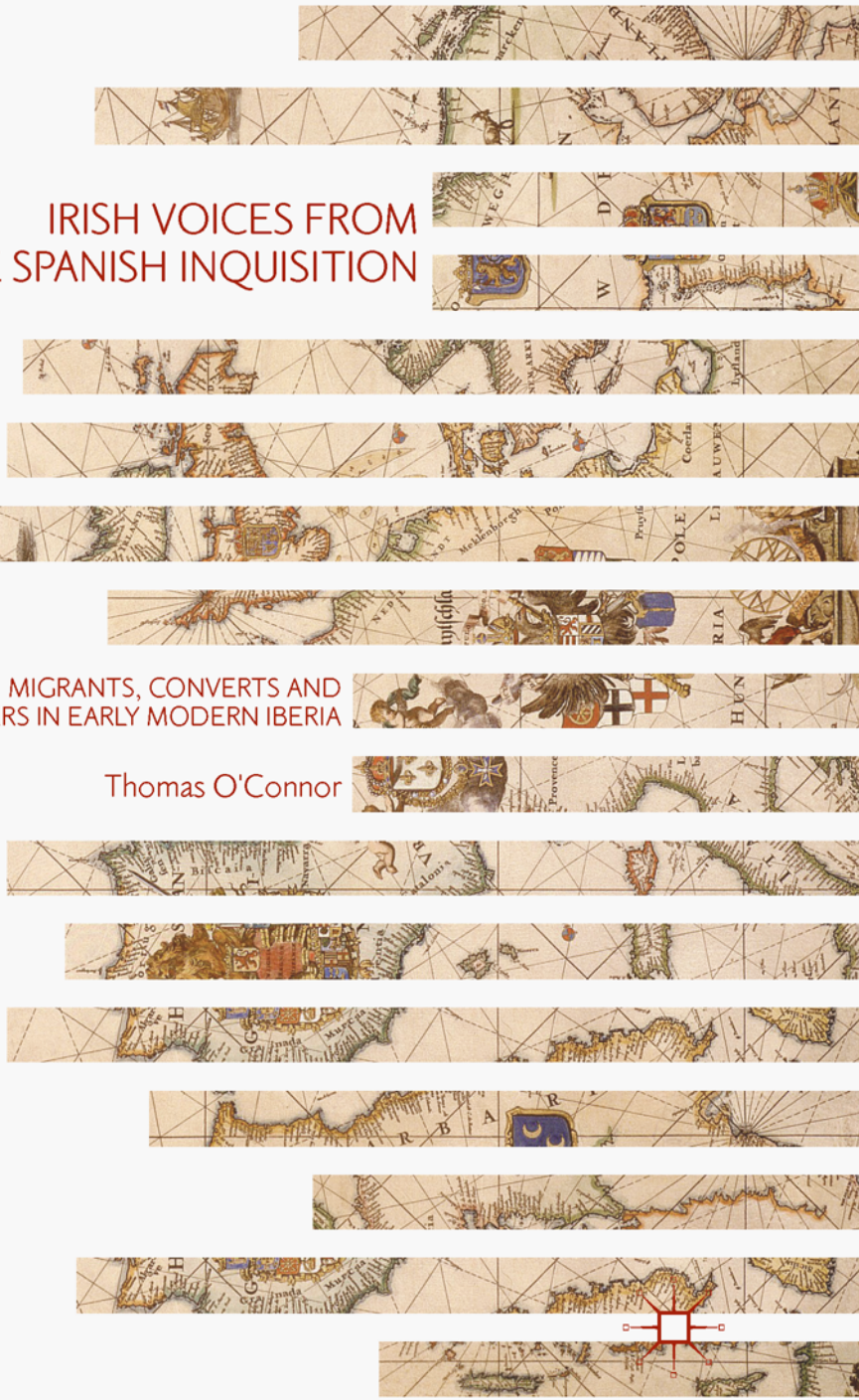
IRISH VOICES FROM THE SPANISH INQUISITION

MIGRANTS, CONVERTS AND BROKERS IN EARLY MODERN IBERIA

Thomas O'Connor



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Juste et sancte vivit qui rerum integer aestimator est
(Augustine)

