Building on Hayden White’s claim that “. . . every representation of the past has specifiable ideological implications” (The Tropics of Discourse 69) my aim is to explore the representations suggested in some of the caricatures, anonymous pamphlets, one-act satirical plays, political sonnets and songs that surfaced during the years of the Spanish War of Independence.¹ These seemingly topical and circumstantial texts (both written and visual) not only poked fun at the protagonists of the current events but also questioned the follies of the past that led to the current breakdown. And so, while the “official stories” that were generated to reaffirm the Spanish national identity might reveal a unified historical representation based on tradition, law, and honor, the stories told by some of these satirical texts show a certain degree of distrust towards the “custodians” of the nation’s laws and history, thereby questioning the cohesively weaved identity.

But, how is the “official story” constructed and, more importantly, maintained? Hayden White argues that in order for the historical representation to bridge or reconcile the different moral perspectives with the current social systems, it needs to make the “pastness” both **distinct from** and **continuous with** the “present” (The Content of the Form 89). In addition, a degree of acquiescence on the standard for what is “reality” on behalf of the reading or viewing subject within a same cultural horizon is necessary. Since the standard is then incarnated in the system of symbolic relationships, “the purpose of the canonical representational practices of a given
society, then, is to produce a subjectivity that will take this symbolic structure as the sole criterion for assessing the “realism” of any recommendation to act or think one way and not another” (The Content of the Form 88).^2

One of the ways in which the canonical representation and/or official narrative of the Spanish War of Independence bridged the “pastness” and the “present” was to view the current events as a time of re-conquest, recovery, or resuscitation. Along with the images immortalized by Goya of the uprising and the subsequent execution of the people of Madrid in May 1808, the following quote contributes to the “reality” of Spain as a nation of patriotic, noble and heroic people who awaken ready to defend (re-conquer) their ideals.

“...at this momentous crisis in the annals of human liberty, when the hopes and fears of mankind are trembling in the balance with dark and doubting destiny, SPAIN, a nation peculiarly marked by heaven and history—great though oppressed, never despairing, and now resuscitated—has become equally interesting to the mind of the philosopher, and the heart of the philanthropist. The late eruption of public virtue in this southern extremity of Europe, while it has covered with a warm suffusion of transport the cheeks of all brother patriots in every section of the globe, it is not to be regarded as one of the wonders of this “age of prodigies!”—After an elaborate and unbiased examination and comparison, of the national genealogy, and family features, of modern Europe, we feel an ingenuous pride in asserting, that this revolution, bold and glorious as it is, is no miracle at the south of the Pyrenees. There it is a PLAIN EVENT, which was justly to be expected, from the fire and the patience, the constancy and the elevation of the Spanish character. Slow to determine, the Spaniards are resolute to act. True to their plight, muscular from labour, and familiar with peril, they glory in their zeal, contented to suffer, and despising to despair-. Such men may be slaughtered, but they can never be disgraced or conquered.” (Spain: An Account of the public festival given by the citizens of Boston . . . January 24, 1809 in honour of Spanish valour and patriotism.)^3

It is perhaps the use of “genealogy” that most clearly bridges the past and the present. In the same manner that brave Spaniards once fought to re-conquer the land that had been lost to the Moors
after the betrayal of el Conde don Julián, their descendants again fight and die, in this occasion at the hands of Napoleon’s Mamelukes.

“Heaven,” “history” and “destiny” also reaffirm the “pastness-presentness” qualities of the narrative of the Spanish War of Independence. Because the story is about an ongoing battle of good over evil, of virtue over vice, of light over darkness it exhibits the characteristics of what Hayden White labels a Romantic emplotment. Furthermore, it utilizes a Formist mode of explanation by depicting the variety, color and vividness of particular stories (in this case the War of Independence) that are, however, a crucial component of a synthetic process (the ongoing battle). Finally, given that the accumulated data (the particular stories) may give rise to “principles” or “laws,” the whole narrative, that is the totality of the process, seems to be aimed toward an end, a goal, a telos.

The result is that the macroscopic narrative formed by the accumulation of data (the particular events) serves to “fix” forever the national cultural identity located “eternally in a tableau of finished actions whose natures are indistinguishable from the places they occupy in the tableau” (The Content of the Form, 89). Once we “know” this identity, it is easier to recover, to awaken, to resuscitate, to preserve, and by default to ultimately discard what is not part of the “standard.” The past is then selectively [re]constructed in an attempt to codify an identity by bringing out and [re]covering what Carlos García Fernández refers to as “una protonación española” (222). This attempt to “grasp the nature of things” (good, bad, heart, etc.), translates into what White regards as a naïve characterization of people and objects as opposed to an ironic historical representation which seeks to provoke doubt, questions that very nature, and ultimately denies the heroic.

