Irish émigré group strategies of survivaL adaptation and integration in seventeenthand eighteenth-century Spain

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The study of foreign communities within the realm of the Spanish monarchy has to date received little scholarly attention in the work of Spanish historians. The realm's multi-ethnic composition is reflected in the thousands of Flemish, German, Italian and Irish men who not only served as the bulk of the Spanish multinational army in Europe but also reached the highest positions both in the army and the administration. Despite their number, however, we know relatively little about these 'foreigners' - the 'pull' and 'push' factor s that shaped their migration, their identities as a group (a 'nación', to use the Spanish term), their capacity to exert influence at court, or the extent of their integration into Spanish society. In fact, until recently, the Irish presence in Spain tended to be viewed in a vague, somewhat romanticized fashion, with little precise information on real numbers of migrants or their impact on their host society. Irish migration was interpreted almost exclusively in terms of religious turmoil in Ireland, the migrants being viewed as victims of religious persecution who were driven to take refuge in Catholic Spain. According to this line of intepretation, the Spanish court had a duty to lend assistance to 'our poor brothers from the North', while the Irish exile was merely a passive recipient in the relationship.[1] It seemed as if 'tragic', 'catastrophic', 'unhappy' Irish history had been transferred to Spain according to the commentaries published by Spanish historians, Centralists and Nationalists alike.[2]

New research is changing these inherited interpretations. Today, research on the Irish in Spain is one of the most innovative fields of inquiry in the new Spanish historiography dealing with foreign communities.[3] The simplistic paradigm of the Irish exile appealing to a Spanish monarchy that accepted its obligation to protect the immigrants as a religious duty has already been superseded by a broader interpretative framework of complex and overlapping relationships between the Irish community and the Spanish authorities. This essay offers a range of new approaches to the study of the Irish presence in Spain. It explores how this en tire complex community - those employed in the army, in the administration, in trade, in the colleges - survived in a country that was apparently very different to their own and investigates the various mechanisms and strategies they used to integrate themselves in the host society. Attention will also focus on the ways in which these strategies (including the adoption of multiple identities) later facilitated the adaptation and integration of Irish émigrés under both the Habsburg and Bourbon Spanish dynasties. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, Spanish authorities put pressure on the Irish residents in Spain to clarify their identity. The Irish were

[1] Even in the context of eighteenth-century Cádiz, where Irish cconomic interests were so obvious, they were said to have settled there mainly 'because of the Protestant persecution at home'. See Fernando Toscano de PueHes, 'Cláusulas pías testamentarias de originarios irlandes en Cádiz' in *Hidalguía* (1975), pp 481-4.

[2] See Eduardo de Huertas, La cuestión de Irlanda desde la antigüedad hasta nuestros días (Madrid, 1887); Enrique Tapia Ozcariz, Enrique O'Neill, caudillo de la Independencia de Irlanda (capitán de los Tercios de Flandes) (Madrid, 1969); for a Catalan example see Joan P. Fàbregas, Irlanda I Catalunya: paralle/lsmo político-económico (Barcelona, 1932); on Galicia's 'natural brotherhood' with Ireland see Margarita Estévez Saá and José Manuel Estévez Saá, 'Ireland and the Irish seen fram Galicia' in Rosa González (ed.), The representation of Ireland/s: images from outside and from within (Barcelona, 2003), pp 347-58. Nationalist Basques continue to use the Irish question in their political agenda. For a modern version of the Milesian myth see Emmeline W. Hill, Mark A. Jobling and Daniel G. Bradley, 'Y-chromosome variation and Irish origins' in Nalare, 404, no. 6779 (Lllar. 2000), pp 35[1-2].

[3] The most recent and best approaches to the topic are featured in Maria Begoña Villar Garcia and P. Pezzi Cristóbal (eds), *Los extranjeros en la Españia moderna* (2 vols, :Málaga, 2003). The very fact that this was the first major conference on migration in early-modern Spain indicates that, in spite of its importance, the study of foreign communities within the Spanish monarchy's realm remains a largely unexplored subject in Spanish historiography. The published proceedings of the Málaga conference contain eight contributions on the lrish émigré group, which clearly shows the new interest in the lrish prescnce in Spain.

encouraged to embrace a complete Spanish identity at a time when a new definition for the Spanish nation itself was being constructed. This essay will therefore examine this important process. However, before dealing with these issues, some correction and qualification of commonly held notions about Irish migrants in Spain is needed.

Firstly, the phenomenon of Irish migration is so rich and complex it cannot be explained merely as a 'confessional migration' that occurred in the seventeenth century. Equally, it is an oversimplification to label as 'economic' or 'political' the movement of significant numbers of Irish to Spain during the eighteenth century. While the importance of confessional and religious divisions in Ireland as a motivation for emigration during the seventeenth century is not to be underestimated, it must not be allowed (as happened in the past) to obscure other significant 'push' factor s which shaped that migration, including economic difficulties at home, as well as strong 'pull' factor s, primarily the prospect of employment in continental armies. Similarly, Irish militar y forces in Bourbon Spain or the powerful Irish merchant community in Cádiz, for instance, cannot be viewed in isolation frorn the religious and political dirnensions of the Irish Colleges in the eighteenth century. Therefore, one has to analyse Irish rnigration to Spain as a chain of interdependent elernents, both at horne and abroad, which together forrn a puzzling phenornenon. Secondly, even the negative connotations forrnerly associated with the terrn 'exile', and *Irish* exiles specifically, can now be questioned. Traditional historiography represented Irish érnigrés as victirns of religious persecution who fled to Spain for refuge. This interpretation had it origins in the Irish migrants' appeals for assistance from the Spanish monarchy. In an extraordinary political strategy, the émigrés rationalised their flight to Spain as an attempt to create a problem of conscience for the king of Spain - the Catholic king - in the wake of the battle of Kinsale débiicle (1601).

Probably the most important development that has occurred in the study of this migrant population is a recognition of the individual migrant as an active, self-determining individual and of the Irish community as a concrete nation endowed with a particular identity. This 'positive' view of the Irish as 'active' agents deciding their own fa te underpins the exploration of their presence and experience in Spain that follows here. Needless to say, we cannot think in terms of Spain representing some form of paradise for the Irish: indeed, it was far fram it. The process of integration was not as easy as it was sometimes portrayed in the past. The mere presence of 'strangers' with a different culture, even Irish Catholics, provoked different, sometimes hostile reactions in Spain.[4] As we will discover, the Irish in Spain were proud that they were free of Muslim or Jewish blood and honoured to be the 'first Spaniards'. However, a Spanish 'arbitrista' (political reformer) likened the poor Irish to a new race, similar to gypsies[5]. Thus, for the Irish, the integration process was not as easy in Spain as one might think: even in the case of those who achieved significant economic or political success, integration came about as a result of their heightened awareness that they had a common identity not only as Irish but as *Irish in Spain* with an *extraordinary* capacity for adaptation to their new environment.

Identity, which is considered as an awareness of belonging either individually or collective1y to a specific community, can find expression through sharing a common past, the same language, religion, customs and traditions and social structure. Generally speaking, the Spanish terms 'nación' and 'patria' (fatherland) were used in early-modern Spain to identify a geographical community - not only a foreign community or a concrete identity. However, the adjective 'irlandés' and the phrase 'nación irlandesa' acquired a deeper significance for the Spanish administration in relation to the Irish émigré population. Indeed, it could be argued that 'Irishness' or 'Irish identity' in Spain was expressed through a series of recurring ideas, assumptions and practices in Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Firstly, the Irish community developed what I call a specific 'political ideology' in order to elicit a positive response from the Spanish monarchy. This ideology was used consciously and repeatedly by all social strata within the Irish émigré group to demand financial assistance from the crown; in the case of noblemen, it could be harnessed to help them obtain and maintain privileges in ancien régime Spanish society. This process of 'ideologisation' was variously used by Irish individuals or groups, with the Spanish king playing the rale of 'fons honorum' or grand patrono In the documentation, it appears to have been founded on three rather hackneyed claims: their hypothetical Iberian origin, the services they had rendered to Spain and their constancy in the true faith. The most interesting aspect of this ideology is its continuity over time. The Irish had exploited the Milesian myth for political purposes at the beginning of the sixteenth century when they had first asked the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V (1500-58), for

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[4] On well-known negative clichés regarding the Irish in seventeenth-century Spain see Óscar Recio I\10rales, *'De nación irlandés:* percepciones socio-culturales y respuestas políticas sobre Irlanda y la comunidad irlandesa en la España del XVII' in Enrique García Hernán, Miguel Angel de Bunes and Óscar Recio Morales (eds), *Irlanda.J' la monarquía hispánica. Kinsale, 1601-2001: guerra, polítcal, exilio y religión* (Madrid, 2002), pp 315-40.