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Acknowledgements

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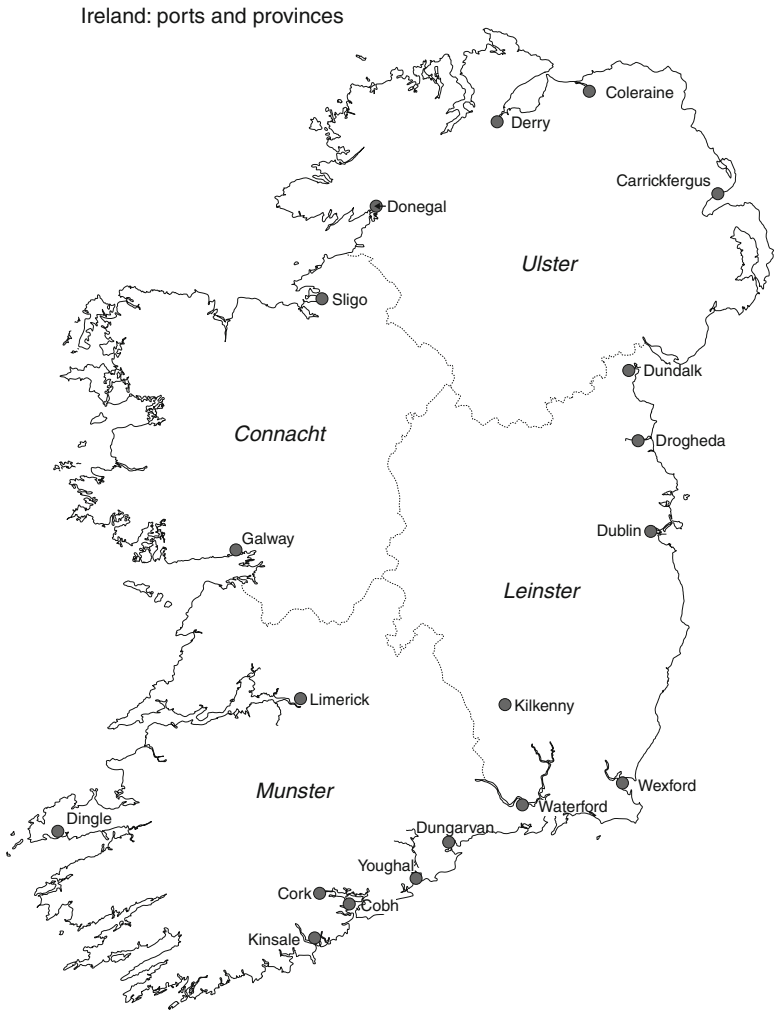
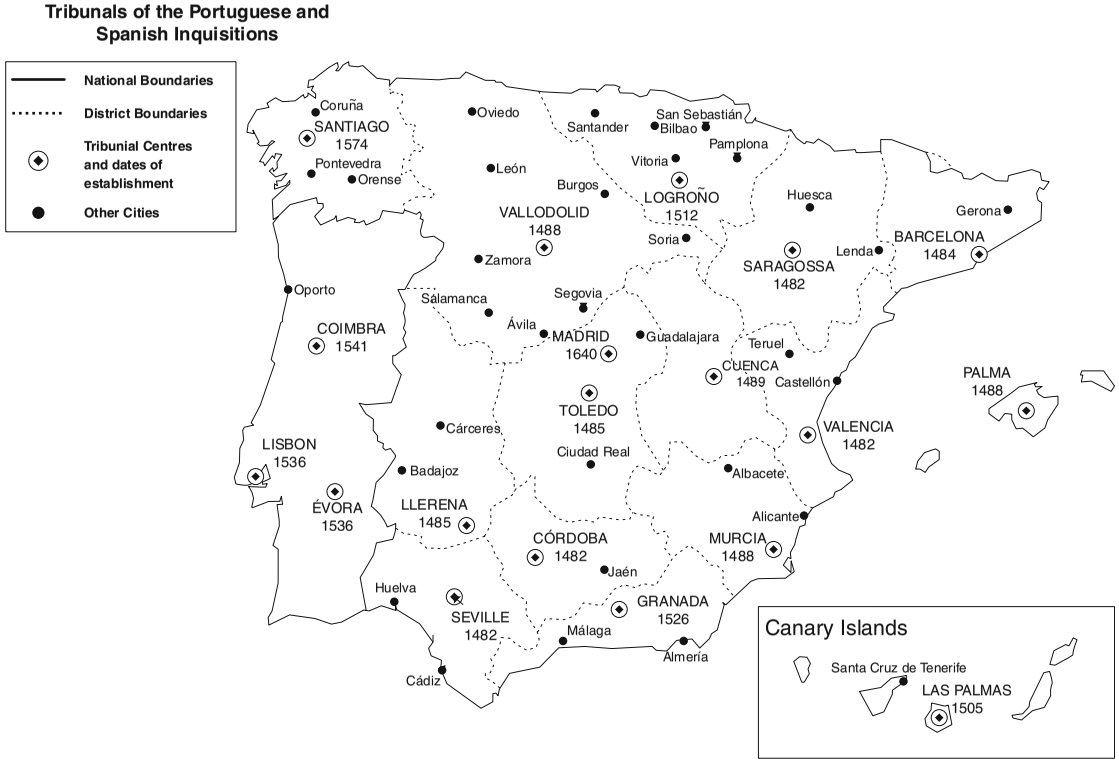
List of Abbreviations

