

The Hispanic-Anglosphere from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century

An Introduction

**Edited by
Graciela Iglesias-Rogers**

ISBN13: 978-0-367-35313-1

First published 2021

Biographies

(CC BY-NC-ND 4.0)

The chapter DOI: 10.4324/9780429330636-14

The funder of the Open Access version of this chapter is
University of Winchester.

Biographies

Arbuthnot, James (1791–1863)

GRACIELA IGLESIAS-ROGERS

Born in Edinburgh on 24 December 1791, James Arbuthnot, known in Spain as Jaime Arbuthnot y Arbuthnot, was the son of the ‘illustrious baron’ William Arbuthnot – or at least that was the information provided by the Roman Catholic Bishop Alexander Cameron, Vicar Apostolic of Lowland District in Scotland to the Spanish army in 1808. He was also supposed to be the grandchild of ‘a pious and noble woman’ (AMGS, *Sección Primera* A-2104, November 1808). Alas, there was no William Arbuthnot with a nobility title living at the time in Scotland. Sir William Arbuthnot (1766–1829), eldest son of Robert Arbuthnot of Haddo, then Secretary to the Board of Trustees for Fisheries, Manufactures and Improvements, was not awarded a first baronetcy until 1823. A sketchy reference to a ‘Doña María Ana’ (Ms Mary Anne) as his mother was made in a document penned in 1843 and kept within James Arbuthnot’s extensive personal military dossier in the Spanish *Archivo Militar General de Segovia* (Military Archive of Segovia). From the vagueness of his birth details and the use of the same family name in the traditional Spanish double barrel surname (Arbuthnot y Arbuthnot), it seems likely that he was illegitimate at birth. This may also explain why being a child he was sent by the Scottish Catholic diocese to the *Real Colegio de Escoceses de Valladolid* (Royal Scots College of Valladolid) founded in 1627 to train Scottish men for the priesthood. He became a seminarist at the college in 1803, but later was drawn to fight as a volunteer in the Spanish War of Independence, also known as the Peninsular War (1808–14). He joined the army of Asturias with the rank of *teniente de infantería* in 1808. This was the army of one of the many regional juntas that emerged out of the collapse of the central administration. From this point onwards, he took part in multiple military actions such as the Battle of San Vicente de la Barquera in 1808 and in a number of skirmishes in Santander until he was captured on 26 August 1809. He managed to escape and participated in the defence of the bridge Colloto to be captured again on 14 February 1810. Eventually transported to France, he remained prisoner in Valenciennes, near the border to present-day Belgium, from mid-1811 until 29 April 1814.

DOI: 10.4324/9780429330636-14

This chapter has been made available under a CC-BY-NC-ND license.

After released, he continued his career in the Spanish army where he obtained the ranks of *teniente* (1808), *capitán* (1814), *teniente coronel* (1820), *coronel* (1833), *teniente coronel mayor* (1835), *brigadier* (1840) and *mariscal de campo*, similar to major-general in the British military scale (1843). During the period 1814–23, he fought against Spanish American ‘rebels’ in various locations in Venezuela, Panama and Colombia. On 17 April 1823, he received a passport from the Captain General of Havana, Sebastian Kindelan y O-Regan (1757–1826), to return to Spain. When he landed in Corunna on 25 June 1823, he found the town under siege by the invading French army that was this time in Spain to instate Ferdinand VII on the throne. Following the capitulation of the local liberal government, he was added to the ranks of the 4th *Regimiento de Infantería* (4th Regiment of Infantry). On 28 March 1827 he was granted licence to travel to Valladolid to marry Dolores Zuaso y OCarrol, daughter of a naval officer of Irish origin (*capitán de fragata*) Luis OCarrol (also spelt as OCarrol and O’Carrol). He participated in the first and second Carlist Wars (1833–40, 1846–49) and continued progressing in his army career, climbing to the position of military governor, first of the province of Lérida in 1847 and later of Galicia from 1854 to his death in 1863. His son Jaime Arbuthnot Zuaso, born in Saragossa on 7 September 1834, also followed a military career, achieving the rank of *teniente por antigüedad* (lieutenant by seniority) in the Spanish army in 1867. He joined in 1886 the *Regimiento de Infantería de Línea Americas Nr. 14* (Regiment of Infantry of the Americas Nr. 14), but he died in 1890, eight years before that corps was sent to Cuba to take a leading role in the Spanish American War.

Sources and Suggested Reading: ‘Expediente Jaime Arbuthnot y Arbuthnot’, *Archivo Militar General de Segovia* (AGMS), Sección Primera A-2104; P. S-M. Arbuthnot, *Memories of the Arbuthnots of Kincardineshire and Aberdeenshire* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1920), 300–18; Graciela Iglesias-Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon: Volunteering under the Spanish Flag in the Peninsular War* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2014); Jean-René Aymes. *Los Españoles en Francia 1808–1814: la deportación bajo el Primer Imperio* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España, 1987), 72; Maurice Taylor, *The Scots College in Spain* (Valladolid: Andrés Martín, 1971).

Bollaert, William (1807–76)

LESLEY KINSLEY

Traveller, writer, chemist, scholar and adventurer who carried out mineral surveys in Peru and Chile in the 1820s and 1850s and pursued a number of military activities for a number of causes in the global Hispanic world, some recorded in the two-volume *The Wars of Succession of Portugal and Spain, from 1826 to 1840* (London: Edward Stanford, 1870).

Bollaert's South American travels gave him material for many publications including *Antiquarian, Ethnological and Other Researches in New Granada, Ecuador, Peru and Chile* (London: Trübner & Co., 1860). His translation of *The Expedition of Pedro de Ursa and Lope de Aguirre in Search of Eldorado and Amagua in 1560–1* (1861) contained an introduction by Clements Markham (1830–1916) who also travelled widely in Peru and was similarly influential in the Royal Geographical Society (RGS). Bollaert wrote on ancient and modern history, ethnology, anthropology, science, literature and travel; by 1865, he had published 80 articles mainly relating to the Hispanic world in a variety of popular magazines and scholarly journals, all underpinned by his substantial private diaries and papers. Yet he is mainly known for his writings on Texas, the coastland of which he surveyed for the British navy in the 1840s as well as exploring its interior. His findings were used long after his death in the publication of W. E. Hollon and R. Lapham Butler (eds.), *William Bollaert's Texas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1956).

Born on 21 October 1807 in Lymington, England, he was the eldest of at least eight children of a Dutch emigrant Andrew Jacobus Bollaert and Jane (*née* Collings) of Lymington. His father was an unregistered apothecary in London who had served in the 60th Regiment of Foot. William became a chemical assistant at the Royal Institution in 1821, working in the laboratory of William Brande and Michael Faraday, but his father's sudden blindness compelled him to look for a more profitable position. He travelled to Peru in 1825 to take up a post as an assayer and chemist at the Guantajaya silver mines. He was commissioned by the Peruvian government to survey the Tarapaca province for mineral reserves with a local expert, George Smith of Iquique (of who little is known) who became a long-life friend and companion. They are thought to be the first Europeans to have traversed the Atacama Desert. Their survey helped to establish the nitrate industry in Peru in which the firm *Antony Gibbs and Sons* maintained an interest. After returning to London in 1830, Sir John Milley Doyle (1781–1856), a cousin of a volunteer in the Spanish Army during the Napoleonic wars, Sir Charles William Doyle (1770–82?–1842), recruited Bollaert to travel to Porto in 1832. There he engaged in military activities in support of the return of Queen Dona Maria II for which eventually he was made knight of the Order of Tower and Sword of Portugal. During the six consecutive years, he acted also as an agent of the Carlist cause in Spain.

Back in London, Bollaert became increasingly involved in the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) and was admitted as a Fellow. In 1840, he entered in contact with a land agent who was promoting British emigration to the newly independent republic of Texas. He read the account by the Scottish writer William Kennedy – *The Rise, Progress and Prospects of Texas* (London: R. Hastings, 1841) – and was attracted by a potential share in the land grant that Kennedy, then British consul in Galveston, had been offered there. From his arrival in Texas in 1842, Bollaert wrote extensive

and detailed private journals of his survey of the coastline for the British navy and his observations on the natural history, botany, geography, history and peoples of the area. These journals, his diary, sketches and correspondence with Kennedy are held at the University of Texas, Austin.

Bollaert returned to London in 1844 where he found work as a clerk in a firm of merchants trading with Spain and devoted his spare time to writing articles about all his experiences. He married Susannah McMorran (c.1816/7–1900), had five children and received a medal from the Royal Society of Arts for an essay on salt preparation. In 1853, he returned to Peru to carry out further government surveys for nitrate minerals and later for coal deposits in Chile. Coal was increasingly in demand for British steamships operating along the Pacific coast. This is evident in the writing of Captain George Peacock (1805–83) of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company. Peacock, also active in the discovery of local supplies of coal and guano in the 1840s, communicated with Bollaert on these issues and sent his observations to *Antony Gibbs and Sons*. Bollaert published his observations on coal in the *Journal of the RGS* in 1855 and was also a prolific contributor to the journals of many other learned societies. With a continuing interest in resettlement and scientific exploration, he became involved in the Ecuador Land Company in 1859. He recorded the discovery of a slab containing the coat of arms of a guano lord in the *Antiquarian, Ethnological and Other Researches in New Granada, Ecuador, Peru and Chile* (London: Trübner & Co., 1860), after contributing several articles on the artefact for a number of British periodicals. The slab was subsequently named ‘The Bollaert Slab’ and is now held by the British Museum.

Ill health dominated his last decade. He died in relative obscurity and straitened circumstances in London in 1876. The list of publications relating to the Hispanic world that he produced during his eventful life is vast. He listed many in a four-page appendix placed at the end of his book *Maya Hieroglyphic Alphabet of Yucatan (Extracted from the Memoirs of the Anthropological Society)* (London: Privately printed, 1865). A few seem to have been lost, but they were cited by other authors at the time and included the following: ‘Survey of the Island of Quiriquina in the Bay of Concepcion, in search of coal. In conjunction with Geo. Smith (of Iquique, Peru), his old friend and companion’ (London: privately printed, 1828); ‘Some Account of the Cheritmanos of Peru, and of Medicines Sold by Them’, *Transactions of the Medico-botanical Society* (London: J. and C. Adlard, 1834), 32–5, Bollaert was one of the founders of that society and later corresponding member; ‘Southern Peru – Its Deserts: Desert of Atacama, By a Traveller’, *Colburn’s United Services Journal* (London: R. Hurst, 1848), Third Part, 88, 290, 412; ‘History of the Incas of Peru’, *The New Monthly Belle Assemblée* (London: Rogerson & Co., 1851), 97–9; ‘Observations on the History of the Incas of Peru, on the Indians of South Peru, and on Some Indian Remains in the Province of Tarapaca’, *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London (1848–1856)* 3 (1854): 132–64;

'Antiquarian Researches in the Province of Tarapacá, Peru, and Discovery of the 'Pintados' or Ancient Indian Pictography', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (London: The Society of Antiquaries, 1857), vol. 4, 105; 'Examination of Recently Discovered Peruvian Zodiac or Calendar (gold)', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (London: The Society of Antiquaries, second series, 1861), vol. 1, 78–81; 'Introduction to the Paleography of America: or, Observations on Ancient Picture and Figurative Writings in the New World, on the Fictitious Writing in North America, on the Quipu of the Peruvians, and Examination of Spurious Quipus', *Memoirs Read Before The Anthropological Society* (London: Trübner & Co., 1865), vol. 1, 169–94; 'Examination of Central American Hieroglyphs: Of Yucatan – Including the Dresden Codex, the Guatemalien of Paris and the Troano of Madrid, the Hieroglyphs of Palenqué, Copan, Nicaragua, Veraguas and New Granada, by the recently discovered Maya Alphabet', *Memoirs Read before The Anthropological Society* (London: Trübner & Co., 1870), vol. 3, 288–314, among many others.

Sources and Suggested Reading: 'William Bollaert Papers, 1841–1849', University of Texas, Austin, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, 2H428, 2Q443; 'Miscellaneous Papers of William Bollaert with a printed pamphlet by W.M.F. Castle (1830–1887)', University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Dep. E. 270–2; William Bollaert, 'Arrival in Texas in 1842 and Cruise of the Lafitte by a Traveller', *Colburn's United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal*, Part III (November 1846): 341–55; W. Bollaert, 'Observations on the Geography of Texas', *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 20 (1850): 113–35; *idem*, 'Observations on the Natural History of Texas', *New Sporting Magazine*, (September 1851): 166–76; William Bollaert, 'Observations on the Coal Formation in Chile, S. America', *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 25 (1855): 172–5; William Bollaert, *Antiquarian, Ethnological and Other Researches in New Granada, Ecuador, Peru and Chile* (London: Trübner & Co., 1860), 72, 108, 150, 152; William Bollaert, 'Additional Notes on the Geography of Southern Peru', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 12 (1867): 126–34; William Bollaert, *The Wars of Succession of Portugal and Spain* (2 vols., London: Edward Stanford, 1870); W. EHollon and R. Lapham Butler, eds., *William Bollaert's Texas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1956); Wilfred Maude, ed., *Merchants and Bankers: A Brief History of Antony Gibbs and Sons and Its Associated Houses' Business during 150 Years* (London: Antony Gibbs & Sons Ltd, 1958), 29, 31, 36–8, 42–55; Robert G. Greenhill and Rory M. Miller, 'The Peruvian Government and the Nitrate Trade', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 5 (1973): 107–31. Lelia. M. Roeckell, 'Bollaert, William (1807–1876), Traveller and Author', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB) online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) 27 May 2010, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/100478>, accessed 6 January

2018; M. L. Tate, 'Bollaert, William', *Handbook of Texas Online*, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fbo08>, accessed 6 January 2018; G. Iglesias-Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon*, 30–2; Andrew Goudie, *Great Desert Explorers* (London: Silphium Press and The Royal Geographical Society with IBG, 2016), xiv, 94–7, 318.

Caldcleugh, Alexander (1795–1858)

MANUEL LLORCA-JAÑA

Merchant, miner, botanist and mineralogist, he was born in London, the only son of the four children born to Alexander Caldcleugh and Elizabeth Beatson. Very little is known about Caldcleugh's early years and career. The first documented information about him is that he departed from Plymouth on 9 September 1819 on board HMS *Superb* bound for Rio de Janeiro, where he arrived on 21 October 1819. He acted as a private secretary to the British minister at Rio de Janeiro, Sir Edward Thornton (1766–1852). Caldcleugh remained in Rio and its vicinity from October 1819 until January 1821, when he was invited by Captain Stanhope to visit Buenos Aires on board the *Alacrity*. Before arriving in Buenos Aires on 5 February 1821, he visited Montevideo for a few days. Caldcleugh remained in Buenos Aires for only two weeks but was well received by a local British merchant, George Frederick Dickson (1787–1821), who was later appointed as consul to London by the Buenos Aires government. From the River Plate Caldcleugh, travelled to the Andean province of Mendoza, and subsequently to Chile. In his short visit to Santiago de Chile, he was well received by a 'J. Lawson, Esquire' (A. Caldcleugh, 1825, vii). On 14 April 1821, Caldcleugh left Valparaiso for Lima on board the *Creole*. He stayed in Peru for a few days before returning to Valparaiso. From there, once again, he crossed the Andes and arrived back in Mendoza on 9 June 1821. Caldcleugh returned to Buenos Aires and re-embarked for Rio de Janeiro in late June. At the end of 1821, he left Brazil for England, where he arrived on 22 November 1821.

During most of his travels in South America, Caldcleugh kept a detailed diary in which he recorded a wide range of interesting subjects. Based on these notes, he published a two-volume book in 1825, which was very well received in Britain and even translated into German the following year. Modern Spanish America was relatively unknown to the rest of the world. After independence, British travellers and many others were allowed to visit this 'New World'; they wrote extensively about the continent during the 1810s, 1820s and 1830s. Among the extensive British writing of this time, Caldcleugh's books are considered to be among the finest early descriptions of southern South America. His work contains not only fascinating personal stories but also helpful historic, geographic, statistical and commercial information. During this trip,

Caldcleugh collected plants for Kew Gardens, which he sent to A. B. Lambert (1761–1842), including many native South American plants that were unknown in Britain. The plant, *caldcluvia*, was so-called in his honour. For the period 1822–29, when Caldcleugh was back in Britain, little is known about him, except that he resided in Croydon. There is evidence that he was a Fellow of the Geological Society from 1822, a Fellow of the Linnean Society from 1823 and a Fellow of the Royal Society from 1831. For the Royal Society, he wrote a paper about the devastating earthquake that affected Chile in 1835 that was published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* a year later.

In 1829, Caldcleugh returned to Chile, this time as a commissioner of the failed Anglo-Chilean Mining Company to liquidate the firm. All the evidence suggests that Caldcleugh intended to establish himself in Chile for a long period. Indeed, soon after his arrival, he invested in mining enterprises in northern Chile and in farming land in central Chile. Within a few years, he became one of the most prominent British businessmen in that country, where he spent the rest of his life, living in Valparaíso, Santiago de Chile, Coquimbo, Ovalle and Serena. His greatest investment is believed to have been in the mine of Panulcillo (Ovalle). Similarly, in 1855, Caldcleugh and two other British investors, Thomas Cood and William Waddington, obtained the exclusive rights to build a railway between Serena and Coquimbo, one of the first railways ever laid in South America.

