

Irish clerics in Madrid, 1598-1665*

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[A] variety of nations who assist at this court, who find themselves content there and who think of it as their fatherland, in order to combine well-being, pleasure, happiness, good temperament, honour, benefit and, above all, the miracle of people living together on good terms.¹

These words of the Madrid historian, Gil González Dávila (1570-1658), written in 1623, express an aspiration more than a reality. Certainly when the court was at Madrid from 1561 it necessarily had to receive all those who sought royal favour, among them many Irish, some of whom took up residence in the capital where they lived like other subjects of the king. In this essay the concentration will be primarily on the activities of Irish clerics in Madrid. Attention will focus on those who made a mark by their short-term presence as well as those who stayed permanently with the objective of helping, as much as possible, the Irish community resident in the capital and at the court. The documents used for this study derive from the archives in Simancas, the protocols archive in Madrid, and from the collections of Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, third duke of Alba (1507-82), the Archive Histórico de Loyola, the Real Academia de la Historia and the National Library in Madrid.

When Philip II (1527-98) died in 1598 he left his son with a problem. The Irish nobles Hugh O'Neill (c.1550-1616) and Hugh O'Donnell (d. 1602) were ready to declare themselves vassals of the Spanish king and to recognise the Spanish monarch as the one true king of Ireland, thus rendering the island legally part of the Spanish monarchy. Philip II had benevolently welcomed the Irishmen into the territories of his vast monarchy, and in so doing followed the example of his father, the Emperor Charles V (1550-58) who concluded a treaty with James FitzMaurice Fitzgerald (d. 1529), tenth earl of Desmond, at Dingle in 1529. Philip, however, took relations with the Irish a step further, offering them political and religious support, though he did not give serious consideration to a Spanish invasion of Ireland until 1596, two years after the outbreak of the Nine Years War (1594-1603).

Documentary evidence demonstrates that for a period of almost two centuries the Irish continuously requested economic and military assistance from Spain and that they based those appeals on their alleged common origin with the Spaniards.² It is not true that the Irish invented this notion of common origin in order to suit themselves. Indeed Spaniards had long held the belief that Ireland and Spain were 'sisters' - a point made by St Isidore of Seville in chapter six of his renowned *Etimologías*. The Welsh chronicler and historian of the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, Giraldus de Cambresis (1146-1223), made a similar connection and thanks to the well-known Dublin historian, Richard Stanyhurst (1547-1618) this notion became commonplace. Among the Spaniards who subscribed to and promoted this theory were the sixteenth-century historians Florián de Ocampo, Esteban de Garibay, Juan de Pineda, Antonio de Yepes and Juan de Mariana. All this material was gathered and skilfully summarised by the author of *Relación de la presente persecución de Irlanda*, a propagandist lampoon that appeared in Seville in 1619 and circulated widely.

We have also looked at the individuals of noble extraction who were introduced discreetly to the Spanish court and who, from 1569 onwards, gradually settled in Madrid.³ At the time of Philip II's death in 1598, according to a document delivered to the king, eleven Irish nobles were at the royal court. However, this

* The Irish College in Madrid will be examined in more detail in an article to appear in the proceedings of a conference organised in November 2004 in Salamanca by Dr Declan Downey. I am grateful to Dr Óscar Recio Morales for information about the Irish in the Archivo de Protocolos de Madrid.

¹ Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las grandezas de la villa de Madrid* (Madrid, 1623), p. 14.

² Declan M. Downey, 'Irish-European integration: legacy of Charles V' in Judith Devlin and Howard B. Clarke (eds), *European encounters: essays in memory of Albert Lovett* (Dublin, 2003), pp 97-117.

³ Enrique García Hernán, *Irlanda y el rey Prudente* (2 vols, Madrid, 1999-2003).

figure only partly reflected the real extent of the Irish presence there since many others who were present were not, in fact, identified. Moreover, those nobles also maintained an unspecified number of vassals at court. If we are to believe figures released by the court marshal, there were only two Irish priests and five noblemen, namely James Eustace, Carlos O'Connor, Henry Ryan, Juan Lombart and Patrick Grant, in Madrid at this time.⁴

Philip II had been advised by some Irish bishops, already in Spain, about receiving the Irish who arrived at his court. The Franciscans were the first to convince the king to allow exiles to seek refuge there. Particularly significant in this regard were Francisco Ribera de Toledo (d. 1604), bishop of Leighlin, who established a hospital for the Irish in Amberes; Mateo de Oviedo (d. Dec. 1609/ Jan. 1610), who was bishop-elect of Dublin; Bonaventure Naughten, who was appointed bishop of Ross in 1582 (the latter two were consecrated together by the patriarch, Juan de Ribera); and lastly Cornelius O'Mulrian (d. 1616), bishop of Killaloe. They were joined by priests Nicholas Comerford, Patrick Sinnot, Thomas Fitzgerald, Andrés Stricht and Milano O'Kinay. In fact, in 1590 Philip II had taken an important step towards legitimising and by implication encouraging Irish exiles: he established a fixed allowance of 2,000 ducats to allow an Irish bishop, the head of the exiled community, to assist the most needy. The Irish prelate who liaised most with the Council of War when the allowance became legitimised and who financially supported the Irish émigrés was the Franciscan bishop of Ross, Bonaventure Naughten. In the Guerra Antiqua section in the General Archive of Simancas there are a number of Naughten's memorials. These record the reasons given by Irish suppliants at court for having left his or her country of origin and taken refuge in Spain. It is clear that the royal secretaries, Andrés de Alva and Andrés de Prada, took the opinions of these émigrés seriously.⁵

At this time, the Irish Franciscans established themselves in the San Francisco convent in Madrid, which gave protection to the growing Irish community that took shelter in the city. However, it is clear that some who received assistance were, in fact, individuals of ill repute who were viewed with hostility by contemporaries. A few such cases deserve attention. Dionisio Hogan, who was even recommended for the office of apostolic nuncio, was considered to be 'a man of little importance and minor nobility'. John Lacy had been a monk and was dismissed as an untrustworthy man 'of small significance and little worth'. Roberto Bruno (Brown), a student who had been a friar and son of a deric who had persecuted Catholics, was styled 'of ill omen'. John Latimore had been a footman in Philip II's court but was 'of little worth and low breeding' while another footman, Nicholas Lefte, was likewise said to be of mean character. Research has revealed the existence of information concerning other individuals whose names were omitted from the list of Irish at the court of Philip II on the grounds that they were not considered members of the nobility. These include Peter Porcel (Purcell), a servant of Vasco de Legá, who was termed a 'youth of low quality'. Thomas O'Hurley was said to have deserved to be only a private soldier, without a salary. Richard Conry from the Irish regiment in Flanders was dismissed as 'only fit to keep mules'. Ricardo Folou, a priest, was deemed 'unsuitable for hearing confessions in the navy due to a lack of training in moral theology' while Richard Burke, also a priest, admitted that he was insufficiently trained to hear confessions.

The only exceptional characters were the nobleman Vasco de Legá and David Milan. De Legá, who was styled 'a truly honourable man', had arrived in Spain in 1514. He was married with two children and had gallantly played his part in the Great Armada of 1588. David Milan was employed as apothecary of the royal court. Both earned a mention by Bonaventure Naughten in his memorial addressed to the duke of Alva in 1590.⁶ Of course, within the ranks of the Irish community in Spain there were divisions and tensions and broadly speaking these were reflected in struggles between Old-English and Old-Irish groups from the late sixteenth century onwards.

This was essentially the situation at court at the time of Philip II's death.

Royal officials largely relied on information supplied by Bonaventure Naughten. However, the scene changed radically following the king's death. The new royal favourite, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y de Rojas (1553-1625), duke of Lerma, was unimpressed by the sizeable number of influential Irish at court, largely because they began to form a powerful lobby group but also because their continuous stream of memorials claiming services and payment for their demonstrations of loyalty to the monarchy were placing an unacceptable strain on the Spanish authorities. The secretary of the Council of War, Esteban de Ibarra, requested that Friar Mateo de Oviedo, archbishop-elect of Dublin, devote his energies to finding a solution to

⁴ De los irlandeses que están en Madrid (Archivo General de Simancas (hereinafter AGS), Guerra Antiqua (hereinafter GA), 365, 72).

⁵ Bonaventure Naughten to Alva, Madrid, 12 June 1590 (AGS, GA, 316,17); Doctor Monsalve to Philip II, Ferrol, 12 Sept. 1590 (AGS, GA, 288, 104). When a petition from a cleric arrived, Andrés de Alva requested reports from priests who were already resident in El Ferrol. Richard Burke was a priest who was exiled in 1580 and had settled in El Ferrol, but ten years later he requested that he be sent to the army. Alva sought the opinions of Dr Nicholas Comerford and of the clergyman, Patrick Sinot. See memorial of Richard Burke, 22 June 1590 (AGS, GA 314, 192). See also the letter from the Jesuit, John Houlingus to Aquaviva, Lisbon, 25 Oct. 1597 (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Angl. 31.II, 7°1-703).