[5] 'A great number of loose Irish people have come to these kingdoms and they, men and women, do not want to work, and they are like a new race and generation of gypsies. They arouse great damage to the republic' ('han venido a estos reinos gran número de gente perdida Irlandesa, que no quieren trabajar los hombres y mujeres, que son como otra nueva raza y generación de gitanos, que tanto daño causan a esta república'). Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera (1558-1625), Philip III's doctor (1603), 'Remedios para el bien de la salud del cuerpo de la República' (printed, May 1610): Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (hereinafter BN), Varios Caja 1l36 no. 41, f. IIV .. It was not an unusual opinion among Spain's political reformers.

support,[6] At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a royal decree in favour of Irish traders still alluded to this hoary myth, asserting their entitlement to special treatment 'because they are old natives from Spain'.[7] The Milesian myth was also used in eighteenth-century Spain as a means to e1icit a positive response from Madrid. Even in the early 1800s, when a member of the O'Ryan family had to certify his noble lineage, his papers stated that 'Edmundo's ancestors, both on his mother's and his father's side, have been of the noble and very ancient lineage of Milesius'.[8]

The Irish were equal1y adept and assertive in capitalising on their track record of military service to the Spanish monarchy. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Spaniards were surprised that they could hardly find an Irishman in Spain who had not helped Juan del Águila at the battle of Kinsale in 1601. In 1608 an Irish merchant, Esteban Lynch, received a grant of 100 ducats in consideration of his transportation of ammunition from Spain to Marquis MacWilliam Burke in Ireland.[9] In this way, Irishmen turned what was supposed to be the Spanish 'socorro de Irlanda' or 'aid to Ireland' into the Spanish king's duty to the Irish people. According to the Irish, that royal duty had not expired on Philip III's death in 1621. Even if Kinsale was considered by the Spaniards as an ill-fated incident which did not deserve to be remembered, with the passing of time Spanish ministers were not permitted to forget it as Irish memorials or petitions constantly reminded them of the fateful battle. In 1789, exactly 188 years after Kinsale, the Irlanda regiment's captain, Tadeo O'Sul1ivan Beare, presented his request for promotion in a memorial which was almost entirely comprised of an account of the services rendered by his ancestors at Kinsale.[10] Some Irishmen even referred to their military services to the Spanish crown before Kinsale. In his request for a salar y in 1626, Hugo O'Rourke, besides reminding Philip IV (1605-65) about the unhappy fate of the Spanish Armada in 1588, stressed how

> His [own] grandfather [Bernardo O'Rourke] in 1588 gave shelter to 500 Spaniards who reached the ports near his territories when the armada was defeated, and they carne in a very poor condition. He took care of them until he sent them save here [to Spain], and for this reason Queen Elizabeth became so furious that she ordered to catch him and slit his throat.[11]

In their memorials, Irishmen not only detailed the distinguished service of their forebears during specific military engagements and campaigns, they also emphasised the continuity of their service, both in the seventeenth-century Irish tercios and in the Irish regiments of the eighteenth century. Little wonder that in 1788 Diego O'Reilly, a candidate for the post of colonel of the regiment Irlanda, added to the account of his 47-year career in the army the following extensive details of service rendered by his ancestors,

> who for 300 years (without intermission), had the honour to serve Your Royal Crown, and particularly four brothers who, having devoted themselves to this, abandoned their homeland and territories, went to Flanders to fight in those wars, and at their own expense led 1,700 soldiers who joined the Catholic Armies; the four brothers served under the duke of Alba and died there as colonels.[12]

The third pillar of the 'political ideology' that can be said to have comprised 'Irish identity' in ancien régime Spain was perseverance in the true faith. This conveniently coincided with the well-known basic principIe of the monarquía, namely the defence of the Catholic religion. In this context, the presence of many Irish bishops in Spain, especially during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603) and later their appointment by Philip II as auxiliary bishops in Spanish dioceses, can be considered a first phase in a long process of associa-

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[6] *'Most* sacred Caesar, lord most e1ement, we give your Majesty to know that our predecessors for a long time quietly and peacefully occupied Ireland, with constancy, force, and courage, and without rebeIlion. They possessed and governed this country in manner royal, as by our ancient chronieles doth plainly appear. Our said predecessors and ancestry did come from your Majesty's realm of Spain, where they were of the blood of a Spanish prince, and many kings of that Iineage, in long succession, governed all Ireland happilv, until it was conquered by the English'; Connor O'Brien, 'prince of Ireland' to Charles V. Clare Castle, 2I July I534. See Constantia !V1.A. Maxwell, *Irish hystory from contemporary sources, 1509 - 1610* (London, 1923), p. 94.

[7] Royal decree in favour of Irish traders in Spain, El Escorial, 23 Oct. 1718 (Archivo General de Simancas (hereinafter AGS), Secretaría de Marina (hereinafter SM), Asuntos de particulares, leg. 495, n.f.).

[8] 'Pruebas de los caballeros de la Real Orden de Carlos III': Edmundo Tomás O'Ryan y O'Ryan (Loughmoe, Cashel). (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (hereinafter AHN), Estado (hereinafter E.), Carlos III, exp. 2325, p. 2). The prestigious Roya! Order of Charles III was established in 1777 under the motto Virtuti et merito to recognise the services to the Spanish crown. At least II Irishmen were decorated with the Charles III Great Cross, including Francisco Guillermo de Lacy y White (1731-92), Conde de Lacy; Carlos O'Donnell (1762-1828) and his son Leopoldo O'Donnell (1809-67).

[9] The council of war to Philip III, 17 Oct. 1608 (AGS, Guerra Antigua (hereinafter GA), lego 691, n.f).

[10] Petition of Tadeo O'Sullivan, captain of the regimient Irlanda, Badajoz, 27 Jan. 1789 (AGS, Guerra J\loderna (hereinafter GM), lego 6081, n.f). Once again, four years later, when he sought pramotion to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Ultonia regiment, he 'stated that his family deserved a title of Castille fram 1602, because of the great refinement and loyalty with which his uncle Dn. Daniel O'Sullivan served the Spanish crown and religion' (AGS, GM, lego 6047 (1793), Infantería de linea, empleos, reg. Hibernia, n.f.).

[11] Archduchess Isabel to Philip IV, Brusse!s, 22 Oct. 1626 (Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels (hereinafter AGR), Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre (SEG), no. 195, f 221).

[12] Diego O'Reilly, baron of Clonkeen, Badajoz, 14 Oct. 1788 (AGS, GM, lego 6035, 'Irlanda', ff 8-15). A tercio was the normal unit of troops under command of a maestre de campo. They could vary in size from less than 100 men to over 1,000.

tion between fidelity to Catholicism on the part of the Irish and the monarquía's defence of true religion.[13] Albeit 'irregular', the presence of these prelates in Spain was instrumental in the subsequent establishment of Irish Colleges in Spain, Portugal and Spanish Flanders. These institutions aimed to preserve Catholicism in Ireland. Providing them with patronage also became part of the Spanish king's duty to the 'Insula fidei Catholicae tenacissima'. It was in precisely this way that the personne1 of the Irish Colleges portrayed Ireland to Spanish audiences, especially potential patrons. Indeed, in Irish College libraries in Spain one finds manuscript collections on the lives and works of the ancient Irish saints, testifying, it would appear, to efforts by earlymodern Irish clerics to convince Spanish audiences of Ireland's service to the faith in the pasto This can be interpreted as part of an ongoing campaign by the Irish in Spain to impress upon Spanish contemporaries that Catholicism in Ireland, to which Europe owed so much, was now in danger and deserving of assistance. Lending assistance to Ireland was presented not only as a 'moral' duty for Spain but also as a grave responsibility.[14] Spanish theatre audiences who saw Pedro Calderon's drama *El purgatorio de San Patricio* (r636) would automatically connect the play's references to the island's situation at the time of St Patrick's arrival there with contemporary propaganda accounts of Ireland then circulating in Spain:

> Ay de ti, misera Hibernia,
> ay de ti, Pueblo infelize,
> si con lagrimas no riegas
> la tierra, y noches, y dias
> llorando, ablandas las puertas
> del Cielo, que con candados
> las tuvo tu inobediencia:
> ay de ti, Pueblo infe!ize,
> ay de ti, mis era Hibernia

> [Alas, miserable Ireland/ alas, unhappy [Irish] people/ if you do not water with tears/ the land, crying night and day / soften the doors of Heaven, that your disobedience closed with padlocks:/ alas, unhappy people,/ alas, miserable Ireland].[15]

However, the Irish Colleges did more than attempt a revival of the golden age of Celtic Christianity. Aspirations for the revival of this glorious past were accompanied by the creation of a 'new history' and a 'new image' of Ireland which were aimed at a Spanish audience and followed the lead of the Annals of the Four Masters and Geoffrey Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirin,* both products of the 1630s. The Milesian myth was continually exploited by the colleges and Ire!and was portrayed idyllically as a 'fortunate island'.[16] In the same way, it was emphasised that the depiction of the island's inhabitants as 'savage' had originated from the negative image promoted by English and Welsh chroniclers such as Giraldus Cambrensis and this was contrasted with more positive depictions of the Irish as instruments of religious perseverance in Europe.[17]

This complex 'political ideology', a defining element of 'Irish identity' in ancien régime Spain, helped Irish migrants and their descendants to achieve a privileged status in Spanish territories. The inscription on aplaque over the entrance to the Irish College in Salamanca, bearing the royal coat of arms, reads: 'This college was established by the kingdom of Castile to keep the Christian religion in Ireland, in the same year in which the Catholic King Philip III expelled the Moors, enemies of faith, fram Spain in 1610.'[18] Unlike the Spanish Jews or the Moors (and here, in fact, lies an important racial distinction), the Irish presented themselves as a nation which was deserving of the Spanish monarchy's pratection.[19] In doing so, from the beginning of the

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[13] See Enrique García Hernán, 'Obispos irlandeses y la monarquía hispánica en el síglo XVI' in Víllar García and Pezzi Cristóbal (eds), *Los extranjeros en la España moderna,*ii, 275-80.

[14] See Óscar Recio Morales, 'Not only seminaries: the political role of the Irish Colleges in seventeenth-century Spain' in *History Ireland,* 9, no. 3 (autumn 2001), pp 48-52.