Caldcleugh was highly regarded in both the British business world and in Chilean society. Illustrative of this prestige in Britain is his appointment as an agent of the British bondholders of the ‘Chilean loan’. In 1822, the Chilean government had raised a loan for £1 million in London but, in 1826, the Chileans defaulted. In 1828, after early negotiations had failed, the British bondholders of the loan appointed Edward Widder as their representative in Chile to transfer the necessary funds, from Chile to London, for the payments of the dividends of the loan. Soon after, the committee of British bondholders appointed Alexander Caldcleugh, in Widder’s place, as their agent on the spot. Almost immediately, Caldcleugh entered into direct negotiations with the Chilean Chancellor and, eventually, in 1842, he reached a settlement with the Chilean government for the repayment of the debt. In the early 1840s, Caldcleugh was entrusted with similar powers by the British bondholders of the ‘Peruvian loan’.

While residing in Chile, Caldcleugh was also empowered by the Scottish commander of the Chilean navy Thomas Cochrane, later tenth Earl of Dundonald (1775–1860) to obtain from the Chilean government a compensation for his services to this government. Similarly, Caldcleugh was officially appointed by a Chilean governmental decree of 19 May 1835 for the minting in Britain of copper coins of low denomination for circulation in Chile, equivalent to 1,000 quintals of fine copper. Caldcleugh successfully accomplished the task, and in July 1836, the first copper coins arrived to Valparaíso from London; a second cargo arrived in early 1837.

Caldcleugh is also known for his friendship with the naturalist, Charles Robert Darwin (1809–82). In 1834, Darwin visited Santiago de Chile and Valparaiso while travelling on the *Beagle* and met Caldcleugh for the first time. In 1835, when Darwin returned to Valparaiso, he was assisted by Caldcleugh in his excursion through the Andes. In Darwin's own words: 'Mr Caldcleugh most kindly assisted me in making all the little preparations for crossing the Cordilleras' (Darwin & Borlow, ed., 1933, 288). Caldcleugh also invited Darwin to visit his Panulcillo mine, where they spent a few days in May 1835.

On 5 July 1845, Caldcleugh married the Chilean Leonor del Carmen Calvo (1805–49). She was the widow of Manuel Jose Valdivieso y Balmaceda (d. 1844). The marriage did not last long as Leonor died on 6 July 1849. Caldcleugh spent his last two years semi-retired at Valparaiso, where he died on 11 January 1858 in the house of Isabel Valdivieso, sister of Miguel Estalísnao Valdivieso who defined himself as Caldcleugh's 'political son'. Caldcleugh was buried in Valparaiso cemetery. In his last will, he had appointed an English resident and former partner, Thomas Cood, as his executor, leaving all his property to Leonor's three daughters. He had neither sons nor daughters of his own.

Sources and Suggested Reading: Alexander Caldcleugh, *Travels in South America, during the years, 1819–20–21: Containing an Account of the Present State of Brazil, Buenos Ayres, and Chile* (London: J. Murray, 1825); A. Caldcleugh, 'An Account of the Great Earthquake Experience in Chili, 20th February 1835', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 126 (1836), 21–6; Michael G. Mulhall, *The English in South America* (London: Ed. Stanford, Charing Cross, 1878); Nora Borlow, ed., *Charles Darwin's Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. 'Beagle'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933); Manuel Llorca-Jaña, 'Caldcleugh, Alexander (1795–1858)', *ODNB*, 23 September 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/98452>, accessed 8 October 2009; Ricardo Donoso, 'Alexander Caldcleugh', *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía* 133, (1965): 152–231.

Claramunt Creus, Teresa (1862–1931)

ARTURO ZOFFMANN RODRIGUEZ

Born in Sabadell in 1862 to a working-class family, Teresa Claramunt Creus was an indefatigable organizer of Catalonia's textile workers. She was imprisoned in 1896 during the roundups of the Montjuïc process, when a bomb attack blamed on anarchists brought about a major crackdown on Barcelona's libertarian movement. She was deported to Britain upon her release a year later. Claramunt Creus arrived in London with a group of refugees in July 1897 and spent several months there. Fellow Catalan Fernando Tarrida del Mármol (1861–1915) introduced her to

other anarchist exiles from across Europe and to British labour organizers. She wrote for *Freedom*, the flagship publication of the London anarchists. The British consul in Barcelona referred to Claramunt Creus as ‘the Spanish Louise Michel’ (Paola, 2013, 22), by virtue of her charisma, her energy and her tragic experience of repression and banishment. In the autumn of 1897, she left Britain and travelled to France. She worked as a weaver in Paris and Roubaix. It appears she came into contact with activists from the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (General Confederation of Labour, CGT), namely Charles Malato, who had himself spent much time in London.

Claramunt Creus returned to Spain in early 1898 as a convinced syndicalist. She became a defender of the general strike, propounded by French syndicalism, and at the turn of the century became a vigorous agitator for strike activity across Catalonia. Her syndicalist zeal was undoubtedly conditioned by her travels in Britain and France in 1897–98. In 1901, she became an active collaborator of the newspaper *La Huelga General*, financed by anarchist pedagogue Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia, who had also been to France and Britain in 1897–98. The paper had an unmistakable syndicalist ring. It blended the experiences of British new unionism and of the French CGT with Catalan anarchism. As the name indicates, its *raison d’être* was the revolutionary general strike that would bring down capitalism and the state.

Claramunt Creus played an important part in the surge of industrial conflict of 1901–2, and *La Huelga General* served as a mouthpiece for the strike movement. The wave of stoppages was capped by a spectacular general strike in January 1902 that paralysed Barcelona for more than a month. These tactics were clearly shaped by the experiences in labour organization brought to Spain from France and Britain by exiled activists such as Claramunt Creus. The Spanish experience in turn shaped the radicalization of British trade unionism. Indeed, the newspaper *The General Strike*, edited in London by Tarrida del Mármol and Welsh trade unionist Sam Mainwaring, drew its cues from its Spanish namesake. In the early 1910s, Claramunt Creus became involved in organizing the revolutionary syndicalist *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (National Confederation of Labour, CNT), until illness gradually withdrew her from public life. She died in Barcelona in 1931.

Sources and Suggested Reading: Federico Urales, *Mi Vida* (2 vols., Barcelona: Revista Blanca, 1932), vol. 1, *passim*; Pietro di Paola, *The Knights Errant of Anarchy: London and the Italian Anarchist Diaspora (1880–1917)* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 22; Teresa Abelló Güell, *Les Relacions Internacionals de l’Anarquisme Català, 1881–1914* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1987); María Amalia Pradas Baena, *Teresa Claramunt: la “virgen roja” Barcelonesa* (Barcelona: Virus, 2006); Angel Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction: Catalan Labour and the Crisis of the*

Spanish State, 1898–1923 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Laura Vicente Villanueva, *Teresa Claramunt: Pionera del Feminismo Obrero Anarquista* (Madrid: Fundación Anselmo Lorenzo, 2006).

Collingwood, Cuthbert, Baron Collingwood (1748–1810)

AGUSTÍN GUIMERÁ-RAVINA

This distinguished naval officer was born in Newcastle upon Tyne, England. He had a long career in the British Royal Navy which he joined in 1761, being twelve years old. He took part in three key battles during the wars of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire (1793–1815): the ‘Glorious First of June’ (1794), Cape St Vincent (1797) and Trafalgar (1805). He was an efficient naval leader, humanitarian and patient, with great rectitude and overriding sense of duty. But he is generally an unknown historical figure because his character was quite different to that of his flamboyant friend Horatio Nelson (1758–1805). Collingwood was discreet and showed a cold professional exterior. In 1791 he married Sarah Blakett (1762–1819), daughter of a successful merchant and four times mayor of Newcastle. The couple had two daughters: Sarah and Mary Patience.

In the period 1796–1808, he campaigned several times in the Mediterranean during the long struggle between Spain – allied with France at that moment – and Britain. He participated in the blockade of Cadiz in the years 1797–98, attached to the fleet of admiral John Jervis (1735–1823). After Nelson’s death in Trafalgar, he became commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean Fleet (1805–10). In these last years of his life, he proved to be the right man for such a big strategic and diplomatic task, opposing the French military hegemony in Europe: he operated and administered a fleet of up to 80 ships, including 30 of the line and maintained correspondence with all Mediterranean powers stretching from Cadiz to Istanbul. His private correspondence gives us a measure of his great contribution to ironing relations between Britain and the Hispanic world. In a letter to his wife’s uncle, Sir Edward Blakett, he said that he had encouraged his two daughters to learn Spanish because he felt that it was a very easy and elegant language (N. Collingwood, 1837, vol. 1, 135). During the blockade of Cadiz in 1798, he showed pity for the Spanish Monarchy, which he considered to be no longer an independent nation, but under French dominion. He was convinced that the hearts of the Spanish people well disposed towards England, being eyewitness of the kind correspondence between the Spanish admiral José de Mazarredo (1745–1812) and admiral John Jervis (1735–1823) and the social intercourse of the common people of Cadiz with the British sailors (N. Collingwood, 18, vol. 1, 62–5).

After Trafalgar, Collingwood, as the new commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean fleet, displayed a diplomatic behaviour with the Spanish

governor of Cadiz, General Francisco María de Solano (1768–1808). The first move was to send Solano the wounded prisoners of the Spanish prizes in exchange of British prisoners who were on board of the prizes rescued by the Spaniards after the battle. In return, Solano looked after the wounded enemies in the city hospitals and gave food and accommodation to the rest of British prisoners. Then, Collingwood ordered most of the Spanish prisoners to be released. Both commanders exchanged presents in the following months: a cask of Andalusian wine for cheese and Port from the British side. They showed each other mutual sorrow for the deaths of Nelson and the Spanish admiral Federico Gravina (1756–1806). Solano even sent fruits to the blockading fleet a few months later! (N. Collingwood, 18, vol. 1, 111–2, 114, 116–7, 123).

This gentleman's behaviour helped Collingwood when the Peninsular War began in 1808. He had been following the Spanish internal politics with great interest. In April of that year, he was very concerned by the crisis of Bourbon monarchy, with the entering of masses of French troops in the Peninsula, the abdication of the King Charles IV (1748–1819) on his son Ferdinand (1784–1833), and the voyage of all royal family to Bayonne, demanding Napoleon's arbitrage in their quarrels. At the end of May 1808, after realizing that the situation was more critical, with the abdication of both Spanish kings in favour of Joseph Bonaparte and the beginning of the Spanish rebellion, he decided to come immediately from Toulon to Cadiz, arriving on 11 June, just in time to see the surrender of the French squadron of admiral François Étienne Rosily (1748–1832), moored in Cadiz Bay since Trafalgar. He declared the immediate suspension of hostilities in Southern Spain and paid a quick visit to the port city, where he was received as a saviour.

At the beginning, he saw the results of the Spanish revolt with optimism, admiring the enthusiasm and courage of the common people. Yet he had some doubts regarding the capacity and patriotism of the Spanish elites and criticized the lack of unity in the *juntas*, the provincial committees which were spontaneously organized against the French invaders. In his view, the opened geography of the country and the difficulties of internal communications were obstacles for decisive military operations in the Peninsula. Nevertheless, he was in touch with Spanish leaders including the next governor of Cadiz, General Tomás de Morla (1752–1820), and the president of the *Junta Suprema de Sevilla*, Francisco de Saavedra (1746–1819). Collingwood helped the Patriots with military supplies, transport and money since his arrival to Cadiz. The Spanish victory of Bailén (22 July 1808) became a big challenge for him and for the Spaniards. Collingwood had to deal with Spanish plans for sending more than 20,000 French prisoners from that battle and from the surrender of Rosily's squadron to the islands of Minorca, Cabrera or Canaries. Some of these projects were fulfilled. In the *annus horribilis* of 1809, when the Spanish Army suffered several defeats in open field by the French army,

Collingwood became anguished, pessimist and displeased vis-à-vis the future of the war. He was mainly concerned by the bad state of military operations in Catalonia, the surrender of Roses to the enemy, the lack of Catalan initiative and the big difficulties in defending Gerona. In the autumn of that year, he feared that Spanish ships in Cadiz could fall into enemy's hands and was concerned by the possibility of a French invasion of Andalusia. He recommended the commander of the British squadron in front of Cadiz, vice-admiral Purvis, to put the bay in a good state of security for Spanish ships to lay or to transfer them to Cartagena. He had written to her sister that 'the fate of Europe depends on success in Spain, and lesser interests should be subservient to our efforts there' (Hughes, 1957, 269).

Collingwood's health had suffered very much since Trafalgar, mainly due to not having the possibility of resting on land for over four years. He had asked for relief many times, without success. The Admiralty was convinced that his skills were unique for the command of the Mediterranean fleet, particularly at such a difficult moment. Collingwood accepted the situation out of a sense of duty. But in February 1810 his health rapidly deteriorated, and on 6 March, having turned over his command to Purvis, he sailed for England. It was too late: he died at sea the following day, aged 61. He has not seen his family for nearly seven years. Collingwood's body was buried two months later in the crypt of St Paul's Cathedral near his friend Nelson. He was not able to see the final victory of allied armies over Napoleon in Iberian Peninsula, but his great contribution to the Spanish self-determination should be always remembered.

Sources and Suggested Reading: G. L. Newnham Collingwood, ed., *A Selection from the Public and Private Correspondence of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, Interspersed with Memoirs of His Life* (2 vols., London: James Ridway and Sons, 1828), vol. 1, 62–5, 123, 135; vol. 2, 19; Edward Hughes, ed., *The Private Correspondence of Admiral Lord Collingwood* (London: Navy Records Society, 1957), 269; Private information (Collingwood family); Parish registers, St Nicholas's Church, Newcastle upon Tyne; *Naval Chronicle*, 23, 1810, 380–4. See also 'Mediterranean Despatches and Entry Books', The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew (TNA) CO 173; 'Collingwood and Others', National Maritime Museum, The Caird Library and Archive, MID/1/27 2/6 and LBK/15; British Library Manuscripts Add MSS 14272–84, 23207, 40096–98; C.H. H. Owen, 'Letters from Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, 1794–1809', in *Naval Miscellany VI*, ed. Michael Duffy (London: Navy Records Society, 2003), 149–220; Oliver Warner, *The Life and Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968); Max Adams, *Admiral Collingwood. Nelson's Own Hero* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2005). A portrait by Henry Howard (1769–1847) of 1828, based on a painting by Giuseppe Politi (1807), is held by the *National Portrait*

Gallery in London and can be seen in its online catalogue <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw01403/Cuthbert-Collingwood-Baron-Collingwood>, accessed 18 August 2020.

Conroy, Thomas (c.1806–85)

JOSÉ BROWNRIGG-GLEESON MARTÍNEZ

Irish merchant in Callao, Peru, not much is known about Conroy's early years: born in Wexford in 1806 or 1807 to a father originally from Rathdowny, it seems that he arrived in Lima around 1820 after a short stint in the United States. What is certain is that Conroy was already settled in Peru by December 1827, when he married Petronila Enderica Talamantes (d. 1862), with whom he would go on to father fourteen children.

He was involved in numerous mercantile activities in Peru. According to the German merchant Heinrich Witt, he operated as the agent of the house of *Antony Gibbs & Co.* in Callao in the early 1840s. Together with being the port agent in Callao and for some time the Consul General for Costa Rica in that town as well, Conroy held business interests in copper and guano and may have also been the proprietor of a mine. His presence in Callao, conspicuously marked by a large residence and office purposefully built for himself in 1855 (see detailed entry later in this section) prompted the arrival in Peru of two of his younger brothers: Peter, 'Pedro', later a partner of the Lima firm of *Naylor, Conroy & Co.*, and George, who committed suicide in 1846. Additionally, Thomas Conroy is credited with having been one of the main promoters of the horse races at Bellavista, near Callao.

Thomas Conroy died in Callao on 17 August 1885. The death notice published in Lima's *El Comercio* referred to him as 'one of the first Europeans who settled amongst us during the days of our (struggle for) independence' and spoke of a merchant known throughout his 65 years of residence in Peru for his 'hard work, honesty and love towards his fellow men, which had made him deserving of everyone's esteem' (transl. *El Comercio*, 17 August 1885). In the opinion of Heinrich Witt – who had known Conroy from the time of his own arrival in Lima in 1827 – the Irish merchant was 'a really good man but rather extravagant' (Mücke, 2016, vol. 3, 523). Witt estimated in 1875 that at the peak of his business ventures in the 1840s–50s, the Irishman's income could have amounted 'to as much as \$40,000 annually, but he, like his brother Peter, was ostentatious, and thus his money went out as fast as it came in' (Mücke, 2016, vol. 5, 191).

Sources and Suggested Reading: Ulrich Mücke, ed., *The Diary of Heinrich Witt* (10 vols., Leiden & Boston, MA: Brill, 2016), esp. vols. 2, 3, 5; [Manuel Ortiz de Zavallos], *Memoria de los Ramos de Hacienda y Comercio que presenta el ministro encargado de su despacho al Congreso Oficial*,

convocado extraordinariamente para el mes de octubre de 1858 (Lima: Imprenta de J. M. Masias, 1858), xviii; *El Comercio*, 17 August 1885; Teodoro Hampe Martínez, ‘Apuntes documentales sobre inmigrantes europeos y norteamericanos en Lima (Siglo XIX)’, *Revista de Indias* 53, 198 (1993): 459–91; Gabriela McEvoy, *La experiencia invisible. Inmigrantes irlandeses en el Perú* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2018).