⁶ Bonaventure Naughten to Alva, Madrid, 12 June 1590 (AGS, GA, 316, 16).

the ongoing problem of the influx of so many Irish refugees. It was hoped that with the help of Rome and by accommodating the son of the earl of Tyrone, something could be worked out. However, during 1600, de Oviedo was insistent that the duke of Lerma should lend support to the Irish rebels rather than the refugees and Lerma looked favourably on de Oviedo's proposal as a possible solution to the Irish refugee problem.⁷

At court, the Irish were now regarded as problematic for various reasons.

They constituted a troublesome, fissiparous pressure group whose members both individually and collectively caused public order problems, the most notorious being a riotous individual called Maurice Fitzgerald. Furthermore, it was suspected that some might have been spies. Tensions stemmed from the fact that the Irish at court found it difficult to settle in the Spanish realm where the authorities lacked sufficient knowledge of domestic Irish divisions and differences between Irish émigrés at the Spanish court and elsewhere throughout the territories of the Spanish monarchy. Initially, a short-term, apolitical solution to the problem was suggested on the humanitarian grounds that the Irish were Catholic and related to the Spanish. Writing from Ireland prior to the sending of the Kinsale Armada, O'Neill and O'Donnell asked Philip III (1518-1621) to pardon the quarrelsome Maurice Fitzgerald, who had been imprisoned in Lisbon for involvement in a boisterous dispute provoked by the Irish themselves. They also wrote to the duke of Lerma. The Council of War favoured 'acquiescing to the requests' and released Maurice on the condition that he returned to Ireland when the next expedition was ready to sail, in this instance, the fleet destined for Kinsale. This was a paradigmatic example of the Spanish policy that was being formulated: it was hoped that the expedition to Ireland would kill two birds with one stone. The Spanish envisaged using a military intervention in Ireland as a means to launch an attack on England and hoped to resolve the growing problem of Irish émigrés in Spain concomitantly by exporting these unwelcome hangers-on at the Spanish court to this new theatre of war. In this way, these refugees could be legitimately removed from both the court and various locations throughout the Spanish territories where potentially dangerous Irish communities were forming.

This sort of thinking was shared by many of Philip III's officials and ministers, especially in Galicia. As they prepared for the Spanish expedition to Ireland, along with hoping to assist the Irish lords in the Nine Years War, they were mindful of the possibilities the expedition presented for tackling the problem of Irish immigration within their jurisdictions. To ensure the success of the planned Spanish expedition, it was decided that no Irish bishop should remain in Spain. The Spanish authorities believed these prelates contributed to the problem of Irish migration to Spain since they attracted new refugees who were confident of securing employment, mainly in the Spanish army. All prelates were therefore obliged to report to the fleet, in preparation for the descent on Ireland. Moreover, Philip III ordered that all Spanish ports be closed to English and Irish ships whose crew members claimed to be Catholic. Only bearers of safe-conducts from O'Neill, O'Donnell and the Franciscan Mateo de Oviedo, bishop-elect of Dublin, were permitted to enter Spain.⁸ In essence this was a strategy for regulating emigration that involved a purge of Irish hangers-on at court, and consequently, it seemed attractive to many.⁹

Philip III sent second lieutenant Pedro de Sandoval with various dispatches addressed to O'Neill and O'Donnell concerning preparations for the imminent arrival of the Spanish Armada that had been promised since the early stages of the Nine Years War. De Sandoval left La Coruña at the end of July 1599 and following his arrival at Sligo, he spent the entire month of August searching for the earls and doing all he could to deliver the dispatches. Friar Mateo de Oviedo had returned to Ireland with the second lieutenant. De Sandoval drew up a report on the state of the country and sent it to Lerma.¹⁰ The report claimed that the Irish considered themselves Spanish vassals just like those born in Valladolid. They were tired of waiting, unable to contain the English for much longer, and consequently they urged that a Spanish fleet be dispatched immediately. In de Oviedo's view, success could be achieved with 6,000 men. Captain Martín de Cerda was charged with assessing the logistics of staging a military intervention in Ireland.¹¹ He made recommendations about what ought to be done, itemising the reasons why the Spanish king should wage war in Ireland. These reasons were both political and strategic. Spanish intervention in Ireland would, he claimed, ensure trade with America. It would stop pirate activity. Commercial ties with Portugal would be re-established and relations within the

⁷ Esteban de Ibarra to Martín de Idiáquez, Madrid, 4 Nov. 1599 (AGS, E., 184,91-92).

⁸ Andrés de Prada to Esteban de Ibarra, Madrid, 23 Aug. 1600 (AGS, E., 185). It ought to be noted that on 19 April 1600 Henry O'Neill had been sent, along with three other youths, to the court with the promise that an army would enter Ireland within six months of his arrival. Henry O'Neill studied at Salamanca until 1605 and was later appointed colonel of the Irish infantry regiment in Flanders.

⁹ Memoria que se dio al secretario Andrés de Prada, 1600 (AGS, E., 185).

¹⁰ Relación del viaje que V.M. mandó hiciere el alférez Pedro Sandoval al reino de Irlanda con los despachos a los condes O'Neill y O'Donnell (Archivo Histórico de Loyola (hereinafter AHL), Libros de Lerma, Miscelánea 531).

¹¹ Copia de carta de fray Mateo de Oviedo, electo arzobispo de Dublín, para S.M., Donegal, 24 Apr. 1600 (AGS, E., 185).

peninsula would be improved. He predicted that the provinces of Holland and Zealand could not continue to practice piracy and the Spanish would be in a position to exert their authority and suppress disobedience. This brings to mind the celebrated Irish proverb, so disliked by the English: 'qui Angliam vincere vellet ab Hibernia incipere debet'.¹² Significantly, no reference is made to religious motives. Equally interesting is the fact that, notwithstanding the already substantial number of Irish at the court and elsewhere, there is no allusion to Irish refugees in Spain being obliged to join the war effort in Ireland.

Meanwhile, Secretary Andrés de Prada was busy with preparations for the expedition and when these were complete in May 1600, the secretary of the Council of War, Esteban de Ibarra, delivered a report entitled 'Regarding what must be sent to Ireland'. While the military machine finally began to function in favour of the Irish, Philip III continued to receive a steady stream of requests for aid. Those who presented these appeals asserted that Philip II had promised them assistance through his representative, Captain Alonso Cobos, whom he had dispatched in 1596. Philip III knew that in 1599 the Irish had resisted Elizabeth I (1533-1603), and that now they needed weapons, ammunition and soldiers rather than mere words. The Council of State was consulted and finally the king ordered the preparation in La Coruña of a fleet of 20,000 men equipped with 4,000 quintales (1 quintal = 46 kg) of hardtack, weapons and ammunition to be dispatched in 'light ships'. However, financing the expedition proved problematic. The duke of Lerma ordered the marquis of Poza to achieve this 'as quickly as possible'.¹³ Operations began promptly, which is surprising given the prudent manner in which the entire project had been treated previously. The Council of War requested a complete report on military activities in Ireland. Captain Martín de la Cerda reported that it would be possible to enter Ireland through Limerick, Waterford or Cork. There was no need for horses or many provisions. Within Ireland, he believed they could rely on 10,000 confederates, though this turned out to be a grave error on de la Cerda's part. The Spanish force would consist of about 6,000 men.¹⁴ At the time that it was decided to strengthen the forces of the Irish rebels, the Council of England was searching for a way to reach an honourable peace with Spain and this ensured that the disembarkation process was delayed even further.¹⁵

Irish clerics in Madrid initiated a propaganda campaign aimed at ensuring that a large number of Irish would co-operate with the Spanish expedition, thereby encouraging the king's maximum participation. In August 1600 the Council of State had proposed a limited strategy: Spanish ships would simply off-load the infantry and then return home. This was proposed not by the conde de Santa Gadea, but rather by Diego Brochero, Luis Fajardo and Francisco Colonna. Martín de la Cerda was to take 2,000 arquebuses, 150 quintales of gunpowder, 150 quintales of rope, 150 of lead and 20,000 ducats. He would weigh anchor at a port in Vizcaya because the ammunition came from factories in Pamplona and its passage would thus be shorter and safer.¹⁶

The formation, deployment and fate of the ill-fated Hispanic-Irish fleet at Kinsale in 1601-2 have already been sufficiently highlighted elsewhere. It is sufficient here to detail the consequences of the failed Spanish expedition, especially in the Spanish court and among Irish clerics. If in some way Philip III approved the expedition in the hope of addressing two challenges, namely, liberating Ireland and therefore bringing pressure to bear on England and tackling the problem of the high numbers of Irish refugees in his realm, these challenges became even greater in the wake of the failed armada. Ireland was not liberated and the influx of Irish émigrés into Spanish territories increased at an unanticipated rate. This was a policy predicated on contradictions and its negative consequences affected both the Irish at home and their émigré compatriots throughout Spain.

In the early years of the seventeenth century we find numerous petitions written by Irish soldiers who sought compensation for their military service. This initiative, spearheaded by émigré Irish nobles and priests, was a direct consequence of the failed Spanish intervention at Kinsale. To understand the form this initiative took, it is important to remember that the court resided in Valladolid from 1601 until 1606 and consequently those émigrés who fled to Spain following the Kinsale débâcle headed for Valladolid. At the same time, in

¹² Copia del discurso que hizo el capitán don Martín de la Cerda, 1600 (AGS, E., 185). On of the Portuguese participation in the Atlantic policy of Castile, see C. Gailiard, *Le Portugal sous Philippe III d'Espagne: L'action de Diego de Silva y Mendoza* (Grenoble, 1982).

