition to personnel from the Walloon territories and other regions of France, who continued their careers in the Royal Armies and whose fortunes, which were very often linked to the Walloon units of both the Guard and the Line, can also be traced. Some engineers of French/Flemish origin include, among others, Pierre Cayseraux, Simon Paulet and Antonio Flabeut,

ilustradas en la España del siglo XVIII. In Martínez Ruiz, E. *Presencia de flamencos y valones en la milicia española*. Madrid, MINISDEF. Pp 139-146.

³⁶ More on RGVR in the *Dictionnaire de l'armée de terre, ou Recherches historiques sur l'art et les usages militaires des anciens et des modernes par le GÉNÉRAL BARDIN* 7. (1849). Paris, Military, Naval and Polytechnic Library, and in Count Clonard. (1824). *Memoria para la historia de las tropas de la Casa Real de España*.

³⁷ On 2 August 1719, a Regiment of Dragoons was created under the name of France, but there is no record of its personnel being foreign.

³⁸ The Companies of Corps Guards lost their names permanently in 1807.

³⁹ More in AGMM Leg 5-3-6-1. Estudio General de las tropas de Felipe V en junio de 1746 and AGS. GM 3867. Extract from the journal passed in 1755.

⁴⁰ Cantera Montenegro, J. (2019). *Presencia de ingenieros militares extranjeros en la milicia española*. Chapter 4 los Ingenieros Franceses. Madrid, MINISDEF.

who were prominent in the campaigns in Italy during the siege war, including the Siege of Gaeta in 1734⁴¹. They would later be joined by new waves, especially after the combined participation of the two monarchies in the Seven Years' War as a result of the Family Pacts.

The muster rolls of the three longest-serving Walloon regiments⁴² contain a large number of officers and sergeants whose origins, homeland⁴³, were territories and towns in France, independent of those in French Flanders. To these must be added others born in the Peninsula with French surnames, who could be second or third generation French. Many of the latter have identified towns in Aragon, Catalonia, and Cadiz as their "homeland". The latter is especially true when we look at the cadet class. The data for the three Regiments are as follows:

FLANDERS REGIMENT⁴⁴

YEAR	1717	1720	1732	1749	1774	1787	NOTE
Officers	13	12	35	25	26	24	Presence of 2 cadets from Oran 1787
Sergeants		16	18	14	8	4	

This amounts to an average of 21 officers.

BRABANT REGIMENT⁴⁵

YEAR	1718	1737	1749	1771	1790	NOTE
Officers	13	20	17	35	18	
Sergeants	1	0 No info.	11	13	8	In 1718-19, the number of sergeants is undetermined.

This amounts to an average of 22 officers

BRUSSELS REGIMENT⁴⁶

YEAR	1739	1742	1752	1772	1790	NOTE
Officers	17	12	12	14	11	
Sergeants	11	5	4	7	2	

This amounts to an average of 13 officers

⁴¹ García González, V. (2021). Los ingenieros militares en la guerra de Sucesión polaca. *Desperta Ferro* N.º 54. Madrid. P 47.

⁴² There is documentation in the AGMM from the AGS relating to other Walloon regiments concerning the origin and number of their officers, which has not been transferred to this work.

⁴³ Patria was the term that can be read in a large number of documents to indicate the birthplace of military personnel during the 18th and early 19th century.

⁴⁴ AGS. SGU LEG 2570 C1 and C6, LEG 2571 C2, LEG 2572 C4, LEG 2773 C2 and C6.

⁴⁵ AGS. SGU LEG 519 C1 and 10, LEG 2521 C7, LEG 2522 C5 and 12C.

⁴⁶ AGS. SGU LEG 2523 C4, LEG 2525 C6, LEG 2526 C 1, LEG 2527 C5 and C8.

Consequently, we can say that the number of French officers would be approximately one third of each battalion, which is in line with what was stated for sergeants and troops.

We are talking about individual officers in lower ranks, and troops serving in the line regiments. In terms of superiors, several officers stand out. Among them, passing from the French army to the Spanish army, was Louis Berton des Balbe de Quiers⁴⁷ Duke of Crillon. As lieutenant general of the French army, he carried out the Portuguese campaign of 1762 with the French expeditionary corps, joining the Spanish Army, receiving the rank of lieutenant general on 7 August 1762 and appointed commander of the Campo de Gibraltar. With this job, he took charge of the Franco-Spanish expeditionary force of some 15,000 men that landed on Menorca on 19 August 1781, laying siege to Mahón, which ended on 5 February 1782 and signalled the return of Spain's possession of the island. In this action and under the command of the Duke of Crillon, 8 infantry battalions acted with artillery support from the French Army, under its Spanish flag, making it, in today's terms, a combined operation⁴⁸.

From the 1760s, and partly driven by the 3rd Family Pact, numerous French cadets and officers born throughout the territory joined the Spanish forces. Later, in the reign of Charles IV, a new wave of officers of the same origin was added, many of whom joined for reasons of personal interest and others motivated by the socio-political conflict of the Revolution. Initially, they served in both Spanish and Walloon regiments, many in the Walloon Guards, most notably in actions against the Convention. Many of them, at least 53, would reach the rank of general or brigadier, especially during the reigns of Charles IV and Ferdinand VII, and among whom we can mention:

⁴⁷ Carillon Louis Berton, who reached the rank of Captain General in the Spanish army. He served as commander general of the Campo de Gibraltar and captain general of Valencia. He was awarded the titles of Duke of Crillon and Duke of Mahon, as well as the Grandeza of Spain and the Golden Fleece. Martín-Lanuza Martínez, A. (2012). *Diccionario Bibliográfico del Generalato Español reinados Carlos IV y Fernando VII*. Forum for the Military History of Spain Navarra. Pp 122-123.

⁴⁸ As a sign of this coordinated participation, the French forces that took part in the campaigns of Menorca, Gibraltar and Lusitania-Florida added to their white insignia the red insignia of the Spanish forces Chartrand R. (1997). *Louis XV's Army (5). Colonial and Naval troops*. Men-at-Arm. Osprey. Oxford. P 37.

Andrés de España⁴⁹ y Cabalby, Luis de Laborde (Champagne), Fernandode Maloteau de Pont (Valenciennes), Carlos Nassau — Siegen⁵⁰, Baltasar Ricaud (Antibes)⁵¹, Pedro Saint-Elier (Abbeville, Amiens), Fernando de Saint Croix (Besançon) Felipe Saint Marcq (Taintegnies, Tournay), Francisco Saint-Maxent (New Orleans), Pedro Teissier⁵², Juan de Viard (Macon, Burgundy), Marques de Apehier (possibly a French émigré)⁵³, Armando Armendariz y Monreal, (Bayona), Luis de Bacincourt (Paris), Luis Balbs de Fabri (Paris), Felipe Beauafort y Beauafort (Arras), Agutín Beven (Bayonne), Francisco Blondel de Drouhot, Conde de Clarac (Flechain Cambrai), Ignacio Boutiller (Lille), Fernando Maloteau de Pont (Valenciennes), Luis Latourette (France), Claudio Laville (Rrancia), Tomas Lostanau (Sainte Marie de O´loron), Juan de Daiguillon (Lavaux), Pedro Dejoui, (no information), José Darguines (Arles, Rosellón), Felipe de Lons (France, émigré) Arnaldo Desmaissieres (Valenciennes), Fernando Ortafa y Ros (Perpignan), Pablo Ortafa y Alemany (Perpignan), Luis Nieulant y Dumar de Manse (Marsella), Francisco de Fontages (Gannat Auverne), Francisco Fersen (Paris), Pedro Fleyres (Rabastieres de Alby), Blas de Fournas y Labrosse (Narbonne)⁵⁴, Carlos Fournier (France), Francisco Gand y Desfossez (Lille), Raimundo Caldagues y Remond (Auvergne), Santiago Pierrard Semes (Quincy), the two brothers , Alfonso y Casimiro Pignatelli y Pignatelli

⁴⁹ Brother of Charles of Spain. After the end of the Convention War, he joined the Spanish Bourbon Cavalry Regiment, which was not a foreign conscript unit. Martín-Lanuza Martínez, A. (2012). *Diccionario Bibliográfico del Generalato Español reinados Carlos IV y Fernando VII*. Forum for the Military History of Spain Navarra. Pp 292-3.

⁵⁰ Born in Tinne, Nemirov Russia, he served in the French Army during the Seven Years' War. He volunteered for the Spanish army on the occasion of the Siege of Gibraltar 1781 and in 1788 he was granted permission to serve in the Russian army Martín-Lanuza Martínez, A. (2012). *Diccionario Bibliográfico del Generalato Español reinados Carlos IV y Fernando VII*. Forum for the Military History of Spain Navarra. P 624.

⁵¹ Engineer officer together with his brother Fernando. He was colonel and chief engineer of the fortifications of Havana, 4 November 1761, until its capitulation in 1762. Martín-Lanuza Martínez A. (2012). *Diccionario Bibliográfico del Generalato Español reinados Carlos IV y Fernando VII*. Forum for the Military History of Spain Navarra .P 757.

⁵² Colonel Commander of Rgt. Brabant, with the rank of Brigadier. His French origin, List of officers of Brabant Regiment.

⁵³ Central Army Staff. (1949-59). *Campaña de los Pirineos. A finales del siglo XVIII (1793-95), volume III -2*. Madrid, Historical Military Service.

⁵⁴ He arrived in Spain with the Royal Roussillon emigrant regiment, reformed into the Royal Legion of the Pyrenees. Martín-Lanuza Martínez, A. (2012). *Diccionario Bibliográfico del Generalato Español reinados Carlos IV y Fernando VII*. P 337.

(born in Paris), José Canterac D'Orlic (Castelsalour), Ferdinand von Geramb (Lyon), Pedro Haye Saint-Hillaire (Saint-Hillaire), Carlos de la Porterie (Cambray), Carlos Preux (Marsal Lorena) Luis Hiber Pons (Perpignan)⁵⁵, Claudio Rouvroy y de Pineau (Castillo de la Faye, Angouleme), Luis de Sabran (Francia), Vicente de la Barthe (Paris), Juan Cini (Senglée), Enrique Duvivier (Languedoc), Gabriel Ficquelmont (Nancy), Carlos Gardon de Sonan, among others.⁵⁶

An interesting aspect is the region or area of origin of these officers which, as can be seen, is practically all current French territory, with officers coming not only from "French Flanders" and northern France, the territories of Haute France, but also from Burgundy, Roussillon, Aquitaine, and the centre with Paris. Officers from Lille, Cambraia, Hainaut, Artois and Franche-Comté would account for between 20 % and 35 % of the Walloon officers in the last third of the century. Another large proportion of them would be Walloons of the next generation, or children of mixed Spanish and Walloon marriages⁵⁷.

Ultramar: Louisiana and The Pensacola campaign⁵⁸

While the above serves to describe the presence of French personnel in the Royal Armies on European territory, French personnel can also be detected in Spanish military units overseas.

Their origin lies mainly in the troops and officers of the foreign regiments in the service of Spain, who were sent to the American continent as part of the reinforcement army. Added to this is the fact that after their period of intervention they aimed to reinforce the troops of the Fixed Regiments of the American garrisons

⁵⁵ Inspector of fortifications in the French Army, joined the French Army in 1790. Tactical officer and attaché to the Corps of Engineers. He participated in the plans for the organisation of the Military College in Alcalá de Henares.

⁵⁶ Martín-Lanuzza Martínez, A. (2012). *Diccionario Bibliográfico del Generalato Español reinados Carlos IV y Fernando VII*. Biographical entries for each of them. Forum for the Military History of Spain. Navarra.

⁵⁷ Glesener, T. (2018). La renovación de la tradición: los flamencos y el servicio militar a la Monarquía hispánica a inicios del siglo XVIII, y Las corporaciones militares flamencas y las reformas ilustradas en la España del siglo XVIII. In Martínez Ruiz, E. *Presencia de flamencos y valones en la milicia española*. Madrid, Ministerio de Defensa. Pp 102-125.

⁵⁸ On the French Army in the colonies in the run-up to and during the American War of Independence Chartrand, R. (1991). *The French Army in the American War of Independence*. Men -at- Arm. Osprey. Great Britain.

with their personnel, giving the officers, especially those from the sergeant class and those less economically privileged, the possibility of obtaining better posts and promotions and life situations.

Of the Walloon Line Regiments, the Flanders Regiment was sent to the Viceroyalty of New Spain in 1768 and returned to the Peninsula in 1771-1772⁵⁹. Similarly, the Nápoles/Naples Regiment with its two battalions was sent to Cuba in 1784, where it provided personnel for the fixed units, and at that time already enlisted French personnel in its ranks. Another French-speaking unit that operated overseas was a special unit of the RGV in the 1790s, whose personnel also reinforced the endowed units. Irish units⁶⁰ of the three Regiments were sent alongside them in which French personnel could also serve, particularly in the Edinburgh Dragoon Regiment which had taken in all the Institute's foreign personnel and which, in 1760, had marched to Havana with one and a half Squadrons. They took part in the defence of the aforementioned city and subsequently became part of the American Dragoon Regiment created by O'Reilly in 1764. The Regiment had also sent a picket unit to Buenos Aires in 1759.

Hence, in the units of the Commandeer of the Internal Provinces (*Comandancia de las Provincias Internas*) in the Viceroyalty of New Spain, according to the service sheets of the command staff of 1791 stored in the Simancas General Archive, there was a captain and a cadet born in France, and in 1800, and it can be seen that one of the seven heads of that class was French⁶¹.

Louisiana was a different case. This territory deserves differential consideration, given its initial origin from the French Crown, passing to the Spanish Crown in 1763 following the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763 as compensation for the Seven Years' War.

⁵⁹ On the same date the 3rd Battalion of Ultonia travelled, where there could already have been troops of French origin.

⁶⁰ Some of these expeditions are recorded in the Regimental Histories, as well as in Clonard and in the documentation of Rey Joly, but it is difficult to find records of others in the aforementioned documents, although they do exist, such as the one mentioned in the A.G.I. - Indif. General - 1885.

⁶¹ Alonso Baquer, M. (2016). Bernardo de Gálvez, su tiempo en la defensa de las Provincias Internas de Nueva España en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII. *Revista de Historia Militar*, I extraordinario de 2016. Madrid, MINISDEF. Pp 34-36.

Louisiana, like the vast majority of the French colonies, based its defence on two types of units, the regular units, made up essentially of the Free Companies of the Navy⁶², and the militia, which was initially made up of white colonists but later, after the Seven Years' War, included other free men, mulattoes, black people, and so on, in other words regular soldiers and French militiamen, who were to continue to serve as the basis for the military defence of Spanish Louisiana, although this was neither easy nor straightforward⁶³.

The first governor appointed was Antonio de Ulloa, and by the time Louisiana passed to Spain in 1763 the companies had been reduced to 6⁶⁴ and were severely undermanned, with a total strength of about 300 men scattered in small posts. The units would pass under the authority of the Spanish government, as authorised by the Duke of Choiseul.

The first Spanish troops that arrived in Louisiana with Ulloa were a company, which meant that the old French garrison should have been the base. However, there was no understanding between Ulloa and the French colonists, and the French troops did not want to serve under the Spanish flag, especially because of the low Spanish salary compared to the French salary, which together with other social reasons led to the outbreak of an uprising, leading to Ulloa having to leave the territory.

⁶² They were made up of officers and troops from European France, with an initial enlistment period of six years and with the vocation of settling as colonists in the territory at the end of their term. The first two were established in Louisiana in 1690, and gradually increased to 35 in 1759. The companies varied in numbers but in the final period, which is the one we are interested in, there were 4 officers, 1 cadet and 49 troops. On 1 November 1759, a navy artillery company was ordered to be raised in the territory. Except for a short period of time, the French colonies depended directly on the royal government through the Ministry of the Navy. In the case of Louisiana, its dependence on the French East Indies was from 1719 to 1731. The Royal Marine Corps was created in 1774 and later, in the period 1900-58, the marine forces were transferred to the Tierra Army under the name colonial, colonial infantry/artillery, and then renamed infantry/cavalry/marine artillery until the present day. Chartrand, R. (1997). *Louis XV's Army (5) Colonial and Naval troops*. Men -at- Arm. Osprey. Oxford.

⁶³ Main provisions in the Convention of the offensive and defensive alliance between the crowns of Spain and France against Great Britain, signed at Versailles on 4 February 1762. Preliminary act of cession of Louisiana and New Orleans granted by the King of France in favour of His Catholic Majesty on 3 November 1762.

⁶⁴ Chartrand, R. (1997). *Louis XV's Army (5) Colonial and Naval troops*. Men -at- Arm. Osprey. Oxford. Pp 6 and 11.

The crisis continued until the arrival in 1769 of General O'Really, appointed as the new governor of Louisiana, and his expedition of some 2,000 troops⁶⁵. He first pacified the territory, and then began to organise the Louisiana Army by reforming personnel and units to first form the Louisiana "Fixed" Battalion, which would give way to the Fijo Regiment.

The basis of the unit's troop were the regulars from the Lisbon, Aragon and Guadalajara regiments, and 100 men from *the Nation's staff*, together with former French soldiers from the garrison⁶⁶. A Spaniard from the regiment-officer class held command of the regiment/battalion, but among the company officers there were a large number of French speakers, and among the cadets, 16 came from the "Gallic elite" of Louisiana. A unit was created with these men, which would be the spearhead of the later operations that Governor⁶⁷ Bernardo de Gálvez would order to recover Florida.

The Louisiana Fixed would not be the only Louisiana contribution to the "Army of Galvez", which would end up being a multiracially inclusive joint-combined force. This force would include grenadier and scout units with 122 men and 410 men from the New Orleans Militia⁶⁸, including, of course, Frenchmen or French descendants. Among Gálvez's officers were the Frenchmen⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Line Infantry, with a battalion from the Lisbon Regiment made up of 179 men, volunteers from the Aragón and Guadalajara Regiments and from the "Fijo de la Habana", Light Infantry of Catalan Volunteers, militia-grenadiers from the 3 regiments of the Regulated Militias of Cuba, regular dragoons from the Edinburgh Regiment, horsemen-militiamen from Havana and artillerymen.

⁶⁶ See Calleja Leal, G. (2016). *Galvez y España en la guerra de la Independencia de EE. UU.* Valencia, Albatros ediciones. P 42.

⁶⁷ The Spanish governors of Louisiana were: Antonio de Ulloa, 1766-1768, Charles-Philippe Aubry (governor ad interim, French), 1768-1769, Alejandro O'Reilly, 1769-1770, Luis de Unzaga y Amézaga, 1770-1777, Bernardo de Gálvez, 1777-1785, Esteban Rodríguez Miró, 1785-1791, Francisco Luis Héctor, Baron of Carondelet, born in Cambrai, 1791-1797, Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, 1797-1799, Marquis of Casa Calvo, 1799-1801, Juan Manuel Salcedo, 1801-1803.

⁶⁸ Reparaz de C. (1993). *I alone*. Madrid, Ediciones de cultura Hispánica. Pp 52-53, BNM manuscript 17616.

⁶⁹ Without being a military man, but for his contribution to the cause of American independence, the figure of Juan de Miralles, born in Petre of French parents, stands out. His father was the infantry captain Juan de Miralles, born in Manaud (Bearn) and in the service of Spain defending the succession cause of Philip of Anjou in the army of the Two Crowns during the War of Succession, and Grace Trayllon, born in Arbus (Aquitaine). Ribes Iborra, V. (1997). Nuevos datos biográficos sobre Juan de Miralles. *Revista de Historia Moderna. Annals of the University of Alicante* n.º 16, pp 363-5.

Maximilian de Saint-Maxer, Gálvez's brother-in-law, Gilberto Guillermand, Charles de Chaise, and Pedro Rosseau⁷⁰.

Also, among the forces sent from the Peninsula for the campaign to conquer Pensacola were the Flanders Regiment with 2 battalions, the Naples Regiment and the Hibernia Regiment with a battalion⁷¹. Once again, the Madrid government made extensive use of foreign forces, sending all its Nations with a large French-speaking contingent, perhaps in an attempt to create better cohesion with the French from Louisiana.

Moreover, within this multinational scenario, French units were integrated under the French flag but subordinated to the Spanish command. The land forces that collaborated to take Pensacola included the French Second Division with 509 men and the Spanish Third Division with 182 men, making a total contribution of 691 men from the French Army and Navy⁷².

War against the Convention (1793-1795)

The outbreak of the French Revolution in May 1789 caused a huge stir throughout Europe, and Spain was no exception. All governments adopted a belligerent and hostile attitude towards the New French Regime. Thus, all kinds of measures were adopted in Spain, aimed at isolating the revolutionaries, preventing contagion, closing borders and concentrating military forces there. Moreover, the aim of Charles IV and his governments was to save Louis XVI and his family. Another widespread feeling throughout the Peninsula was horror at the attacks on the Catholic religion and its ministers, which is why French opponents of the Revolution were generally well received in Spain. In 1791, the census established the number of Frenchmen settled in Spain at 13,332 and 4,435 French transients⁷³. However,

⁷⁰ He was the first captain of the Mississippi Naval Squadron, a loyal servant of Spain of French origin, who had been a privateer against Britain in the early days of the American Revolutionary War and who in 1779 enlisted with Bernardo de Gálvez to fight in the Spanish army. Rousseau was the pilot of the brig Galveztown.

⁷¹ Gómez Ruiz, M. and Alonso Juanola, V. *El Ejército de los Borbones t III. Tropas de Ultramar siglo XVIII* P. 134. To complete its battalion, the Regiment received men from the removal of prisoners of the Ultonia Regiment.

⁷² In A.G.I. Santo Domingo 2548 and AGS Modern Warfare 6913. These data have been collected by Reparaz de, C. (1993). *I alone*. Madrid, Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica. Pp 161-163.

⁷³ Central Army Staff. (1949). *Campaña de los Pirineos. A finales del siglo XVIII. Volume I Antecedentes*. Madrid, Servicio Histórico Militar. P 48.

Louis XVI was guillotined, and the Republic proclaimed on 21 September 1792.

The revolutionary spirit was not equally distributed throughout France. The exalted revolutionary sentiment in the big cities such as Paris and Marseilles, and especially in their suburbs, waned in the provincial towns and in the countryside and turned into tenacious opposition in several regions of France, including Brittany, the Vendee, the Basque Country, and Roussillon, among others. In other regions, such as Gironde, the revolutionary sentiment was transformed with federalist overtones. In addition to the notorious war in the Vendee, unrest, riots, and insurgency spread to more regions and their main cities Quiberon, Nantes, Amiens, Lyon, and Toulon. It could be said that monarchist ideas generally persisted in the French Midi and that the population had not been radicalised.

The French dissidents can be divided into two main groups: the political or courtly emigrants, emigrants willing to serve with arms, and the religious emigrants. The former were located in the vicinity of the Princes of the House of Bourbon, which is why there were so few in the Peninsula. The others were more numerous, with the religious group especially standing out in numbers. After the Paris decree of 26 August 1792, the number of religious emigrants in Spain in 1793 was estimated at 20,000 priests and 15 prelates⁷⁴.

The émigrés who enlisted as volunteers came mainly from the regions mentioned in the second paragraph, and all of them shared the common characteristic of being opposed to revolutionary ideas. However, they came from four main groups of people:

- Individual nobles, some from the former Royal Army, with military experience or at least an attitude to bear arms.
- Units raised by these nobles among the men of the French countryside. Some of them with resources from the European monarchies, or with their own means, as would be the case of the Battalion of six companies raised by Captain Antonio Costa in Cerdanya with his own money.
- Others came from former royal units.

⁷⁴ Central Army Staff. (1949). *Campaña de los Pirineos. A finales del siglo XVIII, Tomo I Antecedentes*. Madrid, Servicio Histórico Militar. P 185.

- The last group, especially important in the emigration from the South, were royalists who escaped from the Siege of Toulon (1793).

Numerous but small cells were formed with the fighting personnel and noblemen of the first nobility or landowners, but they lacked the structure, cohesion, and armament to serve effectively as fighting units. However, they served well as informers, guides and irregular units, generally having to be merged to form combat units. One of these units was the one raised by D Antonio Costa,⁷⁵ born in 1767 in San Lorenzo de la Sarda, Cerdanya, French territory since 1649 by the Treaty of the Pyrenees. D Antonio Costa organised and, at his own expense, equipped the San Lorenzo Battalion, later known as the Pyrenees Battalion.

Even before the conflict and after the operations began in 1793, one of the main concerns of the Spanish authorities, both on the ground in the Western and Eastern Pyrenees and at the Court, were the clandestine propaganda and revolutionary actions that intensified with the outbreak of the war, targeting both the population and the army units themselves, as we have seen in the case of some French in the ranks of the Melilla garrison. This had special repercussions for the emigrant groups: They needed to be subjected to adequate scrutiny to prevent infiltration, while paradoxically, they were the best tool to stop such revolutionary action. These capabilities were recognised by the Spanish command, starting a process of reform and transformation towards irregular units, for which they received armament and equipment, allowing them to develop a wide range of actions from those mentioned above, including irregular actions and regular combat, running in parallel with the increase of light infantry units based on Catalan volunteers⁷⁶.

The Convention declared war on 7 March, although they had been waging it practically since February, with the patents of corsairs. On the Spanish side, the declaration of war was made on 23

⁷⁵ Pérez de Guzmán, J. (1909). Informe a SM el rey don Alfonso XIII acerca del capitán español don Antonio Costa, de la expedición auxiliar del marqués de la Romana su sepulcro en Frederica (Dinamarca). *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. 55. Madrid. In the Miguel de Cervantes virtual library, Alicante, 2007.

⁷⁶ By Royal Order of 27 March 1793, the two Battalions of Light Infantry Volunteers of Barcelona were created. In addition to these regular corps, irregular units of Miquelets, civic militiamen known as Somatenes and volunteers were raised.

March. The Action Plan against the Convention⁷⁷ was essentially military and did not contemplate political action. The counter-revolutionary regions in the south of France included Cerdanya and Roussillon. Opposition to the public powers of the New Regime was manifest, constituting a large recruiting ground for supporters of the Old Regime. However, the possibility of stirring up the then very royalist population of Roussillon against the French Republic to wage only a border war and not a civil war was not resorted to⁷⁸. It is true that émigrés and volunteers formed both regular and irregular units that served in the Spanish ranks. The three effort plan was offensive in nature. The border area of the Pyrenees was divided into three sectors, the largest one and leading the main offensive on Roussillon being the eastern Catalan one, under the command of General Ricardos; the central one under the Prince of Castelfranco; and the western one, Navarra and Guipúzcoa, under the command of Ventura Caro. The latter two would have a defensive attitude towards the border and would support the main effort with diversionary actions.

In 1793, with émigrés personnel, various units started to be formed in the eastern sectors, and one in the western sector. The criterion was to distribute them in several corps and to not concentrate them in one, as would perhaps have been operationally sound, having an individually select, voluntary and moderately educated corps of around 4,000 men. However, this was possibly not very suitable from a political point of view later on, and also in terms of General Ricardos' criteria, given that he wanted to have trustworthy elements to carry out information services. Among the units initially raised were:

The Royal Legion, formed in 1793 in the Army of Roussillon and later reformed.

- The Royal Roussillon Regiment, organised by Raimundo Caldagues y Remond, Count of Caldagues, in the Army of Roussillon, which was disbanded and most of its personnel transferred to the 2nd Battalion of the Queen's Legion.

⁷⁷ Central Army Staff. (1949). *Campaña de los Pirineos. A finales del siglo XVIII. Tomo I Antecedentes*. Madrid, Servicio Histórico Militar. P 97. The Plan was signed by a General Wimpfen, who does not appear to be its creator and whose origin is not known, but seemingly he was not from the peninsular. However, he should not be confused with Lieutenant General Wimpfen, who commanded the 1st Swiss Regiment in the War of Independence and who was a young captain at the time.

⁷⁸ Gómez de Arce y Moro, J. (1868-1903). *Guerra de la Independencia. Volumen I*. Madrid, War Deposit. P 176.

- Vallespir light infantry battalion, organised in 1793 by Pablo Ortafa and Alemany Barón de Ortafa in the Army of Roussillon, which was to survive in the Battalion of the Frontier.
- Battalion of the Frontier organised in 1793 in the Army of Roussillon as light infantry⁷⁹, consisting of a company of grenadiers, élite unit, and four line companies.
- Battalion of St. Lawrence, organised in 1793 in the Army of Roussillon, consisting of six companies of about 500 men. In September 1794, the Pyrenees Battalion was created with the six companies as a base, commanded by emigrant officers, some of whom were naturalised as Spaniards, including Antonio Costa himself, who was also made Captain. Later, and in accordance with its organisation and missions, on 8 November 1794⁸⁰, the unit would receive the name of "Queen Louise's Legion". In this period, and not only in the Spanish army, the term Legion evoked a mixed organisation with foot and mounted units, and with the capacity to act as light infantry and cavalry troops. They were active in the area of operations in the Eastern Pyrenees, first supporting the regular military action against the Convention and then integrating into the regular troops. On 8 September, the Battalion changed its name to "Queen Marie-Louise Legion". But in addition, and as Captain Costa himself points out, "in the campaigns of 1793, 94 and 95, I was employed by each of the Generals who succeeded me in command, either in baiting the defeat of the enemy detachments, or in recognising the situation of their lines by vanguard and rearguard, ... and in all kinds of confidential and reserve diligences..."⁸¹. With an initial composition similar to the Border Battalion, the Viscount of Gand, François Gand y Desfossez, contributed to its reorganisation and as a regular unit. The unit stood out in 1794 in the attack on San Lorenzo de Muga, the action at Basagorda, the conquest of the French posts outside the

⁷⁹ Gómez Ruiz, M. and Alonso Juanola. (1995). *El Ejército de los Borbones, Reinado de Carlos IV*, volume IV. Madrid, SHM. P 26.