Huth, Frederick (1777–1864)

MANUEL LLORCA-JAÑA

Leading London merchant banker, founder of *Huth & Co.*, was born in Hanover in 1777. In 1791, he was admitted as an apprentice to a Basque merchant house in Hamburg, *Brentano Urbietta & Co.* Hamburg was at the time one of the primary ports in continental Europe, an important *entrepôt* of global produce, in particular with regard to the British and Hispanic worlds. After four years working for these Basque merchants, Frederick Huth was promoted to senior clerk. Two years later, Juan Antonio Urbietta (head of the house) decided that he was of better use in Corunna, where they had a branch house.

The links between Hamburg and Corunna were important on account of the re-export trade of Spanish global produce, but also because of the re-export of Silesian linens from Hamburg to Corunna and from Galicia into the rest of Spain and Spanish America. The Corunna house was headed by a brother of Juan Antonio, who increasingly left much of the running of the house in Huth’s hands. His arrival at Corunna roughly coincided with the end of the monopoly of Seville-Cadiz with Spanish America. This is important because it was in Galicia that Huth became familiar with Ibero-American trade. Indeed, he was sent to South America several times acting as supercargo. During these trips he landed in Rio de Janeiro, Callao, Valparaiso and Buenos Aires, gaining valuable experience for his future operations from London. Overall, Huth’s appointment in Galicia is crucial to understanding his later connections with Spain after moving back to London in 1809 where he established himself as a commission merchant.

Sources and Suggested Reading: Manuel Llorca-Jaña, ‘Connections and Networks in Spain of a London Merchant-Banker, 1800–1850’, *Revista de Historia Económica/Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 31, no. 3 (2013): 423–58; Charles Jones, ‘Huth, (John) Frederick Andrew [formerly (Johann) Friedrich Andreas] (1777–1864), Merchant and Merchant Banker’, *ODNB*, 23 September 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:ODNB/48245>, accessed 19 August 2019; Charles Jones, *International Business in the Nineteenth Century* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books, 1987), 37; A. Murray, *Home From the Hill. A Biography of Frederick Huth, ‘Napoleon*

of the City' (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1970); Manuel Llorca-Jaña, 'The Economic Activities of a Global Merchant-Banker in Chile: Huth & Co. of London, 1820–1850s', *Historia* II, no. 45 (2012): 399–432.

Duff, James, Viscount Macduff, Fourth Earl of Fife (1776–1857)

GRACIELA IGLESIAS-ROGERS

Also known as *Diego Duff*, *vizconde Macduff*, *conde de Fife*, James Duff was a volunteer in the Spanish Army during much of the Peninsular War (1808–14) when he became a close friend of the Spanish American Liberator José de San Martín (1778–1850) and made a number of acquaintances among people who were very active in the Hispanic-Anglosphere, particularly in the field of politics and arts. He also played a key role in establishing the first 'Patriotic Fund', a non-governmental association established to assist those ignored by the precarious Spanish military welfare system, and back at home set up a building scheme to give employment to veterans of the Napoleonic wars which made a local Scottish writer to say: '(...) the good Earl James was the Poor Man's Friend and one of the most beloved and popular noblemen which Old Scotia had given to the world' (Imlach, 1868, 45).

Prior to travelling to Spain, James Duff's military experience had gone no further than being Lieutenant-Colonel in the local Invernesshire militia established by his uncle, the second Earl of Fife. In Spain, he was present at the battles of Talavera (27–28 July 1809) and Ocaña (19 November 1809); the siege of Cadiz, particularly in the defence of Matagorda (22 February 1813), gained the ranks of *brigadier* (1 March 1809) and *mariscal de campo* (3 November 1810) and was awarded the *Gran Cruz de San Fernando* (1812). He had enlisted to serve unpaid after hearing about the plight of the Spanish Patriots while living in Vienna where he established base after three years of wandering around Europe following a double tragedy: in a single week in December 1805, his pregnant wife Maria Caroline Manners (c.1775–1805) died of rabies after receiving a bite from her favourite dog and his estranged mother, Mary Skene (1752–1805), who had brought into the Fife family vast estates in Aberdeenshire and Forfarshire before divorcing his father to marry a younger cousin, perished in a fire in London.

Another unexpected death, that of his father, Alexander, third Earl of Fife, in 1811 put pressure for him to return to Scotland to take responsibility of the estate, considered as one of the largest in Britain. Nursing a wound suffered during the defence of Matagorda, Duff postponed his homecoming for almost two years. In the meantime, he joined forces with a London merchant, Frederick Grellet, to develop, organize and promote the establishment of the first privately financed *Fondo Patriótico* (Patriotic Fund) to provide assistance to the widows, orphans and nearest relatives

of those who fell in defence of Spain and who at the time were excluded from the benefits of the *Montepío Militar*, the Spanish welfare scheme for the military. The scheme was largely based on a similar institution that had been running successfully in England for a few years, probably the Lloyd's Patriotic Fund of which Grellet was a member. It was also during this period when, hearing about San Martín's decision to leave the ranks of the Spanish Army to travel abroad, the Earl obtained for his friend a ticket to England, several letters of introduction and even letters of credit, which, according to General William Miller (1795–1861) who was an acquaintance of both men, San Martín did not need to resort. Although it remains unclear whether the Earl was fully aware of the plans of his friend, there is no doubt that it was through his intervention that San Martín was able to join the group of Spanish American revolutionaries based in London and to make within months the trip to Buenos Aires that would turn him into the hero of three South American nations (Argentina, Chile, Peru).

Soon after his return to Britain in May 1813, the Earl of Fife made arrangements to bring from Cadiz the celebrated dancer Maria Mercandotti (c.1800–?), the young 'Andalusian Venus' who introduced the exotic bolero to London audiences thirsting for excitement during charity performances organized in aid of the Spanish Patriots. Years later, still under his patronage, her dance to music composed by Federico Moretti (1795–1839)'s friend and the *afrancesado* Fernando Sor (1778–1839) caught the imagination of post-war Europe and, in the words of the music historian Brian Jeffery, 'became part of the Spanish aura of Romanticism, an aura that produced such works as Hugo's *Hernani* and Bizet's *Carmen*. Its popularity culminated in the most famous bolero of all, Ravel's *Bolero for Orchestra* (1928)' (Jeffrey, 1977, 16). He also participated in many public events in his capacity of Grand Master of the Scottish Freemasons (1813–16) and of the Provincial Lodge of Banff (1813–21), MP for Banffshire (1818–27) and Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince Regent, later George IV (1819–21). Lord Fife was a liberal monarchist and had been for many years part of the entourage of the Prince Regent who ferociously opposed Latin American emancipation fearing that it could unleash an international revolutionary movement that would end by threatening his own crown. This friendship, reinforced by a shared passion for opera, ballet and French gastronomy, did not inhibit the Earl from contradicting the monarch on more than one occasion – an attitude that would cost him dear. On 23 March 1821, Fife became the first nobleman in British history to lose his position of Lord of the Bedchamber in the Palace for participating in a backbench revolt in the House of Commons against a malt tax proposed by 'His Majesty's Government' that was to hit particularly hard to his constituents.

In 1824, having fulfilled his mission in America, San Martín headed back to Europe and more precisely to England after being refused entry by the Bourbon regime in France, where he had hoped to join his brother Justo Rufino, then living in Paris. The two friends had been

keeping correspondence all through the years of the liberation campaign in South America; yet, after leaving his only daughter Mercedes in a girls' college in Hampstead, London, San Martín arrived unannounced to Scotland to meet the Earl at Duff House, his home in Banff, 90 kilometres north of Aberdeen. For Fife, it was a pleasant surprise – even when San Martín found him in the middle of a financial crisis caused by a prolonged, and ultimately unsuccessful inheritance litigation that placed the Earl in the awkward position of having to sell, by order of the Sheriff of Banff, practically all the furniture and art collection of the 30-room mansion where he had been welcomed as a privileged guest only three months earlier. San Martín's visit lasted just a week, time sufficient for the Earl to convince the local authorities that he should be conferred the local title of 'Freeman of Banff'. This was the only public recognition San Martín ever received in Europe, and it was bestowed six months before Foreign Minister George Canning – an acquaintance of Fife – obtained parliamentary approval for a treaty of commerce and friendship with the Buenos Aires government, the first step towards international acceptance of Spanish American independence.

Six years passed before the King decided to forgive the Earl's disobedience and restored him to the position of Lord of the Bedchamber. Under the premiership of George Canning, he was also created a peer of the United Kingdom as Lord Fife (27 April 1827), thus allowing to transfer from the Commons to the House of Lords, and made a Knight of the Thistle (1 September 1827). A popular landlord, he spent a good deal of his fortune founding new villages, including Dufftown, now known as the capital of Scotland's malt whisky distilling, and in the restoration of Pluscarden Abbey, the religious house founded in 1230 by the Scottish king Alexander II – all with the social aim of giving employment to veterans of the Napoleonic wars.

He died, childless, at Duff House on 9 March 1857; thereby, the United Kingdom barony of Fife became extinct. He was succeeded as fifth Earl of Fife by his nephew, James Duff, the eldest son of his only brother, General the Hon. Sir Alexander Duff (1777–1851), who commanded the 88th foot (Connaught Rangers) from 1798 to 1810, serving at its head in Sir David Baird's expedition from India to Egypt in 1801 and in the second of two failed British invasions of Buenos Aires (1807). Duff House, their family home, had been designed by the architect William Adam in 1735 with only one motivation: to impress. The founder of the dynasty, William Duff, a lawyer who made fortune as a landowner, wanted to convince the world that he was the descendant of Lord Macduff, the mythical friend of the Shakespearean Macbeth. Thus, he commissioned Adam to construct the grandest mansion in Scotland. A legal dispute with the architect and the construction workers left the project half-completed, but the building is impressive nonetheless. During its three centuries of existence, it served as ducal residence, hospital and even as prisoners of war camp during the

Second World War. Today gives seat to the only branch that the National Gallery of Scotland maintains outside Edinburgh.

Sources and Suggested Reading: Alistair Norwich and Henrietta Tayler, *The Book of the Duffs* (2 vols., Edinburgh; William Brown, 1914), vol. 1, 200–50; James Imlach, *History of Banff and Familiar Account of Its Inhabitants and Belongings; to Which Are Added, Chronicles of the Old Churchyard of Banff* (Banff: Robert Leask, 1868), 44–50; John Miller, *Memoirs of General Miller, in the Service of the Republic of Peru* (2 vols., London: Longman and Rees, 1828), I, 423–4; ‘Dismissal of Lord Fife’, *The Morning Chronicle*, 4 April 1821; ‘Catalogue of Sales of Duff House’s Effects, October 1824’, The Sir Duncan Rice Library Special Collections, University of Aberdeen, MSF35/1; Brian Jeffery, *Fernando Sor: Composer and Guitarist* (London: Tecla Editions, 1977), 16; G. Iglesias-Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon, passim*.

Flitch, John Ernest Crawford (1881–1946)

CRISTINA ERQUIAGA MARTÍNEZ

Little is known about John Ernest Crawford Flitch who was born in Yorkshire in 1881 and died in 1946. He studied law at King’s College, Cambridge, eventually becoming a barrister. Later, he developed a deep interest in Spanish issues focusing his work on this area. His first journey to Spain took place in 1911 after which he published in London the book *Mediterranean Moods, Footnotes of Travel in the Islands of Mallorca, Menorca, Ibiza and Sardinia*. He wrote *A Little Journey in Spain. Notes of a Goya Pilgrimage* after his second trip to Spain in 1913, in which he met Miguel de Unamuno. This was the beginning of a lifelong friendship built on different encounters and letter exchanges that lasted until Unamuno’s death in 1936.

J. E. C. Flitch was not only a writer but a translator too. His English translation of Unamuno’s *Tragic Sense of Life* was published in 1921. It was considered by Unamuno the best translation of one of his books made in any language. The deep friendship that united Crawford Flitch and Unamuno is reflected in the different moments in which the British writer accompanied the Spanish philosopher. In 1919 Crawford Flitch established himself for several months in Salamanca in order to work closely with Unamuno in the English translation of *Tragic Sense* and during these months they made several excursions through different Spanish regions. During 40 days, in 1924, Flitch accompanied Unamuno in the first stage of his exile in Fuerteventura, Canary Islands. He also visited the Basque intellectual during his exile in Hendaye, France.

Sources and Suggested Reading: Manuel García Blanco, ‘Un hispanista británico olvidado: J. E. Crawford-Flitch’, in *Actas del Primer Congreso*

de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas celebrado en Oxford del 6 al 11 de septiembre de 1962, eds. F. Pierce and C. A. Jones (Oxford: Dolphin Book Co., 1964), 289–97; John Venn, ‘Flicht, John Ernest Crawford’ in *Alumni Cantabrigienses. A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900. Volume 2: From 1752 to 1900*, eds. John Venn and J. A. Venn (2 Parts, 10 vols., Bristol: Thoemmes Press), Part 2, vol. 2, 523.

Ledger, Charles (1818–1905)

HELEN COWIE

A farmer, adventurer and entrepreneur, who played a key role in globalizing the breeding of Andean alpacas and the cultivation of a variety of the tree from which quinine is produced, Charles Ledger was born in London on 4 March 1818. He was the son of George Ledger, a mercantile broker, and his wife, Charlotte Warren.

Ledger travelled to Peru in 1836, a decade after the country became independent. He worked initially as a clerk for the firm Naylor’s, where he traded in wool, bark and copper. He later became an agent for the wool trade, collecting alpaca wool from indigenous alpaca farmers in the sierra. Ledger’s job consisted of ‘receiving from the Indians the different lots as they arrived from the interior...sorting the qualities and colours previous to packing...and finally shipping them, principally for account of Messrs. Christopher and James Rawdon, of Liverpool’ (*Bradford Observer*, 29 September 1859). When not engaged in wool collecting, he was based in the southern Peruvian city of Tacna, where he married into a local family.

Knowing how popular alpaca wool was in Europe, Ledger conceived the idea of introducing the Peruvian animal to Britain or one of its colonies. In 1852, he visited Sydney (Australia) with a Peruvian friend to assess the feasibility of the scheme and returned to Peru convinced that the country was ideally suited to alpacas. The Peruvian Government had prohibited the export of living alpacas and vicuñas in 1845, so Ledger assembled a large flock of alpacas and llamas at his estate at Chulluncayani near Peru’s southern border and smuggled the animals across the Andes into the Argentine Confederation. After several months in Laguna Blanca accustoming the animals to their shipboard rations of dry alfalfa, Ledger re-crossed the Andes in perilous conditions and shipped them to Australia from the Chilean port of Caldera. Of the 322 animals stowed aboard the *Salvadora* in July 1858, 256 survived the voyage, arriving in Sydney four months later.

The story of Ledger’s quest to naturalize the alpaca reads like a classic Victorian adventure, replete with heroism, tragedy and adversity. At one point, 200 of his flock perished from drinking the water of a lake infested with leeches. On another occasion he lost half of his animals in a violent

storm in the Andes; on a third 200 alpacas died due to 'the negligence of one of the Indians' (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 September 1859). As well as enduring hardships, danger and deprivation in the sierra, Ledger was repeatedly hounded by the Peruvian and Bolivian authorities, who arrested him on two occasions and threatened to destroy his flock. With the courage and guile typical of the plucky Victorian entrepreneur, he managed, on both occasions, to outwit his captors, the first time by 'exercising his medical skills in the cure of the wife of the detaining prefect' and the second by slipping a dose of laudanum into his gaoler's 'grog' (*Bradford Observer*, 29 September 1859). Fellow Briton Henry Swinglehurst, who dined with Ledger in 1859, wrote an effusive commentary on his journey, describing him as 'Livingstone No. 2' and claiming that 'in other times (he) will be looked upon as a hero of trials that few have known and hardly any equalled' (*The Era*, 31 October 1858). Another Briton, *Santiago* Savage, accompanied Ledger on his crossing of the Andes and chronicled his trials and tribulations in a series of eye-catching watercolours, now held at the State Library of New South Wales.

After such an onerous journey, Ledger doubtless expected a warm reception in New South Wales. In the event, however, the farmers who had six years earlier expressed interest in Ledger's scheme now proved cautious about the experiment, declining to buy the alpacas at auction. The colonial government was forced to step in and purchase the animals, arranging pasture for them at Sophienburgh, Arthursleigh and Wingello, respectively, and paying Ledger an annual salary of £300 to superintend their continued care. Disappointed, Ledger nonetheless persisted with the experiment and set to work inter-breeding his animals, hoping, by so doing, to obtain a superior strain of wool (he had been forced to supplement his original flock of alpacas with llamas, and intended, over several generations, to breed them back to pure alpaca). By 1861, the flock had been shorn several times and increased to 368 specimens – 112 more than had arrived in the *Salvadora*.

That, however, proved to be the high point for alpaca rearing in New South Wales. From a peak of 411 in July 1862, the number size of Ledger's flock began to decline, and with it interest in the success of the scheme. A severe drought in 1862–63 inflicted severe mortality among the flock, particularly the nursing females, while an outbreak of mange broke further diminished their numbers. Ledger also confessed to breeding from the females at too young an age, thereby weakening their constitutions. With rumblings of discontent at the mounting cost of the venture, the state government dismissed Ledger as alpaca superintendent and acceded to calls to sell of the remaining alpacas to private buyers at a much reduced price. An attempted auction in 1864 failed to find suitable buyers, but in June 1866, the surviving 111 alpacas were sold without reserve to private owners and dispersed across the state, putting an end to Ledger's ambitious breeding programme.