ACDF	Archivio della sacra congregazione della Dottrina della Fede, Rome
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico
AGP	Archivo General del Palacio, Madrid
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AHDFB	Archivo Histórico de la Diputación Foral de Bizkaia, Bilbao
AHMP	Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Madrid
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AMC	Archivo del Museo Canario
ANTT	Archivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
ARCV	Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesus, Rome
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
BL	British Library
BN	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid
CUL	Cambridge University Library
ITESM	Instituto techológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey
RLM	Russell Library, Maynooth University
TNA	The National Archive, Kew

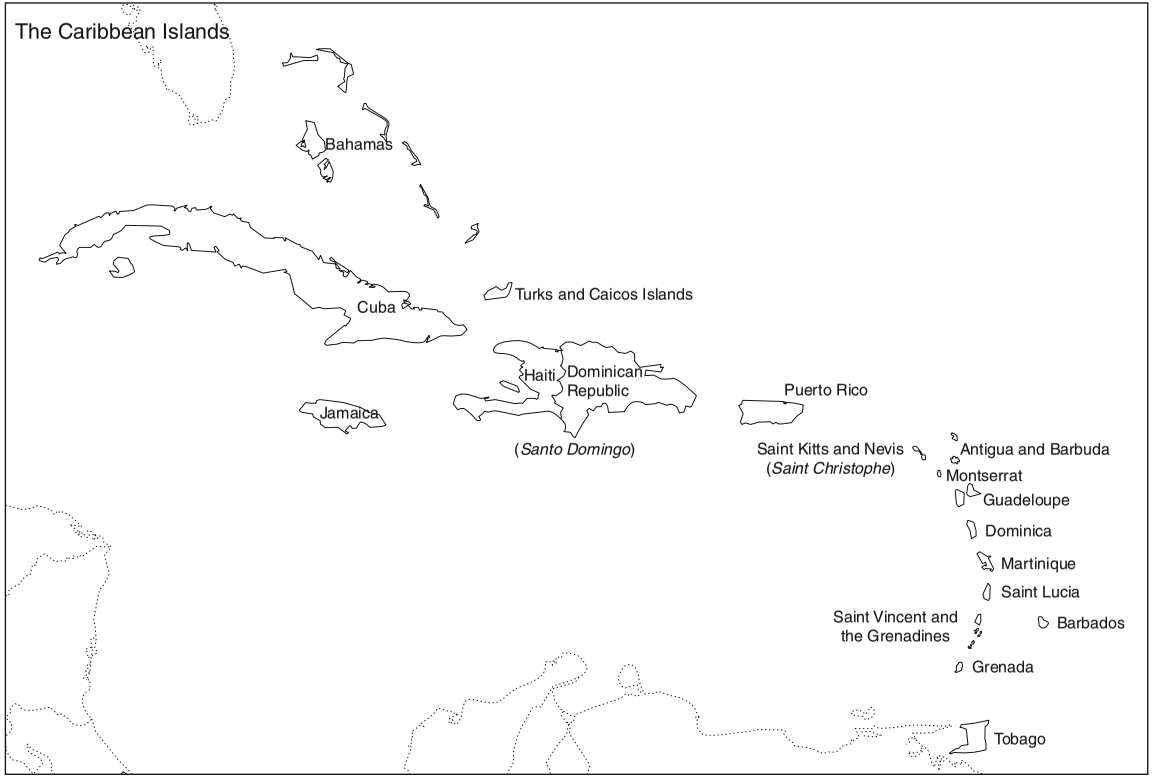
Maps



Map 1 Irish provinces and their ports, starting points for migrant journeys to Spain and Portugal