⁸⁰ The unit was initially called the San Lorenzo Battalion. It is also cited as the San Lorenzo Volunteer Battalion of Sarda Albi de La Cuesta and Stampa Piñeiro. (1983). *El capitán don Antonio Costa: Una muerte romántica en Dinamarca. Historia Militar magazine* issue n.º 54. Madrid, IHCM. Pp 37-48.

⁸¹ In Pérez de Guzmán, J. *Informe a SM el rey don Alfonso XIII acerca del capitán español don Antonio Costa, de la expedición auxiliar del marqués de la Romana al norte, y su sepulcro en Fredericia (Dinamarca)*. *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*. P 40.

town of Rosas, and in the defence of the Figueres Line. By July 1794, the unit was reduced to 300 men. This was not an isolated or unknown case among the emigrant units as they fought with great courage, often occupying the most exposed positions in the fighting (Alduides action), and knowing that if they were captured their end would be to be put to the sword by the Republicans. Moreover, they did not enjoy much support and closeness from their fellow Spaniards, who saw them as desacralized and somewhat petulant men, hence their nickname "petimetres", meaning that they needed to prove their worth to be appreciated.

A spy and informer service was also set up, paid for by Luis Hiber Pons⁸², who acted on behalf of the headquarters of the Roussillon Army.

In the west, the Royal Legion of the Pyrenees was organised and integrated into the Army of Navarra⁸³.

In 1794, the aforementioned units were reformed, consolidating the Battalions of the Pyrenees and the Frontier in the Army of Roussillon with a regular organisation, and the Royal Legion of the Pyrenees in the Army of Navarra.

During the 1794 campaign, the War against the Convention changed direction, with victories leaning to the French side, lowering the morale of the Spanish forces, which resisted their capabilities and discipline. Nor did the French volunteer units escape this drop in morale, and so disciplinary executions followed in several of the units of HM Catholic Army. The situation could not have been easy, as not only did they use shooting/arcabuling, a death considered dignified for the soldiers, but they also resorted to hanging. We can read among others the following disciplinary actions: "On 9th January 1795, two French soldiers were hanged from the Queen's Legion; on 13 January, six men from the same Legion were hanged". The same happened in other foreign regiments. On 21 March, two men from the Naples Regiment were hanged, and the following day another private from the same Regiment"⁸⁴.

⁸² French emigrant with the initial rank of colonel and attached to the Corps of Engineers.

⁸³ Central Army Staff. *Campaña en los Pirineos. A finales del siglo XVIII. Volume I Antecedentes*. Madrid, Military History Service. P 76.

⁸⁴ Central Army Staff. (1954). *Campañas en los Pirineos. A finales del siglo XVII 1793-95. Volume III. Campaña de Cataluña, Vol II*. Madrid, Gráficas Nebrija. P 23.

The fear and suspicion in the attitude of the French volunteers mentioned above was still alive in 1794-95, and is even recorded in the correspondence of the Count of Union, General in Chief with D. Antonio Costa, in which he sometimes mentions that among the volunteers were some who acted as couriers and agitators whose aim was to provoke both the uprising in Catalonia and the mutinies and revolts among the Spanish troops⁸⁵.

The Peace of Basel on 22 July 1795 meant the signing of peace treaty between Spain and France and the first sign of the new times, with the Treaty of the Pyrenees also signed a few months later in 1796. This brought difficulties for all the émigrées as France demanded that they be expelled from Spain, and even those who had been naturalised and were Spanish. An escape route was provided above all for those naturalised and who had given their service within the regular forces of HM Catholic to assign them to serve in units in the Overseas Viceroyalties.

The regiment of the Bourbon line Infantry⁸⁶

As mentioned above, in Pamplona on 9 June 1793, the Royal Legion of the Pyrenees organisation was raised and made operational, with a foot force of 4,000 men that would comprise infantry and cavalry subunits, four battalions (3,000 men) and a squadron (250 men).

The command and organisation of the unit fell to the Marquis of San Simon, Claudio Rouvroy y de Pineau, a French emigrant with the Grandeza de España and in the service of Charles IV, by Royal Order of 16 May 1793, who would take command of the unit by order of 29 September 1793. The unit was declared a Spanish infantry unit by Royal Order of 22 July 1793.

Among the outstanding actions carried out by the Legion in 1793 were the battles of Castel Pignon, on the Bidasoa, and

⁸⁵ Letter from the Count of the Union, at his headquarters in Figueres on 9 November 1794 to Mr. D. Antonio Costa. In Pérez de Guzmán, J. (1909). Informe a SM, el rey don Alfonso XIII acerca del capitán español don Antonio Costa, de la expedición auxiliar del marques de la Romana su sepulcro en Frederica (Denmark). *Royal History Academy Gazette*, July-September. (Alicante, Miguel de Cervantes Virtual Library. 2007, pp 46-47).

⁸⁶ García Pérez, A. (1915). *Historial de guerra del Regimiento de Borbón 17.º de Infantería*. Málaga, Imprenta Ibérica. Also in *Historial del Regimiento Infantería Borbón 17* (Summary 1931). (2022). *Historiales Instituto de Historia y Cultura Militar Section*. Madrid.

at the Croix des Bouquets. In 1794 there were the defences of Aldauides and of Arquinzun.

On 30 August 1795, the Legion was stationed in Zamora and was ordered to go overseas to Santo Domingo with all its 174 officers and 2,747 troops, but the order was later revoked. On the occasion of the Peace of Basel on 22 July 1795, it was decided by Royal Orders of 1 and 6 October to grant permanent leave to return to France or to go to America, to the emigrants in the ranks, and to suspend their admission into the Royal Armies.

On 10 December of the same year, the order was given to reform all the units in the Legion, including the Queen's and the Princess or the Frontier Battalions⁸⁷, and French personnel who remained in the Army of Catalonia, and to create 1 or 2 regiments of emigrants based on those in the Spanish Line.

By Royal Provision of 1776, on 2 January it was ordered that, in addition to the former French, the emigrants and prisoners, officers and classes, who came from the West Indies with the Count de la Riviera⁸⁸, should join them. And last, on 3 February it was decided that the "Royal Legion" would be abolished and that the French personnel would be transferred to a three-battalion line infantry regiment, with a Spanish basis.

By Royal Order of 10 February 1796, the line regiment was organised with three battalions, and at the request of the Marquis of Saint Simon was given the name of "Regiment of Bourbon Infantry" of the Zamora garrison by Royal Order of 27 February 1727.

On 2 April 1796, there was news of the organisation of the Regiment in the town of Zamora⁸⁹, commanded by the aforementioned Marquis and with a total strength of 1,676 men, i.e., almost 33 % of the troops of the Regiment were missing. Twenty-four had been dismissed as disables, 3 as useless and 776 for time served, totalling 803 men. The first two battalions of the Regiment were formed with the 2 companies of grenadiers and the 8 companies of riflemen of the Legion, with those of the Battalion de la Reina made up the third one. The three battalions were

⁸⁷ In some authors this name is changed to "Princess", which has been used in this work.

⁸⁸ They disembarked in Cadiz on 18 March 1796 from the warships "San Juan Bautista", "Santiago", "San Gabriel" and "La Española".

⁸⁹ The first Order of formation was dated 1 April 1796.

reinforced with the companies of the Battalion de la Frontera and the two companies of the cavalry of the Legion.

The regiment played an important role in Catalonia during the War of Independence. Garrisoned in Mallorca since 1802, it landed as reinforcements in Tarragona on 23 July 1808, with a force of 600 men. Of his glorious career, its contribution to the "Defence of Gerona", where it was almost wiped out, stands out. In 1812, an attempt was made to reorganise the regiment on the basis of deserters and imperial servicemen who had changed sides. It was reorganised in 1813 and, in accordance with its origins, received in its ranks foreign personnel, defectors, and deserters from the Imperial forces, which were very numerous in the case of Catalonia⁹⁰, and from other Spanish corps of foreign origin: Legion of Volunteers of Extremadura and Walloon Guards, on 1 February 1813, and its command was given to Tcol Luis Bianchelli. Officers served in this Regiment who would later reach high positions and posts in the Army, including the Count of Spain, who would shine in the fields of tactics and organisation.

Guerra de la Independencia.1808 1814, War of Independence

The Peace of Basel and the Treaty of San Ildefonso of 18 July 1796 marked a shift in Spanish foreign policy towards France, which became Spain's ally, affecting both our sovereignty and military and naval procedures. This situation would later intensify with the signing of the Treaty of Fontainebleau on 27 October 1807.

Stemming from this situation and the new political directives issued by Godoy's government with the acquiescence of His Majesty, the Royal Order of 20 August 1807 was issued to the effect that deserters from the French land and sea forces, as well as captured conscripts, were to be handed over to the French authorities and escorted by Spanish forces, thus closing the door to their possible enlistment in the Spanish forces. On 19 October of the same year, it was specified that an indemnity of 80 *reales* for each man delivered would be received on account

⁹⁰ Among the Imperial troops who took part in the War of Independence, there were a large number of foreign troops. In the case of Catalonia, many of these units were Italian and their personnel prone to desertion and transfer to the Spanish forces. Many of those who had changed sides were in the Bourbon Regiment, in Swiss units in Spanish service and in the RGV Regiment.

of this service to cover the expenses of the escort. These provisions marked the end of the recruitment of these men for the army of the Catholic Monarchy⁹¹.

But this situation would not last long and would come full circle. With the outbreak of the conflict the perspective changed and soon the Imperial forces were also seen as a source of manpower for the insurgent Spanish units, especially the French foreign units fighting on the Peninsula, totalling 66 regiments. Among them were: 23 German regiments, 3 Dutch regiments, 1 Irish regiment, 11 Italian regiments, 6 Neapolitan regiments, 2 Tuscan regiments, 9 Swiss regiments and 8 Polish regiments⁹². Their presence in the Imperial ranks had a dual advantage: in addition to their contribution to the force, they were also intended to serve as a hook to attract foreigners serving in HM Catholic forces to the imperial ranks. They were unsuccessful in this endeavour, except with a few in the Swiss units in the service of the King of Spain.

In reality, on the Spanish side the tendency was that those who had served previously, mainly deserters and prisoners who wanted to desert, could join the Spanish ranks. In addition to its possible military value, this ensured that the mouths that had to be fed were no longer useless mouths, which was important considering the terrible shortages and famine that occurred on the Peninsula in the period 1808-14. This situation became evident after the Battle of Bailén. Their fate in the Spanish forces was either to be amalgamated into the Walloon Guards⁹³, the Swiss regiments, the Bourbon Regiments and even into Spanish units such as the Jaen Regiments, and even

⁹¹ AGMM. *Adicional de documentos collection. Conducción de desertores franceses a Francia 19 OCT 1807* doc 7366.59.

⁹² There was also the Tour d'Aubernia Regiment made up of Austrian prisoners. In November 1809 a battalion of the Regiment arrived in Girona, also named the 1st Foreign Regiment. There were also 35 Spanish regiments and no less than 66 counter-guerrilla units, many of which were understrength and again prone to desertion to the Spanish side. Sañudo Bayón, J. J. (2012). *Base de datos sobre las unidades militares en la guerra de la Independencia española*. Madrid, Ministerio de Defensa.

⁹³ After Bailen, 350 Imperial prisoners, mostly Italians, were integrated into the Third Battalion of the RGVV. Again, desertion among them to the Imperial ranks was abundant even among those integrated into the battalion's preferred companies - the Grenadiers and Hunters. Sañudo Bayón, J. J. (1993). Las últimas campañas de las RR. GG. de infantería valona. In *Revista Dragona*, year 1, Issue No 2, April. Madrid. Pp 12-18.

into the Irish regiments. Most of these “former servicemen/deserters” were Neapolitans⁹⁴, Tuscans and northern Italians, with an affinity for the Spanish. Many had also been forcibly recruited and incorporated into the regiments formed in the new departments/territories integrated into France, along with some Portuguese and Germans. There is less information because on the French because on the one hand the armies are not very keen to report publicly on the nature of their desertions and, on the other, different words are used to disguise the reality, such as dispersed, strayed, stragglers, among others.

Notwithstanding the above, there is information on French defectors and deserters from both the Light Infantry and the Line Infantry, and their numbers begin to be reported from 1809 onwards. The first numerically significant figure is in Caspe in August of the same year, with 13 men belonging to a single battalion. In previous occasions, lower cases were reported, up to a total of 4 desertions. From 1813 onwards, when the French forces were already fighting at home and deserters were not as exposed to the rigours of the population as in the Peninsula, the numbers of deserters increased, with units with 200 deserters in one month appearing⁹⁵. However, in these cases, these personnel did not initially choose to join the Spanish forces but, while in France, tried to reach their localities⁹⁶. This led to numerous logistical and mobile column movements on the Peninsula, including in garrisons close to the French border⁹⁷.

Many other deserters from the various nations serving in the Imperial Forces were integrated into new units, essentially infantry, with only one otherwise unsubstantiated mention in 1813 of a Foreign Legion of Cavalry in the Deposit of the 5th

⁹⁴ For example, the 1st Regiment of Light Infantry of Naples in the service of the Empire had 148 deserters in June 1810 and 130 a month later, and the 8th Regiment of Line Infantry in the French service had 178 desertions in the period November-December 1810. Sañudo Bayón, J. J. (2012). *Base de datos sobre las unidades militares en la guerra de la Independencia española*. Madrid, MINISDEF.

⁹⁵ The 200 desertions were in the 43rd Line Infantry Regiment in December 1813. The problem of desertion was not constrained to army units, but also existed in the National Guard. The elite infantry companies of the National Guard serving in Upper Catalonia reported 459 desertions in 1811. Sañudo Bayón, J. J. (2012). *Base de datos sobre las unidades militares en la guerra de la Independencia española*. Madrid, Ministerio de Defensa.

⁹⁶ More data on the French-imperial desertion in Sañudo Bayón, J. J. (2012). *Base de datos sobre las unidades militares en la guerra de la Independencia española*. Madrid, Ministerio de Defensa..

⁹⁷ AGMM docs 7343.54 and 7348.121.

Spanish Army, with the generic denomination of "foreigners". Among these new foreign-trained units are the following⁹⁸:

- Foreign Legion in Catalonia. Formed with former deserters and prisoners from the Imperial corps in Catalonia, this unit had a 2nd Battalion founded in Tarragona on 12 May 1810, its strength unspecified. In April 1812, the Legion was reformed into an infantry battalion based on 144 Walloons, subsequently in June absorbing 215 Swiss under the command of Louis Bianchelli, with a force of 700. During 1812, it operated in Catalonia under the name of the "Foreign Legion", later joining the 2nd Section/Line Brigade under the command of Felipe de Fleyres Falgueres, a former émigré. In Vich, on 1 February 1813, the Legion was merged into the Bourbon Regiment.
- Foreign Light Infantry, Chasseurs of Zaragoza. Created in Saragossa, they began operating in June 1808 with three companies, one made up of Swiss, probably from the Swiss-Spanish Regiment No. 1 from Catalonia; another made up of Portuguese deserters, and another of foreigners under the command of Captain Pablo Casmayor y Perez-Cardiel. The unit would also receive another 100 troops, who could have been Polish from Catalonia. On 15 August 1808, the unit was merged into the Suizos de Aragón Regiment, under the command of the former officer promoted to Lieutenant Colonel. In November they were absorbed into the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Walloon Guards of Aragon, replacing the old 2nd Battalion that had been semi-imprisoned in Barcelona, which included 39 Frenchmen. Last, with the capitulation on 21 February 1809, the battalion with 109 men and 198 sick men was taken prisoner.
- Legion Foreign Volunteer Battalion⁹⁹, Extremadura – Andalucía. Of all the units formed with former Imperial Army personnel and deserters, this is the one with the most distinguished

⁹⁸ The list was obtained from Sañudo Bayón, J. J. (2012). *Base de datos sobre las unidades militares en la guerra de la Independencia española*, digital edition. Madrid, MINISDEF.

⁹⁹ Jorge Bessieres Guillon served in this unit. In which he served in the Imperial Army in Catalonia during the War of Independence. Having deserted, he was made a captain in the Foreign Volunteers. He tried again to rejoin the Imperial Army, but was arrested and expelled from the Spanish Army by Order of 23 August 1815. His activities as a royalist began in 1821. Martín-Lanuzza Martínez, A. (2012). *Diccionario Bibliográfico del Generalato Español, reinados Carlos IV y Fernando VII, Navarra*. Forum for the Military History of Spain.

operational military record. The unit began to be organised at the beginning of the national uprising, serving as a base for Portuguese deserters and French deserters in Vila Viscosa, Portugal, with some 200 men under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Federico Moretti y Cascone. It heading towards Olivenza and Badajoz, where it was organised as the "Battalion of Foreign *Chasseurs*", light infantry, with 4 companies and the most important nucleus made up of Portuguese, who were joined by 600 prisoners from Bailen. They acted in Gamonal and later retreated to Navas de Tolosa, Seville and Cadiz. They joined the army of Extremadura, fighting in Talavera. Later reorganised, they acted in Torregorda and Cortadura and joined General Zayas Chacón's 4th Division, taking part in Palleja and the battles of Chiclana and La Albuera, on 16 April 1811. Moved to Levante, they came to an end on the occasion of the Capitulation of Valencia, on 9 January 1812 where, with the rest of the Zayas Division, most of the unit was taken prisoner by France.

- Foreign Legion, Foreign Chasseurs of Galicia¹⁰⁰. This unit would also include French personnel¹⁰¹. By order of the General-in-Chief of the 6th Army, on 30 September 1812, a light Infantry Battalion was organised with deserters from the French army, under the name of Foreign *Chasseurs of Galicia*. The place of organisation on 8 October was the town of Betanzos, with the deserters, former military men and individuals from the Coruña depot. There is news of its organisation with 6 companies, 720 men under the command of Tcol Manuel Miramón. Of the companies, there was one carabinier¹⁰² company, one rifle company and four single companies. Each with 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 second

¹⁰⁰ The complete history of this corps is preserved in a manuscript at the Institute of Military History and Culture and is signed by the commanding officer. *General Collection of Documents* 5-4-9-11 IHCM.

¹⁰¹ There is no confirmation of the origin but given the news of the development of the war in Galicia, it is likely that these French were Catholic personnel, dispersed or former military men, who at some point in the campaigns arrived in the Spanish ranks most likely belonging to the Corps of Ney and Sout. They could possibly be personnel recruited from one of the most recently incorporated provinces of France (Roussillon, Alsace, Lorraine) or from the new border departments annexed by Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte.

¹⁰² According to the French model in light infantry units, the preferred company was called the carabinieri company rather than the grenadier company, and the other "more irregular" preferred company was called the rifle company.

lieutenant, buglers and 120 men. The Officers, Sergeants and most of the Corporals had to be Spanish. It passed its first review in Betanzos on 5 November and was assigned to the 4th Army, which later became the 6th. Article 7 of the Regulation of 15 November 1812 describes the uniform¹⁰³.

Its first elements were to be two companies of foreign grenadiers that had been raised in Potes on 5 April 1809. The Battalion was initially employed as a garrison unit in Galicia, as part of the Galician Reserve Army, distributed by companies among its main towns. Later, in 1814, it was ordered to move to join the manoeuvre forces and take part in the action against the Empire. It reached Tudela and Logroño with 5 chiefs and 300 troops without actually fighting.

At the end of the war, by Order of 26 July 1815, the entire foreign force was discharged, except for those who wished to continue their services in the Battalions of the Royal Walloon Guards. A total of 126 sergeants, corporals, and soldiers volunteered, the rest were discharged and taken to Bayonne. The rest of the Battalion, made up of personnel, were integrated into the 3rd Battalion of the 15th Granada Line Regiment and later moved to the American continent.

But there were not only units made up of French and Imperial troops, there were also French officers of the 1st or 2nd generation who played an important role in the conflict. Their presence is most visible in the mounted bodies, among which the following can be highlighted.

In the forces integrated in the Northern Division in Denmark under the command of the Marquis de la Romana, we again find Captain Costa in the Algarve Cavalry Regiment as head of the 5th Squadron who, seeing the passivity of his superiors, tried to make his Regiment escape and return to Spain. His attempt in command of two of the Regiment's squadrons failed. He was intercepted by Napoleonic forces and committed suicide after

¹⁰³ Turkish blue short jacket with small lapel; open lapel; lining of same colour; collar and piping ~yellow, turned up; dark grey trousers; sole jacket with laces and yellow worsted headband; black half-bootee and dark grey cape, p 92. Reglamento de organización del cuerpo de Cazadores Extranjeros de Galicia 1812 art. nº 7. See Gómez Ruiz y Alonso Juanola. (1999). *El Ejército de los Borbones. Reinado de Fernando VII*. Tomo V*, MINISDEF. P 92.

taking full responsibility for the attempted escape to avoid decimating his men. His grave still exists in Denmark¹⁰⁴.

Captain Costa was not the only officer of French origin to play an important role in the events of the return of the Northern Division. Also, notable were Brigadier Luis de Delavieulle, head of the Asturias Regiment, whose Regiment mutinied and was placed under guard and could not embark for Spain; and the captain of the same regiment, Luis Siran de Cavagnac, an émigré ant who did not enjoy great favour in his unit, so served as an aide to the Prince of Pontocorvo, to whom he was loyal, making it difficult to prepare for the Division's return.

Another outstanding officer was Brigadier Jean Joseph Sardeñ¹⁰⁵, a Frenchman of Sardinian origin, who commanded the Montesa Cavalry Regiment¹⁰⁶. With the forces under his command, he took part in the initial actions in Andalusia. At the head of distinguished units, he stood out in the action of Sepúlveda on 28 November 1808, defeating the French forces. He was later involved in the actions in defence of Madrid, opposing the all-out defence of the capital and retreating to Talavera, where he was involved in the riots that led to the assassination of General Benito San Juan¹⁰⁷. As a consequence of his decision to withdraw from the defence of the capital, he was court-martialled and removed from operational command, but in 1811 he was once again in command of the regiment¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁴ Perez de Guzman y Gallo, J. (1909). Informe a SM el rey don Alfonso XIII acerca del capitán español don Antonio Costa, de la expedición auxiliar del marqués de la Romana y su sepulcro en Fredericia (Denmark). *RAH Gazette* July-September. Alicante, Miguel de Cervantes Virtual Library, 2017. Also in Albi de la Cuesta and Stampa Piñeiro. EL capitán don Antonio Costa: una muerte romántica en Dinamarca. *Revista de Historia Militar*, Issue no. 54, p 198337.

¹⁰⁵ There are at least 6 other infantry and cavalry officers with this first surname serving in the period beginning in 1752 AGMS Personal files index p 105

¹⁰⁶ This surname is often cited as Sardeñ, which corresponds to its phonetic transcription. His file is among the papers of the Supreme Board. More information in AHN, Estado, file 45, Appendix. 3, pages. 787 to 796 and files 38 and 43, and in Guerrero Acosta, J. M. *Diccionario Real Academia de la Historia*. <https://dbe.rah.es/biografía/67697/benito-san-juan>

¹⁰⁷ Some authors point out that the main executors of General Benito San Juan were troops of the Montesa Regiment, and that this was the reason for their situation.

¹⁰⁸ Sañudo Bayón, J. J. (2012). Base de datos sobre las unidades militares en la guerra de la Independencia española digital edition. Madrid, MINISDEF.

Louis de Penne Villemur¹⁰⁹ reached the rank of Lieutenant General. Born in Montagut, Aquitaine, in August 1761. Initially served HM Catholique in the Walloon Regiment of Flanders 1778. In 1779, he went into the service of France and Austria, returning in 1809 to the USSR, when Ambassador Bardexi, at the Court of Vienna, received the directive to recruit Austrian officers who wished to serve the Spanish cause. He joined the Peninsula as a cavalry officer and was soon promoted to the rank of Colonel and assigned to the Army of the Left. He stood out as one of the best cavalry officers, participating in particular in La Albuera, the liberation of Badajoz and Vitoria, at the head of the cavalry of both the 4th Army and later the Observation Army of Aragon. A royalist, in 1823 he was accused of conspiring against the Constitutional Regime, but after the restoration of absolutism he was appointed political governor of Barcelona.

An important aspect of this war was the superiority of the French cavalry over the Allied cavalry, and therefore over the Spanish cavalry. It was not only a matter of the cohesion and training of the units, but also of the horses they had. The Imperial forces were mounted and remounted in France, which meant there were delays but better horses. The capture and subsequent destination and use of the French horses was not a minor issue, on which there were different points of view between the Spanish and British generals. This caused some controversy¹¹⁰ regarding how to take charge of the captured horses. The Spanish criterion was that they should go directly to the army, while the British sometimes proposed selling them and using the money obtained as they saw fit.

Regarding the Josephine Army¹¹¹, there is the work by Luis Sorando Muzas *El Ejército Español de José Bonaparte* (The Spanish Army of Joseph Bonaparte), which gives a detailed and exhaustive description of the French participation in it.

To close this section on the Guerra de la Independencia, War of Independence, and outside the ranks of the Spanish militia, we can highlight two units in the service of Great Britain made up

¹⁰⁹ AGMS Personal files p 112. Also in Diego, E. de y Sánchez-Arcilla, J. (2011). *Diccionario de la guerra de la Independencia*, volume II. Madrid, Actas. Pp 1346-47.

¹¹⁰ AGMM Blake. *Correspondence from Count Villemur to Joaquin Blake collection* (1811) -6181.14.

¹¹¹ See Sorando Muzás. L. (2018). *El Ejército español de José Napoleón (1808 -1813)*. Madrid, Desperta Ferro.

of foreign personnel, in which Frenchmen who took part in the fighting/battles which took place during the War of Independence served. The first of these was the Swiss Watteville Regiment, an amalgam of personnel from different nations, which before its arrival on the Peninsula, Cadiz, had 3 French officers and 42 French troops in its ranks. During his stay on the Peninsula, between January 1812 and May 1813 he increased his forces with French deserters, creating the 12th company. It was garrisoned in Cadiz and from January 1812 to March 1813 it sent 5 companies to Cartagena without taking part in important battles¹¹².

The second unit was the "British *Chasseurs*", originally made up of French Royalist emigrants. When the unit arrived at the Peninsula in November 1810, it consisted of 12 companies with 1,740 men, with still some Frenchmen. However, its troops were also made up of Napoleonic prisoners and deserters, retaining some French emigrants as officers. In March 1811, he joined Wellington's forces and fought with them until the end of the campaign. It stood out for its combativeness, but also for desertions¹¹³.

French officers and Infantry Regiments of the Royal Guard after the Guerra de la Independencia. 1808 1814, War of Independence. The conclusion of a presence

Following the end of the Guerra de la Independencia, War of Independence, the Continuous Service Forces entered a major period of reform. The Royal Infantry Guards, which had fought as would be expected of a model and elite unit of the army, were broken and in need of undergoing an organisational reform process. They fielded five battalions in the Spanish Regiment and only two battalions in the Walloon Regiment, with very few personnel from that nation. The foreign personnel it had come from former servicemen and prisoners of the imperial forces, as well as Spanish personnel. An attempt would be made to make both regiments 6 battalions each.

¹¹² Chartrand, R. (2000). *Émigré and Foreign Troops in British Service (2)1803-15*. Men -at-Arm. Osprey. Great Britain, Oxford. P 40.

¹¹³ Chartrand, R. (2000). *Émigré and Foreign Troops in British Service (2)1803-15*. Men -at-Arm. Osprey. Great Britain, Oxford. P 14. Two of the companies of this unit acted with another unit that the British raised in Cadiz in 1810, the "Battalion of Foreign Recruits". It did not enter into combat and the nationality of its components is unknown, mainly made up of deserters and prisoners of the Napoleonic forces, with a high desertion rate and little reliability. Ibidem, p 17.

As early as 1815, several Spanish infantry regiments, Sigüenza, Castropol, Lena, Cangas de Tineo, Pravia¹¹⁴ and Cádiz¹¹⁵, were ordered to reform by transferring their personnel to the Guard regiments, especially the Regiment of the Royal Walloon Guards. The 3rd, 4th and 5th Battalions were formed because they had, as we have seen, fewer personnel. The existing foreign personnel in the ranks, including troops and officers of French origin who wished to remain in the ranks, were also encouraged to transfer to the Regiment of the Walloon Guards, which would shortly be renamed the 2nd Regiment of the Royal Spanish Guards¹¹⁶, and which would continue under the command of the Marquis of San Simon, who had received command of the Regiment of the Walloon Guards on 24 January 1815, and continued as Colonel-in-Chief of the 2nd Regiment of the Royal Spanish Guards in 1818. Furthermore, the use of the French language was changed to Spanish to communicate orders to the regiment, given the scarcity of French-speaking troops. In this overhaul, in 1816, the officers of the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Walloon Guards, which at the beginning of the War of Independence was garrisoned in Barcelona, were reinstated in their jobs. The officers were judged in a Council of War on 23 February, 5, 6, 8 and 9 April, finding that "their conduct was honourable and reinstated in their jobs, rights, and situations"¹¹⁷.