Ledger, meanwhile, returned to Peru bankrupt and embittered, finding himself

at 48 years of age without one shilling of my own, having lost all I had in the realisation of an enterprise that I fondly hoped would have conferred great benefits on a thriving colony of my own country, and a just recompense for my capital and labour.

(*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 April 1875)

Despite – or perhaps because of – his disgruntlement, however, he did not remain inactive, but quickly embarked on a new scheme, this time to smuggle Cinchona seeds out of Bolivia. Highly valued as an antidote for malaria, Cinchona bark – source of the substance quinine – was native to the Andes, but strongly desired by colonial powers such as Britain, which wanted to settle in other malarial regions. Like alpacas, however, exports of the plant and the seeds were banned by Peru and Bolivia, providing a lucrative opportunity for smugglers. Ledger obtained the seeds of the plant from his servant, Manuel Incra Manamia, and succeeded in getting them out of the country. He offered them initially to the British government, which refused to buy them, and subsequently to the Dutch, who successfully cultivated them in the East Indian colony of Java. The seeds flourished in Java, and plantations of the species, later named *Cinchona ledgeriana*, provided much of the world's quinine from 1900 to 1940.

After spending time in Uruguay and Argentina, Ledger returned to Australia in 1883. He died of old age at Leichhardt in Sydney on 19 May 1905 and was buried in the Independent section of Rookwood cemetery. Although awarded a pension of 1,200 guilders by the Dutch government in 1895, his estate was valued at only £2, a reflection of the financial cost of the failed alpaca venture. Though unsuccessful at the time, however, Ledger's contribution to Australian alpaca farming has not been forgotten, and he now has a prestigious alpaca show named in his honour.

Sources and Suggested Reading: 'Introduction of the Alpaca into Australia', *Bradford Observer*, 29 September 1859; 'Mr Charles Ledger and His Alpaca Contract with New South Wales', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 September 1859; 'Introduction of the Alpaca into Australia', *Bradford Observer*, 29 September 1859; 'A Flock of Alpacas', *The Era*, 31 October 1858; 'Mr Ledger's Alpacas', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 April 1875; George Ledger, *The Alpaca: Its Introduction into Australia and the Probabilities of Its Acclimatisation There. A Paper Read before the Society of Arts, London* (Melbourne: Acclimatisation Society of Victoria, 1861); 'Interesting Narrative Respecting Alpacas in Australia', *The Era*, 20 February 1859; 'The Alpacas and Mr C. Ledger', *The Era*, 12 February 1860; 'The Alpacas', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 August 1861; 'The Management of the Alpacas', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 March 1864;

'To the Editor of the Herald', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 March 1864; 'The Alpacas', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 June 1866; 'Mr Ledger's Alpacas', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 April 1875; *Annotated Watercolour Sketches by Santiago Savage, 1857–1858, Being a Record of Charles Ledger's Journeys in Peru and Chile*, in State Library of New South Wales, MLMSS 630/1; B. G. Andrews, 'Ledger, Charles (1818–1905)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, published first in hardcopy 1974, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ledger-charles-4004/text6339>, accessed 21 August 2020; 'Charles Ledger Alpaca Show 16th & 17th September 2017', Facebook page, <https://www.facebook.com/Charles-Ledger-Alpaca-Show-16th-17th-September-2017-855356067912085/>, accessed 21 August 2020.

Love, Thomas George (c.1792/3–1845)

JUAN I. NEVES-SARRIEGUI

Little is known about Thomas George Love prior to arriving in Buenos Aires in October 1820 from the British settlement in the Cape of Good Hope, aside from the fact that his birth was registered in St. George's, Hanover Square, London around 1792 or 1793 and that he had gained some experience at home working as an accountant for a firm with interests in the River Plate. In Buenos Aires, Love became a prominent member of the British merchant community, acting as secretary of the *British Commercial Rooms* (1822–29) and the *British Subscription Library* (1822–26) which he had helped to establish. From 1826 until his demise in 1845, Love was the editor of *The British Packet and Argentine News*, an English-language weekly newspaper published in Buenos Aires from 4 August 1826 until 25 September 1858.

Love was a member of the merchant community that settled in Buenos Aires in the wake of the British invasions to the River Plate (1806–7) and that thrived with the growth of commerce following the *de facto* opening of the port to free trade in 1809. The *British Commercial Rooms* represented the British merchant community before the authorities of the government of Buenos Aires, British naval officers stationed in the River Plate and British diplomatic representatives in the city. The *British Subscription Library*, a branch of the *British Commercial Rooms*, established a library of more than 600 volumes and was responsible for the import of printed material from Europe, chiefly from London. The *Buenos Ayres Commercial Rooms* emerged from a split within its exclusively British predecessor, and it was characterized by its acceptance of members from all nationalities.

Love's participation in these institutions demonstrates his active role in the social and cultural life of the British merchant community in Buenos Aires. In 1825, he published in London *Five Years' Residence in Buenos*

Ayres, during the Years 1820 and 1825, anonymously signed as *An Englishman*. Although the authorship of that work has been the object of controversy, researchers such as Graciela Lapido and Beatriz Spota de Lapieza Elli (1976) and Maxine Hanon (2005) have convincingly argued that Love was the effective author. He was involved in the establishment and support of various charitable, religious and cultural institutions of the British community. His writings recorded scenes of everyday life in Buenos Aires, commented upon contemporary political issues and offered some of the most vivid sources for the study of foreign communities in the city. In 1826, he contributed to establish the *British Amateur Theatrical Fund*, a non-profit organization, for which he acted as treasurer for many years.

As the editor of *The British Packet and Argentine News*, Love became a spokesperson for the British merchant community. The title of the paper is a plain description of its content. The term 'British Packet' made reference to the vessels of the maritime branch of the British Royal Mail service that was in charge of the conveyance of news in the form of letters and newspapers. The packets, as they were known, also imported printed material and acted as merchant vessels in some instances. This transatlantic reference in Love's paper does justice to the shipping record it kept through the regular publication of lists of ships entering and leaving the port of Buenos Aires. The English-language paper also included reproduced articles from London journals, including parliamentary sessions. The other component of the title, *Argentine News*, reflected the paper's content of local news, political debates and other matters of interest to the merchant community in Buenos Aires. *The British Packet and Argentine News* became an organ of that community and also often engaged in discussions with competing British merchants in Montevideo and with British state officials. Those differences came sharply to a head during the French (1838) and Anglo-French (1845) blockades of the port Buenos Aires.

Sources and Suggested Reading: [Thomas George Love], *A Five Years' Residence in Buenos Ayres during the Years 1820 to 1825: Containing Remarks on the Country and Inhabitants and a Visit to Colonia del Sacramento, by an Englishman; with an Appendix, Containing Rules and Police of the Port of Buenos Ayres, Navigation of the river Plate, &c. &c.* (London: G. Herbert 1825); *The British Packet and Argentine News*, all editions from 1826 to 1845; Michael G. Mulhall, *The English in South America* (London: Ed. Stanford, Charing Cross, 1878), 505–78; Graciela Lapido and Beatriz Spota de Lapieza Elli, eds., *The British Packet: de Rivadavia a Rosas* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Solar, 1976); Maxine Hanon, *Diccionario de Británicos en Buenos Aires (Primera Época)* (Buenos Aires, 2005), 7–17, 248, 484–5, 521–4, 669, 851–83; Juan I. Neves Sarriegui, 'The Establishment of the British Packet Service to South America: Politics and Communications in the South Atlantic, 1808–1828' (unpublished Masters dissertation, University of Oxford, New College, 2017).

Milburne, Henry (c.1780? –?)

GRACIELA IGLESIAS-ROGERS

A volunteer non-combatant in the Spanish Army during the Peninsular War (1808–14), Henry Milburne, known in Spain as Enrique Milburne was born in England – little else is known about his early life. The first records about his career can be found in the Royal College of Surgeons of which he was a member. He joined the 52nd Royal Battalion as a Hospital-Mate, before being promoted to assistant surgeon in the York Rangers (1804–8). Shocked by Napoleon's invasion of Spain, he decided to travel to the continent to help the Spaniards to release themselves from 'the tyrant' while also seeking to test some medical theories, particularly on treating gunshot wounds (Milburne, 1809, ii). He tried unsuccessfully to join the British expeditionary force to Portugal and paying no notice of a series of polite rejections from Spanish officials in London who advised him to the contrary, travelled to Corunna late in 1808.

He attempted to join a privately funded *Regimiento de Infanteria Voluntarios de España* in Castille, but this was frustrated. In the way back to Galicia, he provided medical assistance to Spanish civilians and French prisoners of war alike after the Battle of Benavente (29 December 1808). After treating Spanish and British soldiers at Corunna in January 1809, he published *A Narrative of Circumstances Attending the Retreat of the British Army under the Command of the Late Lieut. Gen. Sir John Moore, K.B., with a Concise Account of the Battle of Corunna; in a Letter Addressed to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Castlereagh, One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State*, later the same year. This published work as well as his actions eventually led him to be enrolled as medical officer in Samuel 'Santiago' Ford Whittingham's (1772–1841) division in Mallorca from 1810.

Henry Milburne was working as Inspector of the Spanish Royal hospitals in the Balearic Islands when the local health authorities ordered two Royal Navy vessels, HMS *Invincible* and HMS *Temeraire*, to go into quarantine in the port of Mahon, capital of the island of Minorca, because they had been seen in the vicinity of Carthage where an epidemic of yellow fever had just been declared. For much of the war, the Spanish Patriots could only operate freely in the south and eastern coastal areas of the country which were notorious for suffering from what at the time were known as 'intermitting and remitting fevers'. There were at least two outbreaks of yellow fever in Cadiz in 1810 and 1813, others suspected as such in Carthage and Gibraltar in 1810 and 1811; malaria was endemic to the region of Valencia, mainly due to the cultivation of rice where mosquitos with the carrier parasite prospered. Both Spaniards and Britons had encountered fevers in the West Indies, but they had arrived to different conclusions. The Spanish medical community believed these illnesses to be contagious and caused by *miasma* (noxious air) and consequently the Spanish authorities applied stringent *cordons sanitaires* which could last from fourteen days to six months. Troops were barred from crossing

areas declared contaminated; this had also a negative impact on ship movements, particularly on the British fleet that was effectively the only means of transport of the allies. The prevalent view among physicians of the Royal Navy (as opposed to those of the British army) was that these diseases were not humanly transmitted, which in this occasion was right.

After visiting the vessels, Milburne asked the authorities to remove the restrictions because there was no danger of contagion and argued the case in a letter published by the regional daily *Diario de Palma*. A scornful anonymous rebuke from a Spanish doctor soon claimed in the local weekly *Semanario de Menorca* that the British surgeon was placing the interests of his compatriots ahead of those of the island's population. Milburne retorted that, unlike his Spanish colleagues who adamant not to break the quarantine had never been on board the ships, he had witnessed the autopsies of some of the casualties and gathered enough information from the crew and the Royal Navy doctors to be able to give absolute assurances of the absence of risk. He did so, he said, 'not as the friend of a particular society, but of the entire human race' (*Diario de Palma*, 23 October 1811, 190–1). The Spanish medical community remained attached to contagion theories for many years to come, but HMS *Invincible* was allowed to leave port six days after Milburne's first letter reached the authorities, and HMS *Temeraire*, where health conditions were comparatively worse, followed suit a few weeks later. Alas, sadly, no traces about the remaining of his life and career have so far been found after extensive searches carried out in libraries and archives both in Spain and in Britain.

Sources and Suggested Reading: Henry Milburne, *A Narrative of Circumstances Attending the Retreat of the British Army under the Command of the Late Lieut. Gen. Sir John Moore, K.B., with a Concise Account of the Battle of Corunna; in a Letter Addressed to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Castlereagh, One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State* (London: T. Egerton, 1809); *Diario de Palma*, 23 October 1811, 190–1; Iglesias-Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon, passim*; Martin R. Howard, *Wellington's Doctors: The British Army Medical Services in the Napoleonic Wars* (Staplehurst: Spellmount, 2002).

Moretti, Federico (1769–1839)

ANA CARPINTERO FERNÁNDEZ (TRANSLATED AND ENLARGED BY
G. IGLESIAS-ROGERS)

Musical composer, theorist and performer widely acknowledged as a key figure in the development of the modern notational system for guitar, Federico Moretti was born in Naples on 22 January 1769. He was baptized on the following day with the names Federico Francesco Vincenzo Emidio. Curiously, his family belonged to the Florentine nobility and had a long tradition of service to the Spanish Monarchy. In the

1760s, an uncle of his father Pietro Moretti (1722–84), Giovanni Moretti, was captain in the Spanish navy and Spanish consul in Sardinia. According to the English tenor and director of the King's Theatre in London, Michael Kelly (1762–1826) who frequented their home during a visit to Naples in 1779, Moretti's mother, Rosa Cascone (c.1732–91) was 'a charming person and (which was not her least recommendation to me) an excellent judge of music, and a good singer and performer on the piano-forte' (Kelly, 1826, 49–50). The Moretti's household served as an artistic hub for celebrated musicians, including Domenico Cimarosa (1749–1801) and Fedele Finaroli (1730–1818) of whom Federico Moretti became a disciple. He also trained under the master of the church *Santiago de los Españoles* (St James of the Spaniards), the composer Girolamo Masi (1768–?). In 1786, Moretti released a first manuscript version of his *Principles for the Guitar* published in 1792 as *Principj per la Chitarra* by Luigi Mareschalchi. Before Moretti, guitar music had been written either in tablature or in staff notation, with little attempt to separate the different parts and without precise indications of the full duration of all notes.

In May 1794, Moretti moved to Spain apparently under fear that Naples, then involved in the War of the First Coalition, was to fall under French rule. When Naples signed a peace treaty with France in 1796, Moretti joined the Spanish army as a regular cadet in the *Reales Guardias Walonas* while still pursuing his musical career. In 1799, he published in Madrid his *Principios Para Tocar la Guitarra de seis Ordenes, Precedidos de los Elementos Generales de la Música*, dedicated to the Queen Maria Luisa de Parma, wife of Charles IV. In 1800, he was promoted and destined, first to Campo de Gibraltar and then to the Balearic Islands where he participated in the re-seizure of Mahon (Minorca) from the British. During this campaign it is believed that he entered in contact with captain Estanislao Solano (1773–1840), a keen guitarist who started to perform some of his composition in social gatherings attended by Fernando Sor (1778–1839) who was influenced by his work. In 1801, Moretti was destined to Extremadura, at the time of the war against neighbouring Portugal (War of the Oranges), and remained in the area for many years conducting intelligence services and in various diplomatic missions. The latter took him in 1802 back to Naples to assist the Spanish ambassador Benito Fernando Correa Sotomayor (1743–1816). He stayed in the Italian peninsula for three years, being admitted on 28 April 1805 in the prestigious Philharmonic Academy of Bologna. Within five months, however, he was back in Spain where he continued progressing in the military career, participating in the military blockade of Gibraltar in 1806. Despite the animosity between Spain and Britain, relations among officers of the two armies were cordial. It was not uncommon for parties of both sides to visit each other; Moretti played as go-between of a British visit to Algeciras in the summer of 1807.

At the time of Napoleon's invasion of Portugal, Moretti was dispatched in an intelligent mission to gather a report from the general in charge of the Spanish troops still remaining in Portuguese soil, Juan Carrafa (c.1755–c.1833) and to gather the opinion of the British admiral Sir Charles Cotton (1753–1812) and the Russian admiral Dimitri Seniavin (1763–1831) whose fleets were in the area. Although successful, the secrecy surrounding the mission, added to his participation in a military action in Evora that ended in defeat, troubled his military career. Nonetheless, as from September 1808, he was trusted to liaise with the British allies and fought alongside them in the Battle of Talavera (27–28 July 1809). In March 1810, he was transferred to Campo de Gibraltar to be placed under the orders of General Adrián Jácome (1752–1815) who was just back from London where he had been part of the Spanish delegation that formally signed a peace treaty with Britain. Moretti acted as interpreter and liaison officer with the British forces, particularly Admiral Charles Elphinstone Fleming (1774–1840). He took residency in the home of the governor of Gibraltar, Collin Campbell (1754–1814) who allowed him to establish there an office of representation of the Spanish army (*Mayoría General*), granted him licence to have access to all fortified buildings and even placed a British vessel, the *Saint John*, to his disposition for lodging prisoners of wars captured by the Spanish Patriots. On 13 April 1810, with Campbell's assistance, Moretti planned and led an attack in Tarifa that contained the French advance over the last remaining Spanish stronghold, the city of Cadiz. He subsequently worked in the fortification of the area and spent much of the following four years drafting proposals for military and economic reforms that he presented to the Spanish *Cortes*. During this period, he became friend of a British volunteer in the Spanish army, James Duff, Viscount Macduff, fourth Earl of Fife (1776–1857) and strengthened his contact with key members of the established British community in Spain, including the owner of *Gordon, Murphy, and Co.*, Juan 'John' Murphy (1767–1820) and the wife of his partner and British MP for Worcester, Sir William Duff Gordon (1772–1823), Lady Caroline Duff Gordon (1789–1875), to all of whom he would later dedicate some of his works. His early activities in Portugal landed him in some trouble, but on 12 August 1814 a Council of War Generals in Andalusia cleared his name permanently.