[15] Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El Purgatorio de San Patricio* (1636). Juan de Vera Tassis y Villaroel (ed.), *Comedias del celebre poeta español, Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca* (2 vols, Madrid, r685), i, pp 94-143· Citation from 'jornada segunda', Saint Patrick's monologue, p. 119.

[16] See, for instance, a document entitled 'Of the name, place and climate of Ireland, the temperament and fertility of its land and condition of its natives' (Russell Library Maynooth (hereinafter RLM), Salamanca Archives (hereinafter SA), Various papers, XI/4/3, n.d. (after 1608)) and another entitled 'Splendid and miraculous things in Ireland' (RLM, SA, Various papers, XI/4/1O, n.d. (seventeenth century)).

[17] See paper entitled 'Of the quality and con di tia n of the island of Hibernia or Ireland' (RLM, SA, Various papers, XI/4/12, n.d. (seventeenth century)). Giraldus Cambrensis or Gerald of Wales (1146-1223), historian of the Norman invasion of Ireland, was a native of Wales. His work inaugurated the colonial historiographical tradition of unfavourable portrayal of the Irish.

[18] Act of establishment and patronage of the Irish College of Salamanca, voted in the Castilian Cortes, 1620 (Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid (hereinafter AHPM), *Protocolo* 3432, ff 709-22).

[19] On early Irish-Spanish common racial heritage demonstrations sce Dec1an M. Downey, 'Purity of blood and purity of faith: a continental Catholic mentality among the early modern Irish' (unpublished paper delivered at the 'Catholics and Protestants: the origins of sectarian Ircland, 1500-1700' symposium held in the Combined Departmcnts of History, University College Dublin, Dublin, 27-28 Mar. 1998). On the incredible two-faced attitude of the pro-Irish viceroy of Galicia, the conde de Cara cena see Ciaran O'Scea, 'Caracena: champion of the

seventeenth century the Irish in Spain were able to formulate a specific polítical ideology aimed at eliciting a positive response from the Spanish authorities. Although the entire Irish community in Spain participated in this process - all individual petitions stressed military services to the Spanish king or religious persecution at home - we can clearly identify some 'leaders' among them who enjoyed very close associations with the court, including the Franciscan Florence Conry (1561-1629). Along with Luis Carrillo de Toledo, conde de Caracena (1564-1626) who served as Spanish viceroy of Galicia from 1596 to 1606 and Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar (1567-1626), the famous Spanish ambassador in London, these individuals were advocates of the Irish cause at the Spanish court. However, these eminent figures were only the frontline figures in the promotion of a grand and complex strategy devised by the Irish émigrés in Spain. This became well defined during the reign of Philip III and was continually promoted throughout the Spanish Habsburg period.[20]

In tandem with this construction of their identity for the attention of the Spanish king in particular, internally the Irish community was also developing solidarity strategies. Although apparently less wel1 developed than Irish political ideology, these were no less effective. These strategies were based on a combination of social and familial ties and were not necessarily known to the Spanish administration. Yet they significantly impacted Irish émigré groups in Spain and indeed their families back home in Ireland.

II

Among the first generation of Irish who settled in Spain after the Kinsale débacle, close ties developed between Irish lords who were natives of the same region in Ireland and who found themselves in the same geographical area in the Spanish realm, for instance the Q'Sul1ivans and the Q'Driscolls in Galicia or the Ulster Q'Neills in Flanders. The large extended family of these Irish lords - the 'casa' in early-modern Spanish terminology - transferred from Ireland into Spain and, as a result, the fabric of longstanding personal relationships based on family and regionalloyalties as well as social and economic dependence was preserved in their new host society.

However, paral1eling these relations of dependence and association were internal divisions, which were equal1y important. Already during the Nine Years War (1594-1603), the Spanish authorities had experienced difficulties in classifying the Irish lords. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, while the Spanish were familiar with the most important families on the island they had only a vague notion about others. Neither was :Madrid aware of the rules governing power relations among the Irish since the social and political system was forbiddingly complex to outsiders and relationships between the lords were governed by an intricate web of inherited practices and assumptions. These were difficult enough for the Irish themselves to negotiate. When they transferred to Spain confusion was inevitable. Not surprisingly, the fragile web of al1iances and dependency that held the Irish system together, the customs of prestige, precedence and subordination that had underpinned relations among Irish lord s at home, tended to come undone in Spain.[21] In some cases, Spanish acknowledgement of the Irish nobility resulted in some Irish noble émigrés securing higher noble status in Spain than they had enjoyed at home. This inevitably provoked prolonged internal conflicts within the émigré population and the pursuit of individual interests combined with these divisions to cause disappointment and bitterness among the Irish and their patrons at court. This fractiousness provided the Spanish with a pretext for disciplining awkward and pretentious Irishmen.[22]

Irish provincialism and the complex concept of IreIand as a 'nation of nations' was evident among the émigré population in Spain. One's province of origin could be used as a weapon in disputes. In the early 1600s, for instance, complaints were voiced in reIation to the supposed Ulstermen's monopoly of Irish tercios in

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Irish, hunter of thc Moriscos' in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *The battle o/ Kinsale* (Dublin, 2004), pp 229-39.

[20] On this, sce Enrique García Hernán and Óscar Recio Morales, 'Los grupos de presión cxtranjeros en la corte de Felipe III: el lobby irlandés' in José Martínez Millán and María Antonietta Visceglia (eds), *La corte de Felipe III y el gobiemo de la monarquía Católica* (1598-1621). Proceedings of an international conference, Madrid, May 2005 (forthcoming). Sec also Igor Pérez Tostado, 'Fiarse cautamente: the circulation of information and the Irish pressure group in the court of Spain' in García Hernán et al. (eds), *Irlanda y la monarquía Hispánica,* pp 49I-502.

[21] See Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (eds), *Gaelic Ireland: land, lordship and settlement* c.1250-c.1650 (Dublin, 2001), pp 21-149.

[22] 'Those who come and go as Irishmen and are at the doors of all ministers and tribunals of Spain, Rome and Flanders and elsewhere, have another inconvenient: each religious gives preference to his relatives, even if they are people of humble origin, and they name them as Don, and they say they descend from important and illustrious houses. This way, everyday they achieve benefits and excessive salaries, setting abad example; laymen do not go to war, nor do they serve Spain, but they are like vagabonds, as they go to and from the Court renewing their demands; [Irish] religiousmen foment this practice [...] here, they have credibility as they are not so well known, and they are nothing but an unnecessary expense'. Reply of the Scottish colonel, William Semple (1546-1633) to the king, Madrid, 18 May 1622 (AHN, E., Libro 739-d, ff 138-40). This was not an isolated attack on the Irish. For a discussion of Semple's career in the Irish-Spanish context see Glyn Rcdworth, 'Between four kingdoms: international Catholicism and Colonel William Semple' in García Hernán et al. (eds), *Irlanda y la monarquía Hispánica,* pp 255-64.

Spanish Flanders.[23] Irishmen were mindful of how these differences damaged the position of the Irish as a whole at court. As the seventeenth century progressed and Irish communities settIed in a region, in addition to thinking in terms of their social family, the émigrés started to think in creasingly in terms of a 'national' community. Therefore, the Spanish expressions 'nación irlandesa' for the Irish group and 'de nación irlandés' for the individual were terms accepted and used daily by the Irish, not only to distinguish themselves from Welsh, Scottish and English immigrants, but also to present a unified front to the Spaniards and to display their new seIf-consciousness of sharing a common identity among 'paisanos' - a Spanish term also used by the Irish to identify themseIves as fellow countrymen.[24]

'National' solidarity showed itseIf in different ways, some more sophisticated than others. Family ties, for instance, connected Irish merchants to each other, providing them with the necessary help to enable them to succeed professionally in a foreign country. In this way, marriages contributed to the strengthening of business and social networks: Irishwomen, for instance, lent small sums of money to one another, providing a primitive system of mutual protection in times of want. It was not unknown for individuals to will to other Irishwomen their pensions as soldier's widows.[25] Donations and charity were also extended to people of Irish origin.[26] The various Irish Colleges set themselves up as focal points in which the Irish community could assemble. The colleges had a longstanding tradition of providing Irishmen with accommodation.[27] Since its foundation in 1629, St Patrick's College in Madrid offered lodgings to members of the Irish community attending court, whether they were permanentIy resident in the city or noto Before his death in the hospital of Nuestra Señora de la Latina in 1655, Fr David Combeo deposited his personal goods with the college.[28] Celebrating commemorative masses in the college's chapel was also a common practice, especially for Irishmen who died in Madrid.[29] In addition, the college benefited from donations bequeathed by Irish people in their wills.[30]

Spain's ancien régime society relied upon 'hechuras personales', that is, on service and unconditional loya1ty to a protector. The Irish, familiar with a various versions of this at home, adapted to the Spanish system through their family social network. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, gathering the so-called proofs of 'calidad' ('quality' or noble status) required of individuals intending to join a Spanish Military Order could involve the co-operation of a significant number of Irish witnesses. These proofs were more than honorific, since positive attestation meant that an individual was recognised as a member of the nobility and, as a consequence, one who deserved to enjoy all of society's privileges. In 1772, when Agustin de Wall was being admitted to the Order of Santiago, the Spanish employees in charge of collecting written evidence from Diego Purcell did not need to record every question since all of Purcell's answers were in favour of the can di date, this being a 'public and wellknown' practice among Irishmen.[31] When Tomás O'Ryan applied to enter Charles III's Order, Charles Thompson, among other Irishmen, was called as witness. He belonged to the applicant's regiment and hailed from O'Ryan's native village of Loughmoe near Cashel in County Tipperary.[32]

Several Irishmen resorted to the routine Spanish practice of selling noble titles to see themselves through rough financial periods. For example, the title Conde de Italia was given by the Spanish king to Cecilia

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[23] Colonel Maurice MacSwiney tcstified that he had been employed in the military profession for twenty-five years in Flanders. Before the war between France and Spain (1635), he served with a German regiment, which was subsequently disbanded. He was left without a post or pension, 'as a result of the evil service done to him by the men of his own nation of the province of Ulster, who will not permit any others, especially men of the province of Munsster, to obtain any promotion in the army of our [Spanish] King'. The marquis de Velada to Don Ferdinand (asking information about MacSwiney), London, 12 May 1640: *Wi1d Geese ín Spanish Flanders, 1582-I700: documents, relating chiefly to Irish regiments, from the Archives Générales da Royaume, Brussels, and other sources,* ed. Brendan Jennings (Dublin, 1964), pp 316-7.