Evidence of a “naïve” characterization of Spain and Spanish history is present not only in the texts of the first half of the 19th century but throughout the twentieth century as well. Derek Flitter reminds us that the reordering of history for ideological ends whether as a form of self-justification, or as a putative source of doctrinal truth or as the revelation of an appointed destiny, served to either legitimize or discard a perspective that either revealed or concealed the national cultural identity. This idealized discourse and
pattern or to use an earlier term, “standard,” was not only “eulogized and [... evoked but ideologically [... reasserted” (Spanish Romanticism and the Uses of History 9). Joaquín Francisco Pacheco clearly and concisely identifies the “standard” in his Historia de la regencia de la reina Cristina (1841), by revealing that, “El español encerraba en una misma fe, proclamaba en una misma fórmula, la confesión de Dios y la adoración del Rey.” Likewise, Fermín Gonzalo Morón’s 1842 rendition of the events seems to concur when he claims: “la independencia, la monarquía y la religión fueron los resortes prodigiosos que movieron instintivamente a nuestro pueblo a una de las más desesperadas y heroicas luchas, de que nos hacen memoria los anales del mundo,” and proceeds to exhort his readers to: “respetad la religión y la monarquía, y haced por despertar la nacionalidad y el carácter de orgullo y de dignidad que está en las entrañas de todo Español.”

One hundred years later, Francisco Franco’s ministers will also explicitly disown and/or acknowledge what is part of the essence and identity of Spain.9

“La historia española desde el agotamiento del régimen tradicional hasta el momento presente, ha sido [...] la de un pueblo que, habiéndose perdido a sí mismo, en cuerpo y alma, [...] anda vagando a tientas en busca del camino que le permitirá recobrarse. [...] El pueblo español [...] asombró al mundo con su indomable espíritu nacional, [...] consiguió expulsar de la Península a los invasores; pero las Cortes de Cádiz, [...] resultaron, por el contrario, una reunión absurda de hombres completamente imbuidos, [...] en las “ideas nuevas,” es decir, en las de la Revolución Francesa. El espíritu de ésta, rechazado por las clases populares españolas, se infiltró así, traideramente, por las alturas. La Constitución de Cádiz que debía constituir el firme baluarte para que el Anti-España no volviese a penetrar nunca más en el país, se convirtió en la ganchu que le abrió de par en par todas las puertas. Y lo enorme fue que esa Constitución demoledora por excelencia, [...] era obra de lo más selecto de la intelectualidad española de aquellos tiempos.”

And finally, during an interview with La Nación, el Generalísimo himself proclaimed the birth of a new Spain while asserting its selective/selected lineage: “... hija de aquélla que floreció en el siglo
XVII y ajena completamente a la España extranjerizada en su vida revolucionaria de los siglos XVIII y XIX . . .”  

However, beside the cohesively crafted Romantic story stands the irreverent and absurdist satirical view of the world that calls into question all reality, all affirmation and consequently all “essence.” The satirist of the Spanish War of Independence also engages and partakes in the collective expressions of outrage towards the usurper and his foreign agents. But since satire through parody can invade any literary form, when it does take over a structure “it tends not just to borrow it, as when a cuckoo finds another bird’s nest for its eggs, but to subvert it, or […] to alter its “potential” and (more like a body-snatcher) to direct its energies toward alien ends” (Satire. A Critical Reintroduction 3). Furthermore, when satire uses the weapon of irony, we are faced with a “superimposition […] of meanings (the said and plural unsaid)” (Irony’s Edge. 19). Francisco Uzcanga Meinecke shares a similar view when he posits that precisely because satire may “infiltrarse en todos los géneros . . .” (Sátira en la Ilustración española 19) we must look at satire as a mode or procedure rather than a genre.12 Still, though “satire, with its socially encoded, public, profane and tendentious rhetoric, is bound to be cast as the “un-Romantic/[the un-naïve] mode” Steven E. Jones argues that the two modes “were subtly interwoven . . . [and] related in ways that finally go well beyond mere dialectical opposition” (Satire and Romanticism 3–10).13

Fables, like most satires, in their classical and neoclassical tradition maintained a didactic, moral and pedagogical purpose. Curiously enough though, Thomas Wright’s A History of Caricature and Grotesque in Literature and Art (1875) places the birth (infancy) of political caricature soon after the art of printing was introduced, and identifies one of the earliest “caricatures” as being a French engraving of 1499, titled The Political Game of Cards. He further adds that while “the political or satirical song was carried everywhere by the minstrel, […] the satirical picture, represented only in some solitary sculpture or illumination, could hardly be finished before it had become useless even in the small sphere of its influence, and then remained for ages a strange figure, with no meaning that could be understood” (347). Equally political but much more ferocious are the caricatures of the late sixteenth century with the rise of the
Ligue. “The first caricatures of the *ligueurs* were directed against the person of the King, Henri de Valois, and possess a brutality almost beyond description,” (351). Wright adds that satirical pamphlets and engravings questioning the sexual preferences and/or attributes of the King, such as “Henri le Monstreux,” “Les Hermaphrodites,” were not uncommon.