In 1816, he moved to Madrid where he was awarded the Royal Military Order of San Hermenegildo. A year later, with the support of the *Real Sociedad Económica Matritense* (Royal Economic Society of Madrid) which he had just joined and aided by the leading musical chalcographer Bartolome Wirmb, he established the first modern musical publishing house in Spain with a printing workshop located in the *calle del Turco*. In 1820, he married Bárbara Sánchez Andrade with whom he had been living in Madrid for four years; they had no children. A year later, and amid the turmoil of the Liberal Triennium, he published for

beginners the *Gramática Razonada Musical* (Madrid: Imprenta de Indalecio de Sancha, 1821) dedicated to the younger brother of the King, the *infante* Francisco de Paula (1794–1865). He was awarded that year the Royal and Military Order of San Fernando. Having avoided collaborating with the liberal regime, he had little trouble in returning to royal favour after the Restoration. In 1824, he published the *Sistema Uniclave o ensayo sobre uniformar las claves de la música sujetándolas a una sola escala* (Madrid: Imprenta de Indalecio de Sancha, 1824). In 1828, he published a dictionary of military terms in Spanish and French (*Diccionario Militar Español-Francés*) on which he had been working since 1810 and that he dedicated to King Ferdinand VII who ordered its publication by the royal press (*Real Imprenta*). A year later, he was promoted to the rank of *mariscal de campo*. In 1831 he published a translation into Spanish of Angelo Morigi's *Trattato di contrappunto fugato* (*Tratado del contrapunto fugado*, Madrid: Imprenta de Sancha) and around the same time the *Cuadro general melódico comparativo de la extension de todos los ynstrumentnos de viento y de cuerda y de las cuatro voces fundamentals* (Madrid: Mintegui y Hermoso, c.1831). Although suffering from a Parkinson-style syndrome, in the years leading to his death, he published a number of popular songs including *Los amores del jitano* [sic]: (*canción andaluza*) (Madrid: Hermoso, Mintegui y Carrafa, c.1832), *Los negritos: canción americana* (Madrid: B. Wirmbs, c.1832) and *La Panchita* (Madrid: B. Wirmbs, c.1832). He died in Madrid on 17 January 1839, the same year than his colleague and admirer Fernando Sor (1778–1839).

Sources and Suggested Reading: Michael Kelly, *The Reminiscences of Michael Kelly* (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), 14, 49–50; James Tyler, Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music: From the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 233; Ana Carpintero Fernández, 'Federico Moretti (1769; †1839). I. Vida y obra musical', *Nassarre* 25 (2009): 109–34; *idem*, 'Federico Moretti (1769; †1839). II. Descripción y estudio comparativo de las ediciones de los Principios', *Nassarre* 26 (2010): 131–63; *idem*, 'Federico Moretti: un enigma descifrado', *Anuario Musical* 65 (2010): 79–110; *idem*, 'El Mariscal de Campo Don Federico Moretti (*1769; †1839): vida y obra militar', *Revista de Historia Militar* 108 (2010): 77–109; *idem*, 'Il Conte Federico Moretti. Dai Principij alla fine', *Il Fronimo* 154 (2011): 7–24; *idem*, 'Federico Moretti y el establecimiento de grabado y estampado de música de Bartolomé Wirmbs' in *Imprenta y edición musical en España (ss. XVIII–XX)*, Begoña Lolo and José Carlos Gosálvez Lara (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma, 2012), 245–61; G. Iglesias-Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon*, 29, 114–5; Ana Carpintero Fernández, 'Vida y obra del músico Federico Moretti: estudio documental y artístico' (PhD thesis, Universidad de Zaragoza, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Departamento de Historia del Arte, Saragossa, 2015).

Peacock, George (1805–83)

LESLEY KINSLEY

Naval officer, surveyor, steamship captain, dock master and indefatigable inventor, Peacock commanded the first steamships ever to navigate the Strait of Magellan and is credited with facilitating the development of the Panama railway and canal.

Born at Navy House Exmouth, George Peacock was the son of a former master in the navy, then a merchant ship-owner, Richard Peacock and Elizabeth (née Sanders); he became an apprentice to his father at the age of thirteen. After serving in the Mediterranean and Brazil, he joined the British navy in 1828, travelled to the West Indies and Nicaragua where he surveyed the harbour of San Juan de Nicaragua (San Juan del Norte) and suggested a route across the isthmus from that location to the Pacific at Victor Cove (Colón). In *Western Times*, 23 June 1882, Comte Ferdinand de Lesseps (1805–94) acknowledged the importance of Peacock's survey during the French phase of the cutting of the canal (1881–1904). The same year, when working on the Corinth Canal began, King George of Greece awarded Peacock with the Royal Order of the Redeemer for carrying out a similar survey of the Isthmus of Corinth in 1835.

After leaving the navy in 1840, George Peacock became the Pacific Steam Navigation Company's (PSNC) marine superintendent and worked along the Pacific coast of South America from 1840 to 1846. He supervised the building of the steamships *Peru* and *Chile* and commanded the expedition of these first steamships to navigate the Straits of Magellan to the Pacific coast. In *The Resources of Peru* (1874) he recorded that he subsequently planted buoys, erected beacons, built a light house, opened and worked coal mines, discovered new guano beds, suggested railways and 'established steam navigation under the flag of England' (p. 28) along the coast of five republics from Chile to Panama and delivered the first regular mail from Valparaiso to Panama. This book, written 30 years after his period of employment with the PSNC, indicates that he had been in contact with the managers of the Valparaiso and Lima branch of the *Gibbs, Crawley and Co.* firm, George Thomas Davy (1826–47) and John Hayne (1825–47), respectively. In an appendix, Peacock included a testimonial signed by representatives of several merchant houses, including *Gibbs, Crawley and Co.* and also a letter from Vicente Rocafuerte (1783–1847), then Governor of Guayaquil (13 November 1841) thanking him for undertaking at this request a visit to the island of Amortajado (Santa Clara) with the object of erecting a lighthouse, and also for dispatching samples of coal and guano found there and giving information regarding the availability of fresh water. The appendix is followed by an addenda dedicated to the topic of guano where he reproduced an analysis of guano made for him by a 'Mr Matthew Biggs' which he had supplied to John Hayne in 1842.

In 1860, Peacock joined an expedition from the Canary Islands to the coast of the Spanish Sahara to search for guano and minerals. His handwritten journal of this expedition can be found in the substantial collection of papers held by the Liverpool Record Office. This includes original copies of his own publications, original photographs, survey material, letters, journals and records of his decorations, awards and service.

Sources and Suggested Reading: ‘Papers of Captain George Peacock (1805–1883)’, Liverpool Record Office, 387 PEA; George Peacock, *The Resources of Peru: Its Invaluable Guano Deposits, Nitrate of Soda and Borate and Its Agricultural and Metallic Productions, Manufactures, Railroads &c* (Exeter: W. Pollard, 1874); G. Peacock, *Notes on the Isthmus of Panama and Darien: Also on the River of St. Juan, Lakes of Nicaragua, and, with Reference to a Railroad and Canal* (Exeter: W. Pollard, 1879); Maude, ed., *Merchants and Bankers: A Brief History of Antony Gibbs and Sons*, 124–31; Katherine Weston, ‘Captain George Peacock (1805–1883): Naval Officer, Surveyor, Inventor, Entrepreneur, and Recipient of Royal Order of the Redeemer’, *Royal Museums Greenwich*, Museum blog <http://www.rmg.co.uk/discover/behind-the-scenes/blog/captain-george-peacock-1805%E2%80%99383-naval-officer-surveyor-inventor>, accessed 2 November 2017; ‘Captain George Peacock 1805–1883’, *Starcross History*, Starcross History Society blog, 4 September 2015, <https://starcrosshistory.blogspot.co.uk/2015/09/more-about-captain-peacock-from-royal.html>, accessed 2 November 2017; Peta Rée, ‘Peacock, George (1805–1883), Naval Officer’, *ODNB* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21674>, accessed 2 November 2017; Tony Dunlop, ‘The Swan of the Exe’, *Devon Perspectives*, webpage, http://www.devonperspectives.co.uk/swan_of_the_exe.html, accessed 2 November 2017.

Rinder, Samuel (1823–1907)

LESLEY KINSLEY

Later known as an able public speaker and writer, an early love of the sea and of adventures led Rinder to embark as a cabin boy from Liverpool to New York at the age of about twelve years. He travelled to Melbourne in the early 1840s, subsequently spending some years in Tasmania. Hearing of the Californian gold rush in 1849, he found a vessel that took him to Callao, Peru. He never reached California. It was his brief stay in Peru which led him to visit the Chincha Islands. This visit resulted in his writing of one of the most dramatic first-hand accounts of the working conditions of the front-line workers for the guano trade in Peru during one of the peak years of the so-called Guano Age (1840–80). ‘The Guano Diggings’ was published by the journal *Household Words* in 1852 and contains dramatic, sharp and critical observations of the life of mariners

docking at the Chincha Islands and loaders and diggers working in the same area. He became a strong critic of regulations for British merchant seamen and their labour practices, as evident in some of his following articles for the same journal. He later found a ship bound for Liverpool, then returned to Australia three years later, where he spent the rest of his life, eventually becoming an Australian civic dignitary near Melbourne.

Rinder's baptism certificate at Leeds Parish Church, 6 December 1827, records him as born on 12 November 1823 to Benjamin and Ann Rinder, and his father's occupation as a butcher, although there is one account of him being the son of a Methodist preacher. Curiously, on the crew list of the *Abbots Reading* on which he returned to Liverpool in 1849, his age appeared as being 24 (i.e. born in 1825). This has led to variable records of his birth date. His will and grave headstone in Wedderburn Cemetery, Korong Shire, Victoria, Australia record his age as 84 when he died in 1907 (i.e. born in 1823).

Sources and Suggested Reading: Henry Morley and Samuel Rinder, 'Sailors' Homes Afloat', *Household Words*, 19 February 1853, 529–33; Samuel Rinder, 'The Guano Diggings', *Household Words*, 25 September 1852, 42–6; *idem*, 'We, Mariners of England', *Household Words*, 26 February 1853, 553–7; *idem*, 'The Guano Diggings', *Household Words*, 25 September 1852, 42–6, Retrieved from *Dickens' Journals Online*, The University of Buckingham, http://www.djo.org.uk/media/downloads/articles/1989_The%20Guano%20Diggings.pdf, accessed 2 November 2017; Anne Lohril, 'Samuel Rinder', *ibid.*, <http://www.djo.org.uk/indexes/authors/samuel-rinder.html>, accessed 2 November 2017.

Robinson, Daniel, pseud. Philos Hispaniae (1791–1849)

GRACIELA IGLESIAS-ROGERS

British volunteer in the Spanish army during the Peninsular War who under the pseudonym *Philos Hispaniae* commissioned and probably also authored the first full English translation of the famous Cadiz Constitution of 1812 published in London a year later. Karl Marx (1818–83) relied on a copy of this translation located in the reading room of the British Museum to elaborate a wide ranging interpretation of revolutions in the Hispanic world published in *The New York Daily Tribune* from August to December 1854.

He was born on 24 September 1791 in Hampshire, England, as the scion of a family associated with the Royal Navy for generations. His grandfather, Rear-Admiral Mark Robinson is reputed to have been the commander who gave Nelson the first chance to prove his mettle during the early days of the American War of Independence. His father, Captain Charles Robinson, commanded several ships in North America, the West Indies and the

Mediterranean and his elder brother, Lieutenant Charles Cowling Robinson, was at Trafalgar. But his youngest sibling, James Robinson was one of the most eminent surgeon-dentists and anaesthetists in London; thus, it could be argued that a career in the Royal Navy was not an inevitable fate. Of his activities prior to 1810 little is known, with the exception of a fleeting reference to a visit to Spanish-speaking Puerto Rico, although it is not clear in what capacity he made that trip. He was recruited into Spanish service by General Enrique José O'Donnell in 1810, following Robinson's daring decision to engage the small unit of British royal marines he commanded into a series of hostile actions against the French all along the Spanish Mediterranean coast, particularly in the vicinity of Sagunto and Palamós.

Under the pseudonym *Philos Hispaniae*, he commissioned and probably authored the first full English translation of the Cadiz Constitution which he dedicated to Sir John Downie (1777–1826), a fellow volunteer in the Spanish Army. Robinson's personal file in the Spanish military archives (*Archivo General Militar de Segovia*) lists him still as in active service under O'Donnell in 1815, that is to say when the war was already over and after the Constitution of Cadiz had been repealed by the restored Ferdinand VII. His attachment to liberal ideals, however, should not be doubted. In 1823, with the shadow of a French invasion looming again large over Spain, now to bring to an end the Liberal Triennium, Robinson's name appeared in the London press pleading for international support for the constitutional regime, and also in Spain participating in skirmishes against absolutist forces. He also seems to be the 'Daniel Robinson' who was granted Spanish citizenship by the *Cortes* according to the records of a parliamentary session held on 16 May 1823.

In the aftermath of the liberal downfall, he emigrated to Mexico to pursue a short-lived career in the mining business (1824–27) with former fellow volunteer in the Spanish Army, Arthur Goodall Wavell (1785–1860). On 6 December 1824, in Asunción, Distrito Federal of Mexico, he had a daughter with Mary Ann Greathead who was named Maria de Guadalupe Ana Antonia Robinson (1824–1901). Over a decade later, when another Spanish liberal regime found itself under threat – that of Isabel II during the First Carlist War – Robinson was among the officers of the Royal Navy and Marines who were allowed to serve in the Army of the Queen while receiving half pay at home. It appears that he managed to keep this double attachment until he died, back in London, in 1849. In his will, he left to his son Charles Robinson a print of Lieutenant General Sir Charles Doyle (1770 or 1782?–1842), a former fellow volunteer in the Spanish Army during the Peninsular War, and a Spanish military cross with diamonds and turquoise to his daughter Maria de Guadalupe Ana, among other mementos.

Sources and Suggested Reading: *Philos Hispaniae*, *The Political Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy Proclaimed in Cadiz, 19th March, 1812*

(London: J. Souter, 1813); 'A Return of the Officers of the Royal Navy and Marines Who Are Serving in the Army of the Queen of Spain, and in Receipt of Their Half Pay', *The Morning Post*, 12 March 1836, 6; 'Will and Testament of Daniel Robinson (1849)', The National Archives of the United Kingdom (TNA), Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (Prob): 11/2090; Graciela Iglesias-Rogers, 'From *Philos Hispaniae* to Karl Marx: The First English Translation of a Liberal Codex', in *Translations in Times of Disruption – An Interdisciplinary Study in Transnational Contexts*, eds. David Hook and Graciela Iglesias-Rogers (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2017), 45–73; Iglesias-Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon*, 40, 91, 157, 162, 175, 186.

Rocafuerte Rodríguez de Bejarano, Vicente (1783–1847)

GREGORIO ALONSO

A statesman, diplomat, writer, translator, businessman and traveller born in Guayaquil (Ecuador) who devoted his financial resources, time and energy to the cause of Latin American independence during his entire life, frequently while based in the British Isles. Both his parents, María Josefa Rodríguez de Bejarano and Juan Antonio Rocafuerte y Antoli, belonged to the wealthiest and most influential families of Guayaquil and owned a large firm of cocoa export. As member of the Creole elite, Vicente Rocafuerte first crossed the Atlantic when he was a teenager to complete his studies. He attended the aristocratic Colegio de Nobles in Granada (Spain) and completed his secondary school at a college in the outskirts of Paris, where he had moved in 1803. It was there where Rocafuerte first met Simón Bolívar (1783–1830), Carlos de Montúfar (1780–1816) and Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), among other major intellectual and political figures of the period. Rocafuerte, banking on this wide network of social connections, was among those invited to the ceremony of coronation of Napoleon Bonaparte in the cathedral of Notre-Dame on 2 December 1804.

In 1807, he returned to his hometown Guayaquil to be appointed local councillor the following year. His early commitment to Latin American emancipation was demonstrated by his involvement in the Quito rebellion on the 2 August 1810, along with his fellow insurgents such as the general Juan de Salinas (1755–1810) and the lawyer Juan de Dios Morales (1767–1810). Due to the failure of their enterprise and the persecution of the Governor Bartolomé Cucalón (1754–1818), Rocafuerte travelled to London in 1812 and got in touch with Andrés Bello and some members of the Lautaro Lodge or Lodge of the Rational Knights, the secret society joined by the defenders of Spanish American freedom in London in the early 1800s. He also travelled extensively through Northern Europe and Russia, becoming acquainted with the Tsar's family and entourage,

following the steps taken by Francisco de Miranda (1750–1816) in the late 1780s. Another important political appointment interrupted his travels: in 1814 he was elected by his compatriots in Guayaquil to become *diputado* (representative) in the Spanish *Cortes*. Rocafuerte upheld mild liberal ideals but was a convinced Republican and his refusal to take an oath of allegiance to King Ferdinand VII (1784–1833) meant that he could never take a seat in Parliament. At any rate, constitutional rule reached an end later that year when the restored king decided to declare the 1812 Constitution null and void and to close Parliament.