[24] Reformed lieutenant, Juan Colin referred to licenciado Nicolás de Arturo and to Fr Juan Cunningham as 'mis paisanos'. See Colin's testament, Madrid, 18 Sept. 1678 C'\HP'\I, Tomo 24779, ff 167-8).

[25] Authorisation by Susana O'Magdin, royal pensioncr and widow of second lieutenant Geraldo Kavanagh that Margarita Nindonogo, Irishwoman, be paid the sum of 131 reales from the king, Madrid, 4 Sept. 1645 (AHPM, Tomo 24773, ff 139-39v.).

[26] Sicilia Nicarol, Irishwoman, 'wishes to leave 2 reales de a ocho to an Irish blind named Dionisio O'Cruly'. See testament, Madrid, 24 Sept. 1656 (AHPM, Tomo 8869, ff 549-549v.).

[27] This practice was censured in Santiago and specifically banned by Alcalá. The rule itself left room for it to be transgressed: 'It is forbidden to accept guests or strangers to lodge in the college, except authorities, college bencficients, relatives or present or past students'. See Disposition 27, Constituciones (internal regulations) of the Irish Royal College of San Jorge (Alcalá) (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (hereinafter BN), MS 4348).

[28] Inventorv of goods of David Combeo (Kilmallock-Madrid, 5 June 1655), religiousman, Madrid, 12 June 1655 (AHPM, Tomo 6896, ff 114-16).

[29] Before she died, Brigida Culin, an Irishwoman, made provision for the celebration of '100 masses in the Irish College of this court and 50 in the convent of our father San Francisco de la Observancia; 50 in the convent of Nuestra Señora del Carmen Calzado, always in this court. The rest of masses in the Irish College of San Jorg·e of Alcalá, and they have to be paid 2 reales each'. Sec her last will and testament, Madrid, 30 Jan. 1677 (AHP7VI, Testamento, Tomo 10651, ff 285-87).

[30] Diego Fleming, Irish merchant, left to St Patrick's College 2000 reales. See his last will and testament, Madrid, 26 Sept. 1647 (AHPM, Testamento, Tomo 5333, f. 222).

[31] Admission of Agustín de Wall y Morrison to the Order of Santiago, 1772 (AHM, Órdenes Militares (hereinafter OM), Santiago, exp. 9021).

[32] Proofs of nobility of Tomás de O'Ryan y Glasco, Maonemara y Glisson, chaplain in the Flemish Royal Guards Company, approved, Madrid, 22 Dec. 1792 (AHN, E., Carlos III, exp. 662).

Carty in 1629. She was declared a marquess in 1639. After Cecilia's death, an Italian paid 4,000 silver reales in cash to her executors (Dermicio O'Driscoll in the first instance).[33] This strategy of demonstrating group solidarity through the use of Irish witnesses was a practice adopted in all strata of Irish émigré society in Spain at that time. In 1648 an Irish captain in Madrid requested that he be called up for military service once again. To this end, he requested a 'recibir información', a Spanish bureaucratic procedure, to support and verify his claims. No wonder the captain's details were verified given that all four witnesses whom he presented were Irish.[34]

There is another dimension to these strategies of group solidarity \vhich has received little attention thus far - the emigrant's enduring personallinks with Ireland. For merchants, it was obviously useful to maintain business links with Ireland. But maintaining strong ties with home impacted other areas of life too. Agustín Guimerá Ravina has demonstrated how in the Canaries, the cult of St Patrick and the donations of goods for charitable works in Ireland were widespread within the Irish community. Bernardo Walsh Carew (1663-1727), a rich Irish merchant of Tenerife, dedicated a chapel to St Patrick in the port church of La Orotava; another trader, Tomás Lynch gave goods to the Holy Spirit Hospital and Holy Trinity Chapel of Waterford and Jorge Geraldine did the same with the Charitable Irish Corporation.[35] Diego Fleming, a knight of Santiago and resident in Madrid, also gave 2,000 reales de vellón and a painting to the 'Santa Iglesia Mayor' of Waterford city.[36] In many instances connections with family members in Ireland remained strong. For example, in 1721 John Higgins, King Philip V's personal doctor, noted in his will that every year he sent his mother, María Loftus in Limerick, 30 doubloons, each worth two gold escudos.[37]

The nature of the link between the Irish militar y serving in the Spanish territories and home is perhaps less well known. Leave of absence to return to Ireland was frequently granted to a great number of Irish soldiers throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Centre for Irish-Scottish Studies databas e of Irish officers and soldiers serving in Spanish regiments during the eighteenth century shows three main reasons which soldiers typically presented as grounds for applying for licencias. First, they sought leave for a temporary visit to Ireland in order to deal with the death of a family member and to take possession of the inheritance. Second, they wished to undertake a trip specifically aimed at recruitment. Third, those who sustained serious war wounds that forced them to retire applied for leave to return to Ireland. In the last instance, a definitive licence was granted. In view of the frequency and number of these authorised absences we may infer that the Irish military émigrés were not so far removed from Ireland as had previously been imagined. Instead it appears that many Irish soldiers maintained links with their homeland and seriously contemplated the possibility of eventually returning to Ireland. There is still a great deal of work to be done in relation to this aspect of the Irish migrant experience.

Therefore, the Irish community's political ideology, its internal group solidarity and its links with Ireland served as mechanisms of pl'otection for the group. However, at the same time, such group strategies could crea te suspicions in the host society and, as a consequence, limit the émigrés' chances of integrating. In the immediate term, adopting elements of the culture of the host society, notably the native language, undoubtedly helped both the individual migrant and the émigré community as a whole to sur vive and la ter become integrated into that society. Equally a foreign community brought the host community particular advantages by virtue of their familiarity with a wider geographical and mental world. This is especial1y true in the case of Irish traders. They clearly took advantage of their status as 'Irish in Spain', constantly capitalising on the privileges granted to their nation. In this way, Irish traders took over the position of English trade companies in the Spanish ports when the break-off in relations between Madrid and London posed problems for their English colleagues. From the strategic port of Cádiz some Irish merchants had the opportunity to make their way to the coveted Spanish Americas, having previously obtained a 'carta de naturalización'. This document, in certain cases and under particular conditions, gave Irish merchants privileges similar to those enjoyed

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[33] Testament and codicil of Sicilia Carte, Madrid, 16 Mar. 1639 (AHPM, Protocolo 4262, ff 624-718-721. She inherited the title from her daughter, Leonor O'Driscoll. From the era of Philip II, the concession of titles in Iraly - even more so than in Castile - was a well established Spanish tradition. See Jesús Castellanos Castellanos, 'La Corte y su política en el Mediterráneo' in Ernest Bclenguer (ed.), *Felipe II y el Mediterráneo* (4 vols, Madrid, 1999), iii, 36.

[34] Captain Juan Combat asked to receive information on his services in the Spanish Flanders, Madrid, 8 July 1648 (AHPM, Protocolo 6104, f. 291). Those who testified in support of Combat were Joan Barry, naval master; Farrell Thompson, resident at court; Eneas Duy Quinan, squad corporal and Diego Precia].

[35] Agustín Guimerá Ravina, *Burguesía extranjera .Y comercio atlántico: La empresa comercial irlandesa en Callarías* (17°3-1771) (Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1985), pp II6-17'.

[36] Last will of Diego Fleming, Madrid, 26 Sept. 1647 (AHPM, Testamento, Tomo 5333, f. 222).

[37] A doubloon was an ancient Spanish gold coin. An escudo was the (gold) coin with a standard value of 450 maravedís. See testament of Juan Higgins and his wife, Juana de Cor'tiada, Madrid, 2 Apr. 1721 (AHPM, Testamento, Tomo 12819, f. 108). He wished al so to distribute 50 doubloons of two gold escudos each among the poor of his native Limerick.

by their Castilian counterparts.[38]

Their proficiency in English and their commercial contacts also provided Irish merchants with a privileged link to Britain - London was the first destination for Irish goods exported from Bilbao - and also with the North American colonies.[39] They had English and Spanish flags on board depending on destination and on the political situation of the moment - and they recruited individuals who were not necessarily Catholic. The Spanish authorities complained beca use smuggled English goods were brought into their territories through Irish intermediaries. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, Irishmen claimed specific consuls of nación irlandesa in Spanish ports, which were independent of the British consul; however, when they had the opportunity, Irishmen also held the post of consul to serve 'His British Majesty'.[40] While this may be seen as paradoxical, it clearly illustrated the Irish merchants' readiness and ability to adapt to changes in their circumstances to ensure their prosperity.