¹³ Andrés de Prada to Esteban de Ibarra, Madrid, 10 May 1600 (AGS, E., 185). The marquis of Poza received an order to pay 600 ducats to the Irishman Ulick Burke by means of 'a once-off payment to help with the costs of returning to his country'. It is possible that Burke was the emissary of the Irish Confederates who requested assistance. There is a similar case involving another Irishman, Diego Femmen. The duke of Lerma asked Esteban de Ibarra to give 400 ducats to help with once-off expenses 'considering what he has suffered and the fortune lost as a result of being Catholic and for having come to the aid of those who are Catholic' (AGS, E., 185, Madrid, 23 Feb. 1600). See Donatus MacMyney Tyrbarry to Philip III, Killybeg's, 1 May 1600 (AGS, E., 185); O'Neill and O'Donnell to Philip III, Donegal, 26 Apr. 1600 (AGS, E., 185).

¹⁴ Preguntas que hizo el capitán don Martín de la Cerda al conde de Tyron y lo que respondió, 1600 (AGS, E 185).

¹⁵ 'Sobre los socorros de Flandes e Irlanda'. 'Que no será de menos consideración para este efecto el amparar a los Católicos de Irlanda, pues con ello se divertirá a la reina de Inglaterra para no poder a ayudar a los rebeldes de Holanda ... El socorro de los Católicos de Irlanda es de la consideración que V. M. pondera para que la reina de Inglaterra no pueda acudir a los rebeldes de Holanda y Zelanda, y así conviene no alzar la mano del apresto y junta de navíos y gente que para esto es menester', el Consejo de Estado, 5 Aug. 1600 (AGS, E., 617, 207).

¹⁶ Sobre los socorros de Flandes e Irlanda, el Consejo de Estado, 5 Aug. 1600 (AGS, E., 617, 207).

Madrid, where the city's population fell dramatically from 60,000 to 35,000, the Irish community practically disappeared. The secretary, Andrés de Prada, who took charge of determining who among the émigrés ought to be assisted, wished to have them removed from the court and redirected towards the Low Countries, thus pursuing a policy begun by Philip II in 1587 with Stanley's Irish regiment. For example, Richard Lon from Galway, began fighting for the Spanish army in Flanders in 1590, before going on to serve in Brittany and with O'Neill in Kinsale. He sought assistance in order to continue in service and receive pay. An Irish gentleman, John Bael who had served in the army in Flanders since 1589 and subsequently fought in O'Neill's infantry, returned to Spain and, having witnessed many difficulties in the court, decided to return to Ireland. However, before doing so, he wished to claim payments in arrears owed to him and some additional expenses, which placed royal officials in an awkward position. Another Irish gentleman, James Bedlo who had fought in Ireland with O'Neill, secured a military post in Flanders and whilst engaged in combat at the siege of Ostend (1601-4) he lost his left hand and therefore sought a sine cure in Spain.

Irish students living in the Spanish territories who had not taken part in the Kinsale expedition also requested financial assistance. In 1604 David Rothe, future bishop of Ossory, prefect of the Irish students at the Irish College in Douai, claimed a promised annuity of 2,000 ducats. Perhaps the most revealing case of all was that of Thomas Strong (d. 1601), bishop of Ossory and auxiliary archbishop of Santiago. In 1599 he explained to Francisco de Idiáquez that he sought compensation for having participated in the most recent armada, alongside Santa Gaeta, in 1596. The conde de Alcaraz and the archbishop of Santiago endorsed the petition. By order of Philip II, Strong had been assisting the Santiago archbishops, Alonso Velázquez and Juan de San Clemente, since 1585. Strong obtained naturalisation papers in the kingdom of Galicia, thereby acquiring Castilian citizenship rights. By securing naturalization papers he could receive part of the archbishop's income, that is, a life-long annual pension of 1,000 ducats. The response from Francisco de Idiáquez was clear and to the point: 'Take what you can get'.¹⁷ Henceforth, Strong's strategy acted as a point of reference not only for the refugees, but also for Spaniards more inclined towards the Irish cause such as the condes de Caracena, Gondomar, Puñonrostro, the army officer, Brochero and the conde de Taurisano.

After Caracena, who was governor of Galicia and who always had Irish confessors, was promoted to president of the Council for Law and Order, he granted 'el hábito militar' to ten Irishmen who had gone into exile from Munster and Connaught. That represented a significant milestone in Spain's religious policy in relation to Irish exiles. Puñonrostro was protector of the Irish from 1604 until 1610, and the disagreeable task of clearing the court of Irish suppliants was entrusted to him. He was later succeeded by the royal councillor, Diego Brochero. The conde de Taurisano, Rodrigo de Castro was also an important figure in determining the treatment afforded Irish émigrés because, from his embassy in Rome, he favoured the Irish cause. In fact, when he decided to become a Benedictine monk, he received holy orders from Bishop Strong, who became the religious leader of the Irish exiles.¹⁸

Between 1602 and 1604 the Council of War was overburdened as a result of the endless problems caused by the Irish. In order to maintain order, the Irish had to be officially classified as the following: 'pensioners, meritorious, common soldiers, indigent, priests and students, wives, widows and maids, to be dealt with according to their case'.¹⁹ Those Irish to whom the king had granted maintenance or benefit and to whom expenses had not been paid were to be included in the report. In the event of their being paid the expenses due to them, they would be encouraged to leave the court. Finally, a secret document listed the names of Irishmen who did not want to serve in the expedition fleet that was to sail from La Coruña, but who were prepared to go to Flanders instead.

We know that an Irish community existed in Madrid in 1600 and that it included ten clerics, among whom the most prominent was the Franciscan university graduate, Robert Chamberlain (1570/1-1636), the son of a gentleman from County Louth. When he completed his studies at the college of Salamanca, he went to Ireland, was ordained a priest in 1599 for the diocese of Armagh, served as chaplain to Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and was one of the most influential clerics in the country until the earl sent him to Spain again.²⁰ In 1603 Chamberlain took part in the expedition led by de la Cerda to Ireland and from there he accompanied O'Neill to England. Six years later he was expelled for publishing an anti-English book in which he declared the 'true crusade'. He went to Madrid to deliver letters from O'Neill to the king and, having spent almost a year there, he wished to return to Ireland. It was said that he exercised considerable influence over Henry O'Neill, the earl's son; the politico-diplomatic nature of his mission did not prevent him from organising several military companies. In 1611 he resumed his studies in Louvain, where he would shine as a celebrated Augustinian

¹⁷ Memoriales, 1600-4 (AGS, E., 1587).

¹⁸ Orden del diaconado (Archivo del duque de Alba, Caja 83, 30)

¹⁹ Los irlandeses que están al presente en esta ciudad van como en la relación pasada divididos en ... (AHL, Libros de Lerma, 578).

²⁰ Monica Henchy, 'The Irish Colleges in Spain' in *Éire-Ireland*, xxiv, no. 1 (spring 1989), pp 11-27.

theologian, becoming co-founder, along with the Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire OFM (Florence Conry) (1561-1629) of St Anthony's.²¹

There were other Irish priests who made their mark too. Dermicio O'Cahan had been very wealthy but lost his en tire fortune during the Nine Years War and Dermicio Lensihan lost his Bearehaven estate after the battle of Kinsale.²² In 1602 Dermicio Dolanus and Gelasio Lurcano received 50 escudos in preparation for a journey to Ireland.²³ Following the battle of Kinsale, Irish clerics based in Spain were in need of greater assistance in order to enable them to return home. It was not merely a matter of money but more importantly a question of establishing a support system. For fifteen years, the point of contact had been one Esteban England from Limerick. He had arrived in Spain when he was just twelve years old. He started out as a servant of Esteban Harald, his uncle and of Antonia de Cortina. He quickly learned to read and write and from an early age 'welcomed and guided' Irish clerics in Spain, facilitating their safe return to Ireland. He risked his life by disembarking these priests before the ships actually entered Irish ports, thereby eluding the attention of the authorities. It was thanks to him that letters from the court addressed to Irish Catholic nobles, who had not emigrated to Spain, survived. His services earned him Spanish citizenship.²⁴

Also worthy of mention is the theologian of gentry stock, the Franciscan Thomas Fitzgerald. When he expressed a wish to return home to preach, he requested money in order to buy a chalice and liturgical vestments. In 1610 he was appointed chaplain to Hugh O'Neill's Irish regiment in Flanders, and he died in prison in 1617. Eugenio O'Brien, who had been chaplain to Hugh O'Donnell, also made his mark. He went to Spain to study, but later, when he signalled his intent to return to Ireland to minister, he experienced considerable hardship.