Although there were attempts to overhaul the Nation's Regiments, including the one that meant levying 3,000 Irishmen for the Irish Regiments, the fact is that the changing times required something new. The Royal Decree of 1 June 1818 led to the reorganisation of the Army¹¹⁸. This reorganisation was absolutely necessary, but the ways in which it was carried out were another matter.

On 2 June, the War Order was promulgated, outlining the process for the overhaul¹¹⁹. Article 12 determined the disappearance of foreign regiments (Italian Infantry Naples Regiment) and those with foreign names, a measure that was complied with different ways, because while the Ireland, Hibernia, Ultonia, Lorraine, Bourbon (modern), and Africa Regiments disappeared, the

¹¹⁴ Royal Order of 2 June 1815. AGMS. Sec 2, Div 10, Leg 150.

¹¹⁵ Royal Order of 28 August 1815. AGMS. Sec 2, Div 10, Leg 172.

¹¹⁶ Royal Decree of 1 June 1818, article 2.2. AGMS. Sec 2, Div 10, Leg 156.

¹¹⁷ Palace Archives Records Section 250.

¹¹⁸ A.G.M. Segovia- Sec 2. Div 10, Leg 2.

¹¹⁹ A.G.M. Segovia- Sec. Div 10, Leg 156.

Saboya, Valençay and the Imperial Alexandro¹²⁰ continued to exist. These provisions also affected the Royal Guards by changing the name of the two regiments, Spanish and Walloon, which became the 1st and 2nd Regiments of the Spanish Royal Guards.

Within the overhaul of the National Army, the Royal Decree of 29 May 1822¹²¹ determined that officers of foreign origin could not serve in the Royal Guard unless they had first obtained the "Citizen's Charter", which logically affected above all the 2nd Regiment of the Spanish Royal Guards and in particular its Walloon and French officers. The decree was yet another obstacle to hinder the enlistment of new officers and the permanence of existing officers of foreign origin in the Royal Guard. The aim was to hinder the arrival of officers from noble families with a tradition of service to the monarchs and who were thought to be close to absolutist positions, as would become evident in the events of June 1822.

The army in the early years of Ferdinand VII's reign was generally royalist, especially in terms of troops, and even more so in the Guard Regiments. As for the officers of the Guard, it can be said that although not all of them —an example would be Officer Mamerto Landaburu¹²²— most of them did profess realist ideas. The Guard maintained the nobility tests to enter as an officer.

All this would become evident in the summer of 1822, when the Guard Battalions completely aligned themselves with the absolutist thesis of the King in the confrontation with the National Militia on 7 July 1823 in Madrid, which led to the extinction of the Royal Guard.

On 30 June 1822, the King was stoned on his return from the opening of the Courts. This caused the guards to break rank and discipline, responding to the aggression by opening fire without orders. This provoked one of the officers of the companies of the 2nd Infantry Regiment of the Royal Guard, First Lieutenant Mamerto Landaburu, a lieutenant colonel in the army,

¹²⁰ As for the Swiss Regiments, the Royal Order of 3 November 1819 stipulated that there would be three Swiss Regiments in the service of the H.M., and that a new Capitulation should be drawn up for them. This was put on hold as a result of the events of Las Cabezas de San Juan on 1 January 1820.

¹²¹ Gómez Ruiz, M. y Alonso Juanola. (2000). *El Ejército de los Borbones, reinado de Fernando VII*, volume V, volumen 2. Madrid. P 356.

¹²² *Diccionario biográfico español. Real Academia de la Historia*. <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/15616/mamerto-landaburu-y-uribe-salazar> 28DIC2021

to rebuke his men. Indiscipline broke out, and the remaining officers informed Landaburu of his inability to contain his troops. He consequently tried to flee, seeking refuge in the Palace, but was shot in the back by three of his guards¹²³, who returned to the ranks without suffering the slightest punishment for their action.

In the following days, the investigation began in a tense atmosphere and the liberal press, in particular the voice of liberalism the newspaper *El Zuriago*, pointed to another officer in the unit, the first lieutenant of the Royal Guard, Theodore Goiffieu, a lieutenant colonel in the army of French origin, as the instigator of the crime. This officer was condemned to death, and the sentence was carried out by garrotte on 17 August 1822. With the change in the situation and the arrival of absolutism, this officer became a martyr to the royalist cause, as can be seen in the Spanish National Library: *Sad memories of the iniquitous trial, unjust sentence and atrocious sacrifice of the glorious martyr of Bourbon legitimacy, Mr. Teodoro Goiffieu, French by birth and Lieutenant of the Spanish Royal Guards, graduated from Lieutenant Colonel. Today, 16th August, is the anniversary of the fateful day on which Don Teofilo Goiffieu¹²⁴ was put in chapel to be executed on the following 17th August.* The press continued to dwell on the matter, devoting time and writing eulogies day after day extolling his memory¹²⁵ in French, which would be sent out within days.

¹²³ Two of the perpetrators of the officer's murder were Royal Guard grenadiers Gabarra and Agustín Ruiz Pérez.

¹²⁴ Spanish National Library. *El Restaurador* issue number 44. Saturday 16 August 1823. Madrid.

¹²⁵ Pando Fernández de Pinedo, M. (1834). *Apuntes histórico críticos para escribir la historia de la revolución de España desde el año 1820 hasta 1822*. London, R Taylor. Panegyrics of the executed officer are found in the Funeral Oration that in the solemn funeral ceremonies celebrated in the church of Carmen are without the protection of this Court for the Officers who currently serve in the Royal Corps of Royal Infantry Guards, in suffrage for the soul of Don Teodoro de Goiffieu, lieutenant colonel and first lieutenant of the 2nd Regiment of the same, killed by the revolutionary faction on August 17 of the last year of 1822, Madrid, 1823. Also in the *Restaurador* of 16 and 17 August 1823, the anniversary of his execution, with the title *Tristes recuerdos del inicuo proceso, sentencia injusta y sacrificio atroz del glorioso mártir de la legitimidad Borbónica, D. Teodoro Goiffieu* [Sad memories of the iniquitous trial, unjust sentence and atrocious sacrifice of the glorious martyr of Bourbon legitimacy, D. Theodore Goiffieu] French by birth and Lieutenant of the Spanish Royal Guards, graduated Lieutenant Colonel. *Apuntes histórico críticos para escribir la historia de la revolución de España desde el año 1820 hasta 1823*. (1834). London. Pp 157-158.

These events meant the virtual disappearance of the units of the Spanish Royal Guard. It was not until the arrival of the Hundred Thousand Sons of Saint Louis that, in the spring of 1824, the re-establishment of the Outer Royal Guard was ordered, with the First and Second Regiments of Infantry Guards, with their personnel suitably purged, serving as the nucleus. It would take almost two years and under the command of another French officer, the Lieutenant General. Carlos of Spain, to restore the Infantry Guard to the elite of the Army. Carlos of Spain, for political reasons, ceased to command the unit on 6 December 1832.

With these events, we can say that the cycle of French presence in the Spanish militia came to an end, characterised by their integration into the units of other nations or into the Spanish units themselves. Their presence was complete and significant, full of concepts and innovations, elevating many of their men to the highest posts in the Spanish militia. It is true that the foreign legions would make their presence felt later during the War of 1833-40, but it would be a direct intervention, different from the above.

Chapter six

French presence in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939

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Abstract

It stands to reason, given that Spain and France are neighbours with a long, shared border, that there must have been French fighters enlisted on both sides of the conflict fighting on home soil. However, the coalition that had been in power in France for a few weeks prior to the military uprising was an ideological ally of the Spanish government forces, which is why the latter, led by the then head of the Giral government, made the first request for military aid three days after the uprising began.

Meanwhile, the French right-wing opposition saw Spain as an opportunity to mobilise against the French government by offering its support to the rebels by means of combatants, boycotting the Spanish Republican government's demands and collecting aid for potential Spanish allies.

Leon Blum attended an initial meeting with his British counterpart and ally, from which the main agreement that emerged was the direct "NON INVOLVEMENT" in what was happening in Spain, which is why, on his return to Paris, he retracted the order to start preparing military assistance, sending the planes that had been ordered without military equipment as if they

were civilian shipments. Thus began the adventure of André Malraux's "Spain" squadron.

The agreement between the UK and France was developed with the creation of the Non-Intervention Committee, which was joined by European countries and the rest of the world throughout the August and September.

The consequence for the Spanish Popular Front government was that the expected immediate aid was delayed and, when it did arrive, it did not meet expectations. Deliveries were made in dribs and drabs and only when it was felt that there would be no international political fallout.

However, while the material aid paid for with the Banco de España's gold deposits was meagre compared with other aid and the fact that some of it came from old material in storage, the recruitment of volunteers in France was a success, and so in the last quarter of 1936 the International Brigades emerged as a rallying point against fascism for fighters from all over the world. Entire units of French fighters were formed into different brigades and finally grouped into the XIV IB¹ International Brigade.

Meanwhile, on the Nationalist side, the recruitment of volunteers encountered difficulties in both French and Spanish territory. The right-wing political parties in France, which supported the military uprising, offered thousands of volunteers who, at the eleventh hour, did not turn up. In Spain, anti-French sentiment had been rife since the time of Napoleon, and this, combined with the twinning between the two governments of the Spanish and French Popular Front, meant that volunteers from this background were not welcome, even if they were ideologically close to the rebels in 1936. The promised "Jeanne d'Arc" Brigade² remained in the "Jeanne d'Arc" Company integrated into the XVII Legion Bandera³. The rest of the volunteers were spread throughout Spain and in all the units: Legion, Falange and Requeté militias, and Army battalions, among others.

Last, we will look at the actions of the French navy and merchant navy, which were far more extensive than has been known to date.

¹ The International Brigades were numbered with roman characters.

² Jeanne d'Arc, the name by which Saint Joan of Arc is known in France.

³ Bandera, military unit equivalent to a battalion.

Keywords

Spanish Civil War, Popular Army, National Army, International Brigades, Foreign Volunteers, Malraux Squadron, Jeanne d'Arc Company, Legion, Tercios Requetés.

French Combatants on the nationalist side⁴

The following list of French nationals was provided to the author by José Luis De Mesa, author of another chapter of this monograph.

- Marcel Gaya Delrue, Reserve Captain of the Pioneer Engineers. Author of the book written in French in 1964, *Combatre pour Madrid, memoires d'un officier franquiste*.
- Luis Emilio Hunolt Arana appears in *Official Gazette (BOE)* n.º 107 of 15 March 1938, having been appointed Provisional Lieutenant of Artillery, and was subsequently nationalised as a Spanish citizen on 6 March 1940.
- Pablo Hunolt Arana, brother of Luis Emilio and Provisional 2nd Lieutenant, according to the 1938 Artillery list with the number 510, assigned to 13th Light Artillery Regiment of Segovia. Pablo was mayor of Beasain in 1957 and a member of the Spanish Parliament from 1964 to 1967. Both were sons of Emilio Hunolt, a French chemist who settled in Beasain.
- Jaime Etchart Casuso (1917-1985), Provisional 2nd Lieutenant, naturalised on 28 March 1952, Iron Medal of the City of Bilbao⁵.
- José Luis Etchart Casuso, brother of Jaime and Infantry soldier (1912-1945).
- Julia and Carmina Etchart Casuso, nurses and sisters of Jaime and José Luis.
- Salvador Lepine Aymerich (*1912), Provisional 2nd Lieutenant discharged on 11 July 1940. Changed surnames on 22 February 1955. VIII Count of Villa Mar.
- François Llopis, soldier of the 18th *Galicia* Regiment discharged in April 1939.
- Felix Augusto Marchand, Legionnaire of the Tercio⁶ *Sanjurjo* discharged on 12 September 1936⁷.

⁴ De Mesa, J. L. (1998). *Los otros internacionales*. Madrid, Ediciones Barbarroja.

⁵ Iron Medal (Medalla de Hierro), a commemorative award for the Civil War granted by Bilbao City Council to Biscayan combatants.

⁶ Tercio, military unit equivalent to a battalion, in this particular case related to Requeté Militia.

⁷ AGMG, C1, Exp 242.

- Herbert Mais Bara, Legionnaire of the Tercio *Sanjurjo*⁸.
- Jacques de Marcuran Mary, Legionnaire of the Tercio *Sanjurjo*⁹.
- Pierre Mermillod, Legionnaire of the Tercio *Sanjurjo*¹⁰.
- Helonny de Millan, Legionnaire of the Tercio *Sanjurjo*¹¹.
- Charles Merle Leybaud¹², 41-year-old teacher and soldier of the 3rd Company of the Oviedo Volunteer Battalion, awarded the Collective Laureate, as were the following.
- Louis Montoussé Farné, soldier of the 3rd Company of the Oviedo Volunteer Battalion.
- Pablo Montoussé Ramos, cousin of Louis and soldier of the 2nd Company of the Oviedo Volunteer Battalion. Wounded on 12 March 1937.

Aviation

- Gabriel Bourdette Bourdette, volunteer of the Requetés Tercio *Oriamendi* and Provisional 2nd Lieutenant Aviation pilot (referenced below).
- Pierre Lecároz, civilian pilot admitted as a Provisional Aviation 2nd Lieutenant for the duration of the campaign.

Spanish Falange

- Yves Bernanos, the eldest son of the French Catholic philosopher George Bernanos and Camelot du Roi¹³, affiliated to FE¹⁴ de Mallorca. He fought in Porto Cristo together with other Falangists against the attackers on the island from Barcelona led by Captain Bayo.

⁸ AGMG, C 6, Exp 1389.

⁹ AGMG, C 6, Exp 1577.

¹⁰ AGMG, C7, Exp 1614.

¹¹ AGMG, C 7, Exp 1624.

¹² Garcia Martínez, G. (1994). *Los defensores del cerco de Oviedo*. Oviedo, Own edition.

¹³ Camelots du roi, members of the French paramilitary organisation linked to the l'Action Française movement.

¹⁴ FE, acronim of Falange Española, Spanish political movement born in 1933.

- Monsieur Dupont, which may have been a real name or a nickname, was a Falangist of the Sagardía Column killed in combat in the north of Burgos¹⁵.
- George Maumejean, Falangist of the 1st Bandera¹⁶ of FE de Castilla. Member of a well-known family of French hand crafted glassmakers established in Spain at the beginning of the 20th century.
- Bernard Pascal Morant, Falangist of FE de Navarra.
- Jean Petit, Falangist of the Sagardía Column.
- René Petit, the name by which René Petit d'Ory, who had been a well-known footballer, was known. Then retired from sport and a civil engineer who volunteered and was appointed responsible for the reconstruction of bridges and the city of Irun.¹⁷
- Julien Primat, a 28-year-old Action Française militant and Falangist in Saragossa. He was deported to France in February 1937 after a Republican bombardment of the Aragonese capital.

Spanish Renovation

- Isidore Clamagirand Jiménez, defender of the Alcázar of Toledo (referenced below).

Requeté

- Raymond Carrie, Captain of the Tercio *El Alcázar*.
- Baux, Lieutenant of the Tercio *El Alcázar*.
- Jacques Lailler, Lieutenant, died on 20 December 1936.
- Pascal Dupuy Grand Baugnen, 2nd Lieutenant of Tercio *N.ª S.ª de Begoña*, died on 14 October 1937.

¹⁵ Sagardía Ramos, A. (1940). *Del alto Ebro a las fuentes del Llobregat*. Madrid, Editora Nacional.

¹⁶ Bandera, as in the Spanish Legion, military unit equivalent to a battalion.

¹⁷ Royal Academy of History. <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/21321/rene-petit-dory>

- Gaetán de Laverdín, Requetés 2nd Lieutenant of the Tercio de *Navarra*, seriously wounded on 9 May 1937 (referenced below)¹⁸.
- Jean Loyola Guzmán, 2nd Lieutenant of the Requeté¹⁹, Individual Military Medal, died 1936.
- Pierre Montcrú, 2nd Lieutenant of the Tercio *San Fermín*.
- Phillippe Berthet Michaud, Sergeant of the Requeté. Discharged on 1 May 1937.
- Henri Heloury de Milhau, Sergeant of the Tercio *Sanjurjo* and Requeté, discharged on 7 October 1938²⁰.
- Armand Lacoste, sergeant in the Tercio *Oriamendi*, discharged on 3 April 1937.
- Jean de Seynes, sergeant of the Tercio *San Ignacio*, wounded on 3 June 1937.
- Louis Raymond Bordage, Red Beret²¹ of the Tercio *El Alcázar*.
- André Cassi, Red Beret of the Tercio *Sanjurjo* and Requeté from 28 October 1936.
- Hubert Baranoff Rosine²², Red Beret of the Tercio *Sanjurjo*.
- Guy-Henri-Louis Coutant de Saisseval, Red Beret.
- August Pierre Combes, Red Beret, killed in the Resistance in France in 1944.
- Guy de la Croix, Red Beret of the Tercio *Oriamendi*, discharged on 19 September 1938.
- Antoine Joseph Dary, Red Beret of the Tercio *Sanjurjo* and Requeté from 28 October 1936.
- Jacques Delerse, Red Beret of the Tercio *Navarra*, 1st Company, distinguished on 24 July 1938.
- Roger Erout, Red Beret, Requeté General Staff, died on 7 December 1936.

¹⁸ Herrera Alonso, E. (2005). *Los mil días del Tercio de Navarra*. Valladolid, AF Editors.

¹⁹ Requeté, name given to the Carlist Militia.

²⁰ AGMG. *Tercio Legión General Sanjurjo*. Box 6. Ministry of Defence. Guadalajara 2021.

²¹ Red Beret, nick as were known Carlist soldiers.

²² De Mesa, J. L. (1998). *Los otros internacionales*. Madrid, Ediciones Barbarroja.

- Florent de la Guillaonnaire, Red Beret of the Tercio *Oriamendi*, died on 5 April 1937.
- Alain Hardy, Red Beret of the Tercio *Oriamendi*.
- Edmond Lapegne, Red Beret
- Albert Lucas, Red Beret of the Tercio *Oriamendi*, discharged 19 February 1937.
- Olivier Maie Herer, Legionnaire of the Tercio *Sanjurjo* and Requeté 28 September 1936.
- Jean Louis Marmisalle Daguerre, Red Beret, died on unknown date.
- Jacques Masnaud, Legionnaire of the Tercio *Sanjurjo* and Requeté 28 September 1936.
- Jacques Mascuran, Legionnaire of the Tercio *Sanjurjo* and Requeté 28 September 1936.
- René Joseph Pipe, Legionnaire of the Tercio *Sanjurjo* and Requeté 4 October 1936.
- Robert (Risacher) Oliviero, Requeté and Tercio *Sanjurjo*, wounded and mutilated.
- René Victor Rocher, Red Beret of the Tercio *Oriamendi*, discharged on 2 February 1937.
- Roger de Saint Anaud, Red Beret of the Tercio *El Alcázar*.
- François Tixador, Red Beret, died in December 1936.
- François D'hiver des Lasdeses, unit unknown, died 30 August 1937²³.

Notably, the Tercio *General Sanjurjo* was created in Zaragoza in the summer of 1936 on the basis of volunteers and former legionnaires, and included many Navarrese as well as Frenchmen who crossed the border having been initially recruited as Requetés. It was disbanded in October of the same year, and its French volunteers joined the Legion.

Legion

Three Frenchmen were enlisted in the Tercio, as the Legion was called at the beginning of the Civil War in July 1936. One

²³ Table of French volunteers provided by José Luis De Mesa and mentioned in the book *Los otros internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998. Pp 45-78.

hundred and ninety-nine more enlisted throughout the war. The exact number is not known because many enlistees used Spanish names and surnames. Of the list drawn up in the summer of 1938 for the purpose of discharging, one hundred and twenty-six whose personal information was recorded in the Legion's archives were missing. When referring to Frenchmen in the Tercio, it is understood that they are European Frenchmen and not from the colony of Algeria or the French protectorate of Morocco, which also existed at the time.

It is not easy to identify these Frenchmen as the idea of the Generalissimo's HQ was to create a *Bandera*, battalion-type unit, named "Jeanne d'Arc" after the French saint Joan of Arc. This idea materialised during the first half of 1937, stemming particularly from the repatriation of General O'Duffy's Catholic Brigade from Ireland and the sudden availability of the armament and equipment left behind by this battalion-type unit. Later on we will see how the idea evolved and what it ended up as.

Individual cases

The Frenchman of the Alcázar

This is how the defenders of the Alcázar of Toledo referred to Isidore Clamagirand Jiménez²⁴, a *Renovación Española*²⁵ militant and pastry industrialist born in the imperial city to a French father and Spanish mother, but who kept his French passport.

From the beginning of the siege, he volunteered for the defence of the Alcázar. While there, and faced with an imminent lack of food, he informed his immediate superior where high-quality wheat could be found in a warehouse owned by a bank. Once Colonel Moscardó had been informed, the first sortie was prepared for the night of 3 August by Guardia Civil Captain Miguel Osorio Rivas²⁶, and Cavalry Captain Emilio Vela Hidalgo²⁷ who, with a group of Civil Guards and Falangist volunteers, safely transported 26 sacks of 90kg of wheat each to the Alcázar. In view of

²⁴ Arraras e Iribarren, J. and Jordana de Pozas, L. (1937). *El sitio del Alcázar*. Ed. HeraldodeAragón. <http://www.hermandadsantamariadelalcazar.es/listado-general-de-los-defensores/>

²⁵ *Renovación Española*, Spanish monarchist party.

²⁶ Guardia Civil, Civil Guard.

²⁷ Assigned to Cavalry Academy, located in the Alcázar Toledo.

the success of the expedition, another expedition was organised for the following day and 30 more sacks were obtained.

The exact date on which a third expedition was mounted is not known, but on this occasion it failed and Isidore Clamagirand was taken prisoner by the militiamen, who surrounded the Alcázar. When he was being taken to be shot following a summary "popular trial", the French consul in Madrid, who was visiting Toledo that day, heard his cries of innocence in French and took charge of him, taking him to a protected flat in the Spanish capital where he was sheltered until 1938 when he was evacuated to Valencia and embarked on a French ship which transported him to Marseilles, come into Spain through Irun and reappearing safe and sound in Toledo. His story was recorded in the *Diario del Alcázar* newspaper.

His capture would be worthy of a film because on that third trip to stock up on wheat, he went to his house to see his wife and children and found that several nuns, one of whom had died, had taken refuge in his house. He decided to take her to the Alcázar and bury her in the cemetery, and it was when he was in the process of doing so that he was discovered and captured. At the Alcázar, he was considered a deserter, but his subsequent arrival from France and his exposure of the facts led to the cancellation of all outstanding requisitions.

The name Isidoro Clamagirand Jiménez appears in the list of defenders of the Alcázar of Toledo.

We can safely say that Isidore Clamagirand Jiménez was the first French volunteer in the nationalist forces.

Provisional 2nd Lieutenant Pilot Gabriel Bourdette Bourdette

He began the war by enlisting in the Gipuskoan Requetés Tercio *Oriamendi* on 14 January 1937 and was assigned to the 1st Company. On 10 April, he was wounded during the Vizcaya offensive. Subsequently, and despite having done his military service in France, now as a Spanish national a qualified Observer, Radiotelegrapher and Parachute Instructor, he was authorised to attend the Provisional 2nd Lieutenantof Aviation courses. He was number 1 of the 10th class of fighter pilots, and his promotion to Provisional 2nd Lieutenantof the Air Force was published on

1 July 1938²⁸. He started flying Romeo Ro-37s, later moving on to twin-engine Caproni Ca-310s of the 4-G-12 group²⁹. He was killed on 25 May 1939 at the age of 24 flying his Caproni Ca-310, which crashed after colliding with high-voltage cables in Medina del Campo, setting fire to the aircraft and killing the entire crew³⁰.

His French father was the owner of a well-known gym in San Sebastián.

Provisional 2nd Lieutenant Gabriel Bourdette Bourdette can be considered the last French volunteer to die in the Civil War.

Deserting French sergeant

A curious case is that of a Potez 25 TOE aircraft of the Armée de l'Air³¹ used on 28 August 1936 by an unnamed non-commissioned French officer to defect to the Sania Ramel airfield (Tetouan) to *fight communism*.

Although he was decorated with the Cross of Saint Andrew³², it seems that he did not serve the nationals³³ and the outcome of the adventure is also unknown.

The justification for his desertion, *to fight communism*, is curious because a similar reason was being given by his compatriots enlisted in the International Brigades, but *to fight fascism*.

²⁸ Appointment of Provisional 2nd Lieutenant published in the *BOE* of 1-7-1938, p 16. Reference *BOE-A-1938-7473*

²⁹ Salas Larrazabal, J. (1974). Relación de pilotos de la 10.^a promoción. *Revista de Aeronáutica y Astronáutica*. Issue 402. Madrid.

³⁰ http://bibliotecavirtualdefensa.es/BVMDefensa/i18n/catalogo_imagenes/grupo.cmd?path=76181

Tribute to the Fallen Air Force. (1941). *Revista de Aeronáutica y Astronáutica*. Issue 2. <https://publicaciones.defensa.gob.es/revista-de-aeronautica-y-astronautica-002-17427.html>

El vigía. Hace 80 años. Estupor. (2019). *Revista de Aeronáutica y Astronáutica*. Issue 883.

<https://publicaciones.defensa.gob.es/revista-de-aeronautica-y-astronautica-883-revistas-pdf.html>

³¹ l'Armée de l'Air, the French name for the French Air Force.

³² Since de Spanish civil War, the symbol of the Spanish Air Force is the Cross of Saint Andrew.

³³ Velarde Sillio, J. (2008). *Aviones españoles del siglo XX*. Infante de Orleans Foundation.

Major Julián Troncoso Sagredo

Not a Frenchman, but a person with political and military responsibility on the western border between Spain and France, specifically between Irun and Hendaye. With this, I am referring to the Military Commander of Irun and Chief of Frontiers in 1937, who intervened in at least two actions, one of them in French territory, with interesting results.

The first was an episode, the information about which comes from reliable French sources and concerned preventing germ warfare brought in from France. Following a tip-off from their French sources, the Frenchmen Louis Chavrat "Chavrand" and Jean Bougenneac "Bougennac" were arrested on 27 April 1937 in their capacity as French media journalists. Both had been inoculated with a virus and the corresponding vaccine so that, once across the border, they could spread it in Spain. The second was actually called Witolds Jelinski³⁴.

His accomplices in France were Jacques Mennachem, alias "Captain Jack" or "The Catalan", who had already commanded a militia battalion in Biscay; Jean de Berne, a journalist linked to Moscow's "Pravda"; Jean Baptiste Lucien Bossoutrot, a French deputy and Jean Jacques Pavie, alias "René" and "Larsinsky", from a wealthy family.

It eventually turned out that it was all a scam by this mobster group to extract easy money from the representatives of the Spanish Republic in Paris. The two *guinea pigs* were tried and ended up in prison and their French and Spanish cronies uncovered and discredited.³⁵

The second action was the assault on 18 September 1937 on the Republican submarine C-2, which fled Asturias and took refuge in Brest³⁶. To seize the submarine, which he had damaged to prevent from sailing, Mayor Troncoso formed a group of assailants that included Lieutenant Jesús Miguel Las Heras, commander of the C-4 and also a refugee in France; Robert Chaix; Rafael Parrella, Marquis of Miravalles; Manuel Orendáin; José María Gabaráin Goñi and Salvador Serrats Urquiza, a native

³⁴ Manrique García, J. M. (2020). La República Española y la guerra biológica. Article from the magazine *Ares*. Issue 77. Ed. Galland Books.

³⁵ Keene, J. (2002). *Luchando por Franco*. Barcelona, Editorial Salvat.

³⁶ <https://subnacho.blogspot.com/2014/10/el-c-2-y-el-golpe-franquista-de-1937-en.html>

of Bermeo. They were joined by Lieutenant Ferrando Talayero and naval engineer Tabuza of the C-2. They had the support of the Hendaye customs agent León Pardo and Antonio Martín y Montis, Marquis of Linares. The Frenchmen Robert Chaix and Leon Pardo were members of Colonel La Rocque's French Social Party (PSF). Leon Pardo also belonged to the "Croix de Feu". The assault failed when a stoker corporal fired from the tower of the submarine at José María Gabaráin Goñi, causing all the assailants to immediately flee. The French police arrested Manuel Orendáin, Rafael Parella and Salvador Serrats shortly afterwards. Later, 30 kilometres from Bordeaux, Lasheras, Ferrando and Robert Chaix were arrested. Troncoso managed to flee to Spain by hiding in a car, but when he returned to Hendaye on behalf of the detainees, he was arrested and later tried on charges of supporting the terrorist actions of the *cagoullards* against republican interests in France. The outcome of the trial on 22 March 1938 was that Troncoso, Orendáin and Serrats were sentenced to five days in prison, and on the 26th of the same month Troncoso and Serrats were expelled to Spain while Orendáin was tried in Bayonne for possession of arms and explosives.

Another previous operation by Major Troncoso was to get the captain of the oil tanker *Campoamor*, which was taking refuge in the French port of Le Verdon, to change sides, supposedly setting off for England but changing course during the crossing and heading for the port of Pasajes fully loaded with petrol that he had transported from the United States³⁷.