Map 2 Tribunals of the Portuguese and Spanish Inquisitions. The year refers to the tribunal's foundation date



Map 3 The Caribbean Islands, home to numerous seventeenth-century Irish migrants

Map 4 Tribunals of the Inquisition in Spanish America. Some of the most important Irish heresy trials were heard in the New World

Introduction

In the course of the sixteenth century, Irish migrants to Spain established a partnership of shared interests with the Inquisition and with the Spanish monarchy that was to last for two hundred years. This book is about that complex relationship, which began when Irish migrants first came to inquisitorial notice in the 1550s. The Spanish Inquisition, also known as the Holy Office, was established in 1478 as the doctrinal police and judiciary of the Spanish monarchy. Its original remit was the detection, conviction and sentencing of backsliding Catholics who had recently converted from Judaism or Islam.[1] It became interested in the Irish, and in other Northern European visitors, with the onset of the Protestant reformations. The Irish, with their traditional reputation for Catholic orthodoxy, might seem an unlikely inquisitorial target. However, sixteenth-century Ireland was a complex political and religious society, and the Irish migrants arriving in Spain reflected that diversity. From the 1550s, the previously invisible Irish emerged as potential risks to the ideological hegemony of the Spanish monarchy, obsessed as it was by fears of religious sedition.

Technically all the Irish were vassals of the Protestant monarchs of England and some, having accepted the Elizabethan religious settlement, were bona fide Protestants. Broadly speaking, the Inquisition knew how to deal with Irish merchants and sailors denounced for Protestant heresy. It was simply a question of applying the principles and procedures traditionally used against those lapsing back into Judaism (*conversos*) and Islam (*moriscos*). However, there were other more ambiguous cases. Some of the denounced Irish claimed to be crypto-Catholics and others, pretending to be orthodox Catholics, were accused of crypto-Protestantism. Nor did the migrant Irish show much 'national' solidarity, frequently denouncing each other and willing to turn Inquisition's

evidence. There was always the risk that denunciations were levelled to settle personal scores rather than to preserve religion. Moreover, owing to language difficulties, the Inquisitors relied on Irish interpreters to facilitate trial interviews, adding another layer of complexity and introducing the possibility of collusion.

Had these been the only challenges facing the Inquisitors, the Irish in Spain would have been no different than any other foreign heretic group coming before the Holy Office. English, Dutch and French heretics posed similar problems. However, in the case of the Irish, there was an extra, political dimension that quickly compromised the Inquisition's freedom of action in their regard. The Irish, albeit with very varied levels of enthusiasm, were subjects of the English monarchs. However ill they wore it, their subjection to England affected their treatment in Spain, which varied according to the ups and downs in Madrid's volatile relationship with London. When Spain was at peace with England, the Inquisition was obliged to deal gingerly with English vassals. In fact, it frequently found its investigations stymied by the intervention of a government anxious to avoid provoking an adverse English reaction. Even in time of war, the Inquisitors remained under the Spanish king's starting orders, for reasons of state. Principal among these was trade. Spain and England were naval, strategic and religious competitors but also commercial partners who, by the mid-sixteenth century, had developed a high level of mercantile interdependency. Their mutual prosperity depended on trade, and trade depended on traders, irrespective of their religion or their sovereign's. Even while under English fire, the Spanish regime was willing to protect bona fide Protestant traders from the Inquisition's bite, if not from its bark. To this end an arrangement was negotiated between the two sides and put in place during 1575.[2] It was sanctioned by official treaty in 1604 and protected visiting English, Irish and later Scots Protestants from inquisitorial molestation.