In the immediate aftermath of the battle of Kinsale the only significant uprising in Ireland was that staged in the north-west of Ulster by Sir Cahir O'Doherty (1587-1608) in 1608. It was suppressed within a few weeks. At that time the most effective source of Spanish assistance was Archbishop Mateo de Oviedo but his death in the Franciscan convent in Valladolid in 1610 extinguished the flickering hope of many Irish émigrés in Spain. Nevertheless, the Irish presence at court continued to grow. Many of those who had sought refuge in Spain after the Nine Years War called for a renewed armed intervention, despite the fact that a few years later they were forced to accept that many Catholics had recognized King James I (1566-1625) as their legitimate sovereign.²⁵

In 1603 effective steps were taken to tackle the problem of the growing number of Irish exiles at the Spanish court and the very presence of the Irish in Spain was attracting new migrants.²⁶ After 1604 an important change was introduced when the king requested the protector of the Irish to rid the court of these refugees. The duke of Lerma tersely issued the order in the following few plain words on a small piece of paper:

His Majesty orders that you calculate for the Council of State the number of Irish within and outside the court and the means to be put in place to remedy this problem and if it were expedient to write to the ports so that they might allow the disembarkation of certain individuals only, and above all, His Majesty wishes for the opinion of the Council.²⁷

Lerma encountered unforeseen problems that complicated his policy towards Ireland. While the court was at Valladolid, the Jesuit nuncio Luigi Manzoni was most vociferous in pressing for new assistance to be dispatched to Ireland. His presence was disturbing as, with the help of the Kilkenny-born Fr James Archer (1550-1620), rector of the Irish College at Salamanca, he did all in his power to strengthen the Irish party at court. However, his efforts failed and he ultimately abandoned the court. It fell to Secretary Prada to inform the duke of Lerma of Manzoni's great displeasure at the manner in which he had been treated while at court. He wrote:

²¹ Relación de algunos particulares que por no tener consecuencia con los demás van a parte (AHL, Libros de Lerma, 592); Declan M. Downey, 'Agostiniani s Scotisti: il contributo irlandese alla teologia della Controriforma nell'Europa continentale' in L. Vaccaro and C.M. Peliizzi (eds), *Storia religiosa dell'Irlanda* (Milan, 2001), pp 159-94.

²² Los irlandeses que están al presente en esta ciudad van como en la relación pasada divididos en ... (AHL, Libros de Lerma, 578).

²³ Ayudas de costa, Valladolid, 27 Oct. 1602 (AGS, E., 195).

²⁴ Consulta, 24 Nov. 1621 (AGS, CC 1116,44); naturalisation, July 1622, 16 Dec. 1622 (AGS, RS).

²⁵ J.J. Silke, 'Hugh O'Neill, the Catholic question and the papacy' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th ser., civ (Aug.-Sept. 1965), pp 65-79; idem, 'Later relations between Primate Peter Lombard and Hugh O'Neill' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 22 (1955), pp 15-30; idem, 'Primate Lombard and James I' in *ibid.*, pp 124-50. It is important to be aware that in 1606 Pedro Lombard requested Castilian naturalization to enable him to receive ecclesiastical income, and it was granted to him so that he could have an income of 400 ducats (AGS, Cámara de Castilla 911,27).

²⁶ Irlanda. Relación de Irlandeses que han venido a esta corte después de tomada resolución en el consejo de Estado de la última que se dio a 27 de julio del pasado [1603] (AHL, Libros de Lerma, 6).

²⁷ Lerma, 25 May 1604, en Palacio (AHL, Libros de Lerma, 6).

Father Archer has given me a small sheet of paper and telling me what it contains and therefore the nuncio of Ireland has told me that he is determined to go because it seems to him that matters in Ireland are not conducive to his obligations to carry out the pope's orders, and here he has not received the respect that his position and ministry require, [as he] has been trying unsuccessfully for many days to talk to Your Excellency and to Pedro Franqueza ...²⁸

One ought to bear in mind that two years earlier, in 1602, Archer had been one of the greatest exponents of armed action in Ireland.

In 1605 Lerma had to confront other problems brought to his attention by Irish émigrés in Spain. Several Irish clerics at court were lobbying to have clear political lines established in respect of staff and students at Irish Colleges in the territories of the Spanish monarchy. Some years previously, Lerma had begun to receive communications criticising the Jesuits' governance of the colleges. The case of Salamanca was especially alarming since some of those students coming from Ulster and Connaught such as Maurice Ultano, a vassal of Hugh O'Donnell, and Edmund Donaldino, a vassal of Hugh O'Neill, were denied entry to the Irish College there in the early 1600s. O'Donnell reacted strongly, proposing that at least half of the students admitted to the college should come from these provinces and stressing that if the admission policy did not change, Thomas White SJ, who had founded the college in 1592, ought to be removed from the office of rector and replaced by a Spaniard. The earl could rely on the support of Florence Conry who pushed ahead with this reform plan.²⁹

When the Irish College at Salamanca was founded, it was the king's intention that it should provide an education for all Irish students, not just those from certain parts of the island. However, for a period of seventeen years the Jesuit rectors had accepted students from Munster and Leinster only. They were, for the most part, of Old-English extraction, like the Jesuits themselves.

Old-Irish students from Connaught and Ulster were refused entry by the Jesuits on the grounds that although they might have been of noble birth, they were allegedly illegitimate, insubordinate, indigent and boorish.

Speaking with reference to the Irish College at Valladolid (established in 1592) in 1604, the conde de Puñonrostro, who was accountable for the Irish exiles in Spain, briefed the Council of State on the condition of the Irish during the previous twenty years. He reported that during this long period they had experienced much hardship and countless disasters. They had been living from the alms they had received and, despite this, had achieved great results. They had trained distinguished prelates, some of whom were even considered martyrs. They had also managed to reap great benefits through their ministry back home in Ireland. Puñonrostro mentioned the great need for competent preachers to be deployed in the areas of Connaught and Ulster. He claimed that in these two provinces, which together comprised half of Ireland, there were only three preachers and four confessors engaged in ministry and these had not studied moral theology. In other words, they were insufficiently trained according to the ideological tenets of the Catholic-Reformation. It is true that Philip III wished to redress this situation. To that end, he made 1,300 ducats available for the cases of absolute necessity and he established for the Irish College an annual grant of 1,200 ducats for thirteen students. But the Jesuits now wished to manage this new college. They approached Don Alvaro de Carvagal and asked that the matter be brought before the Council of State. They wished to absorb the thirteen student grants approved by Philip III into the funds of the college at Salamanca, thus uniting the two colleges under their direction.

Many believed that a merger would further damage the prospects of students from Gaelic regions. The author of a submission on the question forwarded to the Dominican Diego Mardones, who was royal confessor in 1604-6 and also confessor to the duke of Lerma, opposed the proposed merger. He asked him to stand firm and disallow the merger as it would be unfavourable to students from the northern parts of Ireland. He asserted that the advice on this matter given by Anglicised Irish clergy, however pious, was prejudiced and unworthy of serious consideration.

Upon their arrival at Valladolid, this first important group of Irish émigrés was sheltered free of charge in the inn belonging to the generous Maria Alonso. Later, the Irish Dominican friar, Simón del Espíritu Santo,

²⁸ Andrés de Prada to the duke of Lerma, Valladolid, 6 Oct. 1602 (AHL, Libros de Lerma, 6). On the role played by Manzoni see Thomas M. McCoog, 'Jesuit nuncios to Tudor Ireland' in Enrique García Hernán et al. (eds), *Irlanda y la monarquía hispánica: Kinsale, 1601-2001: Guerra, política, exilio y religión* (Madrid, 2002), pp 23-38.

²⁹ Un memorial de la parte del Colegio de Salamanca que ha dado el conde O'Donnell, 22 May 1602 (MS del colegio de Salamanca, in *Ibernia Ignaciana*, ed. Edmund Hogan (Dublin 1880), pp 106-08); Relación particular del reino de Irlanda, Valladolid, 7 Nov. 1605 (AHL, Libros de Lerma, 46, pp 489-502). 'And although the intention of His Majesty was that this college would be to the benefit of this entire kingdom, the opposite occurred ... the Jesuits displayed very little fondness towards the provinces of Connacht and Ulster, and throughout these seventeen years only sons of wealthy merchants and private gentlemen, descendants of the English, were admitted to the College of Salamanca. These were from four or five places in the provinces of Munster and Leinster, where the aforementioned [Jesuit] priests were born, usually excluding all others of that kingdom, and making a thousand excuses to exclude them or that they were illegitimate or disobedient, although there were sons of illustrious and very legitimate gentlemen'.

rented a large residence that he called the 'White House', located beside Zurradores street. He acquired this property thanks to the loans put up by the Dominicans of the convent of San Pablo. It was there that the principal point of reference of the Irish community was established. However, many of those Irish, who were arriving in huge numbers, were ill. Some of these were found outside San Bartolomé hospital, whose administrator, the schoolteacher Pedro Sánchez, undertook to find translators for the Irish, who could only speak Gaelic. Two Irishmen, Malaquíás Lynch and Juan Falveo, were appointed for this purpose.