III

Sketchy Spanish knowledge of Ireland's physical and political landscape proved a serious obstacle to their formulation of a coherent, realistic strategy in relation to the country. Religious diversity vvithin Ireland posed another problem. Since the end of the sixteenth century, Spaniards had never gained a firm grasp of the ideology professed by merchants from towns and cities in the west and south of Ireland. Mostly Old-English, these merchants combined loyalty to the English crown with sincere Catholicism. Therefore, they could exploit their allegiance to the crown in English ports or at sea while their fidelity to the Roman Catholic church was always essential in enabling them to continue conducting business in Spanish ports. This complex lattice of loyalties was maintained for a considerable period of time. Religion was, as already noted, a defining feature of the Irish in Spain and Irish traders continuously stressed their Catholicism. This did not, however, preclude them from doing business with Protestant merchants. For instance, during the eighteenth century, the influential Walsh family in the Can aries had strong links with the Crosses, a Protestant, Scottish merchant family who were listed as 'heretics' in the 'padrón' (census) of Tenerife.[41] Such cases suggest that in order to understand more fully the experiences of the Irish in Spain, it may be more appropriate, indeed necessary, to think about a phenomenon of 'multiple identities' rather than a single set of identity markers. An in-depth study of Inquisition trials of Irishmen in Spain, such as Patrick Sinnot in Santiago, William Lamport in Mexico or Alejandro French in the Canaries, will highlight ways to understand religion and society other than in terms of Spanish Catholic orthodoxy.[42]

The main problem for Irishmen was how to maintain the balance of different identities in order to achieve political, social and economic success in Spain. They had to ensure they were considered a different and privileged nation in Spain whilst not being regarded as 'extranjeros' (foreigners). A famous Spanish writer of Irish origin, José Blanco White (1775-1841), helps us understand the Irish position. In discussing the Irish tradesmen's strict mIes for matrimonial alliances he concluded that 'All this makes my family a little Irish colony, whose members continue to preserve the language and many habits and customs brought to Spain by his founder.' Later, the impact of his Spanish upbringing be comes apparent when he describes his education: 'I was educated without knowing if we were rich or poor, but they made me assimilate the virtues of the Spanish *hidalguía* (nobility).'[43]

Language, both written and spoken, is certainly another distinguishing characteristic of a community. In the case of the Irish, its use demonstrates the extent of their adaptability. The available evidence indicates

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[38] Jorge Chauca García, 'Irlandeses en el comercio gaditano-americano del setecientos' in Villar García and Pezzi Cristóbal (eds), *Los extranjeros en la España moderna*, i, 267-77.

[39] See Amaia Bilbao Acedos, *The Irish community in the Basque Country*, c. 1700-1800 (Dublin, 2003), pp 33-4.

[40] For example, Felipe Stafford in La Coruña, was nominated consul by Charles II in 1669, and his appointment was ratified in 1670. See Fernando Bruquetas de Castro, 'Los Stafford, una familia irlandesa en España' in Villar García and Pezzi Cristóbal (eds), *Los extranjeros en la España moderna*, ii, 139-48.

[41] John Crosse, senior, was consul of the British nation in Tenerife in 1744. His nephew, John Crosse, junior, occupied this post in 1717 and again in 1756. See Guimerá Ravina, *Burguesía extranjera,* pp 62-3.

[42] On William Lamport see Fabio Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce. Guillén Lombardo e l'lnquisizione in Messico* (Rome, 1999). See also a summary in English in Fabio Troncarelli, 'The man behind the mask of Zorro: William Lamport of Wexford' in *History lreland,* 9, no. 3 (autumn 2001), pp 22-5. For Patrick Sinnot, professor of rhetoric at the University of Santiago, we have short references and a literary work: Luis Seoane, *El irlandés astrólogo* (Buenos Aires, 1959). For Alejandro French see l'vlanuel De Paz Sánchez and A. Ferrer Benimeli, 'Alejandro French, irlandés, miembro de la Royal Exchange Lodge de Bostan, procesado por la Inquisición de las Islas Canarias, por francmasón, 1739-1742' in *V Coloquio de Historia Canario Americana* (2 vols, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1982), ii, 793-855.

[43] José Blanco White, *Autobiografía* (Seville, 1988), pp 31-2. See also Martin Murphy's artide in this collection.

that the first generation of Gaelic émigrés used Irish as their everyday, family language and that the Old-English community used English as both their written and spoken language. Both communities considered Spanish essential to deal with the enormous bureaucratic machine of the monarquía. In the early seventeenth-century confrontations between Irish Franciscans and the Jesuits for control of the Irish Colleges, the issue of the language to be used by returning missionary priests was a source of serious division. Fr Florence Conry OFM warned that the Old-English students' difficulties in speakíng Irish would have a negative impact in Gaelic rural areas:

> although you can hear Castilian in Galicia, you can't hear Galician in Castile. Similarily in Ireland, where even if you can hear the Irishmen of the countryside in towns [speaking Gaelic], you can hardly hear those from the cities in all the Kingdom [Ireland] [speak Gaelic], as they cannot speak the common tongue [Gaelic] [...] so [an Old-English c1eric's] sermon outside the cities will be as dark as a prophecy.[44]

Although at first the JesuÍts did not forbid students to use Gaelic, Englísh appears to have been favoured as the language of the Jesuit-run seminaries for what the Jesuits themselves, when challenged on this matter, presented as practical reasons:

> Since, as everybody knows, [English], and not Gaelic, is the language spoken at the Court of the Kingdom [Dublin]; English alone is the language of courts and public life in the Kingdom; public acts are written in English only and [in that language] lawyers argue cases, judges pronounce sentences; edicts are published in English only and nothing at all is done unless in Englísh.[45]

When Irish students at Alcalá passed their first theology course, they wrote their moral exercises in accordance wÍth the stipulation that 'this is to be done in English, since they will have to preach in Englísh in those territories'.[46] The Spanish authorities also recognised the need to train Irish priests to minister through English. Already in 1614, responding to a request made by the vicerector of the Irish College at Santiago de Compostella, Fr Richard Conway SJ (1573- 1626), the Inquisition granted the Irish seminaries permission to read the Bible in English.[47] The Irish College at Alcalá also had permission to hold in its library a number of books listed on the Index, most of them published in English.[48]

What about the use of Gaelic? The almost complete absence of written documents in Gaelic in Spanish archives suggests that use of Gaelic was exclusively oral and reflects the very low literary rates in Gaelic in the seventeenth century.[49] My current research on the Irish military in eighteenth-century Spain sheds new light on this aspect of the émigré population. Broadly speaking, I have been able to establish that the Irish from rural areas, recruited to serve in Spain, spoke Gaelic, while military commanders could also speak and write in English. In fact certain military commanders from the Irish Brigade were capable of translating English texts into Spanish.[50] In the nineteenth century, we see evidence of the linguistic adaptability of Irish famine emigrants, resident in English speaking-countries, whose letters, written in English, were addressed to relatives who spoke only Gaelic. Therefore, they had to be translated, orally, into Gaelic. Just as in the nineteenth

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[44] 'aunque el castillano bien se oyen Galicia, el gallego no se oyen Castilla.Y asi es en Irlanda, que aunque los irlandeses de la tierra por de fuera de las ciudades bien se oyen en ellas, los de las ciudades por falta de la destresa en hablar la lengua vulgar no se oyen en todo lo demas del rey no [...] lo que predicaran en las tierras fuera de las ciudades sera tan obscuro como prophesia'. Florence Conry's reply to Fr Francisco de Valdivieso, general procurator of the Company of Jesus, no exact date in document, but I604 (RLM, SA, 52/9/II). (Conry (1560-1629) was archbishop of Tuam, a prominent theologian and founder of the Irish Franciscan College of St Anthony's at Louvain). Faced with the accusations of supporting and promoting only the English language, the Jesuits stressed that 'in Ircland, among those who speak perfectly the Irish lang'uage, only three out of 30,000 can also read and write it, Gaelic being among the most difficult languages in the world' (RLM, SA, 52/9/15).

[45] 'porque como es manifiesto a todos ella [inglesa] es la lengua en la qual, y no en la irlandesa, hablan en la corte del reyno; ella sola es la lengua de los tribunales y audiencias del reyno; en ella sola se hazen las escrituras publicas, los letrados relatan los pleitos, los jueces dan sentencias; en ella sola se pregona en las plaças publicas, y apenas se haze o se deshaze cosa de momento o de concierto sino es en lengua inglesa'. Ibid.

[46] Report on the collcgc by Patricio Magines, rector of the Irish College of Alcalá, to the Castilian cámara (no exact date, but 1784) (BN, MS 43-8).

[47] See various privileges and permissions in favour of the Irish College, Madrid, 2 Aug. 1614 (RLM, SA, The Royal College of the noble Irish, Salamanca, SI /bulls, royal documents, privileges and various papers, 9 (1611-1791)).

[48] Manuel Quintano Bonifar, general inquisitor, to the viee-chancellor of the Irish College at Alcalá, Madrid, 27 Sept. 1772 (BN, MS 4348).