After these spectacular actions, Troncoso was promoted to lieutenant colonel, returning to the battle fronts and taking part in the Battle of the Ebro in command of a Brigade. After the Civil War, he became president of the Spanish Football Federation.

Royal blood in the Tercio de Navarra

One of the volunteers from France, who enlisted in the Requetés Tercios on 12 January 1937, was Gaetán de Laverdín, an assumed name that concealed Cayetano de Borbón y Parma, prince of the Carlist branch led by Javier Borbón y Parma. He was assigned as a *Red Beret* to the Tercio de Navarra, commanded at the time by the Cavalry Major Luis Villanova Rattazi, who was the only one who knew the volunteer's true

³⁷ <https://vidamaritima.com/2007/10/campoamor-y-campeador/>

identity. Cayetano de Borbón was born in Villa Camaiore in the Tuscan town of Lucca (Italy) in 1905, but had lived in France since he was a child. His life in the Tercio de *Navarra* was one of hard fighting, especially in the Urcarregi sector, where in March he was promoted to second lieutenant of the Requeté Militia for gallantry. Later, during the Vizcaya offensive, he excelled in the action on Mount Sebigain or Saibigain and was nominated for the Individual Military Medal. On the following 9th May, while fighting in the area of Mount Bizcargui, he was seriously wounded in the neck and chest and was taken to the *Alfonso Carlos* military hospital in Pamplona. General Rada, who visited him in hospital, informed him of his promotion to lieutenant for war merits. An order from the Generalissimo's headquarters prevented him from rejoining the Tercio except to bid farewell to his comrades, ending his military record in Spain³⁸. He spent his convalescence in the *Petrorena* house of the Baleztena family in Leiza. He took part in Allied units in World War II. He had just one daughter, Diana Margaret of Bourbon Parma, who died of COVID-19 in Hamburg on 7 May 2020, just before her 88th birthday.

Lieutenant Colonel Louis-Henri Morel

Born on 31 July 1889 in Lyon. For the four years prior to becoming the French Military Attaché in Madrid, he had been a member of the 2nd Bureau³⁹ of the French General Staff. He gave refuge to Colonel José Ungría Jiménez and his wife at the Lycée Français on 10 October 1936, as well as to General Eugenio Espinosa de los Monteros Bermejillo, director of the War College, whom he later, on 3 April 1937, transferred to the port of Alicante, where they embarked on the ship *Dugnay Trovin* and were evacuating to France, from where they joined Nationalist Spain⁴⁰. Up until 1934, Colonel Ungría had been Spain's Military Attaché in France,

³⁸ Herrera Alonso, E. (2005). *Los mil días del Tercio de Navarra*. Valladolid, AF Editors.

De Mesa Gutierrez, J. L. (1998). *Los otros internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja.
<https://www.msn.com/es-es/entretencion/celebrity/nuevo-luto-en-la-familia-de-borb%C3%B3n-parma-la-princesa-diana-fallecida-por-coronavirus/ar-BB13U2VR?li=AAFN1OV>

³⁹ 2^{me} or Deuxième Bureau is the name given to the French Army Intelligence Service.

⁴⁰ Martínez Parrilla J. (1987). *Las fuerzas armadas francesas ante la guerra civil española 1936-1939*. Madrid, Ed. Ejército.

having previously studied at the *École Supérieure de Guerre* in the 44th class, together with General de Gaulle. Ungría was the organiser and head of the SIMP, (Servicio de Información y Policía Militar) and General Espinosa de los Monteros was the first Military Governor of Madrid at the end of the war. Curiously, Lieutenant Colonel Morel took charge of the military attaché's office at the French embassy in Spain on 18 July 1936 and left his post on 1 April 1939.

Film *La Bandera*

Filmed in Ceuta in 1935⁴¹, starring Jean Gabin and directed by Julien Duvivier. This was the first film dedicated to the Tercio and co-starred legionnaires, including the then captain of the Legionary List, having passed through the ranks, Carlos Tiede Zeden, born in Wersk (East Prussia) and a fighter in the First World War in the German African colony of Cameroon. Carlos Tiede, who died in 1937, was the first officer of the Legionary Scale to reach the rank of Major.

Bilbao's residents of French origin fighting on the Nationalist side

The City Council of Bilbao created the Iron Medal and awarded it to those born or resident in Bilbao who had been combatants in the various military units of the National Army. This list is illustrative because it is very likely that there were more Spaniards of French origin enlisted in the different Spanish capitals⁴².

By extracting those with French surnames, we identified several who belonged to families originating from different European nations, including France. Some of them were already second or third generation Spaniards, but many were French passport holders, which initially enabled them to avoid the general

⁴¹ http://www.agrupacionahumada.com/descargas/peliculas/la_bandera.html
<https://observatorio.cisde.es/archivo/8183>

⁴² Agirreazkuenaga, J. y Urquijo, M. *Informe sobre la concesión de honores por el Ayuntamiento de Bilbao en el periodo 1875-2014*. https://www.bilbao.eus/cs/Satellite?blobcol=urldata&blobheader=application%2Fpdf&blobheadername1=Content-disposition&blobheadername2=pragma&blobheadervalue1=attachment%3B+filename%3Dinforme-honores_1875_2014.pdf&blobheadervalue2=public&blobkey=id&blobtable=MungoBlobs&blobwhere=1274043852603&ssbinary=true

mobilisation decreed in Bilbao in May 1937, and in some cases even meant they could be evacuated to France⁴³.

The list of names below does not detail the origin of the recipients of the Iron Medal, but the surnames are obviously French.

- Martín Alcorta Bockmann, married to Amelia Smith y Prado Mathurin and brother of Eduardo, died among the Basque ranks at the Orduña front at the age of 19 on 25 May 1937.
- José Luis Amondo Gautier.
- Ángel Anglade López.
- Alonso Azategui Veyers (or Weyers).
- Enrique Barbier Iturmendi.
- Rafael Barbier Iturmendi, Red Beret in a Tercio de Requetés, and died in 2018 at the age of 97.
- José Barbier Uría. Red Beret in the 1st Company of the Tercio *Radio Requeté de Campaña*.
- Ramón Barbier Uría.
- Juan José Boulandier Domaica.
- Miguel Boulandier Mas.
- Ricardo Brouard Mallada.
- Benito Celler Sánchez.
- Manuel Delclaux Barrenechea, married to Fuensanta de la Sota Poveda.
- José María Delclaux Ortiz de Bustamante.
- Fernando Diaux Olabarría.
- Emilio Dubois Auger.
- Luis de Egaña Machain.
- José Luis Etchart Casuso, born in 1912, (listed above).
- Julia Etchart Casuso, born 1915, (listed above).
- María del Carmen Etchart Casuso, born 1916 (listed above).

⁴³ DelMoral, J. A. (2017). Article. Bilbao. <https://gananzia.com/apellidos-extranjeros-consolidados-en-euskadi>

- Jaime Etchart Casuso, born 1917⁴⁴, (listed above).
- Juan Freniche Sánchez.
- Marcos Isasi Barbier.
- Manuel Martínez Dallaballe.
- Juan Messa Bent, 2nd Lieutenant of the Tercio de Nuestra Señora de Begoña.
- Romualdo Obieta Chalbaud.
- Ignacio Obieta Chalbaud, engineer married to Begoña Vilallonga y de la Sota.
- Porfirio Sánchez Sauthier, entrepreneur of a porcelain figurine business.
- Ángel Sánchez Sauthier, married to Ángela Ayestarán Berdonces and owner of a wine store.
- José Tomás Urigüen Delclaux, born in 1919 and married to Enma Yohn Renovales.
- Germán Villachica Bacquellain.
- Anatole Yanowsky Gordieff, born in Simferopol (Russia), emigrated to France with his parents and then to Bilbao, finally settling in Santander.
- José Castellanos Barbier, born in 1916, volunteer in a Tercio de Requetés, Provisional Infantry 2nd Lieutenant of the 5th promotion of Avila⁴⁵ and Individual Military Medal in the 2nd Tabor of the Group of Regulars⁴⁶ of Alhucemas in the battle of the Ebro⁴⁷. He went on to the Transformation Academy, consolidating his rank of lieutenant, and died in 1954 in Las Arenas (Guecho) with the rank of Infantry Major. His widow Adelaida de Ugao y Tendero died in Madrid in 2014.

Another example of citizens of French origin volunteering can be found in the lists of members of the Carlist War Junta of Guipúzcoa throughout the war. Among the 3,300 combatants

⁴⁴ www.torrelavegaantigua.com/2014/05/alejo-etchart-mignacabal-1883-1962.html

⁴⁵ *BOE* of 7 July 1938.

⁴⁶ Tabor, military unit equivalent to a Battalion, and Group of Regulars is a regiment-type unit both of them consist of mostly Moroccan soldiers.

⁴⁷ *BOE* of 9 July 1939.

of the Requetés *Oriamendi*, *San Ignacio*, *Zumalacárregui* and *Radio Requeté de Campaña* listed are the following⁴⁸:

- Gabriel Bourdette Bourdette, Red Beret (mentioned above).
- Luis Alfaro Fournier, 33 years old, married to Pilar Abréu, Requeté 2nd Lieutenant assigned to the 4th company of the Tercio *Radio Requeté de Campaña*.
- Juan Arzac Lete, of French parents but born in Alza in 1911 and father of the well-known chef Juan María Arzac. He was a corporal in the Tercio *Oriamendi*.
- Pedro Arzac Lete, brother of Juan and born in 1893. He was and Requeté 2nd Lieutenant of the Tercio *Oriamendi* and was seriously wounded on 5 April 1937.
- Philippe Berthet Michaud, born in Lyon in 1900, industrial engineer and head sergeant of the San Sebastián Auxiliary Requeté Group.
- Miguel Bozzo Caldes, son of French parents born in Barcelona in 1891, a monk in Montserrat Monastery and enlisted as an Honorary 2nd Lieutenant Chaplain assigned to the 1st Company of the Tercio *Radio Requeté de Campaña*.
- Manuel Coursieres Barrenechea, born in Zumárraga from a French father, and married to Carmen Anza. He was a Red Beret scribe of the P.M. of the 1st Company of the Tercio *Oriamendi*.
- Guy de la Croix, born in Tarnos (France) in 1899, was a Red Beret in the 1st Company of the Tercio *Oriamendi*. Wounded in the northern campaign and suffered frostbitten feet in Teruel.
- Florent de la Guillonniere Lezardiére, a French nobleman born in the Vendée in 1911 and died in Olaeta on 5 April 1937 while he was patrol leader (corporal) of the 1st Company of the Tercio *Oriamendi*.

⁴⁸ Political-Military Archives of the Civil War. (2022). La Junta de Guerra Carlista de Guipúzcoa. Sus requetés. Bilbao, Popular Foundation for Basque Studies. <https://www.fpev.es/es/documentosinteres/la-junta-carlista-guerra-de-guipuzcoa-sus-requetes-173>

- Raymond de Larocque Latour, aviator pilot and aviation squad leader⁴⁹, born in Saint Vincent sur Graon (Vendée) in 1913. Discharged in January 1937, joining the Spanish Falange.
- Juan de Seynes, born in Paris in 1894, fought as a Requeté sergeant or *jefe de Requeté*⁵⁰, in the Tercio *San Ignacio* and the Tercio *San Miguel*, and wounded in the arm on 3 June 1937 on the Amorebieta front.
- René d'Esteve de Bosch, Frenchman from Cars born in 1916 and assigned as an aviation squad leader. He was wounded on the Madrid front in 1937 and died in a mountain accident in the Canigó (France) in 1942.
- Roger Erout, born in Fourneaux le Val (Calvados) in 1911 and motorcyclist of the P.M. of the Carlist War Junta of Gipzukoa, killed in Orío in the line of duty in December 1936.
- Jules Ferdinand Blanchot, born in Blois (France) in 1896 and Red Beret in the 1st Company of the Tercio *Oriamendi* from January 1937.
- Anatoly Vladimirovich Fock, born in 1879 in Orenburg (Russia) and exiled in France from 1920, where he was a former General of Artillery in the Tsarist army. He joined the Tercio *Zumalacárregui* as a Red Beret in February 1937. In August of that year he was part of the *María de Molina - Marco de Bello*, dying in Quinto de Ebro as a machine gun Sergeant.
- Dimitri Koptev, born in St. Petersburg in 1895 and exiled in France having been a captain of dragoons in the Imperial Guard and a cavalry major. He was enlisted as an Requetés 2nd Lieutenant in the Tercio *Oriamendi*.
- Armand François Joseph Lacoste, born in 1903 in Bordeaux. Requeté squad leader in the 1st Company of the Tercio *Oriamendi*. In April 1937 he was licenced for returning to France.
- Jean Luc⁵¹, born in Angoulême (Charente) in 1891. He was an aviator and captain in the French Air Force Reserve. He enlisted in Tercio *Zumalacárregui* and shortly afterwards joined the Tercio *Oriamendi*. He was licenced on 2 August 1937 for

⁴⁹ Jefe de Piquete was a rank in the Requetés Militia, equivalent to corporal or lance corporal.

⁵⁰ Jefe de Requeté is a rank equivalent to regular sergeant, in charge of a squad.

⁵¹ This volunteer's details are taken from his file located in the file indicated in note 43.

transferring to the *Joan of Arc Bandera*, which in the end was not constituted as such, remaining as the *Joan of Arc Company* of the XVII Legion Bandera. Despite his profession, he enlisted as a Red Beret.

- Albert Lucas, born in Belle Île sur Mer (France) in 1899, enlisted in January 1937 in the 1st Company of the Tercio *Oriamendi*.
- Jacques Poloukhine Kosieff, born in 1895 in Vychne Courovo (Russia) and exiled in France. Enlisted in the Tercio *Zumalacárregui*.
- Leopoldo Rich Paulet, born in San Sebastián in 1907 to a French mother. He enlisted in October 1936 and was an 2nd Lieutenant of the Requetés, platoon leader of the 5th platoon of the Tercio *Radio Requeté de Campaña*.
- René Gratien Victor, born in Tours (France) in 1912. He enlisted alongside 2nd Lieutenant Lacoste in December 1936 but was deported from Spain in February 1937, having been arrested as a kleptomaniac.

There may be more in the published listings as the search was carried out by locating only surnames that sounded French. It is reasonable to think that there could be French people by birth but children of Spanish emigrants and therefore with Hispanic surnames or with Basque roots, and therefore impossible to identify in this list.

Jeanne d'Arc Bandera and Company

The history of this Legion Unit is somewhat bizarre and difficult to explain unless one is familiar with the intricacies of French politics in relation to the right-wing parties then in opposition. The military uprising of July 1936 gave the French right wing the opportunity to fight the French Popular Front, which had seized power a month earlier, in what was a *different way*. The representatives of the right-wing parties approached the Spanish military commanders, offering thousands of volunteers to join the national ranks. The national military command was very clear that it did not like autonomous units composed by nationality, the result having been a resounding failure when it did authorise it, which was with the *Irish Catholic Bandera*. However, following the repatriation of the Irish, the decision was taken to create

a Legion Bandera to inherit their armament, equipment, and uniforms. This unit was created in Talavera de la Reina and was attached to the Legion. Until then, as we have seen, the French volunteers enlisted individually or in small groups in the militia units that were most sympathetic to their ideology.

We previously discussed the *caogulards*. This was the name given to the members of *La Cagoule*, a secret paramilitary organisation created in 1936 by Eugène Deloncle and Jean Filliol and financed by Eugène Schueller, the founder of the perfumery company l'Oréal.

Its activists carried out terrorist actions in France in favour of the national side, including the assassination of the Roselli brothers, who had already fought in the anarchist militia ranks on the Aragon front, and had sabotaged several planes at the Toulouse-Le Noble aerodrome on their way to Barcelona.

The most important French organisations that sent volunteers to nationalist Spain were:

- Camelots du Roi.
- La Croix de Feu.
- La Cagoule, CSAR "Comité Secrète d'Action Revolutionaire".
- Corvignolles of Major Lostanau-Lecau.
- French Social Party.
- French People's Party of Doriot.
- French National Party.
- *Je Suis Partout* newspaper.
- *La France Nationale* newspaper.
- *Echo de Paris* newspaper.

One of the people who came to Spain at the beginning of the war was General Paul-Louis Alexandre Lavigne-Delville, who acted as a correspondent for Action Française. In agreement with the new Nationalist authorities, he undertook to set up a recruitment network on French soil, placing Charles Trochu, a member of the Paris City Council and president of the "Association Nationale des officiers retraités"⁵² at its head, and Jacques Pecheron as secretary.

⁵² Association Nationale des officiers retraités or National Association of Retired Officers.

At the same time, Henri Bonneville du Marsagny, a cavalry captain in the reserve, who had been a friend of Colonel Tella since the time of the Moroccan campaigns, entered Spain from Oran, joining the colonel and his column marching from Seville to Madrid.

In May 1937, the creation of the *Jeanne d'Arc Bandera*⁵³ was approved. The idea was that the French and Russian volunteers living in France were going to join this Bandera, although most of the latter, once they saw the French volunteers who had joined, preferred to remain in the Requetés Tercios.

By September, 1 captain, 1 second lieutenant, 12 NCOs and 59 legionnaires had been recruited⁵⁴.

In October, Captain Bonneville de Marsagny was killed in action in Asturias and was awarded the Individual Military Medal, although this award was not published in the *BOE*⁵⁵.

Major Victor Monnier was appointed to command the Bandera, but soon after died as a result of a bombardment in Getafe. He was succeeded in command by Captain Jean Courcier, a member of the Croix de Feu and the French Social Party. This appointment was highly questioned and Captain Courcier was charged with embezzlement among other offences for which he was eventually exonerated. The main accuser was the French financier S.G. Guillemet⁵⁶, who had businesses in Chile and was resident in Salamanca. Another accusation was that any request from non-party volunteers was rejected. This was the case with a minor whose family had claimed him and whose request was repeatedly rejected until the child was finally killed in action. As a result of all these actions, on 13 April 1938 General Yagüe ordered the dissolution of the Bandera, although this decision was revoked eight days later. In the end, the *Jeanne d'Arc Bandera* became an integrated company within the XVII Legion Bandera, and although its components fought valiantly it was certainly not what was expected from the primitive menacings of thousands of volunteers from across the border.

⁵³ The *Jeanne d'Arc Bandera* takes its name from the French name of Saint Jeanne d'Arc. *Síntesis histórica de la XVII Bandera*. 2nd Tercio Duque de Alba. (1983).

⁵⁴ Keene, J. (2002). *Luchando por Franco*. Barcelona, Ed. Salvat. P 237.

⁵⁵ *BOE*, *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, in English translation Official State Bulletin.

⁵⁶ Keene, J. (2002). *Luchando por Franco*. Barcelona, Ed. Salvat. P 241.

Jean Fontenoy was a volunteer with the *Jeanne d'Arc* Company. In 1939, he volunteered to fight in Finland against the Soviet invasion. He returned to France and founded the *German News Agency*, but was killed in 1944 at the hands of the Germans with whom he had collaborated⁵⁷.

As for the French who died in Spain, I would like to highlight the following among the many:

Juan de Loyola y de Guzmán⁵⁸ It is not known if this was his real name, but he was a Requeté 2nd Lieutenant in the 4th Company of the *Sicily* Battalion fighting on the Somosierra front. He was killed in action on 5 September 1936 in Navafría, for which he was posthumously awarded the Individual Military Medal⁵⁹. He reportedly held the title of Viscount⁶⁰ and was a member of the *Croix de Feu* enlisted in the Requeté.

Raymond Carrie⁶¹ was a lieutenant in the French Reserve Artillery. He came to Spain as a volunteer and was put in charge of organising the machine gun company of the Tercio *El Alcázar*. On 20 February, in the middle of the battle of Jarama, he was promoted to captain, a post he held right to the end of the war. Four months afterwards, however, he was found dead in suspicious circumstances in the Casa de Campo in Madrid.

Also in Tercio *El Alcázar* was Lieutenant A. Baux, who was repatriated on 8 May 1937 together with the volunteer Roger de Saint Arnaud⁶².

Spaniards of French origin affected by the war

They were also to be found throughout Spain and on both sides of the conflict, and we will give two examples.

⁵⁷ Keene, J. (2002). *Luchando por Franco*. Barcelona, Ed. Salvat. P 261.

⁵⁸ *Galería militar contemporánea*. Military Historical Service. Volume IV, p 403.

⁵⁹ In accordance with the circular order 17-11-36, *Official Gazette (BOE)* n.º 36.

⁶⁰ Infantes y Martín, J. E. (1938). *Memorias del cabo Pepe*. Navarra y García Escámez. Vitoria, Editorial Social Católica.

⁶¹ De Mesa, J. L. (1998). *Los otros internacionales*. Madrid, Ediciones Barbarroja. P 67.

⁶² De Mesa, J. L. (1998). *Los otros internacionales*. Madrid, Ediciones Barbarroja. P 68.

Claudio Rostaing⁶³, the Frenchman arrested in Marmolejo

According to his son, in those days most of the political leaders of the right wing were arrested along with the most important members. This was the case of Claudio Rostaing Pinillos, president of the Republican Centre of Marmolejo, whose life was saved because he had dual Spanish and French nationality, freed by order of the Civil Government of Jaén itself in a telegram sent on 7 August to the mayor of the town.

A small hotel businessman, he was the eldest of three siblings born of the marriage between Antonio Rostaing Soullard, owner of the hotel *Los Leones*, and Josefa Pinillos Raya, a native of Montilla. He did his pre-university studies at the French School in Córdoba, going on to study business accounting at the Escuela de Peritos⁶⁴ in the capital. Once he had finished, he helped his father in the hotel business, marrying Isabel Lozano Pérez, daughter of Pedro Lozano, owner of the now defunct Hotel Central. After his arrest and subsequent release, Claudio decided to go to France with his entire family (his parents, his wife María and a small child), to the home of relatives in Montelimar, returning to Seville at the beginning of 1937.

Eduardo Lagarde Aramburu

The second example is Eduardo Lagarde, a military man and architect, son of the military engineer Nemesio Lagarde Carriquiri and grandson of the Frenchman Jean Pierre Lagarde et Baccararesce, the latter born in the French town of Lucgarier near Pau.

He was born in Toledo in 1883 and did his military training in Engineering. After World War I⁶⁵, he was part of a commission that spent three months visiting France, England, and Belgium to study physical education, attending the Olympic Games in Antwerp. In 1925, he was promoted to commander and took part in the Al Hoceima landings in Morocco. In 1931, he went into voluntary retirement, residing in San Sebastián. After the events of July, he was arrested and imprisoned in Ondarreta

⁶³ Testimony of Antonio Rostaing Lozano, son of Claudio Rostaing Pinillos.
<https://lugardemarmolejo.wixsite.com/marmolejo/la-guerra-civil-en-la-frontera-repu>

⁶⁴ Escuela de Peritos, Technical Engineers Grade School.

⁶⁵ 1GM stands for World War I.

prison. He was later transferred to Bilbao and interned in the Casa Galera, where he suffered and survived the assault on the prisons on 4 January 1937. He was subsequently transferred to Algorta prison, from which he managed to escape along with other prisoners on 17 June 1937. He served in the National Army under General Orgaz in the Mobilisation, Instruction, and Recovery section (MIR)⁶⁶, and later, in 1938, he was appointed head of the Military Service for Vanguard Artistic Recovery. In 1940, after the Civil War, he was promoted to the rank of colonel, and thanks to his second profession as an architect he was appointed curator of the Alcázar of Toledo. In 1945, he retired and was assigned to the Devastated Regions Service in Toledo. He was involved in a serious car accident that left him paralysed, dying as a result of the after-effects in 1950⁶⁷.

Leila, Countess of Luart

A special case is that of Leïla, Countess of Luart⁶⁸. Born on 6 February 1898 in St. Petersburg, Gali Constantinovna Hagondokova was part of the aristocracy of Kabardia, a small territory in the North Caucasus. She was the daughter of General Constantine Nicolaevich Hagondokoff, Cossack ataman, military governor of the Amur province and commander-in-chief of the imperial forces in the Far East, who emigrated in 1918 and arrived in France in 1920.

In 1934, Gali married Count Ladislas du Luart, who belonged to an old Sarthe family. He was a farmer who later went into politics, becoming mayor, general councillor and senator in 1968. He supported his wife in the exceptional military career she would undertake. Having become a naturalised French citizen, Gali changed her first name to Irène, which she later changed again to Leïla.

In 1936, after the outbreak of the Civil War in Spain, Leïla launched a large-scale project to apply a method invented by Red Cross surgeons during the Great War to limit human losses, and with the help of generous donors she designed and financed a group of mobile surgical ambulances which she sent to Spain

⁶⁶ Mir stands for Mobilisation, Instruction, and Recovery.

⁶⁷ Isabel Sanchez, J. L. *Biografía de Eduardo Lagarde Aramburu*. Royal Academy of History. <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/57449/eduardo-lagarde-aramburu>

⁶⁸ Boutler, J. D. (2013). *Hommage a la comtesse du Luart*. Bulletin de l'Union de la Noblesse Russe no. 124. Paris.

to operate as close as possible to the fronts. They were known as *Autochir*.

Countess Leïla also organised the *Groupe d'amitié français*⁶⁹ or the *French Friendship Group*, which collected material aid for the nationalist troops. To this effect, on 13 July 1937, the Burgos Military Hospital received 25 boxes of medicines and surgical material and, on 14 January 1938, a Renault ambulance, 1000 items of warm clothing, boxes with ampoules of antigangrene and anti-tetanus serum and 2000 boxes of tobacco.

She later applied the same system to the French army and, in recognition of her humanitarian work; she was appointed matron of the 1st Foreign Cavalry Regiment.

French diplomatic staff

Having finished the first part of the presentation of the French volunteers enlisted in the National Army, we will now give a brief overview of the French Embassy personnel and most important French consulates in Spain, before moving on to the volunteers in the People's Army of the Republic.

Embassy staff in Spain during the Civil War⁷⁰

Ambassadors:

- Republic:
 - Jean Herbette (10-7-31 / 3-10-37), officially in Madrid but resident in Ciboure (Lower Pyrenees-France) since July 1936.
 - Eirick Labonne (11-10-37 / 26-12-38), resident in Barcelona.
 - Jules Henry (27-12-38 / 27-2-39), resident in Barcelona.
- Embassy Counsellor: M. Barbier.
- 2nd Secretary: René Bonjean.

⁶⁹ De Mesa, J. L. (1998). *Los otros internacionales*. Madrid, Ediciones Barbarroja. Pp. 75-76.

⁷⁰ Data taken from the Consular List of 1935 and the List of the Diplomatic Corps of France in 1936. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, European Union and Cooperation Central Library. Madrid.

- 3rd Secretary: Jacques Paris.
- Consul: Emmanuel Neuville.
- Deputy Consul and Attaché: François Arnould.
- Deputy Secretary of the Consulate in Madrid: Salustiano Dussaildant.
- Chancellor and person in charge of Cifra: Antoine Taddei.
- Commercial Attaché: Louis Tisseau.
- Military attaché: Lieutenant Colonel Louis-Henri Morel.
- Naval attaché:
 - Lieutenant Commander Joseph Marie Christian de Boysson (until June 1937).
 - Lieutenant Raymond Simon Joseph-Marie Moullec (promoted to Lieutenant Commander on 4 February 1939), alias "Moret".
- 2nd Naval Attaché: Lieutenant Commander Marquis de Lambertye-Gerbéviller.
- Aerial attaché:
 - Battalion Commander Pierre Cahuzac, resident in Paris.
 - Commander Brizard.
- Executor of orders of the Embassy in Alicante: M. Domestici.

French Consuls in Spain

Valencia: Consul Jules Joseph Paul Maurice Marcassin; Deputy Consul Alphonse Ferrier.

Barcelona: Consul General Jean H. M. Tremoulet; Consul: M. Bourquin and Consul: Georges Monjoux.

1st Vice-Consul and Chancellor Antonin Lecouteux⁷¹ who was killed in an aerial bombardment of Barcelona on 17 March 1938 and his body repatriated on the destroyer *Vauquelin*. The previous day he had helped the evacuation of 521 Republican military deserters who were provided with French visas and helped onto on the torpedo boats *Épervier* and *La Palme* on Caldetas beach.

⁷¹ https://guyderambaud.fandom.com/fr/wiki/Antonin_Lecouteux

Seville: Consul Georges Moraud.

La Coruña: Consul Léon Marie Jules Simon Péretié.

San Sebastian: Consul Jules J. Emile Lasmartres.

Bilbao: Consul Jean Pierre Émile Casteran, (since 1933).

Malaga: Consul Pierre Desmartis, (since 1932) and Vice-Consul M. Conteleng.

Alicante: Consul M. Anfossy; Consular Agent Gustave de Laigue.

Zaragoza: Consular Agent Roger Tur.

Refuge provided to Spaniards by French diplomats

The French embassy in Spain extended its premises in Madrid by incorporating the French Lycée, the Hospital de Saint Louis and the Central Hospital of the Red Cross, among other buildings, under the tricolour flag⁷².

From the beginning of the war, the Embassy helped back to France French priests and religious persons who had been settled in Spain since the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century and who had been arrested by the leftist militias. Among the most persecuted religious orders were the Daughters of Charity, whose French branch in José Abascal Street in Madrid was taken over by the Embassy. The Provincial House, where a hospital was set up, also enjoyed the same protection. Many refugees and religious and regular clergy took refuge in all these buildings.