Rocafuerte fled to France to escape the repression campaign launched by the absolutist king and in 1817 returned to Ecuador to manage the family business for three years. In 1820 Rocafuerte found himself in Havana, at the time that the Army stationed at Cadiz ready to be sent to reconquer the rebelling colonies successfully revolted and restored the 1812 Spanish Constitution. In Cuba, he mingled with a select group of Creoles who created the secret society *Rayos y Soles de Bolívar* which plotted for the emancipation of the Antillean isle as it transpired in a failed conspiracy in 1823. Through this experience, Rocafuerte realized that the financial and political support of the neighbouring United States would be essential for the consolidation of the newly acquired independence of the new Latin American Republics. He travelled there to negotiate a loan on behalf of the Gran Colombian government with no success, although he carried on expanding the Creole network which operated internationally for the recognition of the newly created republics.

It was then when he decided to return to England, having been appointed to represent the economic interests of the newly formed Mexican government. He worked for the Mexican Embassy in London first as its Secretary and then as its *charge d'affaires* from 1824 and 1829. Apart from negotiating the British loans and navigating the damaging effects of the 1825 stock market debt crisis, his main role was to achieve the formal recognition of Mexican independence by the government of His British Majesty. As for his intellectual enterprises, Rocafuerte joined forces with Spanish liberal exiles to publish the magazine *Ocios de los Españoles Emigrados en Londres*, mainly devoted to denouncing the excesses of the reactionary and oppressive reign of Ferdinand VII as well as to support moderate liberal principles. Rocafuerte not only contributed some articles to *Ocios* but he also made its publication financially viable through the subscription of 200 copies by the Mexican diplomatic mission in London. In 1829 he went back to Mexico, but soon after the release of his *Ensayo sobre la Tolerancia Religiosa*, he faced opposition and even persecution. At the same time, the republic of Gran Colombia was facing its final crisis and Guayaquil would be united to Quito to constitute the Republic of Ecuador in 1830.

In 1833 Rocafuerte returned home where he was immediately proclaimed leader of the National Party opposed to the president Juan José

Flores (1800–64). After some tense negotiation with Flores, Rocafuerte became the second president of Ecuador until 1839. He ruled the country with an iron fist and sign off more than 150 death sentences against political opponents involved in rioting and common criminals alike. Although a staunch defender of religious toleration and critical of the Royal privileges to intervene in the internal organization of the Catholic Church, he continued to exercise them even after introducing some limited religious freedom. On the positive side of his rule, Rocafuerte introduced the Lancastrian system of education under the supervision of the US Quaker Isaac W. Wheelwright (1801–91) with the view of promoting children enlightenment and economic progress. A deep reform of the tax, commercial, penal and jail systems was also initiated under his government as well as the establishment of the first schools for girls. At the same time, he devoted time and energy to discipline and train the army through the creation of the Colegio Militar and, finally, he also introduced steam navigation to connect Guayaquil with some cocoa producing hubs and thus revitalize the commercial routes in the Pacific. In 1840, in partnership with the businessman and US consul to Guayaquil William Wheelwright (1798–1873), Rocafuerte founded The Pacific Steamship Navigation Company with the even more ambitious goal of linking the Pacific shores of Latin America to the new routes of global trade. In 1842, he married his cousin Baltasara Calderón Garaycoa (1806–90). He died childless on 16 May 1847 in Lima, where the couple settled down after their marriage. His remains were taken back to Guayaquil in 1884.

Works by Vicente Rocafuerte: *Ideas necesarias a todo pueblo americano independiente, que quiera ser libre* (Philadelphia, PA: D. Huntington, 1821); *Bosquejo ligerísimo de la revolución de México desde el grito de Iguala hasta la proclamación imperial de Iturbide* (Philadelphia: Imprenta de Teraciouef y Naroajeb, 1822); *Ensayo político: El sistema colombiano, popular, electivo y representativo, es el que más conviene a la América independiente* (New York: A. Paul, 1823); *Ensayo sobre el nuevo sistema de cárceles, por el ciudadano Vicente Rocafuerte* (México: Imprenta de Galván, 1830); *Consideraciones generales sobre la bondad de un gobierno, aplicadas a las actuales circunstancias de la República de México* (México: Imprenta de Agustín Guiol, 1831); *Ensayo sobre la tolerancia religiosa, por el ciudadano Vicente Rocafuerte* (México: M. Rivera, 1831); Neptalí Zúñiga, ed., *Colección Rocafuerte* (16 vols., Quito: Talleres Gráficos Nacionales, 1947); Carlos Landázuri Camacho, ed., *Vicente Rocafuerte: Epistolario* (2 vols., Quito: Banco Central del Ecuador, 1988).

Sources and Suggested Reading: Gregorio Alonso, ‘Vicente Rocafuerte (1783–1847) Independencia, república y tolerancia’, in *Trayectorias transatlánticas (siglo XIX). Personajes y redes entre España y América*, ed. Manuel Pérez Ledesma (Madrid: Polifemo, 2013), 45–70; José Antonio Aguilar Rivera, ‘Vicente Rocafuerte y la invención de la República

iberoamericana', in *El republicanismo en Hispanoamérica. Ensayos en historia intelectual y política*, eds. José Antonio Aguilar Rivera and Rafael Rojas (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000), 351–87; Isaac J. Barrera, *Rocafuerte: Estudio histórico-biográfico* (Quito: Imprenta y Encuadernación Nacionales, 1911); María Helena Cámara Bastos, 'Public Education and Independence in Spanish America and Brazil: Lancastrian Experiences in the 19th Century', *Revista de Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana* 14, no. 18 (2012): 75–92; Kent B. Mecum, *El idealismo práctico de Vicente Rocafuerte: un verdadero americano independiente y libre* (Puebla: Cajica, 1975); Karen Racine, "Commercial Christianity": The British and Foreign Bible Societies' Interest in Latin America, 1805–1830", *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 27, no. 1 (2001): 78–98; Jaime E. Rodríguez, *The Emergence of Spanish America: Vicente Rocafuerte and Spanish Americanism, 1808–1832* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

Sor, Fernando (1778–1839)

ANA CARPINTERO FERNÁNDEZ (TRANSLATED AND ENLARGED BY
G. IGLESIAS-ROGERS)

Leading classical guitar theorist, composer and performer, sometimes referred to as the 'Beethoven of the guitar' and author of the score of the first *Cinderella* ballet (performed in London in 1822), Fernando Sor was baptized in the cathedral of Barcelona on 13 February 1778 as Joseph Fernando Macari Sor. He was brought up in a well-to-do family with a long tradition of involvement in trade and the military. His father, Joan Sor was a talented amateur musician who developed in him a taste for opera and for playing the guitar and the violin. It is said that after attending only once a representation of the Italian opera *Giulio Sabino* in 1783, at the tender age of five, he composed a trio that soon transcended family circles to be praised by local professors of music who demanded to meet him. As a result, he began to receive music lessons from the first violin of the cathedral of Barcelona, the priest Josep Prats. After the unexpected death of his father in 1790, he was placed under the guidance of the godfather of his younger brother Carlos, Cayetano de Gispert y Seriol, a leading doctor in Law, *regidor* in the municipality of Barcelona and a well-known violinist. He may have been responsible for enrolling Fernando Sor as a chorister at the monastery of Montserrat, where he received a wide-ranging musical education under the guidance of the master Anselmo Viola (1738–98) and the organist Narciso Casanovas (1747–99). During that period he was also in contact with the archbishop of Auch, Louis-Apolinaire de Latour-du-Pin Montalban, then living in exile from the French revolution and who may have taught him French.

In 1794, Sor left Montserrat to join the army as a volunteer with the rank of lieutenant in the militia, fighting in the short war against the French known with the various names of the War of the Pyrenees, War of Roussillon or War of the Convention. After the Peace of Basel (22 July 1795), he returned to Barcelona where a year later he began studies at the *Real Academia de Matemática* (Royal Academy of Mathematics) while at the same time pursuing a successful career as a musician. His first authored opera, *Il Telemaco nell'Isola di Calipso*, premiered on 25 August 1797, received much acclaim. He visited Madrid, where the Duchess of Alba and the Duke of Medinaceli helped him to navigate through the Spanish royal court, eventually finding for him an administrative position in the duke's estate in Catalonia. Sporadically, from 1802 to 1805, he took residency in the Madrid home of the Russian ambassador Ivan Metveyevich Muravyov-Apostol (1762–1851). At this time, he composed his sonata for guitar solo later known as *Grand Solo* and many seguidillas (short songs for voice and guitar with witty texts).

In 1803, Sor was appointed inspector of the *Real Fábrica de Naipes* (Royal Playing Cards' Factory) at Macharaviaya near Malaga, where he spent the next few years, giving occasional concerts at the home of the US consul William Kirpatrick and keeping contact with a great number of leading musicians, likely including Federico Moretti (1769–1839). Soon after Napoleonic forces crossed the Pyrenees, Sor joined the resistance and wrote a song '*Venid, vencedores*' (Come in, victors) that the Spanish Patriots sang when they entered Madrid on 23 August 1808. He fought in La Mancha and in Aranjuez with the regiment of Cordovan Volunteers and received the rank of captain. His regiment had its own musicians and its orchestra gave concerts – something that was rather common in the Spanish Army as music was considered an essential part of military life. Yet when the French captured Andalusia, at the end of 1810, he followed the example of many others who believed Joseph Bonaparte's power to be permanently established: he abandoned the resistance and took the French oath. In 1812, the switch in alliances was rewarded with the powerful position of Principal Commissary of Police of the province of Jerez. During this period he requested permission to get married, but remains unclear to whom and whether he did or not. Within little over a year, however, he found himself chased by the Patriots, eventually joining retreating forces to France where he lived in Paris.

In 1815, following Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, Sor settled in London with a lady known as his wife and with a daughter named Carolina. Soon he became acquainted with the Duke of Sussex and the Prince Regent; these as well as other relations with key members of British high society such as James Duff, fourth Earl of Fife (1776–1857), facilitated the publication of over fifty works, including a celebrated set of studies now known as *Variations on a Theme of Mozart, Op. 6* and many other works for ballet, notably *Cinderella* performed by the 'Andalusian

Venus', Maria Mercandotti (c.1800–?) at the King's Theatre in London on 26 March 1822, and an array of songs for voice, piano and guitar. Among his British publishers were Clementi, Monzani & Hill, Farkner's, Chapell, Rutter & McCarthy, Ware and Evans, Birchall, but mainly the Regent's Harmonic Institution, later known (following the crowning of George IV) as the Royal Harmonic Institution.

It was in London where he met the dancer Félicité Hullin who would become his sentimental companion for a few years. Nothing is known about the fate of his alleged wife, but in 1822, Sor and his daughter moved to Paris with Hullin whom he accompanied to Russia in 1824 where she took the role of *prima ballerina* in the Royal Moscow ballet. Within two years, he was back in Paris, without Hullin but with his daughter. He earned his living as a teacher of guitar, including at a school for girls ran by Madame Migneron. Between 1827 and 1839, he gave a number of concerts, including a duet with Dionisio Aguado, a close Spanish friend of General José de San Martín (1778–1850), the liberator of Argentina, Chile and Peru who at the time also resided in France and to whom it has been said Sor gave guitar lessons. He published his famous *Méthode pour la guitare* (Paris and Bonn: Simrock, 1830) and other works considered as the finest works ever written for beginners on the instrument. Two years after the death of his daughter, he died after a long illness in Paris on 10 July 1839.

Sources and Suggested Reading: Adolphe Ledhuy, *Adolphe. Encyclopédie Pittoresque de la Musique* (Paris: H. Delloye, 1835), 154–67; Brian Jeffery, *Fernando Sor, Composer and Guitarist* (London: Tecla, 1997); Josep Maria Mangado, 'Fernando Sor: Aportaciones biográficas', in *Estudios sobre Fernando Sor*, ed. Luis Gásser (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2003), 15–61; Richard Pinnell, Ricardo Zavadviker; *The Rioplatense Guitar: The Early Guitar and Its Context in Argentina and Uruguay* (Westport, CT: Bold Strummer, 2006), 22; Brian Jeffery, 'Fernando Sor nei guai con l'Inquisizione spagnola', *Il Fronimo* 159 (July 2012): 35–41; Josep Maria Mangado, 'Fernando Sor (1778–1839): Documenti inediti. Riflessioni e ipotesi' (First Part), *Il Fronimo* 172, (October 2015): 45–54; *ibid.* (Second Part), *Il Fronimo* 173 (January 2016): 18–31; *ibid.* (Third Part), *Il Fronimo* 174 (April 2016): 33–43; *ibid.* (Fourth part), *Il Fronimo* 175 (July 2016): 9–24; *ibid.* (Fifth Part), *Il Fronimo* 176 (October 2016): 35–45; Iglesias-Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon*, 115.

Staples I, Robert Ponsonby (c.1777–1852)

MANUEL LLORCA-JAÑA

Consul and merchant (not to be confused with the artist Sir Robert Staples, 12th Baronet) Robert Ponsonby Staples I was one of the sons of the

Rt. Hon. John Staples (1736–1820), lawyer and MP for County Antrim and rector of Lissan (County Londonderry, Northern Ireland), and his second wife, the Hon. Henrietta Molesworth (1745–1813), whom he married in October 1774. The Rt. Hon. John Staples had previously married Ann Conolly (1749–71) in June 1764.

Robert Ponsonby Staples I was the first British consul to be appointed by the Foreign Office to one of the new South American republics after the collapse of the Spanish Monarchy in America. Staples was also one of the first consuls to be appointed to the New World at a time when the distribution of British consuls was concentrated in southern Europe. Staples's appointment was published in *The London Gazette* of 19 March 1811, stating that 'His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has ... been graciously pleased, in the Name and on the Behalf of His Majesty, to appoint Robert Staples, Esq., to be His Majesty's Consul at Buenos Ayres and its Dependencies'. In spite of his official appointment by the British, Staples's credentials were never recognized by the government in Buenos Aires.

Until 1823, Britain had a neutral policy towards the new independent Latin American republics. Spain was still claiming, and in some areas still exercising, sovereignty over these territories. Meanwhile, the leaders of the emancipation movements in South America wanted official recognition, in particular, from the major European powers, including Britain. Thus, while Bernardino Rivadavia (1780–1845), Governor of Buenos Aires in 1811, ordered the appointment of Staples to be announced publicly in the *Gaceta de Buenos Aires* (26 June 1811), it could not really be officially recognized because Rivadavia received no answer from the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs to several letters sent by the Buenos Aires government at that effect.

When Staples was about twenty years old, he decided to seek his fortune in the recently opened South American republics. Since he was not heir to his father's fortune, there were few reasons for him to remain in Northern Ireland. The exact date when Staples first arrived to Buenos Aires is unclear, although it is believed that it was around 1810, after the British invasions of Buenos Aires (1806 and 1807). There is evidence of him residing in Rio de Janeiro in 1809 and becoming involved in commercial activities representing the Belfast house of *Montgomery, Staples & Co.* The Montgomerys are believed to have been the Staples's bankers. This would explain the first known commercial partnership of Staples in South America. However, this association lasted only a short time. Soon after establishing himself in Buenos Aires in mid-1810, Staples became associated with another British merchant in the region, John McNeile, with whom he established a jerked beef company, *Staples, McNeile & Co.*, which used an Irish technique to dry the meat.

In April 1812, after his disappointment over the failure of Buenos Aires to recognize his Foreign Office credentials, Staples left the River Plate for

England. He arrived in June 1812. Staples stayed in London until 1813, endeavouring to persuade the Foreign Office to recognize the independence of Buenos Aires. When Staples realized that recognition was not possible, he tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Foreign Office to appoint him as Confidential Agent to the River Plate. The only concessions Staples received from the Foreign Office were the granting of £1,200 as compensation for the failure of his appointment as consul and a contract to procure bullion for the Treasury.

In November 1813, Staples was back in Buenos Aires where he resumed his commercial activities, profiting from the considerable ambiguity surrounding his previous appointment as consul. In 1815, Staples married Eliza Leonora Russell (1787/8–1871) in Buenos Aires. Soon after that, at a public meeting held on the 15 July 1816, the British merchants in Buenos Aires asked Staples to represent them in an official capacity, which he agreed to do. In return, they promised to remunerate Staples for his troubles by allowing him to take one half per cent of the total amount of all goods imported in British vessels, and one *real* per ton for consulate on the register tonnage of all British vessels arriving at Buenos Aires. Staples communicated this resolution by the British merchants to the Foreign Office but he never received an answer.

The lack of a clear response from the Foreign Office increased the ambiguity of Staples's consular status. Indeed, within the business correspondence of *Hugh Dallas & Co.*, a Scottish house established in Buenos Aires, there are several documents signed by Robert Ponsonby Staples as 'Consul of His Britannic Majesty in Buenos Aires and its dependencies', all bearing an official stamp. Likewise, within the papers of *Hodgson & Robinson*, another British merchant house in Buenos Aires, it is clear that at least this house was in the habit of paying one half per cent of the total invoice amount of all goods imported in British vessels. Staples remained in this limbo until 1819 when, after trying to pressure the Foreign Office once again to make all the necessary efforts to obtain his official recognition as consul at Buenos Aires, he was explicitly ordered by the Foreign Office to cease acting as consul and to leave Buenos Aires.