[49] Although Ciaran O'Scea believes the Irish may have written more Gaelic documents that the surviving documentation suggests, during my research in the Spanish archives I came across very few documents written in Irish. I agree with O'Scea that Gaelic was possibly used in priva te correspondence which has not been conserved in the main archives in Spain. See Ciaran O'Scea, 'En busca de papeles: la transformación de la cultura oral de los inmigrantes irlandeses desde La Coruña hasta la Corte' in GarcÍa Hernán et al. (eds), *Irlanda y la monarquía Hispánica,* pp 299-380.

[50] When he requested command of one of the two vacant companies in the Hibernia regiment, Lieutenant Antonio O'Donnell pointed out in his memorial that he had rendered an extraordinary service to the Spanish king when, in the ports of Vigo and Marín, hc translated a variety of documents from English into Spanish. See Infantería de linea, empleos, Zaragoza, 29 Jan. 1790 (AGS, GM, lego 6035, 'Hibernia', f. 295).

century Irish parents, anticipating that their children would emigrate, wanted them to learn English in order to optimise their chances for integration and advancement in American society,[51] Irish émigrés in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Spain realised that understanding the Spanish language was essential for these same reasons.

Castilian was the ordinary language of the Spanish administration. Along with the institution of the monarchy, the language served as the one of the few common links binding together a multiethnic Spanish empire. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Bourbon army stressed the importance of using a common language within new regiments. In 1725 the conde de Montemar, commanding officer of Barcelona, asked for instructions on the language to be used in the proceedings of foreign regiments' war councils. Montemar believed that using languages other than Castilian was dangerous on the grounds that 'since Your Majesty's secretaries have no obligation to understand any other living language, it would be necessary to make use of interpreters, creating the possibility of committing fundamental errors'. He saw the use of a range of languages as wholly impractical, arguing that

> If we allow Walloon regiments do its court martial in French, the Italians in Italian [...], tomorrow the Irish will try to do the same, and this will increase confusion, because of the little knowledge of this language [Irish] in these kingdoms.[52]

Though it may not have been a decisive factor in blocking career advancement in the Spanish army, a soldier's lack of proficiency in languages could be used as a pretext to delay or deny promotion. In 1721 Captain Lorenzo Archdeacone was said to be 'only suitable for the post he has, as he cannot understand another language but its own'.[53] Even among the Irish themselves, ignorance of Spanish was used as a basis for denying promotion: Terencio O'Neil1 (d. 1748), colonel of the Hibernia regiment, opposed the advancement of Diego Bret to commandant of the third batallion on several grounds, including the fact that 'he has very bad Spanish'.[54] In 1722 an Irish lieutenant, Pablo Zarfield of the Dublin regiment, was imprisoned for four months for the manner in which he referred to the corregidor (royal officer) of Chinchilla, a small town in Spain. We do not know the exact words Zarfield used to cause such offence, but the authorities were prepared to take into account the lieutenant's poor mastery of Spanish and deemed it 'plausible that, as a foreigner, he did not understand how strident his expression was'.[55]

Irishmen and Irishvvomen had to face another obstacle in relation to their linguistic skill: the Spanish bureaucratic tradition. The Irish quickly realised the importance of possessing paper records in their dealings with the Spanish administration. This was particularly true when their prospects of securing payments depended on their ability to present the necessary documentation, whether or not the bearers were capable of reading or writing Spanish.[56] 'Guardar papeles' (keeping documents) and 'tener papeles' (having documents) became for the Irish a matter of the utmost importance, even of survival. Thus, they clearly underlined in their wills the exact date of the concession of royal grants or payments and ensured afterwards that they retained the necessary documents to support their claims.

Irish migrants with limited language skills could have recourse to Irish intermediaries at court. Florence Conry carried out this function in his official capacity as 'protector de los irlandeses' from I604. Towards the mid-seventeenth century, Dominican Guillermo Geraldine fulfilled this function, although there is strong evidence to indicate that the Irish preferred the work of the better situated and apparently more influential Bernabé Querano, chaplain to the Council of Flanders.[57] At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Fr Nicolás Falon was also employed as 'assistant to the Irish'.[58] **In** general, however, Irish widows enlisted the

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[51] D.H. Akenson, *The Irish diaspora: a primer* (Toranto, 1993), p. 39; Cormac Ó Gráda, 'Irish emigration to the United States in the nineteenth century' in D.N. Doyle and 0.D. Edwards, *America ami Ireland, I776-I976: the American identity and the Irish connection. The proceedings of the United States bicentennial conference of Cumann Merriman, Enniss, August 1976* (Westport, CN, 1980), pp 101-02.

[52] Reply of the Council of War to a question of Montemar on the languages used by foreign regimcnts in Spanish Bourbon armies, Barcelona, 17 Mar. 1725 (AGS, GM, lego 1580, s.f.).

[53] Hojas de servicios de los regimientos de infantería (AGS, GM, lego 2564 (1721): Irlanda, CX).

[54] Infanteria de linca, empleos (AGS, GM, lego 6047 (1793): 'Hibernia').

[55] The Council of War on the serious offense made by Irish lieutenant, Pablo Zarzebilla, Madrid, 23 Mar. 1722 (AGS, GM, lego 1576, s.f.).

[56] 'I declare that His Majesty (God save him) owes to me for two and a half years (I would say three), at arate of 3 reales a day to pay for senices done as a poor soldier. I have the documents' (underlining is mine). See the testament of Roberto Cody, also known as 'Peg leg', an Irishman resident in Madrid, 22 Sept. 1659 (AHPM, Testamento, Tomo 8682, f. 309)' He did not sign his own will 'as he was illiterate'.

[57] Sicilia Nicarol complained that she did not obtain the desired outcome to her efforts to obtain two payments of 1,OOO reales each from the king. Neither Oliberio Balecio, an Irishman, nor Fr Guillermo Geraldine (to whom Nicarol gave 30 reales for his handling of the administrative process) succeeded. She asked that the documents be passed to her husband and also to Bernabé Quiernano. See last will, Madrid, 24 Sept. 1656 (AHPM, Testamento, Tomo 8869, ff 549-549v.).

[58] Testimony and last will of Antonio Malon from Ireland, reformed lieutenant in the regiment of the duke of Berwick, Madrid, 9 Apr. 1706 (AHPM, Testamento, Tomo 24787, ff 36-36v.).

support of their husbands' fellow soldiers who negotiated the payment of their pensions which was invariably delayed.[59]

However, it is interesting to examine the zeal with which the Irish kept documents produced by the Spanish administration and to contrast these collections with the small corpus of documents originally produced in helando Irishmen were famous in the Spanish court for 'losing' speeific papers and I have found frequent complaints about the Irish migrants' lack of official documentation, originating in Ireland, especially material needed to support claims based on genealogy. Their failure or inability to produce appropriate documentation to the Spanish authorities was a significant and persistent problem throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1711 when Francisco Arther, agent of Daniel Mahony (d. 1714) was asked to present his documents, he could produce only the genealogy of the Mahony family. Arther explained that 'the applicant will not present any [other] document, as there is no custom [in Ireland] of recording baptisms and in any case it has been extraordinarily difficult [to assemble documentationJ these past years'.[60] This was one of the standard responses given to Spanish bureaucrats dealing with applications from Irishmen who wished to be admitted to the Spanish Military Orders.[61]

The lack of personal documentation seems to have be en considerably less problematic in business dealings which were generally based on personal relationships. For instance, in 1722 Bartolomé Butler Lynch, a merchant in Cádiz, decIared in his will that he owned a company along with his brother, Juan and that the company had been 'established between us verbally, without public notarial act or private contract'.[62] Notwithstanding such informal arrangements, as a general rule, in order to achieve integration, a process of adaptation to Spanish structures was necessary. Bence, the need for personal documents compelled the Irish to ask their families in Ireland for the certification of their origino This became normal practice as the Spanish authorities' recognition of Irish cIaims to nobility facilitated their admission to the equivalent rank in their host society and helped hasten their integration.[63]

In short, a delicate balance between 'Irishness' and 'Spanish Irishness' was maintained throughout the seventeenth century when there was a defined Irish community in Spain who were aware of their 'Irishness' whilst enjoying a privileged position in the Spanish realm. If in the seventeenth century it was advantageous for the Irish to settle in Spanish territories, the following century can be considered the 'golden age' for the Irish in Spain. During that era, several Irish surnames appeared among the highest ranks of the Spanish army and administration. Paradoxical1y, however, some warning signs for the Irish also began to appear from the beginning of eighteenth century. These indications carne in the form of direct attacks against the Irish and more specifical1y against 'Spanish Irishness'. The term 'extranjero' (foreigner) was used to discredit Irishmen. As regards traders, it is true that already since the 1500s Castilians were suspicious of the influential role played by foreign merchants in the Spanish territories. Amaia Bilbao Acebos has demonstrated how in the eighteenth century Irish merchants were not exempt from this criticism.[64] This leads us to examine how in the sphere of Irish politics an attempt was made to break that delicate balance between 'Irishness in Spain' and 'Spanish Irishness' .

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[59] Letter of attorney by Elena Or, an Irishwoman and widow of Guillermo Angli, sergeant of the tercios of Flanders, in favour of an Irish captain, Guillermo 'Baloes', Madrid, 24 Feb. 1657 (AHPM, Tomo 8869, ff 598-98v.).

[60] Will of Francisco Arther, Irish agent for Daniel Mahony, Madrid, 17 May 1711 (AHN,OM, Santiago, exp. 4760). One Spanish bureaucrat complained '[...] along with the weak testimony of their own witnesses, they [the Irish] add some instruments, nonc of them of any credibility: these documents are not drawn up by a public official 01' under the authority of a magistrate [...] with a few rare exceptions, they do not present baptismal certificates, 01' marriage contracts or public proof to justify their [claim to] nobility'.