Among those granted asylum by the French embassy were Bishop Eijo y Garay and 36 members of different religious orders, including 12 Jesuits, in addition to 34 priests and 140 nuns who were taken in at the San Luis de los Franceses Hospital.

In refugee aid work, the Consul's wife Mme. Neuville stand out.

At the end of the war, the refugee situation was as follows⁷³:

10 asylum seekers in the Hospital of Saint Louis des Français.

20 in the neighbouring Red Cross hospital.

⁷² AMFA, R. 1.060, exp. 217. Report from the Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs to the Minister of the Interior. Burgos, 13 March 1939.

⁷³ Moral Roncal, A. M. (2013). *An Analysis of Foreign Diplomatic Aid to the Catholic Clergy during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)*. University of Alcalá de Henares.

30 in the former Casa de Santa Isabel.

40 in the former retirement home of the Daughters of Charity.

The remaining refugees had been transported to France throughout the war on visas issued by the embassy. The most common route used was from Madrid to Valencia or Alicante and in these cities, taking either merchant ships or warships, which transported the refugees to Marseilles. Most of the refugees returned to Spain, but to the nationalist zone by crossing the border at Irun.

Volunteers in the people's Army of the Republic

The presence of French fighters at the service of the Spanish Republic was mainly in the Republican Air Force and the People's Army of the Republic, before passing through the militia units and columns that opposed the uprising of 18 July. The first were some of the athletes who had gone to Barcelona for the Popular Olympiad and who, following the games' postponement, joined the militia columns that invaded Aragon. Other groups battled the Navarrese columns that were trying to close access to the border through Irun. A large group of Frenchmen formed part of the so-called *Escuadrilla España*⁷⁴ set up by the French writer André Malraux and who, flying French aircraft, had a certain command of the air until the arrival of Italian and German equipment on the opposing side. Last, the largest contingent of fighters were those who enlisted in the International Brigades, created on the initiative of the Communist International *Komintern*, and with headquarters in Paris where the main recruiting office was established and where most of the volunteers from all over the world gathered and were sent to Spain, normally by rail to the border, then via Barcelona and Valencia to Albacete where the main base was established. The International Brigades were organised in Albacete and within them there were several battalions of French volunteers, including the XIV International Brigade known as *La Marseillaise*, the one that had most of the French-speaking volunteers. It is estimated that the total number of French volunteers integrated into the troops of the People's Army of the Republic was between 10,000 and 15,000, half of the international contingent at some point in 1937.

⁷⁴ Spain squadron was a unit comprising a variable number of military aircraft and their aircrews. Regular Spanish squadrons were divided into three or four flights, that were commanded by a captain.

Escuadrilla España. André Malraux

Faced with the military uprising of 18 July and the request for help from Giral, head of the Spanish government, the French minister Pierre Cot asked André Malraux to gather information on the situation in Spain. On 22 July, he travelled to Spain and six days later returned to Paris with the order to buy planes and recruit pilots. The request was handled by Jean Moulin, Pierre Cot's chief of staff, who was opposed by Léon Blum on his return from his trip to London, following which the government approved sending the bombers without the bombing equipment and other weaponry, converting them into civilian aircraft. Jean Moulin also presented his minister with a list of Armée de l'Air pilots in reserve to facilitate their recruitment.

On 25 July, export licences were authorised for three batches: two of six Potez-54 aircraft and one of 14 Dewoitine D.372 fighters, initially destined for Lithuania. This is where the complexity of French assistance begins, as aircraft were being supplied without being granted export licences and without specific requests being responded to.

The aircraft and their delivery dates are as follows⁷⁵:

?	6 Potez 54
04-08-36	4 Gourdou Leseurre GL-32
06-08-36	6 Dewoitine D-371
07-08-46	4 Dewoitine D-371
07-08-46	13 Dewoitine D-372
07-08-46	6 Potez 54
-08-36	1 Dewoitine D-372
-08-36	1 Lioré et Olivier LeO-21 registration number F-AIFD
-08-36	2 Latécoère-28
20-08-36	2 Bloch MB-200
22-08-36	1 Couzinet-101 registration number F-AMTJ
25-08-36	1 Dewoitine D-333 registration number F-ANQB
-08-36	1 Farman F-190 registration number F-ALYM

⁷⁵ Salas Larrazabal, J. (1989). La aportación de material aéreo por parte de los principales países extranjeros. I. Generalidades y ayuda a la República. *Revista Aeroplano* issue 7. Madrid, Ministry of Defence.

-08-36	1	Bleriot 111/5
-08-36	1	De Havilland DH-60 Moth
-09-36	1	Bleriot Spad 91/6
-09-36	1	Spad 51
-09-36	4	Niuport
3/7-09-36	4	Loire-46
TOTAL:	61	aircraft

Of the 12 Potez 54, the first 5 went to the squadron of Captain Joaquín Mellado Pascual, who was shot down in September 1936 at the controls of the Potez 54 *F*, and the remaining 7 to the *Escuadrilla España* commanded by André Malraux. The last Potez 54 with distinctive letters from *M* to *S* arrived in Spain in autumn 1936. By December, the French government had provided the Republic's air force with 133 aircraft, matching the number of aircraft already supplied at the time by the USSR⁷⁶.

On 6 August, the writer was appointed lieutenant colonel by the Spanish Air Minister and placed under the command of Ignacio Hidalgo de Cisneros, Republican Air Force chief of staff and later head of the air force. Malraux, already at the head of the *Escuadrilla España*, began recruiting men until he reached a total of 120, most of them foreigners.

Until September, the main aid in terms of aircraft received by the Republic came from France. This aid consisted of 20 Potez 54 bomber aircraft and 14 Dewoitine D.372 fighters that were under contract to Lithuania and whose order was exchanged for 14 Dewoitines D.500. Later, 8 Latécoère 28 planes from Air France were delivered, in addition to 6 Dewoitine D.371 from a French Air Force order which, piloted by Frenchmen Marius Poulain, André Boulingre, Bois, Belguinda, Rene Halotier and Henri Rozès, landed at Barcelona's El Prat aerodrome on 6 August 1936⁷⁷ from the Lioré et Olivier factory, where they were assembled. Prototype No. 6 of the Loire 46, which was flown solely by Victor Vénier and Abel Guidez until its destruction on the ground during a bombing raid on the Getafe base by

⁷⁶ Salas Larrazabal, J. (1989). La aportación de material aéreo por parte de los principales países extranjeros. I. Generalidades y ayuda a la República. *Revista Aeroplano* Issue 7. Madrid, Ministry of Defence.

⁷⁷ Jover Alujás, J. (1982). El DEWOITINE 371 and 372. Article from the newsletter *Alas Gloriosas*. Issue 23, September-October, of the Aviators Association of the Republic ADAR.

Junkers Ju-52 aircraft in October 1936, and a Spad 91/6 *Léger* and a Breguet BR-460 *Vultur* were also delivered. The fighter planes were diverted to Spain, although on paper they were purchased by the Arab Emirate of Hedjaz (now the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia). This discrepancy was subsequently used to send two Dewoitine D.510s.

Most of the French pilots and ground crew brought to Spain by Malraux were mercenaries with substantial contracts and salaries of 50,000 francs. To finance these sums, the Republican government had sent a shipment of gold to Paris on DC-2 aircraft belonging to the Líneas Aéreas Postales de España, LAPE. The total amount of gold sent to France was 174 tonnes, equivalent to 27.4 % of the Banco de España's reserves⁷⁸.

Malraux appointed the 22-year-old Belgian Paul Nothomb, a military pilot who had volunteered under the name of *Paul Bernier* and who had travelled to Spain with his girlfriend Margot Develer to defend the Republic, as political commissar of the *Escuadrilla España*.

In early September, the *Escuadrilla España* lost pilot Heilman at the controls of his Hispano Niuport 52 in combat against a Fiat CR-32 between Talavera de la Reina and Navalморal de la Mata.

On 25 September, two Hispano Niuport 52s were lost in combat near Madrid. One was piloted by the Englishman *Smith Piggot* and the other by the Frenchman Mouillenet, who collided with a Fiat⁷⁹.

On 27 October 1936, three Potez 54, piloted by Abel Guidez, René Dary and Victor Véniel, took off at night. Despite the fact that the three crews were made up of different nationalities who did not understand each other easily, the operation was an outstanding success. The three Potez flew over the Talavera airfield and quietly bombed all barracks and visible installations. The plane piloted by Dary damaged the runway. On the return trip, just before entering the Republican zone, a group of enemy fighters sighted and began to chase the Potezs. When they were almost in range, three Dewoitine D.372s of the *Escuadrilla España* came to escort them. This operation, and the dispersal

⁷⁸ <https://blogs.lasprovincias.es/anecdotas-de-la-historia/2017/03/07/cual-ha-sido-el-robo-mas-importante-en-la-historia-de-espana/>

⁷⁹ Corominas, L. (2006). El Hispano-Nieuport 52 en la guerra civil española. Article from the Aeronautical History magazine *Aeroplano*, Issue 24. Ministry of Defence.

of the enemy columns at Medellín on 16 August, were the unit's most successful actions⁸⁰.

The *Spain* Squadron did not enjoy a good reputation and, according to Hidalgo de Cisneros, were considered amateurs who waged war on their own, their military operations considered a disaster. The Republic's air advantage began to diminish in mid-August after the first clashes with Heinkel He-51 and Fiat CR-32 fighters. It was not until the arrival of Soviet equipment in November that the air forces of the two opposing sides were rebalanced.

The last bombing planes flown by Malraux's pilots were the Potez *B* and *P*, which were destroyed on 11 February 1937. These aircraft operated from the Tabernas aerodrome (Almería). The Potez *P* was piloted by Maurice Chauvenet and Carraz, both French ex-air force pilots. Attacked by CR-32 fighters, it managed to land, and the crew was saved, although half of them were wounded. Potez *B* was piloted by Guy Santès and co-piloted by Indonesian Jan-Frederikus Stolk. The navigator was Paul Nothomb *Bernier*, the machine gunner was Corsican Paul Galloni d'Istria, the machine gunner in the turret was René Deverts, and Maurice Thomas was there as the mechanic. The *Chirri* fighters came in twice, setting fire to the left engine and stopping the right one, giving the pilot Guy Santès no choice but to land on the beach of Castel de Ferro of Motril (Granada). The wounded were treated on the spot by Canadian physician Dr. Béthune, assisted by Dr. Hazen. They were later evacuated to Almería, but Stolk, who had been seriously injured, died without regaining consciousness, and Galloni had his leg amputated. The pilot Guy Santès injured his right forearm. Navigator Paul Nothomb *Bernier* was slightly injured on the right foot. Machine gunner René Deverts suffered serious head injuries and mechanic Maurice Thomas was unhurt. It is quite possible that Marcel Bergeron, the Squadron's chief mechanic, was on the same flight, as Nothomb himself stated in 1940. If this was the case, he would also have been unharmed⁸¹.

⁸⁰ <https://aeropinakes.com/wordpress/1936/08/14/8283/>

⁸¹ ICARE. La guerre d'Espagne 1936 - 1939. Article by Laureau, P. (1986). Les derniers Potez de Malraux. Revue de l'aviation française. Pantin.

Bénil, A. (1998). L'engagement espagnol de Malraux vécu et relaté par son "commissaire politique". *Space, Time and Form*, Series V.

Laureau, P. (1986). Les pilotes mercenaires pendant la guerre civile: Problèmes, Légendes et Realités. Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez. "The Baron de Drame-

This was the last mission of the *Escuadrila España*, which was disbanded the same month and integrated into the Republican Air Force as the *Malraux Squadron*, based in Manises (Valencia) and used mainly for Coastal Defence, its pilots receiving the same salary as the rest of the Republican pilots.

We will now give a brief overview of the most outstanding Frenchmen in the *España Escuadrilla*.

- Abel Eugène Guidez⁸². Born in Paris in 1908, he was an Armée de l'Air pilot, distinguishing himself in the *España Escuadrilla*, of which he was the operational military commander, scoring 10 shootdowns. He was subsequently deputy director of the company *Air Pyrénées*, which had been set up with funds from the Basque, Republican, and Soviet autonomous governments. He was shot down and killed on 7 September 1937 near Ribadesella (Asturias) flying an Airspeed AS.6J *Envoy III* with registration number F-AQCS, by the Messerschmitt BF-109 with call sign 6-36 belonging to the German Captain Harro Harder (11 shootdowns) from the 1/J.88 squadron of the Condor Legion.
- William Labussière⁸³ belonged to the 1stI-16 Squadron (5 shoot-downs). He was with the *Malraux Squadron* until June 1937 when he returned to France, going on to fly fighter planes in China where he achieved more shoot-downs as part of Chenault's *Flying Tigers*. He fought in World War II with the Armée de l'Air in Indochina.
- Robert William Rayneau de Honington⁸⁴ was born on 30 August 1910 in Auriac-sur-Vendinelle. During the Civil War he

ley, a Burgundian cavalryman in the habit of Santiago, in a memorial given to the Council, refers that he has served V.M. since the first wars in Piemonte, having been found in the site and capture of Berceli...". AGS, E., file 2801, Council of State, Madrid, 31 August 1638; National Historical Archive (AHN), Military Orders (OO.MM.), Santiago, file 5589; AHN, OO.MM., file 15,404.

Nothomb, P. (1999). *Malraux en Espagne*. Paris, Éditions Phébus.

<http://guerracivildiaadia.blogspot.com/2014/02/andre-malraux-1901-1976.html>
<https://elsecretodelospajaros.net/2013/12/16/664/>

⁸² Del Frade, H. (2010). El derribo de Abel Guidez en septiembre de 1937. Internet article:

https://malraux.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/images_documents_delfrade.pdf

⁸³ <http://www.gavroche-thailande.com/actualites/village-francophone/110417-indochine-william-labussiere-un-autre-rebelle-au-service-de-la-france-libre>

⁸⁴ Mikhail, M. (2013). *Polikarpov I-15, I-16 and I-153 Aces*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
<http://www.francaislibres.net/liste/fiche.php?index=92740>

achieved 5 shootdowns, possibly flying the I-15 biplane. On the outbreak of World War II, he travelled to England from Gibraltar on the freighter *Anadir* with other French pilots. As a lieutenant in the Forces Aériennes Françaises Libres FAFL⁸⁵, he served as an instructor officer in the 1st Fighter Group at Odiham (UK).

- Raymond Maréchal⁸⁶, member of the Squadron as a machine gunner and its official photographer. He was injured in the face when the Potez *N* piloted by Florein was shot down in Valdelinares (Teruel). This defeat would inspire the film *L'Espoir*.
- Jean Galy⁸⁷. Pilot of the Airspeed AS.6J *Envoy III* of Air Pyrénées with registration number F-APPQ, which was attacked on 26 May 1937 by Nationalist aircraft over Bermeo and had to make an emergency landing in Sopelana, where Jean Galy was slightly injured.
- Paul Nothomb⁸⁸, alias *Paul Bernier* and *Julien Ségnair*. Political Commissar *Escuadrilla Española*. He was not French but Belgian and flew in the bombers as a navigator. He was injured in the defeat of the Potez *B* in Motril.
- André Boulingre⁸⁹. This pilot began the war transporting aircraft from Toulouse to Barcelona. Later, with another Frenchman, he was part of Major Laureano Villimar's group on the Andalusian front, flying Breguet aircraft. With William Labussière and other members of the *Escuadrilla Española*, he returned to China and Indochina to fight in Chenault's *Flying Tigers* squadron.
- Raoul Delage and Jean Aaron alias *Monsieur Ruiz* were two French pilots in the Aragonese *Alas Rojas* squadron based in Sariñena. Delage flew Dewoitine D.510 TH aircraft from France

⁸⁵ FAFL Forces Aériennes Françaises Libres, for Free French Air Forces.

⁸⁶ ICARE. La guerre d'Espagne 1936 - 1939. Article by Laureau, P. (1986). Les mercenaires et les volontaires. In *Revue de l'aviation française*. Pantin.

⁸⁷ Del Frade, H. (2010). El derribo de Abel Guidez en septiembre de 1937. Internet article: https://malraux.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/images_documents_delfrade.pdf

⁸⁸ ICARE. La guerre d'Espagne 1936 - 1939. Article by Bernier, P. (1986). In *Revue de l'aviation française*. Pantin.

⁸⁹ ICARE. La guerre d'Espagne 1936 - 1939. Article by Vénier, V. (1986). L'Aviation Française et la Guerre d'Espagne. In the *Revue de l'aviation française*. Pantin.

to Spain in August 1936⁹⁰. He died of typhoid fever in a hospital in Barcelona in late 1937 or early 1938. As for *Monsieur Ruiz*, on his return from leave in France he was detained by the French police, who prevented him from entering Spain on the orders of the Non-Intervention Committee.

- Victor Vénier⁹¹. He was one of the first pilots to join the squadron and belonged to the Armée de l'Air. He had 1 credited shootdown. He commanded the squadron in the absence of Malraux and Guidez. He may have been an agent of the 2^{eme} Bureau.
- Adrien Matheron⁹². Armée de l'Air pilot with 2 accredited shootdowns.
- Jean Georges Dary⁹³ (erroneously spelled Darry) alias *Julio Doria Alvarez* and born Kosheleff. He was a French fighter pilot in the First World War. Born in Paris on 6 December 1896. After forming part of the *Escuadrilla España* flying Dewoitine 371 fighters and Potez 54 bombers, he went on to fly Soviet I-15s in García La Calle's squadron, where he is credited with 3 shootdowns and 1 shared shootdown, not counting those he had to this name with the *Escuadrilla España*. After the defeat of the Popular Army, some believe that he committed suicide, although in some publications he appears as a captain pilot of the Forces Aériennes Françaises Libres, FAFL.
- Jean Gisclon⁹⁴, alias *Michel Bernay*, born in 1913, with 3 accredited shootdowns. In 1986 he wrote the book *La désillusion: Espagne 1936*.
- F. Mouillenet. 1 accredited shootdown.

⁹⁰ Laureau, P. (1986). Les pilotes mercenaires pendant la guerre civile: Problèmes, Légendes et Realités. *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*.

https://www.persee.fr/doc/casa_0076-230x_1986_num_22_1_2476

⁹¹ ICARE. La guerre d'Espagne 1936 - 1939. Article by Vénier, V. (1986). L'Aviation Française et la Guerre d'Espagne. In *Revue de l'aviation française*. Pantin.

Laureau, P. (1986). Les pilotes mercenaires pendant la guerre civile: Problèmes, Légendes et Realités. *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*.

⁹² ICARE. La guerre d'Espagne 1936 - 1939. Article by Vénier, V. (1986). In *Revue de l'aviation française*. Pantin.

⁹³ ICARE. (1986). La guerre d'Espagne 1936 - 1939. Report from *Revue de l'aviation française*. Pantin.

<http://www.francaislibres.net/liste/fiche.php?index=63466&page=1>

⁹⁴ <http://www.legrandmalraux.fr/HL%20-%20Andre%20Malraux%20et%20la%20guerre%20d%27Espagne.pdf>

- Jean Gouinet. 5 accredited shootdowns.
- Georges Deniaud.
- Henri Gensous. Armée de l'Air pilot.
- Carraz. Co-pilot of the Potez *P* shot down in Motril in February 1937.
- René Issart. Armée de l'Air pilot.
- Marius Poulain⁹⁵. Armée de l'Air pilot. He transported aircraft from Toulouse to Barcelona and Madrid.
- Gontcharov. Armée de l'Air pilot.
- Castaneda di Campo. Armée de l'Air pilot.
- Henri Gensous. Armée de l'Air pilot.
- Hantz⁹⁶, born in Alsace and shot down on 3 September flying a DC-2 while bombing the Yagüe column, he had fought in the German air force during World War I.
- Deshuis⁹⁷, shot down flying the Potez 54 *E* on 30 September over the mountains north of Madrid, although he survived the shootdown which resulted in three dead among the aircraft's crew.
- Marcel Florein⁹⁸. Pilot of the Potez *Ñ* based in Getafe. In 1937 he went to China as part of the 14th International Bombing Squadron. He served in World War II in the Forces Aériennes Françaises Libres, FAFL.
- Roger Pons. Pilot, administrator and public relations of the Squadron.
- Marcel Bergeron, Chief Mechanic.
- Jean Belâidi. Algerian, killed when his plane was shot down in Teruel in December 1936.

⁹⁵ ICARE. La guerre d'Espagne 1936 - 1939. Article by Vénier, V. (1986). *L'Aviation Française et la Guerre d'Espagne*. In *Revue de l'aviation française*. Pantin.

⁹⁶ Thornberry, R. S. (1977). *André Malraux et l'Espagne*. Librairie Droz.

⁹⁷ ICARE. La guerre d'Espagne 1936 - 1939. Article by Vénier, V. (1986). *L'Aviation Française et la Guerre d'Espagne*. In *Revue de l'aviation française*. Pantin.

⁹⁸ <http://www.jean-maridor.org/calepin/francais/listfafl.htm#H>

ICARE. La guerre d'Espagne 1936 - 1939. Article by Bernier, P. (1986). *L'Aviation Française et la Guerre d'Espagne*. In *Revue de l'aviation française*. Pantin.

- Claude Roland⁹⁹. A pilot for Lioré & Olivier, he flew aircraft from Villacoublay to Toulouse en route to Spain and died fighting in World War II in the Forces Aériennes Françaises Libres, FAFL.
- Maurice Combébias, machine gunner.
- Paul Galloni, machine gunner.
- Maurice Thomas¹⁰⁰. He served in World War II in the Forces Aériennes Françaises Libres, FAFL.
- Ramón Ibáñez, *Ramuncito*¹⁰¹, was in an I-16 Squadron.
- Corniglion-Molinier¹⁰², an Air France pilot who organised a group of his pilot colleagues to transfer aircraft from France to Spain.
- Charles Tison, bomber.
- Piéplu, mechanic.
- René Devers, machine gunner.
- Raymond Maréchal, machine gunner.
- Nicolas Chiaromonte, machine gunner.
- Hilaire Audouin, mechanic.
- Adrien Matheron, pilot with 5 accredited shootdowns.
- Jean Labitte, pilot.
- Ivanof, pilot.
- Klein, pilot.
- René Issart, pilot.
- René Halotier, moved aircraft from Villacoublay to Toulouse en route to Spain.
- Lepreux, moved aircraft from Villacoublay to Toulouse en route to Spain.

⁹⁹ <http://www.jean-maridor.org/calepin/francais/listfafl.htm#H>

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.jean-maridor.org/calepin/francais/listfafl.htm#H>

¹⁰¹ ICARE. La guerre d'Espagne 1936 - 1939. Article by Ibáñez, R. (1986). In *Revue de l'aviation française*. Pantin.

¹⁰² ICARE. La guerre d'Espagne 1936 - 1939. Article by Bernier, P. (1986). *L'Aviation Française et la Guerre d'Espagne*. In *Revue de l'aviation française*. Pantin.

- Belguinda, moved aircraft from Villacoublay to Toulouse en route to Spain.
- Henri Rozès, moved aircraft from Toulouse to Barcelona and Madrid.
- Bois, moved aircraft from Villacoublay to Toulouse en route to Spain.
- Roulland, a pilot for Lioré et Olivier who flew aircraft from Villacoublay to Toulouse en route to Spain.
- Doumerc, a pilot for Lioré et Olivier who flew aircraft from Villacoublay to Toulouse en route to Spain.
- Dufêtre, moved aircraft from Villacoublay to Toulouse en route to Spain.
- Bourgois, François alias *Le Gros* and *Le Deuxieme*, pilot. He travelled to China with Laboussiere, Boulingre and Poivre.
- Poivre, pilot. He travelled to China with Laboussiere, Boulingre and Bourgois.
- Félicien Theillac, pilot.
- Bernard Soukoff, navigator.
- Lehourde, machine gunner and bomber.
- Guénegou, machine gunner and bomber.
- Bourne, machine gunner.
- Xéridat alias *Le Papou*, mechanic.
- Legrand¹⁰³, bomber and navigator.
- Alexandre Leonel Pierre¹⁰⁴, known as Lionel de Marmier, was born on 4 December 1897 in Bellegarde-en-Marche, Creuse department, Limousin region. He was a pilot in the First World War with 6 credited shootdowns and demobilised in 1919 as a lieutenant in the Reserve, becoming a test pilot at Nieuport and then a pilot on the Franco-Roumanie de Navigation Aérienne line, and continuing as a test pilot at Potez. In 1930,

¹⁰³ ICARE. La guerre d'Espagne 1936 - 1939. Article by Bernier, P. (1986). L'Efficace et le Symbolique. In *Revue de l'aviation française*. Pantin.

ICARE. La guerre d'Espagne 1936 - 1939. Article by Vénier, V. (1986). L'Aviation Française et la Guerre d'Espagne. In *Revue de l'aviation française*. Pantin.

¹⁰⁴ De Mesa, J. L. (1998). Los otros internacionales. Madrid, Ediciones Barbarroja. https://www.traditions-air.fr/texte/Marmier_de_Lionel.htm

he was hired by Aéropostale and in 1933 he became a test pilot for Air France. He was involved in the Spanish Civil War, but his shootdowns are unknown. On the outbreak of World War II, he was mobilised as an Air Reserve commander and was shot down 3 times, managing to get to England to join De Gaulle. In September 1944 he was promoted to general. However, on 30 December, while travelling from Algiers to Paris to take over Air France, the Lockheed C.60 aircraft crashed into the sea, killing him and 12 other travellers.

- Guy Sentès. Pilot of the last Potez 54 bomber pilot shot down in Motril (Granada).
- Robert Brancard, a right-wing pilot from World War I with no shootdowns who joined the *Escuadrilla España* as a spy for the 2^{eme} Bureau until he was discovered and deported from Spain by Malraux himself.
- François Bourhois¹⁰⁵. He signed up for the unit, claiming that he had been a pilot in World War I and had subsequently flown Latecoere aircraft. He also claimed that he had transported alcoholic beverages into the US during Prohibition on behalf of the gangster Dillinger. As this information does not appear in official records, this name may not have been his real one, although a pilot of this name appears in World War II fighting in the FAFL (Forces Aériennes Françaises Libres).
- Drouillet.
- Marcel Bidault.
- Paul Galloni, machine gunner wounded in the shooting down of the last Potez 54 B in Motril.
- Jan-Frederikus Stolk, Indonesian pilot killed in the shooting down of the last Potez 54 B in Motril.
- Maurice Thomas, mechanic unharmed in the shooting down of the last Potez 54 B in Motril.

The first pilots recruited by Malraux were all professionals: Abel Guidez (squadron leader), Jean Dary (Guidez's deputy), Victor Véniel, in charge of operational command when Guidez or Dary were not available, Jean Labitte, Adrien Matheron, Castaneda di Campo, François Pulain, Gontcharov, Ivanof, Klein and René

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.jean-maridor.org/calepin/francais/listfafl.htm#H>
De Mesa, J. L. (1998). *Los otros internacionales*. Madrid, Ediciones Barbarroja.

Issart. Some of these men signed up for 50,000 francs a month, payable in Spanish currency, and life and accident insurance for 50,000 pesetas.

Russian journalist Mikhail Koltsov¹⁰⁶ attributed ten victories to Guidez¹⁰⁷ although this seems to be an exaggerated figure for the sake of propaganda. Victor Véniel attributed Guidez four or five victories and others to Gouinet, Dary, Matheron and the Czech Jan Ferak.

The following data on shoot-owns¹⁰⁸ by French pilots are taken from a more comprehensive table published on the website:

- Captain Ramón "Ramuncito" Ibáñez. 11 shootdowns (P. Laureau).
- Castaneda di Campo. 5 shootdowns (P. Laureau).
- Attachment Jean Dary. 5 shootdowns (P. Laureau).
- Robert William Rayneau. 5 shootdowns (V. Arkhipov).
- Abel Guidez. 4 shootdowns (V. Veniel).
- Captain Jean Gouinet. 3 shootdowns (J. Gisclon).
- William Labussière. 3 shootdowns (Ehrengardt-List, Young).
- Captain Victor Véniel. 3 shootdowns (J. Gisclon, Ehrengardt-List).
- René Issard. 2 shootdowns (P. Facon).
- Kozek. 2 shootdowns (P. Facon).
- Adrien Matheron. 2 shootdowns (P. Laureau).
- Jean Gisclon "Michel Bernay". 1 shootdown (P. Facon).
- André Boulingre. 1 shootdown.
- Hilaire du Berrier. 1 shootdown (J. Arráez Cerdá).
- Ivanof. 1 shootdown (P. Laureau).
- Jean Labitte. 1 shootdown (P. Facon).
- Maurice Locatelli. 1 shootdown.
- François Mouillenet. 1 shootdown.
- Maurice Thomas. 1 shootdown (P. Facon).

¹⁰⁶ Koltsov, M. (1978). *Diario de la guerra española*. Madrid, Akal Editor.

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.theaerodrome.com/forum/showthread.php?t=18627>

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.igleize.fr/aces/espfra.htm>

French pilots and mechanics in the Basque Country¹⁰⁹

The presence of French volunteers in the Basque Country was more limited as a result of the closure of the French border after the capture of Irun and the international bridge, leaving a group of French fighters integrated into the Basque Army Corps as well as pilots and auxiliaries of French origin in the squadrons established in the airfields of Biscay.