At the end of 1819 or the beginning of 1820, Staples was back in London where he remained until at least 1822. In September 1822, a delegation sent by the Peruvians, headed by the Envoys and Ministers Plenipotentiary Don Juan Garcia del Rio (1794–1856) and General James Paroissien (1784–1827), arrived in London with the mission of obtaining a £1.2 million loan from British investors. Soon after their arrival, Garcia and Paroissien signed an agreement with Thomas Kinder on 11 October to represent them as contractor of the loan. After accepting, Kinder associated himself with Staples, and the following day, the loan was put on the market among a great deal of confusion, bearing a 6 per cent interest rate. For a few weeks, the business run smoothly, to such an extent that Kinder and Staples decided to send an agent, Mr Robert Proctor, to

Lima. He departed in early December 1822. Proctor's main mission was to establish the firm of *Robert Ponsonby Staples & Co.*, which would be in charge of moving funds between Lima and London. The partnership of Kinder and Staples paid the first of six instalment of the loan but, just before the second instalment was due, rumours reached London that the Colombian loan, which had preceded the Peruvian one, might not be valid and that the political situation in Peru was very instable.

Accordingly, Kinder and Staples decided to delay the payment of the second and third instalments until better news was received. Unfortunately for Staples, news arrived in London reporting that San Martín, who had empowered Garcia and Paroissien to raise the loan, had ceased to be the protector of Peru. The loan was frozen as well as the funds that had been already floated. To make matters worse, Garcia and Paroissien were superseded by John Parish Robertson (1792–1843) who was entrusted by the Peruvians to take control of all financial concerns between Peru and Britain. Thus, the recently created partnership of Kinder and Staples saw the loan contract snatched by Robertson. During the confusion caused by the intervention of Robertson, Staples is believed to have travelled to Lima in 1823 in an attempt to obtain compensation, although it is not clear how long he stayed there. The Lima adventure ended for Staples in March 1824 when his agent decided to return to England.

Staples's long-desired recognition by the Foreign Office of the new Latin American republics came about on the 10 October 1823 when the Foreign Office appointed several consuls to Latin America. Staples was not appointed to Buenos Aires as he had hoped but was made consul to Acapulco, Mexico. At this time, the Foreign Office changed its recruitment policy by appointing professional consuls instead of consul-merchants; if the consuls were already operating as merchants in the region, they were politicized by their appointments by the Foreign Office. Indeed, Woodbine Parish (1796–1882), who was appointed to Buenos Aires instead of Staples, acted also as commissioner and subsequently as *chargé d'affaires* to the new republic.

Against the new instructions by the Foreign Office for consuls not to enter into commercial transactions, Staples entered into financial activities by offering to lend money to the Mexican government, once again, in association with Thomas Kinder. As a consequence, in 1824, Staples was removed from his position, sadly ending his diplomatic career. Nonetheless, in spite of losing his consular credentials, Staples remained in Mexico, becoming involved in a mining company, the *Real del Monte Co.*, with his friend and partner Thomas Kinder, along with a new partner, Philip Chabot. The *Real del Monte Co.* was located some 30 miles from Mexico City and was launched on the market with shares each worth £100. Within a few months, their value had increased to £240 each. However, bad luck followed Staples, and in 1831, the house of *Robert Staples & Co.* was declared insolvent.

By early 1834, Staples was back in London. He declared publicly his insolvency in *The London Gazette* of 14 February and 18 July 1834. From that point on, Staples disappeared from the public and commercial arenas. There is evidence that he wrote his final will in London in 1835, which left all his property to his wife, Eliza. Staples died in 1852 in Middlesex, probably with little wealth to be inherited.

Sources and Suggested Reading: ‘Will of Robert Ponsonby Staples of No 10 Chesterfield Street Mayfair, Middlesex’, 12 July 1852; TNA: PROB 11/2156/165; ‘Letter Book: Outgoing Letters’, John Ryland Library, University of Manchester, *Hodgson, Robinson & Co. Papers*, GHR 5/1/1; *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, 26 June 1811; *The London Gazette*, 14 February and 18 July 1834; ‘Official document’, 25 February 1818, *Archivo del Banco de la Provincia de Buenos Aires* (Argentina), Hugh Dallas Papers, box 5D; W. M. Mathew, ‘The First Anglo-Peruvian Debt and Its Settlement, 1822–49’, *Journal of Latin American Studies* 2, no. 1 (1970): 81–98; Manuel Llorca-Jaña, ‘Staples, Robert Ponsonby (1784/5–1852)’, *ODNB*, 8 October 2009 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/98243>; E. J. Fitte, ‘Crónica de un cónsul oficioso británico’, *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* 34 (1963): 719–69.

Steele, Robert (1788–1840)

GRACIELA IGLESIAS-ROGERS

Known in Spain also as *Roberto Steile*, this man of arms both at land and sea, activist and writer was born in Winchester, England in 1788. He committed to a military career at an early age, becoming a Second Lieutenant in the Royal Marines. By the time he heard of General Charles William Doyle (1770–82?–1842)’s recruitment attempts to get volunteers into the Spanish Army in 1812, he had been serving for eleven years and was quick to sign up, mainly out of boredom, but also for a chance at glory and higher rank in the Spanish army.

Steele was involved in many battles in the last stages of the war most notably those of Bidassoa and Vera (1813), Nivelle (1813), which earned him the rank of *capitán*, and participated in campaigns under General Morillo in the Pyrenees until the end of 1814, becoming *teniente coronel*. He was rewarded with both the *Orden de Carlos III* (1819), the most distinguished award that can be granted in Spain, and a knighthood in Britain (1817).

He remained committed to Spain after the war, carrying a message from the British ambassador in Paris to Madrid (1818) and was a member of the London committee of support to Spanish liberals in the First Carlist War (1835). His commitment to the Spanish cause costed him dearly – literally – leading him to being imprisoned for debt in 1817 and then

again for libel in 1828. Still he managed to become Deputy Lieutenant of Dorset from 1838 until his death in 1840. The colourful memoirs he had penned in the 1820s were published that year under the title *The Marine Officer; or, Sketches of Service*.

Sources and Suggested Reading: Sir Robert Steele, *The Marine Officer; or, Sketches of Service* (2 vols., London: Henry Coburn, 1840); 'Expediente Roberto Steile (sic)', AGMS, Sección Primera E-1594; Iglesias--Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon, passim*.

Tarrida del Mármol, Fernando (1861–1915)

ARTURO ZOFFMANN RODRIGUEZ

Fernando Tarrida del Mármol was a key individual in the history of the Hispanic-Anglosphere. He was born in Cuba to a family of influential Catalan industrialists and enjoyed an elite education in Barcelona. His professional career as an engineer was cut short by his headlong involvement in the Catalan anarchist movement. Tarrida del Mármol was imprisoned in the Montjuïc fortress in August 1896 during the violent crackdown on anarchism that followed the explosion of a bomb during a religious procession in Barcelona in June 1896, the so-called Montjuïc affair. After five weeks in jail he was released, probably thanks to the pressure of his influential family. Under the fear of being arrested again, he escaped to France in September.

Tarrida del Mármol became a leading international activist campaigning against repression in Spain. In the autumn of 1896, he crossed the English Channel several times, speaking at rallies in Paris, London and Brussels and rubbing shoulders with leading anarchists such as Errico Malatesta, Pëtr Kropotkin, Charles Malato and Louise Michel; with British labour activists such as Ramsay MacDonald and Tom Mann; and Cuban and Puerto Rican patriots such as Vicente Mestre and Ramón Betances. In the summer of 1897, harried by the French authorities, he settled permanently in London, turning it into the hub of the Spanish solidarity movement. He resided there until his death in 1915. He hosted and assisted dozens of Spanish political refugees in London and became the unofficial representative of the exiled Spanish anarchist community in Britain.

The Spanish solidarity movement, rekindled again in 1909 after the arrest of prominent anarchist pedagogue Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia, was remarkably successful. Launched by groups of anarchists based on both sides of the English Channel, the Spanish solidarity movement was able to find favour with radical republicans and liberals, socialists, trade unionists and anti-colonialists. Tarrida del Mármol's education and *savoir faire*, his knowledge of French and English, his first-hand experience of state

repression, and, importantly, his Cuban origins and connections with Cuban and Puerto Rican nationalists made him a unique representative of the solidarity campaign and an intermediary between various movements and actors. His personal friendship with Ferrer i Guàrdia (who visited him twice in London, in 1898 and 1909) gave additional potency to this campaign. The solidarity networks weaved by Tarrida del Màrmol and his comrades in London and Paris were subsequently geared towards other international causes such as the 1905 Russian Revolution.

Sources and Suggested Reading: Teresa Abelló Güell, *Les relacions internacionals de l'anarquisme català, 1881–1914* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1987); Benedict Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (London: Verso, 2005); Constance Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London, 1880–1914: Exile and Transnationalism in the First Globalisation* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013); Antoni Dalmau i Ribalta, *Per la causa dels humils: una biografia de Tarrida del Màrmol* (Barcelona: L'Abadia de Montserrat, 2015).

Turnbull, David (1793?–1851)

MANUEL LLORCA-JAÑA

Abolitionist, consul, journalist and writer was born in Scotland. Turnbull married his first wife, Elinor Casement (1805?–1843), in Northern Ireland in the autumn of 1826. Little is known about Turnbull's early years and career. The first references available about him state that, after marrying Elinor, he and his wife moved to London in 1826 and, soon after, travelled to Edinburgh. From 1830, Turnbull became correspondent for *The Times* covering continental Europe, residing temporarily in Paris (1830 and 1831), The Hague (1831) and Brussels (1831). In 1832, Turnbull was sent to Madrid, where he stayed for about two years. There, he became deeply interested in the fight against slavery and, in particular, in the illegal slave trade still taking place in Cuba and Brazil.

In 1817, Britain and the Spanish Monarchy had signed a treaty to abolish the slave trade between Africa and the Americas from 1820. Thanks to this treaty a Mixed Commission for the Suppression of the Slave Trade was created, with bases at Havana and Sierra Leone. Britain was, thus, allowed to appoint officers to these areas, and in 1819, Whitehall appointed its first Commissioner to Havana, Henry Theo Kilbee (?–1852?), an Irish lawyer who held this office until 1828 and who had previously served as Secretary to the British ambassador to Spain. In 1829, by a new Spanish decree, foreign consuls could be appointed to Cuba. Thus, in 1830, Britain appointed her first consul to Santiago de Cuba, and in 1833, her first consul to Havana, Charles David Tomé, who was a local merchant. In 1835, Britain and Spain signed a new treaty to outlaw the traffic

of slaves, reinforcing the 1817 treaty. It is believed that Turnbull was one of the champions of the new treaty. Between 1832 and 1834, he worked under the stimulus of George William Frederick Villiers, fourth Earl of Clarendon (1800–1870), the diplomat leading the negotiations with the Spaniards. By this reinforcing treaty, Britain imposed extra pressures on Cuba, following accusations that a considerable illegal traffic was still taking place. In 1836, Richard Robert Madden (1798–1886) arrived in Havana as the first Superintendent of Liberated Africans.

In late 1834, a few months before the new treaty between Britain and Spain was signed, Turnbull was transferred by *The Times* from Madrid to Paris, where he worked for nearly three years. From Paris, Turnbull continued to work with the antislavery cause. In 1837, Turnbull resigned his position at *The Times* and returned temporarily to Britain, residing in London and County Down (Ireland). According to Corwin, by this time, Turnbull was a member of the English Anti-Slavery Society.

After British abolitionists won their battle against slavery in the British empire, it was time to continue the battle elsewhere. Within this context, Turnbull decided to tour the Caribbean, a region where the slave trade and slavery continued to be extensively practised. Between 1838 and 1839, Turnbull visited Demerara, Barbados, Trinidad, Jamaica, Port au Prince and, most particularly, Cuba. Observations on this trip were recorded by Turnbull in a diary. This led to the publication of his *Travels in the West*, which he dedicated to George William Frederick Villiers. Before leaving Cuba, Turnbull also visited South Carolina, Washington, Philadelphia, New York, Montreal, Quebec and Toronto. From Canada, Turnbull returned temporarily to Britain, living in County Down (Ireland) and London.

At the end of 1839, Turnbull left London for Paris to finish the editing of his *Travels in the West*. Soon afterwards, once the manuscript was ready, Turnbull returned to London, where the book was published in early 1840. It gave a detailed account of the illegal slave trade in Puerto Rico and Cuba, pointing out that ‘British capitalists, under the cloak of a foreign partnership, still assist in the trade’ (*The Times*, 21 February 1840, 4, c.5). The volume was very well received by the British abolitionist movement. This was largely due to the detailed sketch of the operation of the illegal slave trade in Cuba as well as the solutions suggested to stop it. A copy was sent to Viscount Palmerston (1784–1865). In August 1840, soon after the book’s publication, Turnbull became a member of the recently created *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*.

Turnbull’s reputation was greatly enhanced, to such an extent that, a few months later, he was appointed Consul General and Superintendent of Liberated Africans to Havana, thanks to the close ties between the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* and the British government. For the first time, the positions of consul and superintendent were held by the same person, and thus, Turnbull substituted both Tomé and Madden.

In Turnbull's own words: 'the two offices were combined in my person for the first time and the last time' ('Reports from the select committee', 1850, 59).

Turnbull was one of the most outspoken abolitionist England ever sent to Cuba (Corwin, 1967, 75) and the reason for this was clear: despite the Anglo-Spanish treaties of 1817 and 1835, the slave trade to Cuba continued to be extensively practised after 1820. It is estimated that between 1821 and 1839, over 182,000 slaves were illegally introduced into Cuba, which was a matter of deep concern for the abolitionist movement in Britain. Before the appointment of Turnbull, many British representatives in Cuba had been accused of being implicated in the continuance of the slave trade. For example, consul Tomé was relieved, in part, following accusations of slave-trading. A junior clerk was also removed from the mixed commission, after similar accusations were made. Turnbull's appointment marked the peak of British abolitionist pressures in Cuba.

Being a recognized militant abolitionist and known to the Spaniards from at least 1832, Turnbull's appointment was very unwelcome in Havana. From the first day of his arrival, he faced great hostility from the Spanish colonial authorities, especially from the *Real Junta de Fomento de Agricultura y Comercio*, *El Consulado Real*, *El Ayuntamiento de la Havana* and *El Tribunal de Comercio de la Habana*. Similarly, British planters and merchants who had migrated to Cuba, and who employed slaved labour (or who benefited indirectly from slavery) joined the opposition to Turnbull's appointment. This reputation extended to the United States, where slavery was extensively practised: Turnbull was seen as a menace to US economic interests.

Confirming the fears of slave-traders, from his arrival to Havana in November 1840, he endeavoured to find out the whereabouts of slaves illegally introduced into Cuba from October 1820 and tried to obtain their freedom. According to Turnbull's testimony at the House of Lords, in 1850, during his office at Havana (1840–42) he obtained the liberty of about 2,000 slaves. Furthermore, Turnbull requested from the local colonial authorities that all slaves resident in Cuba who had been born in Britain or any of her colonies from 1807 should be released. At the same time, he suggested that the British Foreign Office negotiate a new treaty with Spain to give additional powers to the mixed commission. Turnbull's plan 'to overthrow this colossal grievance (slave trade)', in his own words, was summarized as follows:

is by cutting off the demand for victims that the supply is to be suppressed. It is by making the purchaser and possessor of an African slave insecure in the enjoyment of his unlawful acquisition that he is to be deterred from paying the price.

(Turnbull to Palmerston, 13 March 1840, 'Reports from the select committee', 1850, 62–3)

After Cuba's realization of the implications of Turnbull's plans, alarm spread and the colonial authorities in Cuba asked Madrid and London for Turnbull's removal. Month by month, new allegations against him emerged. Lord Viscount Palmerston, then working at the Foreign Office, started to receive a great deal of correspondence from Madrid and from Spanish diplomats based in London regarding these allegations. Yet, Palmerston fully backed his consul and responded to the Spanish request in strong terms: Mr Turnbull's opinions 'are shared by the whole British nation'. A few years later, thanking Palmerston for his position, Turnbull dedicated his second book, *The Jamaica Movement*, to Palmerston: 'to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Palmerston ... whose living reputation and whose posthumous fame are inseparably associated with the cause of European freedom, and with the suppression of the African slave-trade'.

Turnbull was also accused by the Spanish of overstating the facts he reported and, through these exaggerations, of promoting a slave uprising in the island. Although Palmerston backed Turnbull in general, the Foreign Office Secretary was not happy with his consul's disrespectful language in correspondence with the Spanish colonial authorities and remarked that 'you write with so much bitterness of feeling; with so much of sneer and irony, that you excite a suspicion that you are actuated by some personal or vindictive motives as much as by a sense of duty ... Moreover, you constantly exaggerate things, which require no exaggeration, and thus you defeat your own purpose' (Palmerston to Turnbull, 2 August 1841 in Curry-Machado, 2004, 80).

Turnbull's activism led him to travel to other Cuban provinces, such as Matanzas, where a great many of slaves had been introduced illegally after 1820. Turnbull endeavoured to spread abolitionist principles there as well as confirm reports that some Africans who had been kidnapped in Jamaica were subsequently taken to Cuba. The arrival of the British consul at Matanzas was rejected by local colonial authorities who also did not recognize his diplomatic status. Not enjoying consular immunity in Matanzas, Turnbull was detained on 13 November 1841 and ordered to return to Havana. Back in the Cuban capital, he continued his antislavery activities, denouncing the continuous and illegal arrival of slaves, including more than 1,000 Africans in December 1841. In January 1842, Turnbull was involved in a new incident, this time after the arrival of the British ship *Venezuela* in Havana. At this stage, due to the increasing hostility of local colonial authorities, Turnbull's life was considered to be at risk. When asked at the House of Lords if his life was in danger because of his activism in Cuba, Turnbull answered that 'it was in perpetual danger; but, of course, if a man is willing to face danger in other forms, it is easy to do it in the performance of what he feels to be a duty' ('Reports from the select committee', 1850, 74).