As one might expect, then, the satiric-political fable also aimed to insult, mock, and erode the position of the selected target. Consequently, these seemingly occasional and topical texts that flourished throughout the Spanish War of Independence, whether in the form of fables, dictionaries, pamphlets, songs, letters, caricatures, etc., were, as Steven Jones asserts, at the battlefront of the culture wars, and therefore shaped by strategic moves and counter-moves (*Satire and Romanticism* 9).

A brief look at a handful of satiric-political fables, sonnets, and other texts of circumstances of the Spanish War of Independence confirms what one might expect, namely, that the target is in most cases Napoleon and the invading forces: the outsider, the other, the one-not-us. Nonetheless, a close look at this seemingly straightforward and unmistakable attack against the evil-doers reveals that the satire in many of the written texts and images is uncomfortably open-ended, ambiguous in its relationship to history, and more inclined to ask questions than to provide answers, thus disturbing the initial sense of certitude. As we indicated earlier, although most satire allows the reader or viewer to identify a given target and a given “vice” against which the satirist positions him or herself, the satire does not always identify the position or end result the satirist favors. We may know the satire is against something but we do not always know what it favors, much less proposes. Because of this, the satire may effectively convey rejection while leaving the viewer/reader uncertain and uneasy as to what he/she should embrace. This lack of an explicit “either/or,” exposes the instability of irony and contributes to the “open-endedness” of modern satire. We have purposely chosen Spanish texts and “foreign” caricatures that relate to them because the texts and images, regardless of nationality, reinforce the claim that “discursive communities already exist[ed] and provide[d] the context for both the deployment and attribution of irony” (*Irony’s Edge* 18). (See next page.)
Quotations and Translations

1. “El español encerraba en una misma fe, proclamaba en una misma fórmula, la confesión de Dios y la adoración del Rey.”
   Joaquín Francisco Pacheco, 1841

2. “...la independencia, la monarquía y la religión fueron los resortes prodigiosos que movieron instintivamente a nuestro pueblo a una de las más desesperadas y heroicas luchas, de que nos hacen memoria los anales del mundo”. Y “respetad la religión y la monarquía, y haced por despojar la nacionalidad y el carácter de orgullo y de dignidad que está en las entrañas de todo Español”.
   Fermín Gonzalo Morón, 1842

3. “La historia española desde el agotamiento del régimen tradicional hasta el momento presente, ha sido [...] la de un pueblo que, habiéndose perdido [...] en cuerpo y alma, [...] anda vagando a tientas en busca del camino que le permitirá recobrarse. [...] El pueblo español [...] asombró al mundo con su indomable espíritu nacional, [...] consiguió expulsar de la Península a los invasores; pero las Cortes de Cádiz, [...] resultaron [...] una reunión absurda de hombres completamente imbuidos, [...] en las “ideas nuevas”, es decir, en las de la Revolución Francesa. El espíritu de ésta, rechazado por las clases populares españolas, se infiltró así, traditoriamente, por las alturas. La Constitución de Cádiz que debía constituir el firme bulwark para que el Anti-España no volviese a penetrar nunca más en el país, se convirtió en la guía que le abrió de par en par todas las puertas. Y lo enorme fue que esa Constitución demoledora por excelencia, [...] era obra de lo más selecto de la intelectualidad español de aquellos tiempos.”
   Eduardo Aunós Pérez, 1940

4. “...nacimiento de una nueva España, hija de aquella que floreció en el siglo XVII y ajena completamente a la España extranjerizada en su vida revolucionaria de los siglos XVIII y XIX.”
   Francisco Franco

5. Así, pues, sólo contra el delincuente
   Autor de iniquidad tan depravada,
   Satélites, y el vil Godoy, su agente,
   Clararé... 
   És halaré por fin en estas notas,
   Mi ánser al Rey, la Patria, y Patriotas.

   Si por colmo del mal, la especie humana
   Te sufre aún, Napoléon sangriento,
   Sin que dejen la costumbre insana,
   De voraz, feroz tigre, ó lobo hambriento;
   Si tu rubio implacable, é inhumana,
   Hombre te dexa ser, solo un momento:
   Abre una vez siquiera, ojos, y oídos,
   ¡Oh, alas, de cielo y tierra enojos.