This was a striking instance of the Inquisition's subjection to reason of state. More importantly, it signalled a shift in Spanish outlook. By curbing the Holy Office's treatment of English and Irish Protestant visitors, the Spanish monarchy tacitly recognized that Protestant powers like England were a permanent feature of European geopolitics. This admission presented Catholic Spain with the paradoxical challenge of protecting its confessional boundaries while at the same time developing the means to allow approved movement across them. There was more to this than permitting English and Irish traders to visit Spanish ports unmolested by the Inquisition. It also involved facilitating the inward

movement of the sort of skilled operatives Spain needed to maintain its vast military and naval machines. These men would be permanent residents rather than visitors and would often come accompanied by their families. If they were Protestants, their permanent presence in Spain posed the risk of religious contamination. It was imperative to devise a procedure to process incoming heretics into Catholics, and fairly quickly. This was also a challenge for many early modern confessional regimes but few had as convenient an existing creedal infrastructure to do it as the Spanish.[3] For them, the Inquisition was the natural choice.

Although it was traditionally a doctrinal police, dedicated to the internal purgation of Spanish territories,[4] the Holy Office responded to the state's changing needs. Naturally, it continued to perform its traditional policing duties but adapted its heresy trial process into a conversion procedure, thereby providing an efficient and effective naturalization service to the Habsburg monarchy. The conversion process (*redución*) taxed neither the Inquisitor nor the intending convert and usually entailed no more than a single appearance before the tribunal.[5] The future convert was asked a series of formulaic questions regarding their faith history and motivation for seeking readmission to the Church. Responses were equally formulaic, generally delivered through an interpreter. If the responses were judged adequate, as they invariably were, the intending convert was absolved and, if necessary, entrusted to a catechist, often a fellow countryman, for further instruction. Fast-tracked versions could be arranged as circumstances demanded.

This development explains why the majority of Irish who appeared in the Inquisition's records were processed, not for being heretics but because they needed to become Catholics. Initially, most of the incoming Protestant Irish, like their Catholic compatriots, were destined for military service, a very small number at the highly skilled end, in artillery and naval architecture. Later, especially in the eighteenth century, they were recruited into a broader range of activities, including state-sponsored textile production. Their conversion records, in many cases quite detailed, contain unique information on the converts' prior religious experience in Ireland. In a great many cases, they had only recently converted to Protestantism. This suggests that their Spanish conversion was part of a longer conversion history and must be placed in that larger context. Furthermore, it appears that religious conversion was less a personal or spiritual event than a practical consequence of professional life and social expectations. It is well known, for instance, that the legislative restraint and sanction of Irish Catholics in eighteenth-century Ireland frequently motivated conversions to Protestantism.[6] In Spain another set of legal

requirements motivated conversions in the opposite direction. In neither case does the change of religious allegiance appear to have been necessarily socially divisive, though there were, of course, exceptions. In the Irish case and more generally, conversion operated as a means of social assimilation into the migrant community and, in the longer term, into Spanish society. These inquisitorial records help complicate the existing picture of Irish cross-confessional traffic, which was more than a one-way street to Anglicanism.[7]

Of course, only a small proportion of the total number of Irish migrants coming to Spain had any dealings with the Holy Office. However, for the vast majority of those who did, their passage before the Inquisition was for the purposes of religious conversion.

The situation was somewhat different for Catholic immigrants. As English vassals and Habsburg dependants they were ideal candidates to assist the Inquisition in its role as a naturalization service, particularly where Irish, and English, Protestant conversions were concerned. From the 1560s, the Holy Office had begun to recruit them as interpreters. Later their inquisitorial roles expanded to include those of censor, commissioner and even local official. These were not major inquisitorial roles but they provided migrant Catholics, especially Catholic clergy, with income, some status, and, on occasion, entry into Spanish ecclesiastical networks. Inquisitorial employment also permitted them to play a role in the integration and assimilation of Irish immigrants. As interpreters they were key figures in the conversion process. They not only acted as translators but also recruited potential converts, providing instruction, coaching them for their inquisition audience and overseeing their integration into the Catholic Church. In cases where intending converts were themselves recent converts to Protestantism, the instruction must have been perfunctory. Indeed one forms the impression that for interpreters too, conversion was more a professional requirement than a spiritual event, or a triumph for the Church militant. Some of the processes suggest a level of collusion between the interpreters and intending converts. Certainly, a good record in securing conversions was no burden for Irish clerics on the make in Spain. It was not unknown for ambitious Irish ecclesiastics to advertise their conversion tallies as evidence of service to king and religion.