The problem of Irish immigrants escalated in the summer of 1603, when sixty Irish people had to be ejected from the court. Very soon afterwards, in the month of September, a new shipment of refugees (65 men and 32 women) arrived. The Irish presence posed a real humanitarian problem from October until December 1603. Many of the immigrants who were transported in carts were hungry, ill and, generally speaking, in a lamentable condition. Among the most privileged was the MacWilliam Burke who was gravely ill and on the point of death. He was taken into care at the convent of San Francisco, under the protection of Florence Conry. Burke died on 9 November 1604 and was interred in the convent with appropriate honours. Prior to his death, he had appointed the conde de Puñonrostro as guardian to his ten-year old son, Walter Burke. While the earl was his guardian, Walter was named as the king's page and was granted a knighthood of the Order of Santiago. In 1607, aged just fourteen, he made his will in Madrid.³⁰

Philip III was well aware of the growing problem posed by the continuous influx of Irish into Spanish ports, and consequently requested that Puñonrostro take measures to ensure that they were taken care of and also removed from the court so that they could be set to work for the benefit of the monarchy. Puñonrostro relied on the help of Florence Conry. He managed to obtain significant economic assistance in order to organise the movement and transfer of the exiles.³¹ The record relating to the Irish émigrés in Spain have survived and offer insights into the various sources of financial assistance. These included the king, the Junta (which had been responsible for dealing with the Irish on an ad hoc basis), the ordinary nuncio, the municipal government of Valladolid, the conde de Miranda, the condesa de Miranda and María Gasca, wife of the city's chief magistrate.

Puñonrostro had involved many people in his work, even his butler, Juan de Baños. He was supported in his endeavours by influential people such as the highly respected Segovian judge, Francisco de Contreras, who had been educated at Salamanca. The latter supported schemes aimed at helping the Irish and during his presidency of the Royal Council (1621-6) he showed his dedication to Irish affairs. We find evidence of the Irish receiving significant levels of aid. For example, 1,000 reales were given to the Franciscan friar, Thomas Fitzgerald, 'to buy a chalice and ornaments to say mass and to go to preach the gospel in Ireland'. Money was also provided to help immigrants such as the nobleman Vasco de Lega cover their expenses as they journeyed to join the Irish company in Lisbon.

Thanks to the generous assistance they received, these influential Spanish officials managed to pay all debts arising from care ministered to the Irish. They paid the doctors and nurses who tended the immigrants and they collected enough money to cover the cost of clothes, food, burials (that of the MacWilliam Burke, for example) and to pay the fees of cartwrights and chaplains. In short, all expenses were paid for and a modest sum was allocated to cover each necessity. Puñonrostro appointed a 'constable of the poor Irish' called Pedro Lini. His brief was to maintain order among the Irish. Lini also 'attended to the ill of the aforementioned Casa Blanca and other things that he had been entrusted with regarding the aforementioned poor and infirm Irish'.³²

Those Irish who were in better circumstances were provisionally moved away from the court and sent to a nearby town, Villanubla, and to the hospital in the town of Esgueva.³³ In preparation for this transfer operation, Puñonrostro organised a military company of 176 men under the command of Captain Cornelius O'Driscoll (d. 1622) and commissioner Jerónimo Zorroza. The commanders were to join other Irish immigrants at Lisbon and thereafter all were to proceed to La Coruña.³⁴ The case of widows and maidens, of whom there were 76, was more complicated. Following some reflection, a decision was taken 'that widows and spinsters could be sent to Ireland as they must not go astray in Spain'.

³⁰ Walter Burke (Irish gentleman and page to His Majesty from 14 years of age), Caballero de Santiago, 28 July 1607 (Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid (hereinafter AHPM), Protocolo 2792, ff 1188, 1335).

³¹ Account of Friar Florence Conry on Irish issues, Nov. 1602. He proposes the Galway company (AHL, Libros de Lerma, 6, 511). Account of Captain Diego Blachadel to the duke of Lerma concerning 'the expedition to Ireland ... 1602. Andrés de Prada informs Lerma that, according to the Irish at the college in Lisbon, it relates to a spy (AHL, Libros de Lerma, 6, 596).

³² Papers of Puñonrostro, 1602-04 (AHL, Libros de Lerma, 6).

³³ In January 1605, don Gaspar de Fonseca, court clerk of Valladolid, had to go to the nearby town of Simancas 'to investigate how the Irish entered this court' (Archivo Real Chancillería, *Fondo Valladolid Ayuntamiento*, Serie Secretaría General, lego 287-Caja 8, Expediente 2, Valladolid, 3 Jan. 1605). I am grateful to Dr Óscar Recio Morales for this reference.

³⁴ On the movement of troops see Óscar Recio Morales, *El socorro de Irlanda en 1601 y la contribución del ejército a la integración social de los irlandeses en España* (Madrid, 2002), pp 115-18.

In short, following the failed Spanish expedition to Kinsale and the resultant mass migration of Irish to Spain, Philip II attempted to restore order at court. According to statistics generated by a source close to the Council of State, in November 1604 there were 176 Irishmen and 75 Irishwomen at court. The sum of 5,083 ducats had been allocated to cover the cost of removing them and dispatching them to various other locations. However, when this sum was made available a month later, the number of Irish at court had again increased considerably. Within thirty days their number had grown by almost 100 (65 men and 32 women), and the pressure on the Spanish authorities was becoming unbearable. The duke of Lerma immediately informed the king of the escalating problem posed by the Irish:

Following Your Majesty's approval, in the Council of State on 10 June this year 1604, of the proportion of Irish, a substantially higher number have arrived, so that at present between 250 men and women without counting children can be found in this city.

The king issued an order that, henceforth, the disembarkation of any Irish in Spain was to be impeded. The conde de Puñonrostro suggested a solution which involved Hugh O'Neill's son, Henry conveying those Irish who were at court towards La Coruña and from there to Flanders. The ultimate objective was to increase the number of men serving in O'Neill's Irish regiment and the plan had the added bonus that 'it will, from now on, keep this kingdom free from Irish immigrants'.³⁵

Lerma remained at a distance from all of the Irish immigrants. However, on his return from the court to Madrid, there was another upsurge in the influx of migrants from Ireland. A Franciscan priest, Thomas Fitzgerald (at that time confessor to the Irish in the city and at court) emerged as a pivotal reference point for both Irish and Spanish.³⁶ Meanwhile, Florence Conry, provincial of the Franciscans in Ireland and archbishop of Tuam (who spent time in Madrid from 1610 to 1617 and again from 1626 to 1629) was emerging as the Irishman with the greatest influence over Puñonrostro, Lerma and even Philip III himself. In 1606 Conry sent the king an important petition in which he detailed the 'quality and services of the Irish'. As already noted in relation to the Irish Colleges in Spain, there was significant rivalry between the Irish themselves. In selecting students for admission to the Irish Colleges, the Irish Jesuit rectors of the college at Salamanca, including James Archer, allegedly favoured men from Munster and Leinster whereas Conry, himself a native of Connaught, tended to favour those from his own province and from Ulster. On this point, Archer openly opposed Conry, claiming that because of his encouragement, Conry was attracting Irish people en masse to the Spanish court. Archer alleged

that the Irish will continue to arrive in large numbers at the court and ... will always bother His Majesty and the Council as long as there are those in Valladolid who will secure their interests, and who will act as a clerk and godfather to them such as Friar Florence and others who claim the aforementioned occupation. And the greater part of Irish gentlemen there appear to be of this exact disposition.³⁷

After 1603 every Irish student in Salamanca, except for one, was from Munster. This was partly due to the influence of Archer, who, in spite of his Gaelic origin and remarkable support for Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, favoured the Old-English in relation to admissions to his college. By contrast, Conry was more sympathetic to the Old-Irish.³⁸

After Conry, Friar Guillermo del Espíritu Santo who was predisposed to the Old-English interest, emerged as the primary representative of the Irish at court, though he met with strong opposition.³⁹ The first official Irish court representative had been Conry who served as assistant to Puñonrostro until the latter's death. Friar Guillermo's supporters argued that during that time it had seemed appropriate that the position of assistant to the Spanish protector of the Irish should go to a cleric rather than a layman because, besides trying to meet the spiritual needs of Irish Catholics, Conry had also ministered to those at court,

teaching them the faith, hearing their confessions, taking into account how they baptized their children and how they married, he saw to the needs of these poor Irish captives without meddling in the secular aspirations of those who arrive at this court.

³⁵ Conde de Puñonrostro, Valladolid, 18 Nov. 1604 (AHL, Libros de Lerma, 6).

³⁶ Report, 30 Nov. 1606 (AGS, E., 1746).

³⁷ Opinion of Father Archer (AGS, E., 843, 120).

³⁸ Archer arrived at the court in 1593, having acted as rector of the Irish college in Salamanca for a year. In 1596 he went to Ireland to launch the Irish mission, but he was forced to take refuge in Ulster under the protection of O'Neill. He was chaplain to O'Neill and his representative in the south of Ireland for four years. See T.J. Morrissey, *James Archer of Kilkenny, an Elizabethan Jesuit: first rector of the Irish College at Salamanca (1593-1606)* (Dublin, 1979).

³⁹ 'Reasons why Father Guillermo de Espíritu Santo should not be excluded from the action of representative of his nation in this court'. Dorso: Tocante a fray Guillermo del S.S. Francisco y Juan Despuche' (AHL, Libros de Lerma, 6, 503).