   Abominable abrSENto del Inferno...

   Ningún nativo Giel había obrado
   Las pérdidas, caprichos felinos
   Que el baco, matuso Corzo ha perpetuado;

   España ensangrentada... 1808

5. “...birth of the new Spain, offspring of the Spain that bloomed in the XVII century and completely unrelated to the “foreign” and revolutionary Spain of the XVIII and XIX centuries...”
   Francisco Franco

5. Thus, then, only against the delinquent
   Author of such depraved iniquity,
   Satellites, and the vile Godoy, his agent,
   I will cry out...
   I’ll finally shout in these verses,
   My love for my King, my Country and Patriots.

   If somehow, the human species still suffers you,
   Bloody Napoleon, Without you stopping your unhealthy behavior,
   Like a voracious, fierce Tiger, or hungry Wolf:
   If your implicable, and inhumane fury,
   Lets you be a Man, even for a single moment:
   Then open your eyes and ears and you will
   See, and hear the anger of heaven and earth.

   Abominable abortion from Hell,
   No native Frenchman would have done
   The perjury, the capricious fictions
   That the lowly, intrusive Corzech has done.

   España ensangrentada..., 1808
6) Once upon a time there were four cats in a house. Who happened to be skilful and excellent hunters, Of whom much data was preserved. But, for some strange peculiarity, their Masters did not allow them to hunt. They used a thousand schemes and ruses, In order to prevent it, whenever there was one: They shoed the cats with roar, And even locked them up, on one occasion. The Butler, who (as I understand) Inspired these absurdities, Was watching with great pleasures As his strange plan prospered; While keeping the Masters deceived. ... The cats would show up, hoping To catch some mice. However, the hateful Butler Drove them away fiercely At times with a stick, at times with a saber; And while the masters also punished them They did not see that their own prejudice was evident and, when they thought they were most happy, They found that thousands of mice Had nested in all the houses. ... They destroyed the chapel They destroyed the bank and even penetrated the dormitory ... [Since at the end the cats manage to rid the house Of mice, the last verses appear as a warning to all.] Tremble, indecent insects, Never be dazzled by pride Nor try ineptimens. Victory is not the result of many: It comes, as you have witnessed, from skill From valor, from power, and justice.

Muchos Ratones,..., 1888

7) ...Oh Spaniards, who battle under the flag of the Crucificado! I am not one of your Generals who speaks with the intention of inspiring you with valor and enthusiasm to defend your Religion. ... The eternal enemy of God and your souls in the one who speaks. You know that as of the moment Jesus Christ left the tomb, and by his own virtue rose to the heavens, I have used all my infernal rage and diabolic cleverness against you. For this reason I insulted Cain, Nero ... and all the inhuman and sacrilegious Emperors. ... ... The best was yet to come. God... allowed me to see that Napoleon was suitable for my plans... that from the beginning of his existence I doubted whether Cain and Nimrod, Nabuchodonosor and Holofernes... and all the tyrants of the Earth together as well as all their vices combined, could compose a Napoleon...

Give him to me. I will obtain the greatest honor, and all the Nations will know that you have defended your God...

Lucifer.
España ensangrentada por el horrendo corzo, tirano de la Europa, auxiliado de su iniqüo agente el vilísimo Godoy, (alias) el choricero. Autor: un viejo, castizo español que altamente desprecia, y profundísimamente aborrece a dichos infames monstros ... published by Mr. Juan Mowry, editor of the Luisiana Gaceta, Nueva Orleáns, 1808.

The text comprises a sonnet and 53 pages of patriotic octave verses which narrate the infernal origin of the usurper and tyrant of Europe and of his vile agents. The first page presents the expected captatio benevolentiae in which the author begs indulgence for the many defects and redundancy of epithets aimed at the two heroes (Napoleon and Godoy, the Prince of Peace) confident that the patriotic reader will understand his honorable motives.

A quien leyere
El autor conoce sus muchos defectos pero se lisonjea de mostrar sencilla y abiertamente sus sentimientos patrióticos, en favor de los cuales cree se le deben disimular. No se le oculta que hay en su obrilla sobrado ripio ú fárrago22 y demasiada redundancia particularmente en los epítetos vilipendiosos ... prodigados a los dos héroes, ú objetos principales de este escrito [...]

Estas son causas del desconcierto que puede notárseles: mas persuadido que lo honroso del motivo le atraerá la indulgencia de sus benévolos compatriotas, a quienes se dirige ... 