The activities of the Irish, as converts and inquisitorial officers, paralleled their more general engagement in Spanish royal service. In this, the geopolitical context remained central, particularly as it pertained to Hispanic–English relations. By recruiting Irish soldiers, using Irish go-betweens, favouring Irish merchants and selectively supporting

Irish spies, agitators and fifth columnists, Spain aspired to maintain a presence in the English sphere at a time when its own supremacy on the high seas was checked by the Tudor and later Stuart navies. Even more significant for the longer-term exercise of Spanish 'soft-power' in England's Irish kingdom was Spanish state and private investment in the Irish college network. By supplying Spanish-trained Irish priests to the mission, Spain retained an interest in Ireland. At the same time, by recruiting Irish clergy for the Spanish mission it gained a skilled and adaptable clerical cohort who made their mark in the New World. Thanks to their international experience and linguistic ability some of these served in the American Inquisitions, supplying a particularly acute skills shortage in the Spanish colonies.

The conversion records obviously cast fresh light on the Irish immigrant experience in Spain and are intriguingly suggestive about converts' prior religious experience in Ireland. They also put a spotlight on the Inquisition, highlighting its little-known role as an agent of migrant assimilation and integration.[8] This points to the close links between Habsburg/Bourbon immigration policy, the Inquisition's flexible activity as regime servant and the role of migrants in the Spanish state-building enterprise. Specifically, it underlines how the treatment of Irish migrants dovetailed with Habsburg geopolitical strategy, especially in relation to England.

More specifically, the conversion records bring into sharper focus the Holy Office's subordination to Spanish state interests. The Irish cases have the particular merit of showing how the subordinated institution actually worked and how it adapted over time to ensure its continued indispensability to the monarchy. This is especially striking in the early eighteenth century when dynastic change in Spain made the Inquisition vulnerable to reform, or even abolition. Its successful assimilation of incoming Irish Protestant soldiers into the Bourbon ranks helped in part to convince the new dynasty that the institution, always an important social presence in Spain, was still of practical use to the state. The Holy Office had a knack of reinventing itself as an arm of the regime, functioning alternately as a hammer of heresy, a border police, a social integrator and a naturalization service. It was only later in the eighteenth century that the Holy Office failed to anticipate the state's ideological needs. Its condemnation of Enlightenment classics was not, of course, surprising. However, its disinclination to distinguish between potentially subversive political literature, which the government feared, and the new technical works so popular with reforming Bourbon administrations, cast it as a hindrance rather than a help.[9]

If in the late eighteenth century it maintained some of its social vigour as a career path for ambitious Spanish clergy,[10] with the onset of revolution it became a political football between contending interests in the Spanish state. Its short-lived restoration after the French invasion was a swansong, orchestrated by the reactionary Bourbons.[11]

The decline and dissolution of the Inquisition in the late eighteenth century coincided with a relative weakening in the attraction of Spain as an Irish migrant destination. There were sound economic reasons for this, principally, the general economic prosperity of Ireland after mid-century and the availability of alternative migrant destinations, especially in the Americas.[12] But the factors that diminished the Inquisition's status in the eyes of the Spanish monarchy also undermined the peculiar conditions that made the Irish such a successful migrant presence in Spain. Just as social and intellectual change lessened the state usefulness of the Inquisition, so the continued cooling of old creedal passions undermined the 'persecuted' status of the migrant Irish abroad. By the late eighteenth century, the religious card, so expertly played by the Irish in Spain, commanded less counter-reformation credit than before. Furthermore, with the revolutionary explosion in France, the position of England in Spain's international strategy shifted, compromising the traditional brokering role of the Irish.

Outline of this book

In the grander scheme of things, the relationship between the Irish and the Inquisition was less accidental than it might first appear. This book traces the story of the unusual, three-sided partnership that emerged between the Spanish monarchy, its Inquisition and their Irish immigrants. It left an irregular archival footprint in the papers of the Holy Office and the Spanish state. The Irish themselves were rather poor record keepers. However, despite the unevenness of the sources, it proved possible to reconstruct a broadly chronological account of this self-interested association. The book is in three parts. The first examines the sixteenth-century origins of this unique partnership, the second, its subsequent diversification, and the third, its eighteenth-century apogee.