They pointed out that the Irish agent 'Iiso provided the Spanish protector with information on his countrymen. In this sense, they went on, it was convenient that Friar Guillermo be appointed ahead of a layman. The fact that he did not know any Irish was not an impediment they said, because in reality, 'there was nobody in Ireland who could not speak the English language ... ' His supporters insisted that it was not inappropriate for someone of Old-English stock to fulfil this function. Their argument was essentially based on the assumption that the Old-English were the best Catholics because they were the best educated. Now, they were suffering persecution by the English for their part in the Kinsale affair and they were favourable towards the Jesuits. They explained:

It is also worth mentioning and it ought to be said that the aforementioned Old-English, who were so persecuted as a result of their faith and consequently extremely angry with the crown and the English nation, are 'Iiso ver y well-disposed towards the services of His [Spanish]

Majesty, and it appears most appropriate that this royal agent be from the aforementioned Old-English as he would be in a position to maintain his compatriots in their loyalty to the Spanish king. Of the Old Irish, on the other hand, few of them remained in Ireland having been tyrannically dispossessed by the English. Above all, it was apt that such an agent be a regular, because in this way the Irish Catholics were more likely to trust him, and in this way they would not be hesitant in cooperating with the Spanish, something that they would not have done by the persuasion of a layman. Nor would they have been persuaded to trust a lay person in such dealings given the great danger that comes with it. The disillusionment of the Irish was an important consideration. It was to be observed that of the one thousand plus ecclesiastics in this kingdom, between monks of every Order and secular priests, not even one hundred of them live among the Old-Irish, nor were they living at their expense, because they lodged in Old-English gentlemen's houses or in merchants' households in the cities. And the Jesuit provincial, Christopher Holywood, along with others Jesuits stays in the baron of Trimbleston's (Barnewall) house, who was a brother-in-law of the aforementioned friar Guillermo del Espíritu Santo, through marriage to his older sister, as all the Irish Jesuits in Spain will acknowledge.⁴⁰

Friar Guillermo del Espíritu Santo's supporters also claimed that the Irishman who best defended the Irish Catholic cause in the English parliament was William Talbot, a close relative of Friar Guillermo. He was condemned to one year in jail and forced to pay a fine of 40,000 ducats. Further, it was asserted that the secretary of Diego de Sarmiento de Acuña, Agustín Pérez, a priest, supported the Irish in London. Pérez said that

some of these Irish gentlemen went several times to the aforementioned ambassador's house, and once the baron of Delvin (Nugent) along with another seven Irish gentlemen, pretended that he was going to hear mass and there they ate and showed their love of the Spanish nation and desired to see themselves as His Majesty's subjects instead of English subjects.

In 1610 the king was once again obliged to issue an order that the court at Madrid be cleared of Irish hangers-on.⁴¹ Between 1610 and 1611, five Irish clerics are known to have requested assistance from the king. These included the Capuchin Diego Esquildi, who received 200 escudos to help defray the cost of his return to Ireland and Francisco Veay, who had been the teacher of Walter Burke, son of the late Marquis MacWilliam Burke, and who had previously been abbot of Cong (Elphin), in Ireland. Two other priests, Raymond Nuley and Guillermo Dulex, also received assistance. Dulex was granted 100 escudos towards his travel expenses. In light of the fact that there were, at this time, ten Irish Colleges within the realm of the Spanish monarchy, the number of Irish clerics in receipt of assistance from the king is rather insignificant.

By the end of the opening decade of the seventeenth century, the Irish clergy concentrated around Madrid constituted an important pressure group. They were no longer mere war refugees but included students, traders, artisans and noblemen and some were destined for the army. They did not manage to found a college, possibly because Lerma did not want to establish a permanent focus for the Irish in Madrid or perhaps because of divisions among themselves. When the court returned to Madrid, Eugenio MacCarthy was confessor to the Irish nation.

It is significant that towards 1604 the Irish trader Diego Fleming requested that he be buried in the convent of San Francisco el Grande, the madrileño Franciscan church around which the Irish had settled. It was there that all the Irish Franciscan bishops, including Bonaventure Naughten and Cornelius O'Mulrian, had also resided. Another trader, Dionisio MacCarthy, who was married to Elena Barry, likewise requested that he be interred there in 1617. His confessor was the aforementioned Irish Franciscan priest Francis Veay, the 30-year-old former abbot of Congo. His signature also appears on Raymond Burke's will. Burke was also baron of

⁴⁰ Christopher Holywood lived in Ireland from 1604 until 1626. The number of Jesuits grew from seven to 43, and a total of nine Irish (until 1620) joined the Company outside Ireland. These Jesuits worked in Munster and Leinster, where they were supported by their families. Holywood's successor was Robert Nugent.

⁴¹ The Council of State, Madrid, 9 Jan. 1610 (AGS, E., 2745).

Leitrim and earl of Clanricard in July 1619.⁴² Later in the century, the O'Neills were interred beside the high altar of the convent of San Francisco el Grande. The earl of Tyrone, artillery general in Mallorca, who was born in Brussels, requested in his will that he be buried in San Francisco el Grande, where the previous earl (his cousin Hugh Eugenio O'Neill who had recently died) had been laid to rest. This decision was probably influenced by his confessor, Patrick Duffy. Significantly, at this stage, the O'Neill heir was Hugh O'Neill, resident in the Jesuit college in Rome, where he studied. He was the son of Henry O'Neill and Leonor Fitzgerald and a grandson of General Eoin O'Neill.⁴³

The Irish Cistercians also began to grow in importance during this period. The sixteenth-century suppressions had been devastating for them. At the beginning of the seventeenth century perhaps the only functioning abbey was Holy Cross in Tipperary. Exiled Irish Cistercians were received by their brethren in the Castilian congregation of the Order. In 1587 Richard, abbot of Holy Cross, had arrived at the court of Philip II and from that point onwards was in Spanish service and a royal pensioner. Abbot Richard's arrival at court marked the beginnings of an Irish Cistercian apostolate in Spain.⁴⁴ The Cistercian Crisóstomo Henríquez (1594-1632), who was born in Madrid and died in Louvain, was appointed commissioner of the Congregation of the Irish Cistercians in Spain in 1622, and his responsibilities included writing a history of the Order. In 1619 he had published a paper in Madrid on celebrated Irish Cistercians including William Furlong.⁴⁵ In 1626 he also published in Brussels the *Phoenix Reviviscens sive Ordinis Cisterciensis scriptorum Angliae et Hispaniae series libri II* which he dedicated to the conde de Gondomar. Some years later, another cleric from Madrid, the famous Juan de Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606-82), was appointed vicar-general of Ireland. Meanwhile, back in Ireland, Mellifont Abbey in County Louth was revived in 1623 and five years later, Juan O'Dea, a monk in Salamanca, was appointed abbot of Corcomroe (Petra Fértiles) in County Clare. The Cistercian friar Bernardo O'Cullenon was another outstanding Cistercian member of the Spanish court. In 1617 his signature appears as a witness to several testaments.⁴⁶

The year 1612 was especially important for the Irish community in Seville because in that year Theobald Stapleton founded the Irish College there. Later, in 1629, an Irish College was established at Madrid. The Irish community in Madrid was strengthened with the arrival of both secular and regular clergy. The most significant Dominican was William Talbot (b. c. 1580), who was appointed deputy of the Order at the Spanish court in 1613. Two years later, the first Irish Dominican house was founded in Lisbon, another was established in 1624 at Louvain, while the Irish house in Madrid was finally founded in 1667. The next deputy in Madrid was the no less celebrated William Fitzgerald. The Irish Dominicans continued to settle in the convent of Nuestra Señora de Atocha in Madrid. The friars arrived with the intention of being trained prior to returning to Ireland. From 1613 there were two Dominican centres in Madrid, Las Vistillas and Atocha, to the south of the city. One of the most important Dominicans was Raymond Burke. Having initially settled as a soldier in Lisbon, Burke then decided to become a Dominican in the convent of San Ildefonso in the province of Old Castile. However, before he realised his objective, he died suddenly in Madrid.⁴⁷ The Dominican nun Leonor O'Sullivan, the only heiress to Dermecio O'Sullivan and Juana Suyne, was also a remarkable character. Some Irish Dominican women lived in the countess of Berehaven's house on Oso street in Madrid. Members of the MacCarthy and O'Sullivan families stayed with the countess. Other Irish women, such as Elena MacCarthy, were also living in this street.⁴⁸

The ethnic differences, which so disrupted the early years of the Irish College in Salamanca, proved durable. According to the author of 'Breve relación de Irlanda y de las diferencias de irlandeses', which was addressed to a grandee at the Spanish court around 1607, these divisions had become so well known to the Spanish that they influenced policy regarding the colleges, the military and the Irish communities, clerical and lay, in Madrid and elsewhere.⁴⁹ The author talks of 'three generations of Irish': the Old-Irish, the Old-English

⁴² Authority granted by Dionisio Carti, Madrid, 26 Mar. 1617 (AHPM, Tomo 24769, f 71); Raimundo de Burgo, Madrid, 21 July 1619 (AHPM, Protocolo 5152, ff 786-97).

⁴³ Hugo O'Neill, Madrid, 9 Nov. 1660 (AHPM, Protocolo 7602, ff 350-53).

⁴⁴ The Council of State to His Majesty, Valladolid, 10 Dec. 1605 (AGS, E., 2742). The abbot of Santa Cruz in the diocese of Cashel belonged to the earls of Ormond. Abbot Bernard Foley was chosen in 1602, in 1618 he became the general novitiate of Irish Cistercians under Luke Archer.