From the very beginning the target of the satire is identified, leaving no doubt of the author’s moral position regarding the target. He is a “fiery tiger” and a “hungry wolf,” “an abortion,” a “monster” from hell that is also “foreign” and “fraudulent.” However, the invective does not extend to France and its people, who though rivals at times, were never true enemies, concluding that only an intruder, an outsider, a one-unlike-us, could perform such perfidy and felony.

Así, pues, sólo contra el delinquente
Autor de iniquidad tan depravada,
Satélites, y el vil Godoy, su agente,
Clamaré ... 

Exhalaré por fin en estas notas,
Mi amor al Rey, la Patria, y Patriotas.
ESPAÑA ENSANGRENTADA
POR EL HORRENDO CORZO,
TIRANO DE LA EUROPA,
AUXILIADO DE SU INMÓVIL AGENTE
EL VILISIMO GODOY,
(ALIAS)
EL CHORICERO.

AUTOR
UN VIEJO, CASTIZO ESPAÑOL,
QUE ÁLTAMENTE DESPRECIÁ,
Y PROFUNDÍSÍSIMAMENTE ABORREE A DICHOS
INVÁMENES MONSTRUOS.

NUEVA-ORLEANS:
EN CASA DE JUAN MOWRY,
EDITOR DE LA LITERARIA GACETA, CALLE DE
OBERTON, No. 30.
MUCHOS RATONES
CONTRA
QUATRO GATOS.
Fábula alegórica a los raros acontecimientos ocurridos entre España y Francia en el año de 1808.
ESCRIBIALA
D. PANCRACIO PAU DE FONSEL.

CON LICENCIA:
Impresa en Cádiz en la Imprenta de la Viuda de Dña. Manuel Comes, esquinas de Porrino.
Si por colmo del mal, la especie humana
Te sufre aún, Napoleon sangriento,
Sin que depongas tu costumbre insana,
De voraz, fiero Tigre, ó Lobo hambriento:
Si tu rabia implacable, é inhumana,
Hombre te dexaser, solo un momento:
Abre una vez siquiera, oídos, y ojos,
Oirás, verás, de cielo y tierra enojos.
Abominable aborto del Infierno...xiii,

...Ningún nativo Galo habría obrado
Las pérfidas, capciosas felonías
Que el bajo, intruso Corzo ha perpetrado.

Monsters and references to monsters have appeared within varied contexts spanning from apocalyptic seven headed beasts to the elusive monster of the green lagoon, and have served many purposes. In many, the moral deformity attributed to the target is then represented by a physical deformity. People have been attracted to, frightened with, and repulsed by tales of monsters and monstrosities. However, recent studies focused around the Enlightenment shed light on the problem of deviation by looking at the methods of classifying monsters and “others” as more than just examples of nature’s capriciousness, or disturbances or threats. Michael Hagner posits that the reason for classifying “monster” can also address degrees of “disenchantment” (using Adorno’s and Horkheimer’s terms). If one begins with the assumption that all humans start out as perfect, the monster, i.e. the circus freak, can only be explained and classified as a degraded and polluted being. However, from another position, the same form of monstrosity could be seen as simply scientific mutations, “regarded as survivals of transitory embryonic forms” (213).24

*The Tyrant Unmasked*25 is a beautiful print that shows an allegorical France removing Napoleon’s mask and thus revealing his true face, that of a fiery tiger. This imagery calls to mind the popularity of physiognomy and its claims of reading the heart of people in the face, but more relevant to our topic is its use as a vehicle for mocking and expressing the fraudulent and duplicitous nature of
evil-doers. In this particular work, the mask points at Napoleon’s duplicity and fraud, although the face revealed under the mask is not that of an animal or a human but rather of a hybrid, half tiger half man. We find, however, that the anomaly of the hybrid creates a sense of uncertainty in the viewer who is repulsed by the thought yet attracted by the imagery.

\textbf{Muchos Ratones contra Quatro Gatos} is a self-proclaimed allegoric fable about the rare events that occurred between Spain and France in the year 1808, written by D. Pancracio Pau de Fonsel and printed in Cadiz.\textsuperscript{26} The satire is aimed at Godoy, the Butler, and the Masters who allowed the disaster to happen. The cats in this instance are the Spanish people while the mice are not only the French, but perhaps also the “Francophile ilustrados.”\textsuperscript{27} While the directly identifiable obstacle to ridding the house of these rodents is the absurd, conspiring and hateful Butler—aka Godoy who allows the mice to run free—what is most disturbing is how seemingly clueless and incompetent the Masters, aka King Carlos IV and Queen María Luisa, appear to be. Not only did the mice take over the house, they managed to nest, and thus “... destroyed the chapel / They destroyed the bank; / and even penetrated the dormitory” in obvious allusion to María Luisa's alleged affair with Godoy.