Part I, in three chapters, examines the origins of the early modern Irish presence in Spain. This has generally been explained as a response to Tudor and Stuart state-building in Ireland, especially in its military, religious and fiscal forms. However, Chapter 1 deepens the traditional understanding of Irish state-building to include the role of the Irish European presence in the maintenance of commercial and cultural

connectivity between Ireland, England and Spain. Because the fraught relationship between England and Spain was the immediate context in which Irish subjects came to Spain and engaged with the Inquisition, Chapter 1 traces the evolution of inquisitorial policy towards vassals of the English monarch. From a starting point of outright hostility in the late 1550s, a surprising attitude of conditional tolerance developed, driven by the Spanish monarchy's geopolitical and commercial rather than religious priorities.

Chapter 2 describes the mercantile origins of the Irish migrant community in Spain and sets out how the trading Irish adapted to the broader geopolitical context, negotiating its religious, economic and political storms with some success. Mercantile self-interest looms large but so do the challenges of divided political and religious loyalties among the Irish. This chapter explains their strategic, intermediary position between English and Spanish interests and how they used their liminal status to establish their brokering niche.

Chapter 3 completes the tour of the sixteenth-century diaspora with a look at the activities of the Irish papal clergy exiled in Spain, especially how and why they accessed the lower echelons of the inquisitorial apparatus. At a very early stage they carved out for themselves a role in the conversion infrastructure of the Holy Office. Contrary to their own expectations, their sixteenth-century Spanish activities were not a prelude to the Catholic re-conquest of Ireland and England. Rather they found themselves obliged to accept permanent residence in Spain. This, however, was by no means a defeat. Their inquisitorial activity provided them with a role in the Spanish state, which was supplemented by the establishment of the Irish collegial network. In time this provided a small but influential number of trained clergy for the Irish Church, enabling the expatriate clerical community to maintain a vibrant link with the homeland. Rather than fixing permanently overseas, the abroad clergy established a permanent circulation between home and host lands. As the Tudor, Stuart, Cromwellian and Hanoverian regimes in Ireland learned, this was a clerical diaspora that went abroad but did not, for all that, go away.

Part II presents an overview of the diversifying Irish migrant community in the seventeenth century. From an archival point of view, the seventeenth century proved to be the patchiest, although it did include the best documented of all the Irish heresy trials. During this century, the treatment of incoming Irish continued to be influenced by Hispano-English relations, as the embassy broils described in Chapter 4 reveal. Other seventeenth-century Inquisition cases involving Irish subjects

take us to the core of the migrant community experience, exposing the complex and sometimes highly competitive relations between different migrant subgroups. They also attest to the successful transfer abroad of native ethnic and social rivalries.

At the same time the Inquisition Irish went global, penetrating the entire Spanish world, from its North African footholds to the central American forests, to the faraway Philippines. This extension cast the migrant Irish in a variety of roles, invariably associated with service to the colonial regime, both secular and ecclesiastical. It brought them into direct and sometimes dolorous contact with the Muslim world and also with the native American and African slave populations of the New World. Chapters 5 and 6 follow the migrant Irish across the Atlantic and, through the inquisitorial record, build up a picture of their colonial activities.

Chapter 5 examines migrant roles as pirates, missionaries and inquisitorial officials. Though very small in number, the surviving examples illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of their varied integration and assimilation strategies. In Chapter 6 the remarkable case of William Lamport, condemned to death by the Mexican Inquisition in 1659, demonstrates the multi-layered structure of New World migration and the overlap between originally diverse migrant groups, like the Irish, Portuguese Jews, native and African Americans. Lamport's experience powerfully demonstrates the essential social vulnerability of the first-generation migrant, no matter how well assimilated. Liminality brought opportunities to the peripatetic Irish, but, as Lamport discovered, it also had its risks.

Part III (Chapters 7 to 10) highlights the eighteenth-century peak of the Irish migrant presence in Spain and its engagement with the Inquisition, in a greater variety of roles than ever before. Chapter 7 examines how the Inquisition processed incoming Irish military migrants involved in the War of the Spanish Succession. Of particular significance are the convert narratives that reveal the obscure side of Catholic life in penal Ireland, testifying to the practice of repeat conversions. Irish recruits crossed creedal lines with remarkable ease, in part because so many of the 'Protestant' recruits were actually cradle Catholics. Equally striking is the Inquisition's flexibility in dealing with them and the ingenuity of Irish clergy in luring men from invading armies into Bourbon service. In most cases, interpreters entered into contact with intending converts prior to their inquisitorial appearance and were often instrumental in convincing the individual to seek conversion in the first place. They also coached intending converts and probably

'improved' original testimonies to make them more convincing for the Inquisitors.