[61] For a harsh institutional complaint on the proofs of nobility presented by the Irish see a report made from the Spanish Council of Military Orders in 1724 (AHN, E., leg. 3028, n. 31). 'Consulta muy particular de el Consejo de Ordenes, sobre las pruebas de Yrlandeses': '[...] rarely we see a certificate of baptism, nor marriage certificatc, never a testimony or public deed' ('Rara vez se ve una fe de baptismo, ni casamiento, nunca un testimonio ni escritura publica, y jamas una justificacion de nobleza').

[62] Testament and last wiIl of Bartolomé Butler Lynch from Galway, Cádiz, 10 Feb. 1722 (Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz (hereinafter AHPC), Cádiz 1585, ff 117-25).

[63] See, for instance, a petition for certification of nobility from Thomas Patrick, resident in Cádiz. The Ryan family were original!y from Danganmore in Kilkenny. Those who testified in his favour were]ohn Ryan of Danganmore, representative of the family and owner of the fami!y property; Thomas's first cousin, Patrick We1ch, mayor of Kilkenny; and 18 of the nobles and gentry of Kilkenny city. All details were recorded in the prcsence of a notary, Peter Wall, on 3]anuary 1788. On the other side of document, the Spanish ambassador in London, Bernardo del Campo, certified the authenticity of the signatures on 12]uly 1788. See 'Certificado de las armas usadas por la familia de Ryan de Danganmore, a instancias de Thomas Patrick Ryan, residente en Cádiz' (certificate of arms uscd by the Ryan family of Danganmore, on behalf of Thomas Patrick Ryan, resident in Cádiz). Kilkenny, 29 Dec. 1787 (Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona, Colección Porter-Moix, R. 8914, P.M. Caja V, doc. 17).

[64] Amaia Bilbao Acebos has found evidence of suspicion and rejection of the Irish community in the Basque region at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Spanish word 'judio' (Jew) was even used when referring to the Irish. In medieval Spain, Jews exercised an important rale as merchants, a profession regarded as dishonourable among Spaniards. See Bilbao Acebos, *The Irish commnunity,* p. 63.

IV

Attacks upon the privileges enjoyed by the 'grandes' in Spain along with a nearly complete militarization of Spanish society started under the Bourbon Philip V (1700-46). As a result, there was enough room for the Irish - as well as for the French and the Italians - to ascend the socialladder and to integrate themselves into the establishment. Not surprisingly that opportunity created a deep sense of unease among the Spanish nobility. Besides, a large number of the Spanish nobility deserted their king and country and went into exile; those who chose to remain in Spain established a political opposition that used political satire in its propaganda. They formed a lobby, known as the 'partido español' (Spanish party), which provided them with a forum to express their ideas and fears in a xenophobic context against the 'arribistas' (ambitious) foreigners.[65] At the highest leve1s of Spanish society, the Irish found it difficult to maintain the balance between their identity and the social position they enjoyed as they too were targets of attack for disgruntled Spanish nobles.

In the context of the eighteenth century we find constant assertions, made by Irishmen, that they shared a sense of 'Spanish identity'. This is likely to have been more that mere rhetoric, considering the partido español's heavy emphasis on the importance of national origin as articulated in their severe criticism of the Bourbon government's practice of employing 'foreign secretaries'. In fact, the eighteenth century has been defined as the 'national patriotic century' in Spanish history.[66] It is therefore interesting to explore the extent to which the Irish and their descendants identified themselves, or felt the need to identify themselves, as completely Spanish and also to gauge their preservation of their 'Irishness' and links to Ireland in an increasingly xenophobic domestic clima te in Spain. First, it was evident that people looked upon men of Irish origin serving in the Spanish diploma tic corps with so me suspicion. When Patricio Laules (1676-1739), a native of Kilkenny, was appointed Spanish ambassador to Holland, the Dutch representative in London expressed his surprise to his Spanish counterpart:

> And from the way he asked me if he was Irish, I understood his disdain [...] I only answered him I did not know, and [...] I went into details, telling him of his good qualities, honor, experienced zeal and exemplary conduct.[67]

In 1747 during his mission to London as a Spanish diplomat, Ricardo Wall (1694-1778) spoke on 'our [Spanish] Indias' and on 'the genio [character or attitude] of the Spanish nation';[68] but he also alluded to having encountered a 'certain' difficulty because of his Irish origin, admitting that 'being Irish caused suspicion'.[69] English authorities complained to Madrid about the appointment of Wall to the London embassy, arguing that 'being Irish ... is certainly [the equivalent of being] unreliable for the English'.[70] Every Irishman employed abroad by the Spanish monarchy was wary of arousing suspicion in Great Britain and Holland, mostly because of fears of perceived associations with the clandestine intrigues of a network of Irish Jacobite supporters.[71] In the correspondence of Tomás Geraldine who was in charge of the Spanish embassy at London in 1735-6, there are no references (or at least none that I have found thus far) to the situation of Iríish Catholics. This is noteworthy as it was a constant theme in reports to Madrid from the Spanish ambassadors in London who were not of Irish extraction. Whether a matter of rhetoric or reality, propaganda or genuine interest, the fact is that the question of religion in Ireland was always abone of serious contention between London and Madrid.[72] This leads us to conc1ude that at least in official documents (more work needs to be done on prívate correspondence), those Irishmen who held important positions in the diplomatic service of the Spanish monarchy seem to have deliberately concealed or at least played down their Irish identity. Perhaps they did so

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[65] See Teófanes Egido López, *Opinión pública.y oposición al poder en la España del siglo XVIII,* 1713-1759 (Valladolid, 1971).

[66] Despite the fact that the prestigious Real Academia Española de la Lengua (Royal Spanish Academy of Language, l713), History (l738) and San Fernando (l752), had been established by the crown, gradually they evolved into purely 'national' institutions. For instance, there \Vere plans to write a complete history of Spain and there \Vas a revival in interest in heroes from the Hispanic world, including Viriato, Pelayo, El Cid and Guzmán el Bueno. See].A. Maravall, *Estudios de historia del pensamiento español: siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 1999) and Ricardo García Cárcel, *Felipe V y los españoles* (Barcelona, 2003), pp 207-9. The process is also brilliantly depicted by José AlvarezJunco, *klater Dolorosa: la idea de España en el siglo XIX* (Madrid, 200l).

[67] Conde de Montijo to José Patiño, London, 6 Sept. l734 (AGS, E., Negociación de Inglaterra, leg. 6888, n.f).

[68] Wall to the duke of Huéscar, London, 22 Oct. 1747 (AHN, E., Ieg. 4264-1, n.f).

[69] '[...] el ser yo irlandés daba así mismo desconfianza'. See Ricardo Wall to the duke of Huéscar, London, 27 Oct. 1747 (AHN, E., leg. 4264-l, n.f).

[70] '[...] me ha repetido siempre Milor Sandwich, que la persona de Dn. Ricardo Wal no era de las mas agradables para con aquella nacion [Inglaterra], porque sobre ser Yrlandes, que no es para los ingleses de ninguna recomendacion, tenia la qualidad de ser en el corazon verdaderamente frances y por consiguiente sospechosa cualquiera negociación que entablase. Mr. de Robinson, segundo plenipotenciario de Ynglaterra, me habló ayer en los mismos terminos, y aun añadiendome alguna clausula indecente diciendome que les haviamos embiado un tal Yrlandes'. See Jaime Masones de Lima to the duke of Huéscar, Aix-la-Chapelle, 28 Aug. 1748 (AHN, E., lego 4142, n.f.).

[71] On the European Jacobite network see Éamonn Ó Ciardha's groundbreaking study, *Ireland and the Jacobite cause, 1685-1766: a fatal attachment* (Dublin, 2002).

[72] See correspondence with Tomás Geraldinc, in charge of the Spanish embassy, 1735-6 (AGS, E., lego 6898).

in the interest of maintaining Hispano-British relations. Alternatively, they may have been anxious to avoid being identified by the Spanish themselves as 'extranjeros'.

Those Irish employed abroad constantly stressed that their service was 'to the [Spanish] nation'. In their official correspondence there is no sign of a marked 'Irish conscience'. It is true that in 1766 Dermicio O'Mahony, Spanish ambassador in Vienna, celebrated St Patrick's Day with every honour. Nevertheless, at least in official papers emenating from persons of Irish origin in Spanish service, we find few allusions to 1rish identity. By contrast, Spanish identity is stressed in the same documentatíon where one finds the words 'pátria' (homeland), 'español' (Spanish), 'nacional' (national) frequently repeated. Carlos MacCarthy was the Spanish consul in Danzig (Gdansk) for nine years before being dispatched in 1773 to EIsinore in Denmark where he stayed until 1775. In his farewellletter from Danzig, MacCarthy told Jerónimo Grimaldi, marquis of Grimaldi and Charles III's secretary of state (1763-77), how '1 have carried out my duties at the Spanish consulate there in my charge with honour, unselfishness and national zeal'. A new chapel 'which is necessary for the Spanish' was added to his mansion in EIsinore and he embarked upon his task of translating into Spanish the duties ímposed on Spanish ships in Oresund (Denmark), Russia and Danzig.[73] Can we think of this élite cadre as 1rish by nation but Spanish by profession? Can the fact that the Irish employed in Spanish service continually mentioned their 'Spanishness' be interpreted as demonstrating a desire to be completely accepted into their host society and to avoid any hint of suspicion regarding their origin?