The warning at the end is quite explicit and serves to highlight the virtuous qualities i.e. skill, valor, power and justice, of the “cuatro gatos.” What I find problematic and ironic is that by not ending with the triumphant victory of the “cuatro gatos” over the treacherous mice, the satire lacks finality, closure, and a definite resolution. Instead, it chooses to end, not with a “moral of the story” but with a warning as if anticipating the need and the justification for a future call to action.

\begin{quote}
Tiembien las sabandijas indecentes, 
y nunca el amor propio las deslumbre
Para intentar empresas imprudentes.
No es la victoria de la muchedumbre:
Dimana como aquí, de la pericia
De el valor, de el poder, y la justicia.
\end{quote}

The question that remains is: a future call against whom?
The Corsican Nurse Soothing the Infants of Spain\textsuperscript{28} is a satiric print that portrays not only the Spanish infants but also Charles IV and the Queen who are seen sleeping soundly thus highlighting the complacency of the Spanish royal family. The legend on the king and queen’s crib is particularly sardonic since it alludes to the king’s “good old nature” and the consort’s “amiable” disposition.

The print titled The Ghosts of the Old Kings of Spain appearing to their Degenerate Posterity,\textsuperscript{29} shows four ancient kings of Spain who appear to Charles IV, Queen María Luisa, the Prince of Asturias and Godoy while these cower on the ground. Napoleon is also present and reaches out for the crown, promising to take care of it as he thinks it will fit Brother Joey. The Prince of Peace, Godoy, is represented on his knees while covering his head, unaware that letters confirming his correspondence with Napoleon are falling from his pockets. Charles IV is a pathetically weak figure who is on the ground, without his crown, whining that he is but “. . . a poor miserable Old King.” However, the manner in which the Prince of Asturias is represented seems problematic because it contradicts the image favored in the very near future by the conservative factions, that of the legitimate and beloved Fernando VII, el deseado. In the print, Fernando is on the ground fearing he is about to be stricken by an Ancient Ancestor. Though Fernando points at and accuses Godoy of being the “cause of our disgrace,” his August Ancestor, however, reminds him that he as Prince was/is equally responsible for this shame. Fernando, consequently, is not without fault, without blame, without dishonor. The depiction of this “degenerate posterity” ultimately leaves the viewer wondering: what will happen next? While one of the ancient kings promises vengeance, we can only ask whose vengeance? On whom will it fall? When will it start? In what form will it come? What can the people do? Is all posterity corrupted? If so, is it time for a new form of government?

Finally, I would like to briefly discuss two satirical letters that appear among the varied collections of “papeles patrióticos.” The first letter was penned by Lucifer himself and addressed to Spain (place and date unknown, though one could speculate). The struc-
The Corsican Nurse Soothing the Infants of Spain.

The Ghosts of the Old Kings of Spain Appearing to their Degenerate Posterity
ture of the letter is interesting because it first identifies the addressee, “Españoles que militáis bajo la bandera del Crucificado” thereby establishing factions—those under one banner and those who are not. Following this, it immediately identifies the sender, first by negation, “No os habla ninguno de vuestros generales,” and then by affirmation, “El enemigo eterno de Dios y de vuestras almas es quien os habla.” The body of the letter recounts how after the Resurrection he, Lucifer, focused his diabolical fury against “solos vosotros” by bestowing on his best weapon, Napoleon, the worst and most evil attributes. The letter ends with Lucifer imploring for the return of his most prized possession, his greatest work, his son Napoleon. Some of the questions that seem to remain, however, are: who is “vosotros,” is it all of mankind, or is he signaling out the Spaniards? If this is the case, then it seems to strongly connect with the idea of “Spanish exceptionalism” hinted at by many of the “official narratives.” Therefore, if in fact Spain is destined by heaven (though, as per this letter, it seems that by hell as well) to be a battleground and a bastion for freedom then we must ask, when and where does the battle end; freedom for whom; by whom; and from what?

The second letter, addressed to the Emperor, tackles the “regeneration” of Spain. However, the term is used here ironically since it is not, as one might expect, referring to the regeneration brought about by banishing feudalism or fostering economic growth and spreading Enlightenment. It is, instead, the regeneration of honor, the awakening of a dormant people, the recuperation of courage and determination that had been lost, “... pues, desde mediados de Mayo no es aquel pueblo abatido y cobarde que mandaban los
Borbones, ni el que envilecían los dos últimos Príncipes Austriacos. . . .” By publicly denouncing the monarchs and explicitly holding them accountable for the dishonorable state of affairs, the letter writer may in fact favor severing the link (and obligations) between the people and its vile rulers. Ultimately then, the ambiguity is left to be resolved by the viewer/reader who must decipher which of the multiple unsaid is uttered the loudest.