Let us look at some of them.

- Máximo Detrie, commanded the transmissions company of the Igiletua Ertzaña known as *La Motorizada*. When José María Picaza, head of *La Motorizada*, together with Casiano Guerricaechevarría, head of the Artillery, and some others escaped to France on the yacht *Goizeko Izarra* shortly before the capture of Bilbao, it is quite possible that Detrie was one of the escapees.
- Georges Baulu, aviation pilot and machine gunner.
- René Chaubet, mechanic at Lamiaco aerodrome.
- René Domenge, pilot of a Potez 56 which, travelling from Toulouse to Sondica, crashed into the sea off Baquio, losing the aircraft and injuring the pilot and passengers.
- Henri Baudin, authorised to travel to Bilbao from France. He was in charge of an anti-aircraft machine gun at Lamiaco aerodrome.
- Abel Guidez and Auguste Amestoy, promoters of the Basque-French company *Air Pyrènéés*, which linked Biarritz and Toulouse with Bilbao. Abel Guidez had been a pilot in Malraux's *Spain Squadron*, as we have already seen.

Militia fighters in the Basque Country

The first fighters to join militia groups appeared at the end of July and were the *Polish Group of Nine* led by Polish Jews Leon Baum and Josef Epstein¹¹⁰. Leon Baum lived in France as a member of the French Communist Party and died in Irun on 3

¹⁰⁹ De Mesa, J. L. (1998). *Los otros internacionales*. Madrid, Ediciones Barbarroja.
Buces Cabello, J. (2014). *Leioa 1936-1945*. Leioa, Aranzadi Science Society.
<http://www.aranzadi.eus/fileadmin/docs/leioa-I.pdf>

¹¹⁰ Article published at: <http://www.gipuzkoa1936.com/anarquistas4.php>

September. Epstein also lived in France and was a member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Youth. After fleeing to France across the international bridge, he crossed over to Catalonia and joined the International Brigades, eventually commanding the *Anna Pauker* anti-aircraft battery. It is possible that these are the two Frenchmen mentioned by the anarchist leader Manuel Chiapuso in his writings on the Civil War in Gipuzkoa.

The French Group was commanded by Jacques Menachem¹¹¹ and was the one that fought to defend the city of Irun, with the survivors going to France and returning to Spain via Catalonia.

Groups of foreign volunteers joined the *Russia* Battalion (6th *Meabe*) of the Unified Socialist Youth¹¹², and on 30 August the Frenchman Pierre Noblecourt was listed as a wounded member of the battalion.

Another of the foreign groups was called the *Group of French Militia Affected in Irun* and was made up of 12 men, although 9 had Spanish or mixed surnames, being emigrants or descendants of emigrants. The leader of the group was Abundio Álvarez Lesma, with Jean Esquerro Callan as *machine gunner*. On 19 August, a group of CNT Militias acted in Urnieta under the command of an unknown *French lieutenant*. In Eibar, standing out among the militiamen of the local Popular Front, were seven Frenchmen who manned the only anti-aircraft gun in the town.

In the last battle on the international bridge at Irun on 5 September 1936, the two militiamen manning a machine gun were killed. The journalist, George L. Steer, managed to get hold of the papers of one of them, who turned out to be a young French communist.

Also famous is the photo of the French journalist Raymond Vanker¹¹³ crossing the international bridge between Irun and Hendaye at full speed carrying a baby in his arms wrapped in a

¹¹¹ Castells, A. (1974) *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la guerra de España*. Barcelona, Editorial Ariel.

¹¹² Unified Socialist Youth, in Spanish Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas JSU. A merger between the Socialist and Communist Youths which took place shortly before the outbreak of the civil war. Among its sponsors was Santiago Carrillo, years later secretary general of the Communist Party of Spain.

¹¹³ <http://comedurasdetarro.over-blog.es/2015/11/fotografias-del-frente-irun-san-sebastian-1936.html>

blanket, who he had rescued from one of the houses set on fire by anarchist and communist militiamen.

In September, in Captain Victorio Eguía's MAOC Company¹¹⁴ of San Sebastián, there was a Frenchman among its 189 militiamen. Also, among the 195 men of Captain Luciano Echeverría Maíz's 2nd Company of the Anti-Fascist Militias of Gipuzkoa, Rentería Section, were nine members of the French Communist Party. Furthermore, there was Jeanne Lefevre, a French medical student and member of the French Communist Party, worked in the ambulance service of Ventas de Astigarraga.

Among the fugitives from Irun who crossed into France and returned to Spain via Catalonia was the former French captain Jean-Marie François¹¹⁵, alias *Geoffroy*. He set up in Figueres castle to receive the foreign volunteers coming across the border, and later became a member of the base management team in Albacete, acting as an instructor. He was later appointed commander of the XI International Brigade, although only for a short time because he was replaced by Manfred Stern *Émil Kleber*, who appointed him Brigade Chief of Staff. By December 1936 he was commanding the *André Marty* battalion of the XII BI. In February 1937 this battalion was almost annihilated in the battle of Jarama and *Geoffroy* was stripped off his position.

In October, after the initial stage of the battalions and militia columns, the People's Army of the Republic and the Basque Army Corps were formed and these battalions were integrated into different Brigades. Meanwhile, the Communist Party of Euzkadi, an affiliate of the Communist Party of Spain, organised a so-called *Bureau of the International Brigade of Euzkadi* in an attempt to recruit all international volunteers linked to the militia battalions. At the head of this *Bureau* was the volunteer Paul Duperte and as secretary Pierre Noblecourt, mentioned above, who in May was integrated into the machine-gun company of the communist battalion *Karl Liebknecht*.

The first commander of the 8th battalion of the UGT *Jean Jaurés*, created at the end of 1936 on the Eibar front, was Paul Drieux, a French reserve officer, who was killed in December 1936 by sniper fire.

¹¹⁴ MAOC, Milicias Antifascistas Obreras y Campesinas (Anti-Fascist Workers' and Peasants' Militias).

¹¹⁵ https://es-academic.com/dic.nsf/eswiki/1475730/#Comandantes_de_la_Brigada

The Frenchman Joseph Marius Gerain, who had belonged to the Belgian Group, became a machine gun lieutenant in the 67th Euzkadi battalion, "Guillermo Torrijos" or 14th UGT, formed in 1937 with the ugetistas of the 20th *Azaña-Guipúzcoa* battalion.

On 4 April 1937, the twenty-five-year-old Parisian Louis Vasseur Huberto died on the Ochandiano front¹¹⁶. Among the commanders from the International Brigades who arrived at the northern front was the Belgian-born Alsatian, Joseph Putz, who had already fought at Lopera at the head of the 13th International Battalion and who presided over the court-martial that condemned his compatriot, Major Gaston Ernest Delasalle, to death. He commanded the XIV International Brigade and fought in the battle of Jarama in February. In June, he moved to the north and took charge of the 1st Basque Division, fighting hard in Santo Domingo and Archanda and returning to the front in the central zone. He was an aide to *General Walter*¹¹⁷ in the battle of Brunete. He is suspected of being an informer for the French military secret services. A lieutenant colonel in the Free French Forces, he was killed in action in Alsace in January 1945 during World War II.

The Frenchman Pierre Derichebourg¹¹⁸, born in 1907 in Gauchin-Légal (Pas-de-Calais), was killed in action in Larrabezúa (Vizcaya) on 13 June 1937 as part of the machine gun company of the 24th Battalion.

Other French fighters in the North

Robert Monnier¹¹⁹, alias *Jauregui* or *Jaureghuy*, was a member of the French military intelligence and acted as advisor to the Basque leader Aguirre throughout the Basque campaign, together with the British journalist Georges Steer. He died of malaria in

¹¹⁶ Vargas Alonso, F. M. Voluntarios internacionales y asesores extranjeros en Euzkadi (1936-1937). Universidad del País Vasco. Article.

¹¹⁷ *General Walter*, the nom de guerre of Karol Swierczewsky, Polish-born but from the USSR, who joined the International Brigades. He survived the civil and world wars, only to fall victim to assassination in Soviet Poland in 1947.

¹¹⁸ Perroy, E. (2019). *Du combattant volontaire international au soldat-militant transnational: le volontariat étranger antifasciste durant la guerre d'Espagne (1936-1938)*. Histoire. Université Paris sciences et lettres.

¹¹⁹ Vargas Alonso, F. M. Voluntarios internacionales y asesores extranjeros en Euzkadi (1936-1937). Universidad del País Vasco. Article.

<https://ojs.ehu.eus/index.php/HC/article/viewFile/4157/3707>

November 1939 during a mission in Sudan. He was always highly regarded by the Basque Army Corps commanders.

Andres Thilly Armand¹²⁰, a French doctor born in Paris who worked in Asturias as a translator for Soviet advisors. Captured in October 1937, he was court-martialled, convicted and executed in 1938, having declared that he had worked as an interpreter for *some Russians*.

Georges Lebeau¹²¹, Military Medalist in the 1stWorld War and José Antonio Aguirre's private pilot of a Beech-17R aircraft with the registration F-APFD, also known as *El Negus* as it was said to have belonged to the Emperor of Abyssinia. He made many trips between the northern republican zone and France, evacuating from Santander, which was on the verge of being conquered by the nationalist troops, *lendakari* (Basque president)¹²² José Antonio Aguirre and his Justice Councillor Jesús M.^a De Leizaola and the Finance Councillor Heliodoro de la Torre.

Recruitment of International Brigade volunteers in Paris

After the Komintern's decision to launch the call for volunteers to fight as part of the International Brigade, the focus was on Paris, and as Rafael García Serrano¹²³ puts it, "The recruitment brigades were opened all over the world, but most of the attention was in France. These brigades were clearly often communist, or they appeared sweetly masked with less conspicuous and somewhat more democratic labels, with the pious lie of recruiting technicians and workers for specific labour functions. Some naïve people took the bait and instead of finding a milling machine they found a machine gun in their hands".

Pied-noirs in the International Brigades

An estimated 500 Algerian *pied-noirs*¹²⁴ enlisted in the International Brigades. Some 350 survived, most of them belonging

¹²⁰ Talón, V. (1997). La guerra en el aire 1936-39. *Defensa magazine* Issue 47.

¹²¹ Talón, V. (1997). La guerra en el aire, 1936-37. *Defensa magazine* Issue 49.

¹²² Lendakari, in the Basque language of 1936, means president. Today it is written Lehendakari, which according to the RAE dictionary is translated as Head of the Basque Government.

¹²³ García Serrano, R. (1979). *Diccionario para un macuto*. Barcelona, Editorial Planeta.

¹²⁴ *Pied-noirs*, the name given to the French settlers in Algeria.

to the newly founded Communist Party of Algeria, then a French colony¹²⁵.

We are not going to describe the war actions in which the International Brigade volunteers took part because there is a lot of bibliography available, but we will give some brief biographies of the most outstanding ones.

- André Emile Grégoire¹²⁶. Political Commissar XI International Brigade and International Brigades Press and Propaganda Delegate, enlisted in the International Brigades on 18 February 1937, André Grégoire was assigned to the political commissariat of the XI International Brigade on 4 March. He took part in the battle of Guadalajara and then, in April, he joined the XIV Brigade as Political Commissar of the 12th Battalion. In this capacity, he took part in the operations at La Granja and was cited as outstanding in the Brigade Order. On 1 September 1937, he took up the post of Deputy Political Commissar of the International Brigades. He was again cited for services to the Brigades. In October, he was ordered by Commissioner General Luigi Longo *Gallo* to go to Barcelona to develop the base there, from where he returned to France and was prosecuted by the military authorities. Taken prisoner by the Germans, he was liberated in 1945 by the Russians and since then has been active in politics, always within the ranks of the French Communist Party. He died in 1988 at the age of 80.
- François Bernard¹²⁷. Commander of XII International Brigade between 20 September and 19 November 1937.
- Jean Chaintron¹²⁸, alias *Barthel*. Political Commissar of the Staff of the XV International Brigade, born in Lyon in 1906 and died in Paris in 1989. He was one of the founders of the Algerian Communist Party. In February 1937, he enlisted in the International Brigades after his brother Simon was killed in action. He was repatriated for medical reasons in November 1937. He was a member of the French Communist Party.

¹²⁵ Casado, S. (30 November 2017). La historia olvidada de los pied-noir. Article published on the website: <https://latrompetadejerico.com/historia-de-espana/pies-negros-espanoles-en-argelia/>

¹²⁶ <https://ahmo93.fr/notices-biographiques/gregoire-andre-emile/>

¹²⁷ http://vexi.cat/annasebas/bi_xiigaribaldi.htm

¹²⁸ <https://maitron.fr/spip.php?article19277>

- Roger Codou¹²⁹. He worked for the *Altavoz del Frente* doing propaganda work. He was born in 1906 in Saint-Maur-des-Fossés (Seine) and died in Paris in 1999. He was a militant of the French Communist Party and enlisted in the French Armed Forces, belonging to the battalions *La Marseillaise* and *Dumont* of the XIV International Brigade, and to the *Lincoln* battalion of the XV International Brigade. He survived the war but was taken prisoner by the Germans, spending time in several concentration camps and liberated from a camp in Algeria in 1943.
- Gaston Ernest Delasalle¹³⁰. Lieutenant Colonel Commander of the *La Marseillaise* battalion of the XIV International Brigade. He was shot in January 1937 after a court-martial held in Arjonilla following the disaster suffered by the XIV International Brigade when fighting in the Lopera area a few days earlier.
- Jules Joseph Dumont¹³¹. He had been an officer in the French army. He commanded the *Comunne de Paris* Battalion of the XI International Brigade and was later commander of the XIV International Brigade. He was born in Roubaix in 1888 and, after he was arrested and tried as a member of the French Resistance, was shot by the Germans in Suresnes in 1943. He was a member of the French Communist Party.
- Joseph Putz¹³². As already mentioned, he was born in Belgium in 1895, but he fought in the French army during World War I, reaching the rank of lieutenant. He arrived in Spain in November 1936 and was given command of the 13th Battalion "Henri Barbusse" of the XIV International Brigade. After the fighting at Lopera, he presided over the court martial that condemned Gaston Delasalle to death. In the battle of Jarama, *General Walter* gave him provisional command of the XIV International Brigade, and he was wounded in the fighting. In May, he went on to command the 1st Division of the Basque Army Corps on the northern front. On his return to the centre, he joined the 35th International Division

¹²⁹ <http://sidbrint.ub.edu/es/content/codou-roger>

¹³⁰ http://www.sbhac.net/Republica/Personajes/Internacional1/GCE_Delperrie_Delasalle.pdf

¹³¹ <http://www.sbhac.net/Republica/Personajes/Internacional1/Internacionales1.htm>

¹³² <http://www.sbhac.net/Republica/Personajes/Internacional2/Internacionales2.htm>

until the end of 1938, when he was repatriated to France and shortly afterwards to Algeria. During World War II, he belonged to General de Gaulle's Free French Army as part of a motorised unit of the Chad Marching Regiment, which later became part of the 2nd Armoured Division. After landing in France, his battalion fought throughout France, and he was eventually killed in action at Grussenheim in January 1945.

- Henri Dupré¹³³. From the French Socialist Party, he was appointed Quartermaster Chief of the International Brigades' base in Albacete. In fact, it seems that he was a member of *La Cagoule*¹³⁴, infiltrated into the International Brigades. He had to flee when he was about to be arrested. In 1942, he wrote a memoir justifying his involvement in Spain. In 1945, he was captured by the Allies and tried on charges of collaboration with the Germans and war crimes, and executed in France in 1951.
- Theo Francos¹³⁵. Although he was born in Spain in 1914, his parents soon emigrated to France, where he spent his childhood in Bayonne. At the age of 16 he joined the Communist Youth and in 1936 he travelled to Barcelona supposedly for the People's Olympiad. He immediately went to Madrid where he trained in the 5th Regiment, going on to the XI International Brigade where he was a Political Commissar. He took part in all the Civil War battles in which the XI International Brigade took part, and was wounded in several of them. He was taken prisoner in Alicante in March 1939 as a member of the 65th Mixed Shock Crash/elite? Brigade, which he joined when he refused to be evacuated with the rest of the international contingent at the end of 1938. He was imprisoned in Miranda de Ebro until 1940 when he was repatriated to France by the International Red Cross. In World War II, he escaped from France to the UK by joining the parachute troops. He was dropped over Arnhem (Netherlands) where he was taken pri-

¹³³ Dupré, H. *La «Légion Tricolore» en Espagne (1936-1939)*.

¹³⁴ La Cagoule, the name given to the "Comité secret d'action révolutionnaire" CSAR. It was a clandestine group founded in 1936 by Eugène Deloncle and Jean Filliol, former Camelots du Roi, a youth organisation of the Action Française party, which provided volunteers for the National Army. La Cagoule carried out terrorist actions in France, supposedly assassinating the Roselli brothers, Italian libertarian leaders who had already fought in Spain, as well as sabotaging war material destined for Spain as it passed through France.

¹³⁵ <https://www.armas.es/foros/viewtopic.php?t=895697&start=306>

soner and shot by the Germans, surviving with a bullet lodged very close to his heart for 68 years.

- Vital Gayman¹³⁶, known as *Major Vidal* and *Captain Durant*. A member of the French Communist Party, he came to Spain as a military observer, collaborating with the 5th Regiment and later moving to the International Brigades base in Albacete under the alias of *Major Vidal*. There he was responsible for the military organisation of the volunteer battalions and the selection of officers. In the meantime, his wife Jacqueline took over the services of the military pharmacy. On his return to France, after the signing of the Molotov-Ribentrop treaty in August 1939, he irreconcilably broke with the French Communist Party. After the war, he worked as a journalist in various media.
- Boris "Bob" Guimpel-Levitzky¹³⁷, son of Russian emigrants. XIV International Brigade and 35th Division. A member of the French Communist Party, during World War II he was an operations' commissar for the resistance in the southern zone, and from August 1944 a member of the general staff of the French Forces of the Interior (FFI)¹³⁸. He later joined the 1st French Army. After the war he worked as an architect.
- Marcel Sagnier¹³⁹, commander of the XIV International Brigade after relieving Jules Dumont in the middle of the battle of Brunete on 19 July 1937. He later took part in the Aragon campaign and the battle of the Ebro.
- Jean Hemmen¹⁴⁰, member of the central committee of the French Communist Youth. He was political commissar of the 2nd Machine Gun Company on the Granada front (battalion unknown). He was later Political Commissar of the XIV International Brigade, relieving François Vittori, and was seriously wounded in the chest, which led to his return to France. He was relieved by Henri Tanguy, who later adopted the surname Rol-Tanguy as a tribute to a friend of his who died on the Ebro. He was one of the organisers of the French

¹³⁶ <https://maitron.fr/spip.php?article73189>

¹³⁷ <http://sbhac.net/Republica/TextosIm/Otros/EpopeyaBBII/Epopeya.htm>

¹³⁸ FFI, French Forces of the Interior, one of the most important guerrilla groups in France.

¹³⁹ <https://www.combatientes.es/XIVBrigadaInternacional.htm>

¹⁴⁰ <https://maitron.fr/spip.php?article73229>

resistance in and around Paris and was captured by the Gestapo and shot at Mont-Valérien In August 1942.

- André Heussler¹⁴¹, Political Commissioner of the XIV International Brigade. He was one of André Marty's most trusted men, acting as prosecutor at the court-martial that condemned Lieutenant Colonel Delasalle to death.
- Gabriel Hubert¹⁴², started in the *Bon Henri Barbose* and commanded the XIV International Brigade. After World War II, he was head of a thermal power station in the Paris region.
- Maurice Lampe¹⁴³, Political Commissioner of the XIV International Brigade. After World War II, he was chief of staff to Laurent Casanova, Minister of Veterans' Affairs in 1946.
- André Marty¹⁴⁴, born in Perpignan near the Spanish border. He was a member of the central committee of the Kominter, representing the French Communist Party, and editor of the newspaper *l'Humanité*. He was appointed Chief of the International Brigades at their base in Albacete and was recognised as responsible for hundreds of executions, which gave rise to his nickname of *Le boucher d'Albacete* (The Butcher of Albacete) in keeping with his cruel and bloodthirsty nature. He was expelled from the French Communist Party in 1953, died in Toulouse in 1956 and was buried in Paris. His wife Pauline Taurinyà was in charge of the International Brigades' hospitals, head of counter-espionage, in charge of the paymaster's office and responsible for everything to do with public order. Pauline left Marty and went to Valencia with Vicente Taléns Inglá, who would be appointed civil governor of Almería. Taléns was taken prisoner in Alicante and shot at the end of the war, while Pauline managed to escape with her daughter through the port of Gandía. During World War II, she was a member of the Resistance, reaching the rank of lieutenant colonel. Pauline left politics and devoted herself to her daughter, and was later expelled from the French Communist Party.

¹⁴¹ http://www.sbhac.net/Republica/Personajes/Internacional1/GCE_Delperrie_Delasalle.pdf

¹⁴² <http://sbhac.net/Republica/TextosIm/Otros/EpopeyaBBII/Epopeya.htm>

¹⁴³ <http://sbhac.net/Republica/TextosIm/Otros/EpopeyaBBII/Epopeya.htm>

¹⁴⁴ <https://www.artehistoria.com/es/personaje/marty-andre>
<https://historiadeltiempopresente.com/ramirez-barcelona/>

- Gaston Carré¹⁴⁵, captain in the International Brigades that commanded the anti-aircraft battery “Anna Pauker” in the battle of Jarama. After the war he was one of the leaders of the Resistance and was taken prisoner and shot by the Germans in 1942.

Defections among international volunteers

It is estimated that the International Brigades suffered around 5,000 desertions of all nationalities and around 10,000 dead.

In a court-martial for desertion of a French volunteer before a people’s court, the deputy secretary of the French Consulate in Madrid, Salustiano Dussaildant, declared that his government’s position on the repatriation of the *Internationals* was that they were volunteers and had no contract with the Republic and were therefore free to return to their homeland whenever they wished¹⁴⁶.

Deserters who were not sentenced to the maximum penalty were interned in *Camp Lukács*, a disciplinary re-education centre located 16 km from Albacete, which housed 200 mostly French internationals. After the evacuation of Albacete, the centre moved to Castelldefels Castle¹⁴⁷ where it operated from March 1938 to January 1939. The first two directors of *Camp Lukács* were Milan Còpic, Vladimir’s brother, head of the XV International Brigade, and Marcel Lântes, but after complaints about their actions, including extrajudicial executions, they were deposed, tried and sentenced to death, although the sentence was not carried out.

Other volunteers

The engineer L’Empereur¹⁴⁸, about whom we only know his surname, was a World War I veteran who, as a captain, was

¹⁴⁵ <http://sbhac.net/Republica/TextosIm/Otros/EpopeyaBBII/Epopeya.htm>

¹⁴⁶ Corral, P. (2007). *Desertores*. Barcelona, Editorial DeBolsillo. P 467.

¹⁴⁷ https://www.castelldefels.org/es/casainfants/doc_generica.asp?dogid=1569

¹⁴⁸ Arevalo Molina, J. M. (2003). *Los trenes blindados españoles*. Gijón (Asturias), Ed. Trea S.L.

<https://www.infoaguilas.es/articulista-reportaje-4675>

Article entitled Artillería sobre vía férrea signed by “Mencey” and published in the Forum “El Gran Capitán” on 25 July 2006. <http://www.elgrancapitan.org/foro/viewtopic.php?f=7&t=7975&sid=d429f55c61b9252f86e798461a8199b9&start=210>

responsible for the armouring of trains in the Aguilas (Murcia) workshops belonging to the Murcia to Baza railway line. He started off managing the production of aviation bombs and later moved on to the production of various caliber shell casings. He ended up directing the installation of 210 mm and 240 mm *Ordóñez* howitzers from the coastal batteries in various QQ model gondola cars, a specialist task that took place the Aguilas workshops in AVF (Artillery on Railway).

Jean Pelletier, Captain of the French Armée de l'Air during the World War I, he was captured on 15 October 1936 by the flotilla of nationalist boats in the port of Pasajes when he was travelling from Bayonne to Bilbao on the *Galerna* trawler with other travellers, including the Basque nationalist priest and poet José de Ariztimuño *Aitzol*. During the interrogation he was subjected to, he stated that he was going to Bilbao to sell wooden toy planes for children. This claim, apart from his French passport, saved him from being shot and months later he was exchanged for the German aviator Karl Gustav Schmidt, the only survivor of the Junkers Ju-52 of the 3/K.88 shot down on 4 January over Bilbao, and whose bombing originated the assault on Bilbao's prisons and the murder of 225 right-wing prisoners, including 13 priests¹⁴⁹.

French health workers or militia women in the International Brigades

It is estimated that in mid-1937, the International Brigades had 220 doctors, 580 nurses and 600 stretcher-bearers mobilised in Spain, providing care in 23 hospitals with 5,000 beds, 13 surgical teams, 130 ambulances, 7 surgical wagons, 3 evacuation groups for the wounded and several convalescent hospitals in the rearguard.

¹⁴⁹ Gamboa, C. de. (November 2004). *Galerna: recuerdos de mi niñez en tiempos de guerra*. Irun, Provincial Council of Gipuzkoa & Alberdania S.L. Pp 38-41.

The author of the book is the daughter of Raimundo de Gamboa Aurrekoetxea, co-founder of the 1st Company of the *Itxas-Alde* gudaris battalion in Lequeitio in September 1936, who was taken prisoner while travelling on the *Galerna* and later shot in Hernani on the night of 18 October 1936. In her book, the author comments on Pelletier's own statements, casting doubt on them because in addition to the suitcase with the wooden model planes, he was also carrying a suitcase with a life-saving device that was usually part of French military aviators' individual equipment. If he really were a model seller, he would not need such equipment.

Among the leaders in Albacete, the French doctor Pierre Rouquès, organiser of the International Health Centre, stood out.¹⁵⁰

Also among the French delegation were the following personnel:

Weissmann-Netter, Weil-Raynal, Hans Kalmanovic, Strozeska, Dard, Heck, Astouin, Ombrédane and Chassigneux.

Among the ambulance drivers was Pierre Queignac.

The convalescent hospital Jan Amos Komensky *The Czechoslovak* was opened in Benicassim from 1936, closing in April 1938. Its director was Health Captain Yvonne Robert, also known as Yvonne Autré and Yvonne Desmeuzes. She was Jean Robert's wife.

In one of the hospitals in Murcia, among others was the French doctor Catel.

Meanwhile, the general administration of the hospital network was headed by Pauline Marty, André Marty's wife.

There were also international patronages that sheltered Spanish children, which were financed by the International Brigades and other contributions, in addition to others in Switzerland, which were financed by the French.

The following are French-born doctors, practitioners and nurses¹⁵¹:

- Alberti, France. Nurse in an International Brigade hospital.
- Alenzo, Hermine. Nurse in an International Brigade hospital in Murcia.
- Armand, Valentina. Nurse of Spanish origin in an International Brigade hospital.
- Aubert, Maria. Nurse in the International Brigade hospitals in Albacete and Benicassim.
- Autre, Ivonne. Nurse in an International Brigade hospital. Health Captain.
- Bloch, Jeannette. Practitioner. Health Lieutenant of the XIV International Brigade.

¹⁵⁰ Castells, A. (1974). *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la guerra de España*. Barcelona, Editorial Ariel. Pp 462-468

¹⁵¹ Gallego-Caminero, G.; Nelson, S. & Galbany-Estragues, P. (May 2015). *Enfermeras internacionales en la guerra civil española 1936-1939*. Nursing Association of Cantabria.

- Bureau, Jacqueline. Pharmacist at the Albacete and Benicassim hospitals.
- Chaffard, Claire. Nurse of Spanish origin in the International Brigade hospitals in Murcia, Mataró and Gerona.
- Davaux, Rachel. Medical lieutenant at the Albacete base hospital.
- Etienne, Simone. Nurse at the International Brigade hospital in Murcia.
- Genua, Soledad. Nurse of Spanish origin in the International Brigade hospitals in Murcia and Barcelona.
- Guénot, Marie Louise. Nurse in the International Brigade hospitals.
- Giambone, Emilia. Nurse at the International Brigade hospital in Benicassim.
- Ginsburg, Marcele Valenty. Nurse in the International Brigade hospitals.
- Gourdet, Donatien Anne Marie. Auxiliary nurse in the International Brigade hospitals.
- Granderye, René. Nurse in the International Brigade hospitals in Cuenca, Albacete and Barcelona.
- Guimpel, Marguerite. Medical Lieutenant. Hospital *Socorro Rojo* of Albacete, XIV International Brigade and 35th International Division.
- Hercberg, Paulette. Nurse in the International Brigade hospitals.
- Pimpaud, Jeannette. ISS (International Health Service) collaborator.
- Pintschuck, Pauline. Nurse of Polish origin in the International Brigade hospitals. Later, he organised the *Ascaso* orphanage for 300 children in Port Bou (Girona).
- Roussant, Jenne. Nurse in the International Brigade hospitals in Albacete.

There were other nurses from Poland, Romania, and other Central European countries living in France, as were political refugees from Italy, Germany, and Austria.