⁴⁵ Fr Crisóstomo Henríquez, *Relatio illustrium vivorum, quos ordo cisterciensis habuit Hibernia nostro aevo* (Madrid, 1610). He was also author of *Thesaurus evangelicum*, the *Fasciculi sanctorum ordinis Cisterciensis* (2 vols, Brussels, 1623), and *Menologium Cisterciense* (Amberes, 1630). The 40 martyrs of Santa Maria de Maggio in Limrick get a special mention. See Nicolás Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispana Nova* (Rome, 1783). William Furlong, alias Cándido de San Bernardo, wore the Cistercian habit at the monastery of Nuestra Señora de Nogales in 1597. In 1608 he returned to Ireland and was martyred in Wexford in 1616 at the age of 39. This biography is inserted in the copy of BNM 3/19464 of the Cistercian Francisco de Biyar (1584-1635), *Historias admirables de las más ilustres entre las menos conocidas santas que hay en el cielo* (Valladolid, 1618).

⁴⁶ Juan Maxsihi, 29 July 1617 (AHPM, Tomo 24769, f. 94).

⁴⁷ AHPM, Protocolo 5152, ff 786-97, Madrid, 21 June 1619.

⁴⁸ AHPM, Protocolo 5964, ff 38, 40, Madrid, 1637.

⁴⁹ Brief account of Ireland and the differences among the Irish (Real Academia de la Historia (hereinafter RAH), N 11, 163-6).

and a third, mixed group. According to this commentator, the Irish maintained their differences not just in Ireland but also on the Continent. He claimed the differences are 'with them always', regardless of their origin and profession. However, he also pointed out occasions when particular considerations led those of the Old-Irish or Old-English backgrounds to follow courses of action at variance with their ethnic origins. For example, he cited the case of the Old-English soldier, Captain Walter de Hold, who fought against the English and in favour of Philip III in Flanders and the Old-Irish earl of Thomond, who had assisted the English.

This report was directed at the royal ministers with a view to making them aware 'that the Irish could be of use in accordance with the opportunities offered to them'. The document went on to list clergy in all three classes. Interestingly, Mateo de Oviedo, archbishop of Dublin, was included under the Old-Irish category, indicating that the author understood the designation with reference to political attitudes and policy preferences, rather than ethnic origins. Mentioned also under this heading were Friar Francisco Colman, who had been provincial of the Franciscans, Friar Donald Moneo, Friar Roche de la Cruz, vicar-general of the Dominicans, Friar Ricardo de la Peña, another Dominican, described as a prisoner in Ireland. The report mentioned that the Dominican friar, Vincent Hogan, was preaching in Ireland while Friar Juan de la Cruz, also a Dominican, was in the convent in Lisbon. Their confrere, Bernardo O'Brien, was in the convent of Nuestra Señora de Atocha in Madrid. Hugo Cavello was described as a reader of theology in Louvain, Cornelio de la Roche SJ was principal of the Irish College in Lisbon, Juan Bautista SJ had been a reader in the college in Lisbon, and Cornelio O'Driscoll, a Benedictine, was preparing to return to Ireland to preach.

The list of Old-English clerics was more detailed. It featured Peter Lombard (*c. 1554-1625*), archbishop of Armagh who was in Rome at this time; Thomas Vaseo, a priest of San Juan, who gave shelter to the needy, and who was in Ireland; Paulo Pager, vicar-general of the Order of San Bernardo; Luke Wadding (1588- 1657), the well-known Franciscan and deputy minister-general of the Order, who was based in Rome; Thomas White SJ, principal of the Irish College at Salamanca; Richard Conway SJ (1573-1626), principal of the Irish College in Santiago de Compostela; Christopher Holywood, superior of the Jesuits in Ireland, who is styled 'purely Old-English'; Andrés Vis, a priest of San Juan and rector from England who had been delayed in Naples, was similarly described as 'very Old-English'. Referring to the Jesuits, it was noted that all of the Old-Irish who entered the Order became

anglicised, and complying with their superiors not only with the rules of religion, but also with regard to their way of living, endeavouring to comply with the times and to win the goodwill of those who are most competent.

According to the document there were only four 'mixed Irish' clerics, namely Domingo Nugent, a Dominican who was at San Esteban in Salamanca; Roberto Nugent SJ, who was in Ireland, Roberto's brother, Nicholas, also a Jesuit, who was imprisoned in Ireland and the Franciscan, Cristóbal Nugent, who was in Ireland. The report ends with the observation that there were two Irishmen who defied all categorisation: David Kearney (d. 1624), archbishop of Cashel and James Archer SJ, who had served as the first chaplain to the Irish regiment in 1581:

We are unable to categorise David Kearney, archbishop of Cashel and Father Diego Archero SJ. Kearney importuned the King for an annual pension of 1,000 ducats. His father was Old-Irish but, in spite of this, because he had some Old-English blood and was a canon lawyer rather than a theologian, he was influenced by the Jesuits, some of whom were his relations. Thus he was Old-English in character. Father Diego Archero, on the other hand, even though he was *from* Old-English stock, by nature was inclined towards the Spaniards and the Spanish crown and actually assisted the Old-Irish in the recent wars.

We have documentary evidence that David Kearney, archbishop of Cashel, was at court between 1619 and 1622. In 1619 he sent a letter from Madrid to the Spanish ambassador to the English court, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar (1567-1626), informing him of the situation of Irish émigrés and in 1622 his signature appeared in the Archivo de Protocolos de Madrid when he made a donation to a nephew of his who was resident at court. Kearney enjoyed a lifelong income from the bishopric of Cádiz.⁵⁰

Between 1614 and 1621 there were no significant changes in relations between the Spanish monarchy and Irish clerics who continued to seek assistance for travel expenses, letters of recommendation and subsistence. The Dominicans were especially prompt in requesting aid. Juan Fox, for example, received 100 escudos as a viático in 1617. The following year Pedro de San Pedro obtained a viaticum for eight Irish Dominicans at the convent of Atocha. In 1619 Ricardo Caron, the appointed representative of the Dominicans in Madrid, received 100 escudos as a viático. In 1623 the Irish Dominican, Antonio de Santa María, arrived at court. Whilst en route to Spain in 1615, he had been taken captive in Morocco and was detained for eight years,

⁵⁰ David O'Kearney to Sarmiento, Madrid, 20 Mar. 1619 (RAH, A 86, 49).

though he practised his ministry by preaching to Spaniards. Now, like others who presented themselves at court, he sought assistance.⁵¹

The Dominicans were not alone. A year later, we note the petition of Bernardo O'Cullenan, who was a member of the Order of San Bernardo, and abbot of Boyle in Ireland.⁵² In 1619 Pablo Ragete, abbot of Saint Mary's in Dublin, sought assistance. In 1621 Abbot Thomas McMoris went to the court with the aim of obtaining a letter of recommendation in order to go to Rome.⁵³ Daniel Clanes, a university graduate, found himself in a similar situation and sought assistance to be ordained priest in Rome.⁵⁴ Friar Nicolás de San Patricio, an Augustinian and provincial of Ireland, was in a better position. He was created apostolic vicar of the diocese of Elphin on 29 August 1620, his predecessor, Raymond Galvan, having been assassinated. Evidence featured in a letter of recommendation to help Esteban England (an Irish resident in Bilbao) obtain citizenship indicates that Friar Nicolás de San Patricio had as much authority in Hiberno-Spanish affairs as Bernardo O'Cullenan, Florence Conry and Dermicio O'Sullivan. This is also borne out by four signed letters delivered at Madrid.⁵⁵

Some Irish clerics came to Madrid via France, Rome and Portugal. The majority who went to court had no intention of settling in the city. Rather they travelled to Madrid to request the king's assistance in returning to Ireland, gaining admission to a college or going on to Rome. They included both secular and regular clergy. Abbots such as Cornelio O'Driscoll, who settled in Santiago, the Cistercian O'Cullenan, perpetual abbot of Boyle and Ricardo, abbot of Holy Cross, were also in attendance. In fact, Ricardo had been maintained by the king since 1587⁵⁶ and O'Driscoll was at court in 1612. One of the most influential priests of this period was Eugenio MacCarthy (b. 1577). In 1617 his name appeared as 'confessor of the Irish nation'; in 1619 he was witness to the testament of Elena O'Sullivan, countess of Berehaven. At that time he was resident in Madrid. In 1623, in another legal document pertaining to the countess, he is styled the 'abbot of Fermoy' and in 1637 he was witness to the will of Leonor O'Sullivan. He later practised his ministry in the church of Nuestra Señora de la Inclusa.⁵⁷ Given his reputation, it is hardly surprising that a number of his contemporaries, such as Juan Maxsihi, nominated Eugenio MacCarthy as their heir.⁵⁸ More generally, arguably the most important Irish cleric of this period was Barnaby O'Kearney SJ (1567-1640), chaplain to the Council of Flanders. One of his two duties was to act as a mediator between the Treasury and the Irish to whom the crown owed money. O'Kearney was therefore a pivotal figure in assisting Irish émigrés attempting to recover their debts.⁵⁹

Some Irish seculars were sheltered in royal hospitals like the 'La Latina' and the 'General'. Franciscans were accommodated at the convent of San Francisco el Grande, the Dominicans at the convent of Nuestra Señora de Atocha, the Jesuits at the 'casa profesa' and others were put up in private houses. Some Irish women were lodged in the 'Pasión' hostel. By the 1620s few remained at court due to a royal prohibition, except, of course, the Irish intermediary, who oversaw payment to Irish pensioners and the various appointed representatives of the religious Orders. This explains the silence of the Madrid historians, such as Gil González Dávila (1623) and Jerónimo de Quintana (1629), on the subject of the Irish presence at court. By contrast, both historians mentioned the presence of the English and specifically their foundation of the college of San Jorge.