The final print is by James Gillray, *Tiddy-Doll, The Great French Ginger-Bread-Baker, Drawing Out a New Batch of Kings*. It is interesting to observe that in 1806, two years before the start of the Peninsular War, the caricaturist places among the broken gingerbread figures one that represents Spain. Thus, along with Italy, Holland, Austria and Switzerland, Spain is clearly identified as a satellite kingdom, about to be discarded into the “New French Oven for Imperial Gingerbreads’ ash-hole.” And so we conclude this paper on satire smiling with Gillray’s pun, and pondering whether the satire says what we think it does, and if not, then . . .

Works Cited


Satirical Representations during War of Independence


Notes

1. The terms “ideology” or “ideological” are not used in a derogatory manner that might imply a distorted or false account of “reality.” They serve to identify the “practice of representation whose function is to create a specific kind of reading or viewing subject capable of inserting himself into the social system that is his historically given potential field of public activity” (*The Content of the Form* 86).

2. White acknowledges the 19th century German historian and historiographer Johann Gustav Droysen (1808–1884) as the first to instruct historians on, “how to produce different readings of history so as to engender different kinds of moral perspectives in their readers, but reconciling them with respect to the current social system and its doxa in every case” (*The Content of the Form* 88).

3. The image of a slaughtered but proud people undoubtedly also evokes the memory of Numancia and its legendary twenty-year resistance to the all powerful Roman army. The 1809 text fittingly includes on its cover page the following quote: *SPAIN is not a dead but sleeping Lion.*


5. The natural world was also subject to classifications and standards. It is of particular interest to us to recall that the Linnaean taxonomy ignored the individual while naming the distinctions that are shared by those that form a community. As Richard Nash’s article on animal nomenclature affirms, “anomaly remains anonymous” (*Humans and Other Animals in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* 106). See also: Felicity Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human. Fictions of Anomaly, Race and Gender in the Long Eighteenth Century.*

6. Among the tropes (metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony) utilized by Hayden White I am particularly interested in what he says about the last. Irony, he posits, is the characterization of a phenomenon by negating on the figurative level what is positively affirmed in the literal level. Irony is then negational/ dialectical and self critical and thus provokes second thoughts about things (*Metahistory* 37). However, I agree with Griffin that irony does
not necessarily pose an either/or option, but rather a “not x, but . . .” Equally important to our study is Linda Hutcheon’s work on irony’s edge (1994).

7. What is quite interesting is that both the conservative and liberal factions will attempt to establish the heroic and patriotic “lineage.” Emmanuel Larraz (1974) reminds us that while the conservatives accused the liberals of systematically following in the footsteps of the French revolutionists, the liberals countered the charges by reclaiming the lineage of the Comuneros de Castilla who, in their view, preferred to die for their freedom and ancestral rights before being enslaved.


9. Carlos García Fernández reminds us of the Orwellian premise that he who controls the past controls the present.


12. Uzcanga Meinecke offers an excellent bibliography on satire in Spain, and specifically in the eighteenth century. He uncovers in El Censor, the “good natured satirist” who has “una predisposición benévola, tono moderado y motivación moral” (44). However, El Censor also included satire borne from those who doubted the effectiveness of an attack produced with “una escopetita muy ligera y primorosa,” preferring instead “un trabuco naranjerno con cada bala como una bala de balcón” (200).

13. Dustin Griffin posits that both the conservative and the radical are oriented towards an ideal in the past because while the former wants to conserve the best of traditions, the latter wants to return to the roots to find a purity that has been corrupted (149).

14. The Later Years of Catherine de Medici dedicates a full chapter to the Ligue and includes a satirical catalogue of Madame de Montpensier’s library (361–362). See also: Diana Donald, The Age of Caricature. Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III, and John Alston, English Caricature and Satire on Napoleon I.

15. In regards to Spanish literature, Salvador García Castañeda and Ana María Freire López credit Ramón Valvidares’s Fábulas satíricas, políticas, y morales sobre el actual estado de la Europa of 1811 as the first example of political satire.

16. See Salvador García Castañeda’s “La fábula política española en el siglo XIX.”
17. Perhaps the most notorious of the satirical-political dictionaries of this period are the anonymously published *Diccionario razonado. Manual para inteligencia de ciertos escritores que por equivocación han nacido en España* (1811) and the (1812) rebuttal by Bartolomé José Gallardo *Diccionario Crítico Burlesco del que se titula «Diccionario razonado manual . . . .* María Rodríguez Gutiérrez’s article explores the concepts of “nación” and “patria” in both texts. See also Pedro Álvarez de Miranda’s “Algunos diccionarios burlescos de la primera mitad del siglo XIX (1811–1855).”