Diplomatic problems escalated in early 1842 and pressure increased to recall Turnbull to London. Cuba was very important to Spain as it was probably the main source of revenues for the Spanish government at that time; Turnbull's activism was seen as even endangering Spain's possession of the island. Furthermore, British merchants and ship-owners with commercial interests in Cuba joined Spain's petition to recall Turnbull to London. Though Palmerston's successor in the Foreign Office, George Hamilton-Gordon, fourth Earl of Aberdeen (1784–1860) also supported Turnbull, the British Foreign Office felt the pinch. Yet, because Turnbull had strong support among the abolitionist movement in Britain, there was also considerable pressure on the Foreign Office not to recall him. In a controversial decision, Turnbull was removed from his position as consul, but continued as Superintendent of Liberated Africans.

Aberdeen's decision to remove him as consul came with a decree in which the positions of Consul and Superintendent were separated, an idea apparently suggested by British merchants and ship-owners with interests in Cuba. The big issue was that, while the role of Consul was recognized by the Spanish government, the Superintendent's role was not. In June 1842, the Foreign Office appointed the consul at Tampico, Joseph Tucker Crawford (1791/2–1864), as consul to Havana in Turnbull's place. Though Crawford was also an abolitionist, he was considered to be more pragmatic and moderate than Turnbull. Turnbull's days in Havana were numbered. Due to the mounting death threats against him, he sought refuge on HMS *Romney*, which was anchored at Havana. On board, he continued, somehow, to fight the illegal slave trade but now in relative isolation with his power constrained. Because of the distress caused by a year and a half at Havana, and about two months residence on a ship under very difficult circumstances, Turnbull's wife, Elinor, fell ill. He requested the Foreign Office to appoint him somewhere else, suggesting Lima or that he be made a Lieutenant-Governor of a West Indian island.

While waiting for a decision from London, Turnbull left Havana for New Providence, Nassau, in August 1842. In the Bahamas, he continued his unfinished business against slave trade in Cuba, this time investigating reports of kidnapped black people being taken away from the Bahamas to Cuba. In October 1842, following these reports, he made a new and risky trip to Cuba, arriving in Gíbara, in the province of Holguín, from Nassau, while still officially Superintendent of Liberated Africans to Havana. Once in Gíbara, Turnbull started to enquire about these British subjects who were being kept as slaves in plantations belonging to British farmers. The local authorities were alerted about Turnbull's visit and he was taken to Havana and subsequently expelled from Cuba on 6 November 1842. Turnbull escaped stronger punishment because a Spanish vice-consul at Nassau had issued him with a diplomatic passport. It was in this period when Lord Aberdeen abolished the office of Superintendent of Liberated Africans in Cuba.

From Havana, Turnbull returned to London for a brief period, having been recalled by the Foreign Office. In late November 1842, Lord Aberdeen wrote to him saying that the consulship of Lima was unavailable but that, instead, he would be appointed to Kingston, Jamaica. A few months earlier, in July 1842, a treaty between Britain and Portugal for the suppression of the slave trade had been signed in Lisbon. Mixed commissions were thus to be established in strategic points including Kingston and the Cape of Good Hope. In January 1843, Turnbull was officially appointed as Commissioner to the Mixed British and Portuguese Commission at Jamaica. Since Kingston was so close to Cuba, the Spanish authorities were very unhappy with Turnbull's new appointment. Such was Turnbull's reputation that, following a great slave uprising in Cuba in 1844, known as the *Escalera*, he was accused of being behind it by the Spanish. The accusations ranged from promoting slave emancipation in Cuba to even promising weapons for a massive national rebellion. Yet, there was never any evidence proving that Turnbull participated in the uprising; the debate about Turnbull's alleged involvement in the *Escalera* continues until the present day.

Despite all the allegations, Turnbull remained untouched at Jamaica where he spent most of the rest of his career. In March 1850, he left Jamaica for Britain, whence he had been called by a select committee at the House of Lords on the African Slave Trade. In October, Palmerston requested that Turnbull travel to Paris to seek support from French planters and merchants in their international fight against the slave trade. Unfortunately, this was a task which Turnbull could not fully accomplish: on 17 May 1851 he died in Paris, following a long illness. Yet until his very last days, he had worked for the abolitionist movement. After his death, his friend Palmerston wrote: 'I am extremely sorry. He is a great loss to the slave trade suppression cause' (Murray, 1981, 219).

Sources and Suggested Reading: David Turnbull, *Travels in the West. Cuba, with Notices of Porto Rico, and the Slave Trade* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1840); D. Turnbull, ed., *The Jamaica Movement for Promoting the Enforcement of the Slave Trade Treaties and the Suppression of the Slave Trade with Statements of Fact, Convention and Law Prepared of the Kingston Committee* (London: Charles Gilpin for Gratuitous Distribution, 1850); 'Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Lords to Consider the Best Means Which Great Britain Can Adopt for the Final Extinction of the African Slave Trade, with Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index' *Parliamentary Papers*, no. 590 (1850); *The Times*, 21 February 1840, 4, c.5; *The London Gazette*, 25 August 1840 and 24 January 1843; Mario Hernández Sánchez-Barba, 'David Turnbull y el problema de la esclavitud en Cuba', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 14 (1957): 241–99; David R. Murray, *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain, and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave*

Trade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), *passim*; Jonathan Curry-Machado, “How Cuba Burned with the Ghosts of British Slavery: Race, Abolition and the “*Escalera*”, *Slavery & Abolition* 25, no. 1 (2004): 71–93; Henry B. Lovejoy, ‘The Registers of Liberated Africans of the Havana Slave Trade Commission: Implementation and Policy, 1824–1841’, *Slavery & Abolition* 37, no. 1 (2016): 23–44; Inés Roldán de Montaud, ‘En los borrosos confines de la libertad: El caso de los negros emancipados en Cuba, 1817–1870’, *Revista de Indias* LXXI, no. 251 (2011): 159–92; Manuel Llorca-Jaña, ‘Turnbull, David (1793?–1851)’, *ODNB*, 8 October 2009, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/98426>; Arthur F. Corwin, *Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba, 1817–1886* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967); Robert L. Paquette, *Sugar is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988).

Vallina Martínez, Pedro (1879–1970)

ARTURO ZOFFMANN RODRIGUEZ

A middle-class intellectual from Guadalcanal (Seville), Pedro Vallina Martínez became involved in the Hispanic-Anglosphere after being radicalized by the stark inequalities of the Andalusian countryside. As a young man, he moved to the Spanish capital to study medicine. In Madrid, he and his comrades were impressed by the success of Catalan anarchists in organizing mass strikes in 1901–02. They attempted to emulate them. They caught the attention of the authorities, and Vallina Martínez decided to flee to France in October 1902. In Paris, he became involved in the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (General Confederation of Labour, CGT). Police arrested Vallina Martínez on the eve of 1 May 1906, when the syndicalists had called a general strike whose momentum alarmed the French government. He was deported to England along with a group of Russian radicals.

The exiled anarchists of London welcomed Vallina Martínez and helped him find his feet in the city. German libertarian Rudolf Rocker and, naturally, fellow Spaniard Tarrida del Mármol were especially helpful. Vallina Martínez resumed his medical studies at University College London. He became an active member of the city’s cosmopolitan anarchist community. Vallina Martínez met the prestigious Catalan anarchist pedagogue Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia in June 1909 during the latter’s visit to London. Upon his return to Spain, Ferrer i Guàrdia was arrested and blamed for the riots that shook Barcelona that summer. Vallina Martínez was subsequently involved in the powerful solidarity campaign of the autumn demanding his release, which mobilized London’s left-wing solidarity networks, made up of anarchists, trade unionists, freethinkers, anti-colonialists and republicans.

During this campaign, Vallina Martínez mingled with leading British labour activists. He was already familiar with the Spanish and French

labour movements and displayed keen interest for the powerful British trade unions and reported regularly to the Spanish anarchist press on the exploits of organized labour in Britain. Indeed, in the years before the First World War, especially in 1911–13, the British labour movement lurched left in a context of social effervescence and of upswing in industrial conflict. Vallina Martínez was close to left-wing British trade unionists such as Tom Mann (1856–1941) and Guy Bowman (1871?–?). These entanglements gave impetus to the fusion continental anarchism and militant British trade unionism that came to be known as revolutionary syndicalism.

Vallina Martínez was one of the participants of the 1913 international syndicalist conference held in London, which gathered delegates from across Europe. Vallina Martínez was impressed and inspired by the London conference and the industrial struggles he witnessed in 1911–13. Upon his return to Spain after the outbreak of the First World War, he became involved in the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (National Confederation of Labour, CNT). After the war, it emerged as the largest syndicalist organization in the world. In 1923, Vallina Martínez joined its national committee. He was a leading *cenetista* (CNT militant) until Franco's victory in the Spanish Civil War. After that, he went into exile in Mexico, where he resided until his death in 1970.

Sources and Suggested Reading: Pedro Vallina, *Mis memorias* (Caracas: Tierra y Libertad, 1968); Constance Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London, 1880–1914: Exile and Transnationalism in the First Globalisation* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013); Antoni Dalmau i Ribalta, *Per la causa dels humils: una biografia de Tarrida del Màrmol* (Barcelona: L'Abadia de Montserrat, 2015); Rudolf Rocker, *En la borrasca (años de destierro)* (Buenos Aires: Americalee, 1949); Wayne Thorpe, *"The Workers Themselves": Revolutionary Syndicalism and International Labour* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1989).

Waddington, Joshua (1793–1876)

MANUEL LLORCA-JAÑA

This British merchant, born in Headingley, Yorkshire (England) in 1793, arrived to Chile in August 1817, after a short stay in Argentina. He settled in the coastal town of Valparaíso as agent of the merchant house *Winter Brittain & Co.* of Buenos Aires, founded there in 1812 by the British investors James Brittain and Thomas Winter, soon becoming a partner of his employer (from 1823), under the firm name of *Brittain, Waddington & Co.* They engaged in the import of British manufactures and the export of local produce, having active networks in the British Isles, Argentina and Brazil. Subsequently, in 1834, together with another Briton, Thomas Templeman (agent of *Templeman Bergmann & Co.* of Lima) and Santiago

Ingram, he founded his own merchant house, that of *Waddington Templeman & Co.* at Valparaíso, having a great economic success, soon becoming one of the most prominent businessmen in Chile as well as one of the greatest landowners of the country.

With the profits of his businesses, Waddington bought several haciendas in Valparaíso, Limache, and Huasco (amongst other locations) and also invested in silver and copper mining. He is also well known for introducing measures destined to modernize the Chilean agricultural sector, in particular the building of a massive canal between Calera and Limache, the greatest of its time in Chile at that time. But he greatly diversified his portfolio: he invested in the Santiago-Valparaíso railways, wheat flour making, in joint stock companies (e.g. insurance, being a pioneer in this sort of business organizations in Chile), urban estates (in particular in Valparaíso), shipping, public utilities (e.g. urban gas and water wells), doing also a great deal of charity work.

In the personal side of his life, it is worth mentioning that he never returned to Britain, settling for good in Chile. In 1838, Joshua married a Chilean member of the local gentry, María del Rosario Urrutia Gutiérrez (1803–71) who gave him thirteen children and became greatly involved with Chilean top members of the economic and political elites, including several presidents of the newly independent republic. Indeed, one of his sons, José Guillermo Waddington Urrutia (1821–82) born in Valparaíso and educated in England, entered politics, becoming Minister of Finance in 1852 under Antonio Varas's presidency and taking office as member of the parliament later on as well. In Valparaíso, the Waddington family owned much of the neighbourhood of Cerro de la Concepción and all of the Cerro Playa Ancha and Cerro Recreo where a palace-style property was built under the name of the 'Quinta Waddington' (see later in this section). They also donated 80 lots of land to the local municipality to establish there a public garden known as the *Jardín Recreo*. Joshua Waddington died in Valparaíso in 1876.

Sources and Suggested Reading: Roberto Araya Valenzuela, 'Josué Waddington. De agente consignatario a engranaje modernizador en el Chile tradicional, 1817–1876', in *Empresas y Empresarios en la Historia de Chile, 1810–1930*, eds. Manuel Llorca-Jaña and Diego Barría (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 2017), 97–121; R. Araya Valenzuela and Manuel Llorca-Jaña, 'The Birth of Joint Stock Companies in Chile, 1849–1875', *Revista de Historia Industrial* 74 (2018): 43–76; Virgilio Figueroa, *Diccionario histórico y biográfico de Chile, 1800–1925* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta y Litrográfica La Ilustración, 1925); Manuel Llorca-Jaña, Claudio Robles, Juan Navarrete-Montalvo and Roberto Araya Valenzuela, 'La agricultura y la elite agraria chilena a través de los catastros agrícolas, c.1830–1855', *Historia* 50, no. 2 (2017): 597–639.

Wavell, Arthur Goodall (1785–1860)

GRACIELA IGLESIAS-ROGERS

Grandfather of the more famous Second World War general and penultimate Viceroy of India, Sir Archibald Wavell (1943–47), Arthur Goodall Wavell, known in the Hispanic world as *Arturo Goodall Wavell*, was born in Edinburgh on 20 March 1785. He studied at Winchester College before joining the Eighth Regiment East Indies with the rank of Major. In Spain, he supported the *guerrilla* at Casas Viejas and joined the Spanish Army as a volunteer in 1811 acting as *aide-de-camp* to the *mariscal de campo* Pedro Sarsfield of Irish origin. At the end of that year, he joined Samuel ‘Santiago’ Ford Wittingham (1772–1841) in his project to raise two new Spanish divisions in the Balearic island of Mallorca. He built a strong relationship with the Spanish, particularly after suffering the loss of the use of his right arm at the Battle of Chiclana (5 March 1811, also known as the Battle of Barrosa and of the Cerro del Puerco) which did not prevent him from fighting in the siege of Tarragona (3–11 June 1813). He was awarded a number of military ranks in the Spanish army: first, that of *capitán* followed within months by that of *teniente coronel* (1811) and finally *coronel* (1817) in the Ultonia regiment. In that year, he was also awarded the *Orden de Carlos III*.

On 6 July 1820, however, he joined the Chilean army with the rank of *coronel* and served in that South American country until 1822 when he was dispatched by the Chilean government as an official envoy to recognize Mexico’s independence. His status was discredited by the British admiral and former commander of the Chilean navy, Thomas Cochrane, later tenth Earl of Dundonald (1775–1860) who, arriving a few days later, claimed that Wavell had no diplomatic credentials and that the stamp in his Chilean letter of passport predated the declaration of Mexico’s independence. His claim, however, was received as a case of sour grapes. Cochrane was angered by the cold reception he had met at Acapulco due to Wavell’s account of his seizure of part of the Chilean navy to pursue his own campaign of piracy in the Pacific. In contrast, during his time in Mexico, Wavell earned the confidence of Emperor Agustín de Iturbide, who gave him the rank of *brigadier general* in the Mexican army, and sent him back to Britain as a secret envoy to secure Mexico’s recognition as an independent state and to gain investments. Whilst in Mexico, he had met the fellow volunteer Daniel Robinson, who was then acting as surveyor for a British mining company (see his biography above). Wavell continued in the service of the Mexican army until 1833, mainly occupied in writing and publishing textbooks on infantry and cavalry tactics and pamphlets on the defence of various regions of the country. He was particularly interested in the defence of Texas, an area to which he remained associated under all of its flags: first, while it was a province of Mexico;

second, during its life as an independent republic and third, when it was annexed to the United States. After trying to launch a colonization programme of his own for the settlement of 400 families from Europe in a 260 miles-long territory along the Red River from its confluence with the River Sulphur Fork to the West, Wavell decided instead to become an investor and to actively promote 'The Old Three Hundred', the ill-fated colonization scheme in Texas (1823–53) advanced by Moses Austin (1761–1821) and his son Stephen (1793–1836), the latter known in history as the Father of Texas (hence the name of Texas's capital, Austin). Involved in a long series of legal wrangles and suffering many disappointments, Wavell's interest in Texas ceased in 1856. In October that year, he was in Bonn, Prussia, investigating the use of gun-rafts as a naval weapon, and apparently spent the remaining of his time studying this and other ideas relating to military logistics. He died four years later, on 10 July 1860, in London.

Sources and Suggested Reading: 'Expediente Arturo Wavell', AGMS, Sección Primera, U-6; Arthur Goodall Wavell, *Notes and Reflections on Mexico, Its Mines, Policy, &c by a Traveller, Some Years Resident in That and the Other American States* (London: J.M. Richardson, 1827); Henry McKenzie Johnson, *Missions to Mexico: A Tale of British Diplomacy in the 1820s* (London: British Academic Press, 1992), 38–9; Robert C. Amsler, 'A Prospectus for the Wavell Colony in Texas', *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (2020/08/22/ 1953), 543–51; *idem*, 'General Arthur G. Wavell: A Soldier of Fortune in Texas (Part I)', *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (1965): 1–21; *ibid.*, Part II, *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (1965): 186–209; Iglesias-Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon*, 2, 121, 134, 162, 176, 187.