In Murcia only¹⁵² four hospitals were set up: the Marist school, which took the name of *Vaillant-Couturier*; the secondary school, renamed *Pasionaria*; the Red House, known as *Comandante Dubois*, a war name that corresponded to the French Pole Mieclaz Domansky, Chief of Health of the 35th Division and killed on the Aragon front at Quinto de Ebro in August 1937; and the University, renamed *Federica Montseny*¹⁵³.

The following also stood out:

Surgeons Catalette, Cachin and Coudère and doctors Henri Chrétien, Chief of Health of the XII International Brigade, Reboul and Fanny Bre.

French volunteers in the People's Army of the Republic

Simone Weil¹⁵⁴, a French Jewish writer born in Paris in 1909, enlisted as a volunteer in August 1936 in the *Durruti Column*, the anarchist unit par excellence on the Aragon front. She was wounded with a burnt leg and taken to hospital in Sitges. She later returned to France, where she wrote harsh criticisms of the war after what she had seen and experienced on the front.

Lise Ricol¹⁵⁵ or Lise London, daughter of Spanish emigrants and born Elisa Ricol López in France. At the age of 15, she joined the Communist Youth. She travelled to Moscow in 1934, where he met the Czech communist Artur London, with whom she bonded for life. She came to Spain as secretary to André Marty, leader of the International Brigades, and later became a member of the Military Information Service, SIM, before returning to France where she died in 2012.

¹⁵² https://www.eldiario.es/murcia/murcia-y-aparte/memoria-historica-brigadas-internacionales_132_7326463.html

¹⁵³ García Fitz, F. (2018). El Servicio de Sanidad de las Brigadas Internacionales. Albacete. Institute of Albacete Studies, University of Castilla La Mancha.

<https://www.uclm.es/global/promotores/facultades-y-escuelas/ciudad-real/cr-facultad-de-letras/publicaciones-cedobi/iea/-/media/92D355E361244D1288901DB12E9D385B.ashx>

¹⁵⁴ Bea Pérez, E. (2013). Simone Weil y la guerra civil española. Una participación esperanzada y crítica. University of Valencia. CFDE, issue 27.

¹⁵⁵ <https://www.radiohuesca.com/noticia/255805/reconocimiento-a-lise-ri-col-london-por-su-contribucion-a-la-defensa-de-las-libertades-y-la-democracia-en-espana-y-europa>

<http://www.unizar.es/historiografias/historiografias/numeros/13/gaspar.pdf>

Gerda Tarö¹⁵⁶, photographer who died in Brunete in July 1937, run over by a T-26 tank. Her real name was Gerta Pohorylle, and although born in Stuttgart, her origins were Polish-Jewish. She was the partner of the Hungarian-Jewish photographer André Friedmann, better known as Robert Capa. They lived in Paris and travelled together to Spain, hence I include her in the list of people from France.

Mika Etchebéhère¹⁵⁷, real name Micaela Feldman, born in Argentina in 1902 to Russian Jewish parents. In Buenos Aires she met Louis Hippolyte Etchebéhère, whom she married and so managed to make a French citizen. Known as *Juan Rústico* and *Hippo*, they both became members of the Argentine Communist Party, later joining the Trotskyites after the confrontation between Stalin and Trotsky. They travelled around Europe and arrived in Spain before the Civil War. After the uprising of 18th July, they took part in the first battles in the capital and then went to the Guadalajara front as militiamen in a *POUM* column (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista). *Hippo* died on 16th August 1936 in a military action near Atienza. Mika was chosen by the militiamen as captain of the 2nd Company of the *POUM* Column, which months later became the 70th Mixed Brigade fighting in Sigüenza, Madrid and Cerro del Aguila. Because of her militancy in the *POUM*, she was arrested and interrogated in a *cheka*¹⁵⁸, accused of being an enemy of the Republic. The intervention of the anarchist leader Cipriano Mera led to her release, but she did not take part in any more warlike actions. She lived in Madrid until the end of the war when, after various vicissitudes hidden away at the Lycée Français, she managed to flee to France thanks to her French passport, from where she had to escape again in 1940 because of the German invasion. At the end of World War II, she returned to France and lived in several cities before dying in Paris at the age of 90. She is the author of a memoir published in 1976 entitled *Ma guerre d'Espagne à moi*, translated the following year into Spanish as *Mi guerra en España*.

¹⁵⁶ <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-47693745>

¹⁵⁷ Etchebéhère, M. (1987). *Mi guerra de España*. Barcelona, Plaza & Janés Editores. <https://www.localcambalache.org/?p=9375>

¹⁵⁸ *Cheka*, the name defines the militia jails in which the prisoners were imprisoned, interrogated and sometimes executed.

People's Army of the Republic artillery batteries

According to the Italian General Sandro Piazzoni, who created and commanded the "Flechas Negras" brigade, which later became the "División Flechas Negras", Republican deserters from the Segorbe (Castellón) front reported that their troops were using French cannons commanded by French officers¹⁵⁹.

We will see what Andreu Castells says in relation to the Artillery of the International Brigades, and from this we will find which Frenchmen acted in it.

The International Brigades' artillery base was established in the Albacete town of Almansa on 20 October 1936, using abandoned religious buildings to store war material. The first head of the base was Captain Etienne¹⁶⁰, but he was soon replaced by the Soviet Ostrogov.

The artillery groups that supported the action of the different International Brigades were:

- 1st Skoda Group *Rosa Luxembourg*, led by Hungarian Lazlo Sekelj.
- 2nd Skoda Group *Anna Pauker*, commanded by French Captain Jean François Agard, who was taken prisoner in Alcañiz in 1938 during the retreat from Aragon.
- The 2nd Skoda Group consisted of four batteries:
- Bia *Pasionaria*.
- Bia *Franco-Belgian*, whose political commissar was the Frenchman Ricard.
- Bia *Asturias*.
- Bia *Anna Pauker*.

In addition to these groups, there were others that took part throughout the war, including the following:

- Slavic Group, which sometimes appears as Group I and sometimes as Group V. It was also known as the Balkan Group or Extremadura Group and, according to the Romanians,

¹⁵⁹ Piazzoni, S. (2020). *Las Flechas Negras en la guerra de España (1937-1939)*. Torredembarra (Tarragona), Ediciones Fides S.L. P 155.

¹⁶⁰ Castells, A. (1974). *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la guerra de España*. Barcelona, Editorial Ariel. Pp 469-481

Regimentul român de artileria motorizat, on which depended the *Grupul de artileristi români Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej*.

- Skoda Group *Baller*, known as Group II and commanded by the Hungarian Zoltan Szanto *Baller*. It was also known as the *Antonio Gramsci* battery.
- Herik Group or 52nd Artillery Group, commanded by the German Herik and consisting of the batteries *John Brown*¹⁶¹, *Stepan Radic* and *Italiana*. The *John Brown* battery was a section of 27 Englishmen commanded by Sergeant David King, who was demobilised on 23 September 1938.
- *Etienne* Group, commanded by Captain Etienne and demobilised on 23 September 1938.
- *Rigaud* Group, commanded by Captain Rigaud and demobilised on 23 September 1938.

Regarding the aforementioned batteries there are, among others, the ones sent by the French:

- *Franco-Belgian* Battery, commanded by the Frenchman Gaston Carré.
- *Pasionaria* Battery, commanded by the Frenchmen Duvois and Arbousset.
- *Thälmann* Battery, first formed under French Captain Jean François Agard before he took over the 2nd Skoda Group.

Regarding the anti-aircraft artillery or DECA¹⁶², this was created in January 1937 with four batteries: French, Czech (*Gottwald*), Spanish (*Rosetti*) and German (*Dimitrov*). The Group's political commissar was the Frenchman André Pieplu.

Statistically, in the Battle of Brunete, the ratio per aircraft shot down was 177 shots.

Notably, the Republican anti-aircraft artillery was created in May 1937, four months later than the International Artillery, and depended on the Republican Air Force.

The International Batteries were demobilised on 25 September 1938 and their volunteers repatriated to their countries of origin.

¹⁶¹ Various Authors. (2021). *Presencia británica en la milicia española*. Chapter Seven CEHISMI. Madrid, Ministry of Defence.

Baxel, R. (2018). Entrevista a Geoffrey Servante. No pasarán magazine. London, IBMT, 1, P 3.

¹⁶² DECA, stands for Defence Against Aircraft

French journalists and correspondents in the Spanish War¹⁶³

Virtually all the French media sent correspondents and photographers to cover events on both sides in Spain. Due to limitations in the scope of this work, I cannot expand on the long list of correspondents. I will single out only the most prominent, and I want to start with two who achieved worldwide fame.

Henri Cartier-Bresson (Chanteloup-en-Brie 1908 - Montjustin 2004) is considered to be the father of photojournalism, creating the *Magnum* agency after the war together with Robert Capa.

Albert-Louis Deschamps (Bordeaux 1889 - Paris 1972) was the person who took the highest quality photographs of both sides of the Spanish Civil War, working for the magazine *l'Illustration*.

- Georges Berniard, *Le Petit Gironde*.
- Daniel Berthet, *Les Temps*.
- Georges Botto, *Havas Agency*.
- René "Raul" Brut, *Pathé Journal*.
- Marcel Dany, *Havas Agency*.
- Louis Delaprée, *Paris-Soir*.
- Jean D'Hospital, *Havas Agency*.
- Pierre Héricourt, *Action Française*.
- Bertrand de Jouvenel, *Paris-Soir*.
- Henri Malet-Dauban, *Havas Agency*.
- Max Massot, *Le Journal*.
- Simone Téry, *Regards*.

French journalists killed in Spain

Three French journalists died in the Civil War in different circumstances.

In chronological order, the first to die was Guy Auguste Paul Clément Prévost de Sansac, Baron de Traversay¹⁶⁴, better

¹⁶³ <http://www.sbhac.net/Republica/Prensa/Corresponsales/Extranjeros/Extranjeros.htm>

¹⁶⁴ <https://www.duboyfresney.fr/index.php?page=docu6032>

known as Guy de Traversay, a French military officer and secretary general of the Parisian right-wing newspaper *L'Intransigent*, who accompanied the Catalan militias that landed in Mallorca in August 1936 as press correspondent.

Guy de Traversay had travelled to Spain from Paris on 19 July. After being accredited as a correspondent, he visited Toledo. He then travelled to Aragon, visiting the anarchist lines there under the command of Durruti. He was also witness to the executions of the clergy in Barbastro. He travelled to Mallorca by seaplane on 16 August and died the following day at the age of 39 after being captured wounded in the Porto Cristo combat zone and later shot with other militiamen on a beach in Mallorca. Neither his nationality nor the French passport with safe conduct issued by the Generalitat de Catalunya was taken into consideration.

The next victim of the Civil War was the Hispanophile and accredited journalist Renée Charlotte Amélie Lafont¹⁶⁵, born in Amiens on 4 November 1877.

Renée Lafont, as she was known, was a correspondent for the French socialist newspaper *Le Populaire*. When visiting the Córdoba front on 29 August 1936, she was travelling in a *Studebaker* car that strayed in front of the Nationalist position *Las Cumbres* set up to cut off the Madrid-Cadiz National Road IV. The soldiers of the 2nd Battery of the Heavy Artillery Regiment No. 4 made the car stop, and the driver of the car and the accompanying militiaman opened fire with a pistol, pushing the soldiers back. According to the report, "one of them was wounded and the other two escaped". The one injured in the knee turned out to be the journalist, and when her papers were requested, communist symbols were found among her belongings.

She was tried in a summary court-martial and condemned along with other militiamen. She was finally shot in the cemetery of Nuestra Señora de la Salud in Córdoba on 1 September 1936 at the age of 58.

The last French journalist to die in the Civil War was Louis Marie Joseph Delaprée¹⁶⁶, who signed as Louis Delaprée and was a correspondent for the daily *Paris-Soir*.

¹⁶⁵ <http://reneelafont-quest.org/reneelafont.html>

¹⁶⁶ Ullman, R. (2016). *Hell and Good Company: The Spanish Civil War and the World it Made*. USA, Simon and Schuster. Reprint Edition.
<http://www.wanderer.es/cronistas-de-la-barbarie/>

He was born on 20 April 1902 in Nort-sur-Erdre in the Loire-Atlantique department.

Delaprée had been the Madrid correspondent of the daily "Paris-Soir" since the beginning of the war. On 8 December 1936, he boarded the Air France mail plane chartered by the French Embassy to transport the delegate of the International Red Cross, Dr. Georges Henny, from Madrid to Toulouse. The aircraft was a twin-engine Potez 54, registration number F-A000, and in addition to the delegate there were two sisters under the age of twelve named Pleytas, daughters of the Brazil ambassador, and journalists Louis Delaprée and André Château from the Havas agency. The crew consisted of a pilot and co-pilot, one of whom was named Boyer, and the tail rudder was painted in the French national colours. The plane took off in the afternoon and when it reached Pastrana at around 6 pm it was strafed by a fighter plane from the patrol of two which, depending on the sources, were *Chirris* or Russian fighters. The truth appears to lie with the Republican pilot Andrés García La Calle¹⁶⁷, who identified the two attackers as Russian pilots Lieutenant Gueorgui Zakharov, alias *Enrique Lores*, and Lieutenant Nikolai Ivanovich Shmelkov. The pilot of the Potez 54 managed to land, but the delegate Dr. Henny was slightly injured, the journalist Delaprée very seriously injured, the journalist Château had a leg amputated, and the two girls were also slightly injured. The pilots were unharmed.

Louis Delaprée died of severe wounds on 11 December, having previously testified to witnesses that they had been attacked by two Republican fighters.

The last French volunteers enlisted in the International Brigades

On 14th September 1938, the Frenchmen Mathiae Solbay and Fernand Rivière crossed the border at La Jonquera and, after being registered at the Personnel Service in Figueres, were passported the next day to the 45th Division established in Cambrills. The date was exactly 8 days before the start of the withdrawal of the international volunteers and their replacement in the respective units by Spanish combatants.

<https://guerraenmadrid.net/2019/03/09/el-misterio-del-avion-frances-derribado-en-guadalajara/>

¹⁶⁷ Some authors write the surname incorrectly as Lacalle.

The document is accessible at the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI) (Russian: Российский государственный архив социально-политической истории (РГАСПИ))¹⁶⁸

French volunteers of Spanish origin registered at the Cardedeu checkpoint on 11 January 1939 before being repatriated

The register of international volunteers was opened following the repatriation of the French members of the International Brigades decreed by the government of the Republic in September 1938. Subsequently, in January 1939, it is quite possible that a new registry was opened so that all the Frenchmen of Spanish or French origin who formed part of other units of the People's Army of the Republic could be repatriated to France.

Pg. 1.:

Name, where from and unit:

- José Puyala André, Bordeaux, 42nd BM, 43rd Div.
- José García Vega, Oran, 1st BM, 9th Div.
- Eduardo García Ibirico, Paris, Chief Adm. Lérida.
- Jacobo Moliner Salamander, Socar, Bon Discipl. II Corps.
- José Quiles Izquierdo, Martigas, 119th BM.
- Fernando Sáez Castelló, Algiers, 119th BM, 26th Div.
- Georges Vien Laserre, Lesiang 153rd BM.
- Adolfo Botella Botella, Angers, 10th BM, 46th Div, 5th CE.
- José Hernández Genoa, Bordeaux, 84th BM, 64th Div.
- Emilio Vallés Badía, Alais, 145th BM, 44th Div, 12th CE.
- Aniceto Martín Mendoza, Paris, 136th BM, 31st Div.
- Antonio Domingo Porta, Sète, 84th BM, 60th Div.
- Elias Berlety, Verdun, Ebro Army.
- Vicente Álvarez Martín, Sidi Bel Abbes, 4th Bon Carabineros.
- Eduardo Giménez Roel, Paris, 145th Bon, 37th BM, 46th Div.
- Fernando Sánchez Tora, Bogar, 37th BM.

¹⁶⁸ http://sovdoc.rusarchives.ru/sections/organizations//cards/94999/childs_image_IMG0022.jpg. Information supplied to the author by David Gesalí.

Pg. 16:

Name, where from and unit:

- Emilio Luis Martín, Pontalier, 59th BM.
- Antonio Richard Caballera, Tolosa, Evaded from nationalist zone.
- Vincent Jean Eberle, Alsace, 28th Div.
- Pablo Fernández Baltanás, Casablanca, 3rd BM.
- Alfredo Ibáñez Panadés, Aragu, 4th BM.
- Isidro Ibáñez Panadés, Viciens, 26th Div.
- Ricardo Pujol Panadés, Viciens, 26th Div.
- Henry Coderc Jarque, Barcelona, 134th BM.
- Ricardo Ibáñez Panadés, Viciens, 25th Div.
- Henry Lacoisille, Paris, 26th Div.
- Ricardo Mena Richard, Barcelona, 62nd BM

Cardedeu, 11 January 1939¹⁶⁹

The Chief Captain

(Signature illegible)

There are 16 pages of which only the first and last are shown, and it is striking that most of the surnames are Spanish, with very few French ones, indicating that many French nationals or French-born children of Spanish parents enlisted in the ranks of the People's Army of the Republic. Only two volunteers report belonging to two International Brigades. The remainders were mostly integrated in Joint Brigades, mainly from the Army of the East. There is also an escapee from the national camp who was granted French nationality. There are several North Africans from the French colonies in Morocco and Algeria, as well as from the international city of Tangier. One of them indicates that he had belonged to the Column del Rosal, a unit formed in Madrid by anarchist militiamen at the beginning of the war and the origin of the IV Army Corps, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Francisco del Rosal Rico, brother of Antonio, Marqués de Sales

¹⁶⁹ Lists of Spanish-French repatriates provided to the author by David Gesalí following consultation of the Archivo General Militar de Avila (AGMAV C2846, CP3, Pp 29-44).

and one of General Varela's assistants in the war and father of Antonio del Rosal López de Vinuesa, a young Falangist belonging to a cell of the 5th Column, captured in Madrid and shot in Valencia in 1937. Yet another of the family tragedies of the Civil War.

Transport of exiles on ships in the Mediterranean at the end of the Civil War

The end of the Civil War surprised many combatants of the People's Army of the Republic in a delicate situation when it came to leaving Spain for different reasons, be they political, trade union, criminal, etc.

The nationalist government was recognised on 27 February by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and neighbouring France. The government of the Republic declared a state of war throughout nationalist territory and decreed a general mobilisation. At the same time, some units commanded by the head of the Army of the Centre, Colonel Segismundo Casado, and not linked to the Communist Party of Spain, rose up against the government of the socialist Negrín, which was supported by the communist leaders, giving rise to a merciless struggle that took place in the streets of Madrid between the supporters of the two sides. It could be said that a new Civil War was staged within the original Civil War. The communists were defeated and the leaders disbanded, in some cases exported on board ships and in other cases by plane to North Africa and France. Neither should we forget the national uprising that took place in Cartagena at the beginning of March, which was finally drowned in blood and water when the ship *Castillo de Olite*, which was carrying troops to help in the capture of the city and naval base, was sunk by a shot of the coastal battery of *La Parajola*. With 1,476 dead, it was the sinking with the highest number of victims in Spanish naval history. After the fighting, the Republican fleet set off from Cartagena for the French naval base at Bizerte in Tunisia, where it would be interned. The ships also carried the families of the seamen who left Spain.

Also, worth mentioning is the arrival first in Valencia and then in Alicante of the French communist deputy Charles Tillon accompanied by the French journalist André Ulmann, members of the International Committee for Coordination and Aid to Republican Spain, whose president, the Frenchman Albert Forcinal, chaired the committee, arriving in Valencia on board the ship *SS Lèzardrieux*

loaded with aid material and with a crew belonging to the French Communist Youth. Seeing the chaotic situation, they met with the authorities and promised the prompt arrival of the ships of the *France-Navigation* company in Valencia and Alicante. Charles Tillon travelled to Alicante where he met with General Gambara, head of the Italian troops who had already entered Alicante, asking him to declare the port an international zone and to allow thousands of Republican soldiers to flee, but in the end all he managed to do was to be arrested together with the French consul M. Anfossy and detained in the French consulate until, on 25 April, the French embassy in Spain obtained their release and repatriation to France. Journalist André Ulmann had managed to board the last Air France plane leaving Alicante for Paris.

Among the vessels that helped with the evacuation of refugees, I have selected the merchant ships that carried the English or French flag and a Spanish armed trawler used to transport personnel¹⁷⁰.

NAME	TYPE	DEPARTURE	DESTINATION	ARRIVAL	PASSENGERS
SS Sea Bank Spray	Mercante Ing.	02/03	Valencia	Orán 03/03	42-52
SS Berrington Cale	Mercante Ing.	05/03	Valencia	Orán 06/03	50
Tramontana	Transport Esp.	06/03	Cartagena	Orán 07/03	97
SS Plouzbazlanec	Mercante Fra.	07/03	Alicante	Orán -	¿?
SS African Explorer	Mercante Fra.	08/03	Cartagena	Orán 09/03	15
SS Transeas	Mercante Ing.	08/03	Cartagena	Orán 08/03	12
SS Stanhope ¹⁷¹	Mercante Ing.	09/03	Alicante	Sète -	60?
SS Ronwyn	Mercante Ing.	12/03	Alicante	Ténès 15/03	648

¹⁷⁰ Martínez Leal, J. *El exilio republicano en el norte de Africa*. University of Alicante. Chapter 3, Los barcos del exilio. <https://archivodemocracia.ua.es/es/exilio-republicano-africa/3-los-barcos-del-exilio.html>

¹⁷¹ *SS Stanhope* is possibly a mistake in the name of the ship, actually meaning Stanhope Steam Ship Co. Jack Billmeir & Co. Ltd. London, was the name of the shipping company based in London and Jack Billmeir was the consignee, so the departure on 9 March seems to indicate that it was the *SS Stanbrook* that returned to Alicante at the end of March.

NAME	TYPE	DEPARTURE	DESTINATION	ARRIVAL	PASSENGERS
SS Stancor	Mercante Ing.	15/03	Valencia	Orán 16/03	111
SS African Trader	Mercante Ing.	19/03	Alicante	Orán 21/03	853-859
SS Stanbrook	Mercante Ing.	28/03	Alicante	Orán 29/03	2638-3028
SS Lèzardrieux	Mercante Fra.	28/03	Valencia	Marsella 29/03	350-500
SS Marítima	Mercante Ing.	28/03	Alicante	Marsella 29/03	32

The remaining vessels were fishing vessels, coastguards, motorboats, an oil tanker, a minesweeper, a tug, a tanker, motor barges and schooners.

It should be noted that although most of the merchant ships were flying the English or French flag, they did in fact belong to shipping companies created and financed by the Spanish government, including Campsa-Gentibus, Stanhope S.S. Co, Angel Sons & Co, also known as Dalling & Co. Ltd or Bramhall Steamship Co, Mid-Atlantic Shipping Co, Compagnie France-Navigation, whose top manager was the Italian Giulio Cerreti, known as Pierre or Paul Allard, member of the French Communist Party and president of the International Coordinating Committee for Aid and Information to Republican Spain (CICAIER). We could elaborate further on these aspects of the alleged nationality of the ships, but it is beyond the scope of the paper.

Among the passengers on the ships that left Spain were the following French nationals:

*SS Ronwyn*¹⁷²

- M. Faure, 36 years old, a transporter and orange trader born in Le Boulou, who was in Alicante with no possibility of returning to France.
- Mme. Charbeau, her husband Andreu and their children Suzanne and Andreu.
- Mme. Ferrer, concubine of a Spaniard.
- Mme. Roussel, wife of Spaniard Giménez and their daughter.

¹⁷² <https://www.alicantepedia.com/fotografias/ronwyn-pasajeros-y-tripulantes>

SS Stanbrook¹⁷³

- Pierre Alieur Trilla, 20 years old, bricklayer.
- Marco Ben Bihi (Tangier), 56 years old, employed.
- Abdelkader Ben Mohamed (Morocco), 20 years old, trader.
- Francisco Bou Ferrandis, 23 years old, furrier.
- Joseph Dix, 25, mechanic.
- Nicanor Fernández Miranda, no record.
- Paul Laporte, 39, electrician.
- Antoine Prieto, 31 years old, cyclist.
- Marius Sauvaire, 36, accountant.
- Charles Sorach, 32, mechanic.
- Jeanne Suzanne Posty, 34, teacher.
- Roger Uebensky, 42 years old.

SS African Trader¹⁷⁴

- Muley Mustafa Raysuni (Morocco).
- 9 unidentified Frenchmen.

Some say that the ship *Aljibe n.º 2* was commanded by a Frenchman. In fact, the ship belonged to the Republican Navy, which had left Cartagena for Bizerte while the ship was docked in Alicante. The ship departed on 9 March with its 38 crew members and two women, the wife and the sister-in-law of the chief engineer. The only *Frenchman* on board was the ship's commander José Francés Lázaro, a 35-year-old Spaniard. The following day it arrived in Mostaganem in Algeria and from there it was escorted to Oran where 29 crew members requested political asylum and 11 asked to return to nationalist Spain¹⁷⁵.

On leaving Valencia, the merchant ship *SS Lèzardrieux* received a warning shot from the auxiliary cruiser *Black Sea*, but the rapid intervention of the French warships meant that it was able

¹⁷³ Vilar, J. B. (1983). *Relación nominal de los militantes republicanos evacuados de Alicante por el buque inglés Stanbrook con destino a Orán en 28 de marzo de 1939*. University of Murcia.

¹⁷⁴ <https://www.alicantepedia.com/fotografias/african-trader-pasajeros-y-tripulaci%C3%B3n-2%C2%BA-viaje>

¹⁷⁵ <https://alicantepedia.com/fotografias/aljibe-n%C2%BA-2-refugiados>

to continue to Marseilles. It was the last French ship to leave Spain.

Although many authors state that the last ship to leave Alicante with refugees was the *Stanbrook*, the fact is that one hour after its departure the English ship *Marítima* left the port, transporting just 32 refugees to Marseilles (some say 50), most of them leaders of the Spanish Popular Front and their closest relatives.

It is possible that there were more Frenchmen on other ships, but the shipping list could not be obtained or does not exist.

On 1 April 1939, Francisco Franco signed the war report from the Generalissimo's General Headquarters proclaiming the end of the war. The war adventure of a few Frenchmen on both sides and not a few graves on Spanish land where they went to fight were left behind.

Appendix I.

French merchant ships involved or sunk in the Spanish Civil War

- *Adrienne*. Trawler detained by Nationalist patrol boats on 24 January 1937 in the Bay of Biscay and subsequently released.
- *Alice Marie*. Entered Bilbao on 14 May 1937, leaving 8 days later. Re-entered on 16 June 1937.
- *Anfa*. Transported weapons to Alicante on 16 August and 6 September 1936.
- *Artois*. 439-ton ship sunk on 14 August 1938 after hitting a mine while sailing from Marseilles to Oran. It belonged to the Marseille Maritime company in Marseille.
- *Asni*. Merchant ship of the Paquet company, chartered by the Marine for evacuations in the Mediterranean.
- *Asrou*. Merchant ship of the Paquet company, chartered by the Marine for evacuations in the Mediterranean.
- *Aunis*. Captured by the gunboat *Dato* in Caldetas (Barcelona) on 14 February 1939. Declared a good catch, it passed to the Navy under the name of *Castillo de Valdemosa*. It had belonged to the France Navigation company.
- *Azelma*. Sailing ship captured by Nationalist ships on 14 February 1939 and incorporated into the Navy under the name of *Castillo de Javier*.
- *Beaumanoir*. Chargeurs de l'Ouest company merchant ship detained in the Strait, inspected and released on 22 February 1937.
- *Belle Hirondelle*. Sunk on 2 May 1937 due to internal explosion off Palma de Mallorca.
- *Biscarosse*. France Navigation merchantman detained in the Strait by a patrol boat on 20 March 1938 and released in Gibraltar.
- *Bonifacio*. French merchant ship carrying arms from Canada to Bordeaux on 24 January 1939.

- *Trawlergaroni*. Merchant ship owned by France Navigation, captured in the Strait of Gibraltar on 16 November 1938, taken to Ceuta and released on the 19 November before the destroyer *Forbin* intervened.
- *Brisbane*. Released 4,004 tons of cargo and was stranded with total loss of the ship after an air raid on 8 June 1938 off the port of Denia (Alicante). It belonged to the André Puech company in Paris. The destroyer *Frondeur* transferred the wounded to Algiers.
- *Cap Bear*. 212-ton schooner sunk on 15 June 1938 after an air raid on the port of Valencia. It belonged to the G. Ciamoni company in Marseilles.
- *Cap des Palmes*. Merchant ship intercepted on 26 November 1936 by Nationalist patrol boats in the Strait of Gibraltar. The destroyer *Milan* came alongside and continued its voyage.
- *Cap Falcon*. Detained by a Nationalist ship on 1 April 1937 off Santander and allowed to leave after inspection.
- *Cassidaigne*. French merchant ship owned by France Navigation forced to proceed to Palma de Mallorca by seaplanes on 5 October 1937 and released once its cargo had been checked.
- *Château Margaux*. Left Bilbao on 9 May 1937 with evacuees escorted by French warships.
- *Château Palmer*. Left Bilbao on 9 May with evacuees escorted by French warships.
- *Chausser 91*. Motorboat in the service of Air France that was sunk after an air raid on Fornells on 20 October 1938.
- *Carimare*. Left Bilbao on 9 May 1937 with evacuees escorted by French warships.
- *Cens*. French merchant ship captured on 7 October off Cape Peñas and taken to Ribadeo, but liberated on the 18 October after the intervention of the 10th Heavy Destroyer Division.
- *Commandant Dorise*. French merchant ship strafed without damage by a Dornier seaplane on 13 November 1937, 19 miles off Cadiz.
- *Djebel Amour*. Liner strafed by unknown aircraft south of Alicante on 8 August 1937. The escorts *Pomone* and *Flore* came and were able to continue their journey.