19. Jesús Vega’s “Imágenes para un cambio de siglo,” offers a great example of changing images of identity when she explores the image of Spain as portrayed in the English caricatures until 1808. She argues that before 1808 Spain was represented typically by the unflattering figure of Don Diego, an acolyte or satellite of the Emperor. However, after May of that year, that ridiculous figure morphs into a strong and brave image, hence in many occasions after 1808, Spain is identified as a bull (98–99).

20. Ana María Freire López, David T. Gies, Francisco Lafarga and Emmanuel Larraz are among a number of scholars who have explored the political and patriotic plays during the years of the War of Independence. As expected, many of them mock Napoleon, his brother, and their agents. In a number of these plays, the scorn and ridicule reaches high/low and extreme degrees by resorting to scatological punishments. *Napoleón rabiando. Cuasi comedia del día.* By Timoteo Paz y del Rey. (Madrid: 1808) and *La Muerte de Murat. Escena trágica o bien sea semi-unipersonal,* by D.V.M. y M. are two short satirical performances featuring Napoleon and Murat as the hated evildoers. In both cases the authors imagine horrific endings: Napoleon hangs while the people watch and laugh, and Murat falls into an outhouse when running from the Spanish patriots who chase him. The cover page of the first of these theatrical satires explains that: “La escena debería ser en los infiernos; pero por ahora la pondremos en el gabinete del Palacio de Bayona” [“the scene should be in hell, but for now we shall make it in the Palace in Bayona.”] Similarly, María Mercedes Romero Peña has done extensive work on the patriotic and political dialogues, most of them satirical, composed during these years. See also: Phillip G. Dwyer, *Napoleon and Europe,* and Charles Esdaile, “Popular Resistance to the Napoleonic Empire.”

21. Among the numerous exhibitions commemorating the bicentennial of the Spanish War of Independence stands out the one sponsored and organized by the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) titled *Miradas sobre la Guerra de la Independencia.* A large part of the exhibit is devoted to the
politics that led to and surrounded the events of the war. And within this context we can see not only scathing invective against the intruders but also satirical representations that reveal an undeniable political divide within the country stemming from a polarization between the *serviles* and *liberales*. Many of the images exhibited were by Spanish caricaturists who were clearly inspired by their English and French counterparts. See also: Gabriel H. Lovett, *Napoleon and the Birth of Spain*, and John Lawrence Tone, “The Peninsula War.”

22. “Farrago” as a hodgepodge of forms, of digressions, of prose and verse remind us of the original spirit of satire. In Spanish the term is also associated with “desorden” and “confusión”.

23. The Biblioteca Nacional de España has in microfiche form a number of collections of “papeles patrióticos” (call number R/60292). Among them is an “intercepted” letter written in Rome by Leticia, mother of Emperor Napoleon I, Addressed to him and translated from Italian into Spanish. As a distraught mother, she laments the “veil of ignominy” that covers the family because of his behavior. Beside he being “un monstruo,” “cruel” he is also “aborto del Abismo.”

24. The “transitoriness” and temporality are factors that may be of particular relevance to scientific and political implications of whether an organism (cell) or a system (democracy) is “preformed” or subject to alteration, and if so, to what extent can it/should it be manipulated.

25. This particular print belongs to *L’Anti-Napoléon* exhibit presented by the Musée national de Malmaison and the Fondation Napoléon. It can be digitally accessed at: http://serlio.org/fr/hors_serie/caricatures/images/Img031.jpg

26. The topic of mice and cats as natural enemies has been prolifically exploited in fables, cartoons and children’s books, from Aesop to Tom and Jerry. In this case, the reference to “gatos” immediately draws a connection with *madrileños*, that is, the people of Madrid, who are known by that nickname. The synecdochical relation between *madrileño* and Spaniard allows for a symbolic construct of positive qualities that are then highlighted when contrasted against those exhibited by the scattering French and Francophile mice. The fact that they are only “cuatro gatos” (idiomatic expression that refers to “very few”) against a horde of mice also highlights the improbability of success.

27. Hazel Gold brought to my attention the 1992 Pulitzer Prize winner “comic-book” *Maus* by Art Spiegelman. *Maus* tells the moving “survivor’s tale” of the elder Spiegelman’s escape from Nazi Europe by using mice and cats as the characters of the story.
28. All printed images are from the extraordinary Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library collection, and can be digitally accessed at: http://dl.lib.brown.edu/napoleon/. This print was engraved by Thomas Rowlandson and published by Thomas Tegg in 1808.