This delicate balance that the Irish tried to maintain between 'Irishness' and 'Spanishness' often collapsed. Even worse, 'Spanish Irishness' was always under suspicion. The case of Alejandro O'Reilly, a native of BaItrasna, County Meath (1723-94) who became a leading reformist of the Spanish army in the eighteenth century, shows just how easy it was for the Irish to fall foul of the Spanish. Following his failure to take Algiers in 1775, he had to face strong criticism, which included references to his foreign origin.[74] In satirical pieces and unpublished comedies there were pointed references to O'Reilly's origins. Words such as 'foreigner', 'Ireland' or 'Irish', used in relation to O'Reilly, underlined his lack of true Spanish nobility:

> Intelligent people,
> and of high sphere we have,
> Why must we beg anything
> from foreigners?[75]

In the satirical décima, 'Sentencia del rey contra Grimaldi y O'Reylli' ('A royal sentence against Grimaldi and O'Reylli', the author condemns the foreigner:

> The king first orders,
> That decapitated Grimaldi
> Should be taken to a platform:
> Lie! he is a foreigner.
>
> And that O'Reylli
> Should be taken to a stake
> And ought to be tortured
> From head to foot,
> At the people's pleasure:
> I grant that: if he were Spanish,
> But you lie! he is Irish.[76]

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[73] Carlos MacCarthy to Marquis Grimaldi (AGS, E., Negociación de cónsules y vice-cónsules, lego 7650, 7654).

[74] Alejandro O'Reilly held, among others, the post of governor of Madrid, Andalusia (1775) and Catalonia (1794). The military expeditian to Algiers was led by the Iieutenant general of the armada, Pedro Castejón, while the infantry was under the command of O'Reilly. Altogether 21,188 soldiers took part in the expedition, 19,820 infantry and 1,368 cavalry. The expedition, which included two companies of grenadiers from the Ireland regiment (160 men) and two battalions from the Hibernia regiment (1,330 men), was a complete failure. More than 1,500 men died. (Archivio di Stato di Torino (hereinafter AST), Vol. *10012,* 'Inventario d'addizione delle scritture relative alle corti straniere, Spagna, Mazzo I d'adizione', n. 33, *Estado de los bage!es de guerra,y merchantes, destinados para la expedición de Argel* (1775), printed). Despite the importance of O'Reilly, we stilllack of a biography. On his work in America see Bibiano Torres Ramirez, *Alejandro O'Reilly en las Indias* (Seville, 1969).

[75] 'Personas inteligentes,/ y de alta esphera tenemos,/ a que hemos de mendigar/ nada de los extrangeros?: 'Quexas, que el pueblo de España da al rey, con motibo de la fatal catastrofe del dia 8 de Julio de 1775 en la playa de Argel' (BN, MS 10,935, p. 306). 'Papeles en verso y prosa, que han salido en esta Corte, al triste suceso de las Armas Catholicas en la expedición del dia 8 de julio de este año de 1775, contra los argelinos, mandando dicha expedicción el thenÍente general Conde Orreylli, por lo respectivo a tierra, y por mar el theniente general Don Pedro Castexón'.

[76] 'El rey manda lo primero,/ que a Grimaldi degollado/ se presente en un tablado:/ mentira, que es extranjero/ Y que a O'Reylli en un madero/se mortifique despues/ de la caveza a los pies,/ hasta que el pueblo quisiere:/ Concedo: si español fuere,/ mas mientes: que es Yrlandes' (BN, MS 10,935, pp 43-4).

Here clearly 'Irish' is an equivalent designation to 'foreigner'. Indeed, being Irish, in these extreme situations appeared to some elements of Spanish opinion as tantamount to treasonous. **In** the 'Dialogo entre España y la nobleza sobre la expedicion' ('A dialogue between Spain and the nobility on the expedition') one reads:

> Spain:
> What have you done, faithful nobility
> With so many noble heroes
> Double pillars of faith?
>
> Nobility:
> They have been burned in Algiers
>
> Spain:
> Where do you keep the crowd of grooms
> So faithful, so strong, who have no equal
> They who banished the Moors?
>
> Nobility:
> An Irishman sold them
> to a Moor
> on a sandy beach.[77]

In addition to being considered a foreigner and a potential political enemy, O'Reilly had to face an onslaught of jibes concerning his physical appearance:

> [...] that 'big man'
> with a small body,
> lame, and not Spanish.[78]

O'Reilly's claim to noble status was al so attacked:

> He is son of an Irish peasant,
> For, if he were Spanish,
> First he would frighten the sun away,
> Or he would catch it with his own hand.[79]

That an Irish servant of the Spanish crown could be an object of suspicion for many years is evident from the case of Ricardo Wall, secretary of state from 1754 to 1763, and also secretar y of war between 1759 and 1763. In 1747 the duke of Huéscar, a close friend of Ricardo Wall, recommended him to the new state minister, José de Carvajal y Lancáster, in the following manner:

> Remember that in the army you have a very good element, that is Wall, very honorable and capable. You can certainly turn to him for help as to negotiations and make up for his fault of being a foreigner, as I know him very well and I am sure you will get along with him better than with me.[80]

Wall admitted that in Spain he was considered a foreigner:

> I have be en accused of partiality with the English, as they did with him [Grimaldi] regarding France, and I think with the same injustice. Such is, Your Eminence, the misfortune of those who do not serve

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[77] 'España: Que has hecho nobleza fiel/ de tantos heroes nobles/ de la fee columnas dobles? / Nobleza: Los quemaron en Argel/ España: Donde tienes el tropel! de escuderos tan leal,/ tan fuerte, y tan sin igual,/ que a los moros desterro? / Nobleza: Un irlandes los vendio/ al moro en un arenal' (BN, MS 10,935, pp 75-6).

[78] 'esse hombron,/ pequeño de cuerpo,/ cojo, y no español'. See 'Conversacion entre Perico y Marica sovre lo ocurrido en la expedicion del dia 8 de julio de 1775 en tierra de Argel' (BN, MS 10,935, p. 67v.).

[79] 'Hijo es de yrlandes villano,/ porque si fuera español,/ primero ahuyentara al sol,/ o le trajera a su mano' (BN, MS IO,935, p. 223)

[80] Huéscar to Carvajar, 14 May 1747 (my underlining). See Diego Téllez Alarcia, 'El caballero Don Ricardo \Vall y la conspiración antiensenadista' in José Miguel Delgado Barrado andJosé Luis Gómez Urdáñez (eds) *Ministros de Fernando VI* (Córdoba, 2002), pp 95-138. Téllez's work at the University of La Rioja is changing completely the treatment of Wall in both Irish and Spanish historiography. See his artide 'Richard Wall: light and shade of an Irish minister in Spain, 1694-1777' in *Irish Studies Review,* 11, no. 2 (2003), pp 123-36.

> in their homeland. I have only this homeland, [Spain] and in spite of more than forty years of service, people are not totally convinced that I love it as much as the natives.[81]

But at least Wall, thanks to his connections, was in a better position that most of the Irish émigré population. When in 1720 the Irish colonel, Pedro Sherlock, failed to get levies from Ireland, he bitterly complained: 'It is very easy to offend a poor foreigner who does not understand the customs and the language of this country; above all I do not have friends at the court or anybody who can speak in my favour'.[82] Even so, Sherlock belonged to an institutionthe army - that from the Spanish War of Succession (1702-14) occupied a central role in the Spanish political and civil administration. Irishmen's proven fidelity to the Bourbon dynasty of Philip V was rewarded with the formal institution of Irish regiments in the peninsula itself, a continuation of the services of Irish tercios in Spanish Flanders. Under the Bourbon regime, Irish regiments became training grounds for new political and militar y responsibilities, as the careers of Wall and O'Reilly demonstrate. Yet, as we have seen, Irish integration into Spanish society was far from easy. Irish émigrés faced many challenges in endeavouring to adapt to a new life in Spain from the very beginning of the seventeenth century. They created a political ideology based on the Milesian myth, their service to Philip II and Philip III and their steadfast adherence to the Catholic faith that was, generally speaking, successful in advancing their interests in Habsburg Spain during the seventeenth century. That favourable situation changed, however, from the beginning of the eighteenth century when, despite their demonstrations of support for the new Bourbon dynasty, attacks began to be made on the 'Spanish Irishness identity' of Irish people resident in Spain. These attacks intensified from the mideighteenth century, and were particularly aimed at 'foreigners' such as Wall and O'Reilly, who occupied influential roles in the administration of Bourbon Spain. 'Spanish ethnic qualities' were used by Spanish political opposition to discredit foreign surnames. In this way, Irishmen realised that their identity, defined as 'Spanish Irishness', was not useful for achieving complete integration, so they started to allude to their 'Spanishness' without qualification. More complete research based on private correspondence is needed to determine whether the Irish in Spain continued to preserve their 'Irishness' or if they opted for complete integration into Spanish society.

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[81] Wall to Porto carrero, 14 Feb. 1758 *(Correspondencia resen·ada e inédita del P. Francisco de Rávago, confesor de Fernando VI,* ed. C. Pereyra and C. Pérez Bustamante (Madrid, s.a.), p. 331).

[82] Pedro Sherlock to the marquis of Grimaldo, Salamanca, 26 Oct. 1720 (AGS, E., Negociación de Inglaterra, lego 6849, n.f).