Between 1625 and 1627 there was controversy over the appointment of a new intermediary to dispense the 2,000 escudos fund set up to support Irish bishops resident in Spain. Thomas Walsh from Waterford claimed the position, though David Kearney, archbishop of Cashel, had already been appointed in 1625, the year in which he died. Walsh succeeded Kearney in the archdiocese in 1626 and a year later he was appointed as administrator of this fund, earmarked for the Irish.⁶⁰ The case of Hugh O'Connor, who was refused

⁵¹ The Council of State, Madrid, 8 Nov. 1623 (AGS, E., 2752).

⁵² AGS, CJH, 568, 13-80, San Lorenzo, 1 Nov. 1620. It should be recalled that the previous abbot, Gelasio O'Cullenan, had been hanged in Dublin in 1584.

⁵³ Archivo Segreto Vaticano (hereinafter ASV), Nunz. Spagna, 342, 15, Rome, 6 Mar. 1621.

⁵⁴ The Council of State, 18 May 1621 (AGS, E., 2751, s.f.).

⁵⁵ Testimonial de Friar Nicolás de San Patricio, 12 May 1621; Testimonial of Florence Conry, Madrid, 19 Apr. 1618; Testimonial of Dermicio O'Sullivan, Madrid, 9 May 1621; Testimonial of Bernardo O'Cullenan, 12 May 1621 (AGS, CC 1116,44).

⁵⁶ The Council of State, Valladolid, 10 Dec. 1605 (AGS, E., 2742).

⁵⁷ AHPM, Protocolo 5226, f. 262, Madrid, 18 June 1619; AHPM, Protocolo 5065, Madrid, 14 June 1623; AHPM, Protocolo 5964, f. 38, Madrid, 5 Jan. 1637.

⁵⁸ AHPM, Tomo 24769, f. 94, Madrid, 19 July 1617.

⁵⁹ AHPM Tomo 8870, ff 233-4, Madrid, 7 Sept. 1659; AHPM, Tomo 8869, f. 549, Madrid, 24 Sept. 1656. Barnaby O'Kearney was confessor to Diego Mejía, first marquis of Leganés, a state advisor who was deeply involved in Irish affairs in the 1640s. Mejía experienced a relative loss of favour in 1643 following his command of the Catalunya company. He was a close ally of Olivares (1587-1645), who looked upon Mejía as his son. J.H. Elliott, *The count-duce of Olivares: the statesman in age of decline* (New Haven & London, 1986) p. 699

⁶⁰ The Council of State, Madrid, 4 Feb. 1625 (AGS, E., 2753); the Council of State, Madrid, 30 Mar. 1621 (AGS, E., 2154).

admission to the colleges network on the grounds of his alleged poverty and ignorance of Latin, illustrates how dominant Old English prejudice remained at court.⁶¹

Between 1627 and 1629 a large number of Irish clergy appear in Spanish records. Some seem to have settled permanently in Madrid but the majority visited the city merely to obtain the viaticum. Hence we find Robert Lacy OFM, Diego Baronio and Dionisio de Santa Cruz OP who received 100 escudos each. The Dominicans Daniel O'Daly, Mauricio de Santa Cruz and Pedro Mártir were also granted financial assistance. The most significant aid was given to María Jesús O'Brien and Juana O'Brien who received substantial endowments in order to enter the Monasterio Cisterciense de las Comendadoras de Calatrava in Madrid. Juana Geraldina obtained the same endowment to enable her to enter the abbey of Las Huelgas de Burgos. It should be remembered that the first chaplain of the Cistercians at Calatrava de Madrid was Juan Conway. In 1623 the monks moved from Almonacid de Zorita (Guadalajara) to Madrid, settling first in the convent of Santa Isabel and later in houses at the end of Atocha Street. At the end of the seventeenth century they moved to Alcalá Street.

From 1606 onwards, when the Irish returned from their sojourns at court to Valladolid, they tended to settle near the hermitage of San Joaquín y Santa Ana, in the Plazuela de los Afligidos. They also occupied the neighbouring convent of San Francisco el Grande in the Humilladero de San Francisco. In 1629 Theobald Stapleton (1589-1647), from Cashel diocese, founded the Irish College in Madrid. It was part of a complex of buildings, which included a church and a hospital, at the end of Humilladero Street that led on to the Calle Toledo, the 'Irish street'. In 1635 the complex was expanded thanks to the donation of a house on Toledo Street, which had belonged to a diocesan priest, Demetrio O'Brien. In that year the constitutions, rules and regulations for the Irish College were approved by the cardinal of Toledo, don Fernando of Austria.⁶² It is certain that the first rector of the college, in this new period in 1635, was the diocesan priest, Dionisio Arthur.⁶³

In its early years the Irish College in Madrid experienced mixed fortunes.

In 1656, the rector of the college, Father Dionisio Arthur, signed contracts for the construction of an organ for the college with the organ maker, Riguet Puche.⁶⁴ Thanks to donations, the college continued to expand. Ana María Burke left money to St Patrick's College in 1657.⁶⁵ In 1655 David Conway left his possession to Fathers Enrique O'Cullenan and James Duleo, and the rector of the college, Dionisio Arthur, and Juan Deario and Daniel Kennedy, priests resident in the college, were witnesses of his testament.⁶⁶ The priests who lived in the college spoke Gaelic and some such as Juan de Alzurrio worked as interpreters. When the Irish clerics resident in St Patrick's College fell ill, they were cared for in the nearby hospital, La Latina.

In 1656 a letter published at Madrid contained the signatures of Irish Franciscan provincials Henry Melano, Bernard Coneo and Thomas MacKiernan. It had been written on 22 June 1656 in the mountains of Ulster and was addressed to the general of the Franciscan Order. They declared that at that particular time, there were more than 100 Franciscans who were in danger and in need of financial assistance. The following year, a printed pamphlet featuring the recently issued Cromwellian orders against Irish Catholics, appeared. New apostolic opportunities did not materialise, however, until the Restoration of Charles II (1630-85) in 1660. In 1674 the Jesuit proctor of the Irish mission at the court, Jerónimo Sutiman, published the *Súplica que hace a los piadosos a favor de la misión de la Compañía de Jesús en Irlanda* in Madrid. He claimed that the Irish Jesuit mission was now reduced to a mere thirty-five priests, and, as a result, the mission was in danger of collapsing. The proctor requested assistance in order to fund the upkeep of the college at Madrid. He could count on the backing of Irish residents at court, many of whom made provision in their last wills for the continuation of the Irish mission.⁶⁷

For the half century or so following Pope Pius V's excommunication of Elizabeth I in 1570, a significant Irish clerical community existed in Madrid. Initially a refuge for Irish bishops nominated through Spanish and especially Spanish Franciscan influence, its very success in gaining and distributing royal grants gradually came to constitute a new problem for the Spanish authorities as Irish petitioners, suppliants and opportunists piled up in the antechambers and corridors of the court. While the Spanish were anxious to prevent the uncontrolled growth of this fledgling Irish community, it also realised the political, diplomatic and cultural advantages the administration could reap from its proper administration and manipulation. Repeated attempts to control and divert the flow of Irish migrants in the 1600s propelled several Irish clerics to political

⁶¹ AGS, E., 2153, Madrid, II Dec. 1626.

⁶² José Montera Alonso, *Recuerdos Irlandeses en Madrid* (Madrid, 1992); Pedro de Répide, *Las calles de Madrid* (Madrid, 1995).

⁶³ AHPM, Protocolo 3432, f. 709, Madrid, 29 Jan. 1636.

⁶⁴ AHPM, Tomo 6896, Madrid, 29 Jan. 1656.

⁶⁵ AHPM, Tomo 8869, ff 668-71, Madrid, 22 Nov. 1657.

⁶⁶ AHPM, Tomo 6896, ff 114-16, Madrid, 12 June 1655.

⁶⁷ AHPM, Codicilo, Tomo 10651, f. 311, Madrid, 2 Mar. 1677.

attention, including Thomas Strong, bishop of Ossory, Thomas White SJ, founder of the Salamanca college, James Archer SJ, Florence Conry OFM and others. As they engaged in the struggle to influence the court's attitude towards the Irish, they betrayed the persistence and tenacity of ethnic and cultural differences which had already compromised the success the CounterReform mission in Ireland. Despite its military support for the northern earls in the early 1600s, the long-term evolution of Spanish strategy led them to favour the loyalist Old-English tendency among the Irish *madrileño* community. The networks of contacts that joined this deeply divided Irish community with its counterparts in other Spanish cities and abroad await scholarly attention.