- *Djebel Antar*. Compagnie Générale Transatlantique merchant ship strafed and bombed near Menorca on 9 March 1937 by a Nationalist tri-engine plane. The destroyer *Kersaint* was involved in the investigation of the incident.
- *Douce France*. Carried weapons from Marseilles to a Catalan port on 5 March 1937.
- *The Djem*. 2,575-ton merchant ship owned by France Navigation that was sunk on 30 May 1938 after an air raid off El Grao de Valencia. It belonged to the Société Maritime Nationale of Paris. Due to the attitude of the crew, the commander of the destroyer *L'Indomptable* refused to repatriate them and they were finally evacuated on the merchant ship "Bonifacio" of the same company.
- *El Mansour*. Liner bombed by the Republican Air Force on 4 February 1938.
- *Émile Marie*. Trawler detained by Nationalist patrols on 22 January 1937 and subsequently released.
- *Finistère*. Merchant ship detained 3 miles off Mallorca and released almost immediately on 25 February 1937 after the intervention of the destroyer *Simoun*.
- *François*. Ex-Greek *Pagasitikos*. Captured in the Strait of Gibraltar on 21 December 1937 by the auxiliary cruiser *Mallorca* and incorporated into the Navy as *Castillo de Andrade*. It was owned by the Société Commerciale d'Afrettements et Commissions de Paris, which belonged to the Republican government and bought Greek merchant vessels for trade.
- *Frédéric Philomène*, a merchant ship strafed without damage by a presumed nationalist *Caproni* type aircraft on 3 February 1937
- *Gallium*. Merchant vessel detained and released near the island of Yeu.
- *Gaulois*. 500-ton vessel, she made many voyages between Marseilles and Valencia. Sunk by aviation in Valencia on 15 June 1938 and refloated after the war with the name *Turégano Castle*. It belonged to the company Cotière des Transports Maritimes de Marseille.

- *Georges Henri*. Merchant ship captured on 13 November 1936 by Nationalist patrol boats near Finisterre and released thanks to diplomatic efforts.
- *Goeland II*. Merchant vessel escorted by the destroyer *Verdun*. It was carrying materials and personnel for the repair of the stranded government destroyer *José Luis Díez* in Gibraltar.
- *Grandlieu*. Merchant vessel captured by the cruiser *Canarias* on 15 August 1937 off Kerkenna (Tunisia).
- *Grand Quevilly*. Captured in the Strait of Gibraltar on 7 December 1938 and liberated by the destroyer *Basque*, which escorted it to Gibraltar.
- *Guaruja*. 4,282-ton ship that sank on 2 January 1938 when it hit the rocks at Punta Polacra. It belonged to the company Transports Maritimes de Paris. The French destroyer *La Melpomène* repatriated the crew from Almeria to Oran.
- *Guilvinec*. French merchant ship carrying arms from Canada to Bordeaux on 24 January 1939.
- *Iméréthie II*. French mail ship detained in the Mediterranean by the cruiser *Baleares* on 27 March 1937 and released after the intervention of the cruiser *Suffren*, which escorted it to Alicante. On 25 July 1937, it embarked 250 refugees protected by the French embassy in Valencia, escorted by the *Maillé-Brézé* and the *Aventurier*. Other refugees were later evacuated but some were detained by the authorities.
- *Île Rousse*. Belonged to France Navigation and made many trips to Barcelona and Valencia. Detained on 27 March 1937 by the auxiliary cruiser *Mar Negro* and released. Detained again on 27 March 1939, but allowed to continue its journey.
- *Jacques Schiaffino*. Merchant ship attacked by an aircraft on 24 July 1937 to the north of Menorca.
- *Kabyle*. Freighter detained on 25 August 1937 in Sardinian waters by an armed merchant vessel, inspected and released.
- *Koutoubia*. Picked up 50 castaways from the destroyer *Almirante Ferrándiz* sunk by the *Canarias* on 27 September 1936 and took them to Marseilles.
- *La Corse*. 643-ton vessel belonging to France Navigation and chartered by the Communist Party in Marseille to pick up international volunteers on an island off the Yugoslavian coast.

After the failure of this mission, it was transferred to the SAR Louis Carlini company in Marseille, which was trafficking with Spain. Captured by Nationalist ships on 4 November 1938 after an air raid and declared a good catch, renamed *Castillo de Jarandilla*.

- *Lézardrieux*. Belonged to France Navigation and was suspected of illegal trafficking between Valencia and Barcelona. On 27 March 1937, it was detained by the auxiliary cruiser *Mar Negro* off Sagunto and released after the intervention of the destroyer *Chevalier Paul*. In March 1939 it transported evacuees to Oran.
- *Le Corse*. Attacked by a Nationalist seaplane 18 miles off Barcelona on 14 February 1939. The arrival of the French destroyers *Vautour* and *Gerfaut* prevented its capture. It was escorted to Marseille by the destroyer *Aventurier* and then by the destroyer *Intrépide*.
- *Léopolde*. Trawler captured on 1 September 1936 in the Bay of Biscay by the battleship *España* and subsequently liberated.
- *Liberté*. Captured with weapons in the Bay of Biscay by the National Trawler *Galerna* on 6 July 1937. It belonged to the company La Peche Française de Fecamp and was declared a good catch, receiving the new name *Castillo de Almodóvar*.
- *Luis Adaro*. Detained by the cruiser *Almirante Cervera* in the Bay of Biscay in September 1936.
- *Magdalena*. Detained by nationalist ships on 1 April 1937, but released.
- *Malagasy*. Merchant vessel detained and released in the Strait of Gibraltar on 6 March 1937.
- *Marie-Thérèse Le Borgne*. Merchant vessel that hit a mine on 5 March 1937 and was stranded near Palamós. On 30 July, it was unmasted and towed to Marseilles by the destroyers *Intrépide* and *Dédaigneuse*.
- *Marshal Lyautey*. Ocean liner which was registered in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria on 11 August 1937.
- *Marraquex*. Mail ship between the north of the government and France, which entered the port of Santander on 16 July 1937 escorted by the French destroyer *Orage*. It was used to evacuate refugees.

- *Mexique*. Often travelled to ports in the Bay of Biscay. In July 1936, it evacuated French civilians in the northern ports, taking them to Saint Nazaire.
- *Mostaganem*. France Navigation merchant ship captured in the Strait of Gibraltar on 12 December 1938 and liberated by the destroyer *Basque*.
- *Noguin*. In March 1937, it transported arms from Marseilles to Catalan ports.
- *Oris*. Detained by Nationalist ships in October 1937.
- *Oued Mellah*. 2,414-ton merchant ship attacked and sunk by unknown aircraft on 24 October 1937 in the Mediterranean off the island of Mallorca. It belonged to the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet de Marseille.
- *Paramé*. French merchant ship torpedoed unharmed by a U-boat north of Bizerte on 13 August 1937.
- *Dogs-Guirec*. France Navigation ship that entered Bilbao at the beginning of June 1937. Detained in the Strait of Gibraltar on 2 March 1938, it ignored the order to go to Ceuta and headed for Gibraltar.
- *Pilote Niviére*. Marseille tugboat that was machine-gunned and bombed by Nationalist seaplanes near Gandía, resulting in damage.
- *Ploubazlanec*. Belonged to France Navigation and was suspected of illegal traffic to Republican ports. It entered Bilbao on 6 June escorted by the heavy destroyer *Le Terrible*. On 30 March 1939, it was detained off Valencia and liberated by the heavy destroyer *Lynx*.
- *Pocaletarra*. Trawler captured and liberated by the battleship *España* on 1 September 1936 in the Bay of Biscay.
- *Prado*. Spanish ship flying the French flag at the beginning of the war. It was captured off Palamós on the Catalan coast by the destroyer *Ceuta* on 24 January 1938. The heavy destroyer *Albatros* intervened and prevented the ship from being sent to Palma, landing in Barcelona.
- *Prado II*. Belonged to a government company. It was captured by the destroyer *Melilla* on 24 August 1937 and liberated by a French destroyer that escorted it to Barcelona. On 17 February 1938, it entered Barcelona again, escorted by French destroyers.

- *Procida*. Merchant ship that was seized and released by national ships.
- *Regina Pacis*. Delivered arms in Roses in October 1936.
- *Riri*. Motor barge captured in Barcelona waters by the cruiser *Canarias* on 22 July 1937 and taken to Palma. The destroyer *Tempête* inspected the cargo but could not prevent the seizure of the cargo and the ship. The skipper was tried and imprisoned but the crew was released and repatriated by the destroyer *Forbin*.
- *Roche Rouge*. Trawler detained near Pasajes that took refuge in San Juan de Luz. It supplied and evacuated personnel from the Belgian chemical company Solvay.
- *Ronas*. Delivered arms in Gijón and was later detained by nationalist Trawlers.
- *Saint Louis*. Landed in Avilés in 1937.
- *Saint Malo*. France Navigation merchant vessel captured in the Strait of Gibraltar and liberated by the destroyer *Basque* on 4 December 1938.
- *Saint Prosper*. 4,330-ton ship, it was sunk on 8 March 1939 after hitting a mine on its way to Algiers. It belonged to the Société Navale de L'Ouest.
- *Salinier II*. Barge that ran aground near Tarragona on 23 April 1937 after being intercepted by an Italian destroyer.
- *Si Kiang*. Merchant ship captured in the Strait of Gibraltar on 30 May 1938 and liberated in Ceuta a few hours before the arrival of the destroyer *Basque* from Tangiers.
- *Sidney*. Ex-Greek *Polymnia* with French flag. Captured in the Strait of Gibraltar by the national auxiliary cruiser *A. Lázaro* on 17 December 1937 and incorporated into the national fleet as *Castillo de Simancas*. Belonged to the Société Commerciale d'Afrettements et Commissions de Paris. The French destroyer *Foudroyant* protested in Ceuta on the same day without being released.
- *Soussien*. Merchant vessel that ran into trouble in the port of Valencia during an evacuation of refugees on 3 December 1936.
- *Theophile Gautier*. Transported the second expedition of Republican pilots to the USSR. On 29 August 1937, it was pursued by an unknown submarine off Gallipoli (Turkey).

- *Trégastel*. 1,046-ton merchant ship that sank after hitting some rocks in Cadaqués on 23 September 1938. It transported petrol from Marseille to Barcelona and belonged to the France Navigation company of Paris.
- *Ville de Bougie*. French merchant ship seized by a national ship before the arrival of the French destroyer *Gerfaut*.
- *Winnipeg*. Merchant ship belonging to the France Navigation company created with Republican money. It was detained on 30 March 1939 and released by the heavy destroyer *Lynx*. At the end of the war the company was taken over by the French Communist Party, chartering the ship at high cost to take refugees to Mexico.
- *Yolande*. 1,733-ton ex-Mexican *Jalisco* flagged in France. It entered several Republican ports. Detained off Tossa de Mar by the destroyer *Velasco* on 27 December 1937 and liberated by the French destroyers *Tartu* and *Vauquelin*, entering Port-Vendres. It then sailed to Barcelona and was sunk by aircraft on 26 January 1939. It belonged to the R. Gardellá company in Paris.

Appendix II

French warships involved in the Spanish Civil War

- *Acheron*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Actéon*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Aisne*, gunboat. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay.
- *Albatros*, heavy destroyer. Entered Valencia and evacuated French subjects on 25 July 1936. While in Barcelona harbour, it lost its tender during a bombing raid on 23 September 1938.
- *Alcyon*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Aigle*, heavy destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Aisne*, gunboat. It was off Gijón from 24 to 27 October 1937 collecting fugitives from the sea.
- *Algérie*, heavy cruiser. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Arras*, gunboat. Patrolled off Santander on 12 July 1937.
- *Arroyo*, auxiliary vessel. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.

- *Aube*, auxiliary vessel. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Austral*, patrol boat. It was off Gijón from 24 October to 1 November 1937 collecting fugitives from the sea.
- *Aventurier*, torpedo boat. Escorted merchant vessels in the Mediterranean.
- *Baliste*, torpedo boat. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Basque*, light destroyer. In Huelva and Cadiz in July 1936 and 1938. Control patrols in the Atlantic.
- *Bayonnaise*, torpedo boat. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Béarn*, aircraft carrier. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay.
- *Bison*, heavy destroyer. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay.
- *Bombard*, torpedo boat. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Bordelais*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay.
- *Boulonnais*, light destroyer. In Alicante in July and August 1936. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Bourrasque*, light destroyer. It was off Gijón from 24 October to 1 November collecting fugitives from the sea.
- *Bresto*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Bretagne*, battleship. It left Brest on 6 May 1937 to prevent the naval blockade by the national fleet.
- *Calais*, gunboat. Control patrols in the Atlantic.
- *Cassard*, heavy destroyer. In Alicante on 16 August 1936, later transferred to the naval control patrol.
- *Champlain*, auxiliary vessel. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Chasseur 91*, submarine hunter. Sunk by the Nationalist air force in the Catalan port of Fornells on 20 October 1938.
- *Chevalier Paul*, heavy destroyer. In Palma de Mallorca in August and September 1936, later transferred to the naval control patrol.
- *Colbert*, heavy cruiser. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Colmar*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Commandant Teste*, seaplane transport. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.

- *Conquérant*, a submarine that inspected merchant ships off the Galician coast in June 1937.
- *Cyclone*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Dédaigneuse*, gunboat. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *D'Iberville*, colonial gunboat. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Diligent*, gunboat. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Dordogne*, Marine tanker. In the service of patrol ships.
- *Du Couëdic*, a gunboat on inspection duties in the Strait of Gibraltar.
- *Duguay-Trouin*, heavy cruiser. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay.
- *Dupleix*, heavy cruiser. It relieved the *Duquesne* in Barcelona in November 1936.
- *Duquesne*, heavy cruiser. In Barcelona on 25 July 1936 to protect French subjects.
- *Dunkirk*, battleship. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Durance*, auxiliary vessel. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay.
- *Émile Bertin*, heavy cruiser. Evacuated French subjects in the Bay of Biscay in July and August 1936, entering the ports of Bilbao, Santander and Gijón. On 4 May 1937, it had left Brest to protect the evacuation of civilians in Bilbao.
- *Engageante*, gunboat. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Enseigne Gabolde*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Atlantic.
- *Épervier*, heavy destroyer. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay.
- *Epinal*. Gunboat that relieved the heavy destroyer *Le Terrible* in escorting merchant ships in the Bay of Biscay in June 1937.
- *Espoir*, submarine. Protected merchant ships and escorted them to government ports.
- *Fauvette II*, light gunboat. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Flore*, escort. Performed protection services for merchant ships in the Mediterranean

- *Foch*, heavy cruiser. In Tangiers in 1936 and 1937.
- *Forbin*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Foudroyant*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Fougueux*, light destroyer. Bombed by government aircraft without damage on 9 August 1938.
- *Fraîche*, auxiliary vessel. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Fresnel*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Frondeur*, light destroyer. Transferred the wounded from the *Brisbane* to Algiers on 9 June 1938. Bombed by government aircraft without damage on 9 August 1938.
- *Gerfaut*, heavy destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean in 1937.
- *Gracieuse*, gunboat. Control patrols in the Atlantic.
- *Granit*, gunboat. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Guépard*, heavy destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Hamelin*, mother ship of Marine seaplanes. On 6 December, it left Saint Louis du Rhône for Barcelona officially to supply 20,000 litres of petrol for Air France planes landing in Barcelona. On 21 January 1937, the French Ambassador to Spain M. Hervette informed his government that the petrol had been delivered to CAMPSA and used for military purposes.
- *Iris*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Jaguar*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay.
- *Jean de Vienne*, cruise ship. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Jules Verne*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Kersaint*, heavy destroyer. In July 1936, it evacuated French subjects in Palma de Mallorca, Port-Vendres and Barcelona. It moved to the naval control patrol.
- *L'Adroit*, light destroyer. Left the port of Caldetas believing it was being bombed by Republican planes on 24 June 1938.
- *L'Audacieux*, a heavy destroyer that protected merchant vessels evacuating refugees from Bilbao in June 1937, evacuating the French consul in Bilbao, M. Casteran.

- *L'Íphigénie*, torpedo boat. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *La Cordelière*, light destroyer. It was bombed by the Republican air force on 4 February 1938 while escorting the liner *Al Mansour*.
- *La Flore*, torpedo boat. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *La Galissonnière*, heavy cruiser. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *La Melpomène*, torpedo boat. Transported the crew of the merchant ship *Guaruja*, sunk near Almeria, to Oran.
- *La Palme*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *La Pomone*, escort. Performed services protecting merchant ships in the Mediterranean.
- *La Poursuivante*, light destroyer. On 24 January, it fought off a bomb attack by a Republican plane off Cape Béar with machine-gun fire.
- *La Railleuse*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *La Tempêté*, light destroyer. In Tangier in July 1936. It departed on 27 July, entering Málaga and Valencia. On 25 August 1936 it was bombed in the Strait by a government aircraft, which did not cause any damage. It escorted the submarines *Minerve* and *Iris*.
- *Lassigny*, gunboat. Came to the aid of the Norwegian merchant ship *Tiranna* attacked by the National Air Force on 24 July 1938.
- *L'Indomptable*, destroyer. In San Sebastian in July 1936 and in Bilbao in August.
- *L'Intrépide*, light destroyer. Escorted French merchant ships in the Mediterranean.
- *Le Fantasque*, heavy destroyer. Left Brest on 4 May to reinforce the destroyer *Le Terrible*. It also protected merchant ships in Santander and Asturias.
- *Le Fortuné*, light destroyer. In Alicante in August 1936.
- *Le Gladiateur*, auxiliary vessel. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Le Glorieux*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.

- *Le Héros*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Le Malin*, heavy destroyer. In Santander in August 1937.
- *Le Mars*, light destroyer. In Palma de Mallorca and Barcelona on a fairly regular basis.
- *Le Terrible*, heavy destroyer. On 3 May 1937, it went to Bilbao to escort ships carrying refugees.
- *Le Triomphant*, heavy destroyer. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay.
- *Lion*, heavy destroyer. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay.
- *Lorraine*, battleship. Left Brest on 6 May 1937 to prevent the naval blockade of the northern ports by the national fleet.
- *Lynx*, heavy destroyer. Mediterranean monitoring patrols. On 30 March 1939, it evacuated refugees from Valencia, including the French consul in Valencia and the wife of André Marty, promoter and leader of the International Brigades.
- *Maillé Brézé*, heavy destroyer. In Tangier in July 1936. On 28 July it entered Malaga to evacuate French subjects. It was on the naval control patrol. Attacked by government aircraft on 18 January 1937 in the Mediterranean near Barcelona.
- *Marseillaise*, heavy cruiser. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Meulière*, gunboat. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Milan*, heavy destroyer. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay.
- *Minerve*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Mistral*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Nancy*, auxiliary vessel. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Narwhal*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Nièvre*, Marine oil tanker. Base in La Coruña.
- *Oasis*, auxiliary vessel. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Ondine*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Orage*, light destroyer. Escorted the passenger ship *Marraqeux* into Santander on 16 July 1937.
- *Ouragan*, light destroyer. Off Gijón from 24 October to 1 November collecting fugitives from the sea.

- *Panthère*, heavy destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Phénix*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Phoque*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Pierre Lafont*, auxiliary vessel. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Poursuivant*, torpedo boat. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Primauguet*, heavy cruiser. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay.
- *Proctée*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Provence*, battleship. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay.
- *Quartz*, gunboat. Control patrols in the Atlantic.
- *Rance*, Marine tanker. Base in Oran.
- *Redoutable*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Rhône*, auxiliary vessel. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Rouennais*, auxiliary vessel. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Ruisseau*, auxiliary vessel. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay.
- *Simoun*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Sirocco*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Somme*, gunboat. On 1 May 1937, it evacuated fifty French and Belgian citizens in Castro Urdiales. In August, it picked up refugees at sea off Santander.
- *Suffren*, heavy cruiser. In Tangier in July and August 1936. In Alicante on 3 September 1936. On 27 March 1937, it had problems in the port of Valencia when evacuating French deserters from the International Brigades. It patrolled in the Mediterranean liberating merchant ships captured by the Nationalists in 1937 and 1938.
- *Suippe*, submarine. It was strafed by two Republican fighters off Cape Béar on 11 January 1938 without damage.
- *Surcouf*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Tapageuse*, gunboat. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Tartu*, heavy destroyer. Took part in naval control patrols protecting Mediterranean traffic in 1937 and 1938.

- *Thétis*, submarine. On 26 July 1937, it escorted the ship *Al Mansour* and was bombed by a government plane "Potez 25", to which it responded with machine-gun fire.
- *Tiger*, heavy destroyer. From 1937, naval control patrols in the Mediterranean. On 30 March 1939, it evacuated 300 militia refugees from Alicante. It was the last evacuation carried out.
- *Tonnant*, submarine. Escorted merchant ships to government ports.
- *Tornado*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Tourville*, heavy cruiser. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Tramontane*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Trombe*, light destroyer. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Typhon*, light destroyer. In Palma de Mallorca in July 1936. August 1937 in Santander. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Valmy*, heavy destroyer. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean.
- *Vauban*, heavy destroyer. Control patrols in the Bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean.
- *Vauquelin*, heavy destroyer. Under the command of Captain Robinet de Plas, it liberated the merchant vessel *Yolande*, captured by Nationalist ships on 27 December 1938.
- *Vauquois*, warning. Helped the Republican destroyer *José Luis Díez* to enter Le Verdum. It also escorted ships with refugees embarked in the port of Santander in July and August. 1937. It remained in front of the port of Gijón from 24 October to 1 November collecting fugitives from the sea.
- *Vautour*, heavy destroyer. Escorted French merchant ships in the Mediterranean.
- *Vengeur*, submarine. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.
- *Verdun*, heavy destroyer. Escorted French merchant ships in the Mediterranean.
- *Yser*, gunboat. Control patrols in the Mediterranean.

French armament used in the Spanish Civil War

Rifles:

- Chassepot Model 1866/74 11 mm calibre rifle (11 mm Gras M1874; 11 x 59 R), (shot-by-shot handloading).
- Gras Model 1874/80 11 mm calibre rifle (11 mm Gras M1874; 11 x 59 R), (shot-by-shot handloading).
- Gras Model 1877/80 11 mm carbine (11 mm Gras M1874; 11 x 59 R), (shot-by-shot handloading).
- Gras Model 1884 11 mm calibre rifle (11 mm Gras M1874; 11 x 59 R).
- Gras-Kropatschek rifle model 1874/85 in 8 and 11 mm calibre (11 mm Gras M1874; 11 x 59 R).
- Lebel Model 1886/1893 8 mm calibre rifle (8 mm Lebel M1863/93; 8 x 50 R Lebel).
- Berthier Model 1890 8 mm calibre carbine (8 mm Lebel M1863/93; 8 x 50 R Lebel).
- Musket Berthier Model 1892 8 mm calibre (8 mm Lebel M1863/93; 8 x 50 R Lebel).
- Berthier Model 1907/1915 8 mm calibre rifle (8 mm Lebel M1863/93; 8 x 50 R Lebel).
- Berthier Model 1916 8 mm calibre rifle and musket (8 mm Lebel M1863/93; 8 x 50 R Lebel).
- MAS Model 1936 7.5 mm calibre rifle (7.5 mm MAS M1929C; French 7.5 x 54).

Revolver:

- Lebel Model 1892 8 mm calibre (8 x 27 R Lebel).

Pistols:

- MAB (Manufacture d'Armes de Bayonne) 6.35 mm (.25 ACP) model A and B pistol.
- MAB (Manufacture d'Armes de Bayonne) 7.65 mm (.32 ACP) C and D models.

Gas masks:

- A.N.P. T-31

Characteristics:

Name: A.N.P. (Appareil Normal de Protection T-31)

Alias: Appareil L.S.T.

Origin: France

Year: 1931

Usage: Military

Materials: Canvas fabric (mask and harness), cellulose (eyes), sheet steel (mouthpiece and filter)

Colour: Khaki and brown

- T.C. 38

Characteristics:

Name: T.C. 38 (Type Civile 38)

Alias: Appareil L.S.

Origin: France

Year: 1938

Usage: Civil / Military

Materials: Canvas fabric (mask and harness), cellulose (eyes), Steel sheet (mouthpiece and filter)

Colour: Khaki and brown

Hand grenades:

- AB model 1916 incendiary with Brilliant fuse.
- Model 1915 F-1 pine cone grenade and 1935 type fuse.

Anti-personnel mines:

- P-11.

Bayonets:

- Bayonet knife model 1876 Gras type.
- Bayonet model 1886 Lebel type.
- Bayonet Berthier type.
- Bayonet MAS type.
- Batten-bayonet for rifle Chassepot 1866.
- Helmet:
- Adrian, model 1926.

Light machine guns:

- Châtelleraut M-1924/25 7.5 mm (7.5 x 54 French) (inspired by the BAR).
- CSG Chauchat-Lebel M-1915 8 mm. (8 x 50 R Lebel).

Machine guns:

- Hotchkiss M-1897 and M-1909 8 mm. (8 x 50 R Lebel).
- SGDG 6.5 mm anti-aircraft.
- Saint Étienne-Puteaux M-1907/16 8 mm. (8 x 50 R Lebel).

Mortars and mine launchers:

- Accompanying mortar Delaunay M-1923 75 mm Jouhandeau-Deslandres system.
- SGDG Lafitte M-1925 50 mm and 60 mm mortar and M-1926 60 mm mortar.
- Stokes-Brandt M-1935 60 and M-1918 and M-1930 81 mm mortar.

Artillery:

- Schneider 220 mm Quick Fire Mortar-Howitzer model 1915/1916.
- Schneider 155 mm howitzer model 1915, predecessor of the Spanish-made model 1917.
- Schneider L 13 S 105 mm gun, model 1913.
- Schneider 80 mm gun.
- Schneider 75 mm gun, model 1912-S.
- Schneider 75 mm gun, model LD.
- Schneider 75 mm gun, model 1922.
- Schneider-Canet 75 mm gun, model 1901.
- Schneider 75 mm mountain gun, model MPC2.
- Saint Chamond 75 mm gun, model 1923.
- 76.2 mm Saint Chamond gun recalibrated from the 1897 model.
- Hotchkiss 37 mm anti-tank gun, model 1927.
- 37 mm Puteaux anti-tank and escort gun model 1916 TR, (37 x 94 R).

- Anti-tank Hotchkiss 25 mm. anti-tank gun SA-L Mod. 1937.
- Anti-tank Puteaux 25 mm anti-tank gun SA-L Mod 1934.
- Hispano-Suiza HS-404 20 mm anti-aircraft gun.
- Hotchkiss 25 mm anti-aircraft gun.
- Schneider 100 mm naval gun.
- Schneider 150 mm naval gun.

Battle tanks:

- Renault FT-17 (9 with 37 mm gun, with circular or polygonal turret).

Trucks:

- Citroën.
- Renault.

Cars:

- Front-wheel drive Citroën
- Renault.

Motorbikes:

- Gnome - Rhône.

Aircraft:

- Blériot SPAD S 51/56/91/111 (fighter).
- Bloch MB 200/210 (bomber).
- Bloch MB 300 Pacifique (transport).
- Breguet 26 T (transport).
- Breguet 460 Vultur (bomber).
- Breguet 464/470 (transport).
- Caudron C-272/273 Luciole (training and liaison).
- Caudron C 282 Phalène (transport).
- Caudron C 440 Göeland (transport).
- Caudron C 59/490 (reconnaissance).
- Caudron C 600/601 Aiglon (training and link).
- Couzinet 101 (transport).

- Dewoitine D 27/53/531 (fighter).
- Dewoitine D 371/372/373 (fighter).
- Dewoitine D 510 (fighter) re-engined by the Republican government with Klimov M-100, Soviet copy of the 12Y.
- Farman F 190/191/197/291 (transport).
- Farman F 230/354 (light aircraft).
- Farman F 401/402 (transport and liaison).
- Farman F 430/431/432 (transport).
- Farman F 480/481 Alizé (training).
- Gourdou-Leseurre GL 32/482/633 (fighter and light bomber).
- Hanriot H 180/182/239/437/439 (training).
- Latécoère 28 (transport).
- Lioré et Olivier LeO 213 (transport).
- Loire 46 C I (fighter).
- Morane-Saulnier MS 60/140/181/230/341/345 (training).
- Moreau 10 (link).
- Potez 25A/36/43/56/58 (training).
- Potez 54/540/542/544 (bomber).
- Potez 560 (transport).
- Romano R-82 (training).
- Romano R-83 (training).
- Romano R-92 (fighter).
- SAB-SEMA 12 (attack).
- SFCA Maillet 20/21 (training and liaison).

Aeronautical armament:

- Darne 7 mm machine gun models 1922 and 1925.
- Hispano-Suiza HS-9 20 mm gun.
- Hispano-Suiza HS-404 20 mm gun.

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