Chapter 8 picks up the story of Irish merchant communities, which were by now enjoying their most prosperous period in Spain. Thanks to the resourceful exploitation of their dual identities as English vassals and orthodox Catholics, Irish merchants enjoyed singular success in Spanish commerce, linking Spain to the expanding North American markets. Often in cooperation with the local Inquisition, they dominated British merchants' associations in many ports, assuming a leading role in local English-speaking communities. By the end of the century, even as the pull of the Atlantic economy started to draw more and more of them away from Spain, the mercantile Irish were on the cusp of total integration.

Chapter 9 explores this theme further, examining the expanded roles occupied by the Irish in eighteenth-century Spain, notably in banking, industry and knowledge transfer. Clichéd accounts of the Irish migrant experience, concentrating, as they do, on the classical categories of priest, soldier and merchant, have tended to overlook other dimensions of the migrant phenomenon. A particularly rich seam of inquisition conversion records, used in conjunction with a parallel state archive series, permitted the in-depth exploration of the entrepreneurial, technical and knowledge activities of specific groups of Irish operatives in the Madrid region in the 1750s. Both as a cultural police and an agency of assimilation, the Inquisition kept a keen and increasingly irksome eye on the flow of information through these migrant connections.

In Chapter 10, the inquisitorial records are used to reconstruct the less well-explored female dimension of the Irish migrant experience. Of particular interest are cases involving sexual crimes against women. The inquisitorial records of these investigations offer a unique insight into sexual relations within abroad communities and also reveal the mediated nature of the role and agency of emigrant women. As in the case of conversions, the inquisitorial processing of sexual offences occurred in a complex social context, where agency was exercised by groups and by proxy, rather than directly by individuals. In a curious way, the brokering role of females within the migrant community reflects aspects of the intermediary role of the migrant community as a whole. It also emerges that, because of their complex and usually dependent social status, female migrants faced particular challenges in accessing inquisitorial processes, dealing with the human consequences of conversion and coping with widowhood, and other personal and domestic calamities. More generally, the records of these investigations throw valuable light on the

internal regulation of expatriate communities, exposing the social sinews of the migrant group.

The sources

The sources for this book are found in a number of archives. Originally, every one of the twenty or so inquisitorial tribunals spread over Spain, Portugal and their empires had its own archive, where the trial records were preserved.[13] The *Suprema*, or central governing body of the entire Inquisition, maintained an archive consisting of administrative and regulatory material and correspondence with the local tribunals. Over time, the archives of the local tribunals suffered from fires and other catastrophes. Because it was not a universally beloved institution, some Inquisition repositories were sacked during periods of unrest in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A small number survived intact, including those of Cuenca, Mexico City and the Canary Islands. These are now preserved locally. The records of the *Suprema* and the tribunal of Toledo, which also survived in great part, are now held in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. The documentation of the Portuguese Inquisition survived almost completely intact, and the papers of its three tribunals are now housed in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.[14] This archive is available online, as is a significant portion of Madrid's Archivo Histórico Nacional. This material had been supplemented with sources from the Archivo General de Simancas, the Seville-based Archivo General de Indias and the Conway Transcripts in Cambridge University Library, which contain material from the Mexican Inquisition, pertinent to British subjects. Other material in the Salamanca Archive in Maynooth and in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Madrid has also been consulted.

Given the character of the Irish migrant presence in Spain, the material used in this book consists largely of conversion records. A smaller number of heresy trials were also examined. Conversion records survived much more completely in the Portuguese Inquisition. Internal regulatory and administrative material generated by the Inquisition was also useful, particularly for information on how the institution was governed, how it managed its internal affairs and how it generated and applied policy regarding foreigners. The book also used a number of investigations conducted by the *Suprema*'s public prosecutor (*fiscal*), concerning the disciplining of inquisitorial personnel, including some Irish.

All these sources present challenges. The trial records, where they are complete, are perhaps the most reliable. The Inquisition was administratively meticulous, taking great care to assemble, process and archive

trial material. Moreover, where defence and prosecution testimonies survive, as is most often the case for the Portuguese Inquisition, the historian has the opportunity to form a complex view of the case. Investigations conducted by the prosecutor prior to trials are also useful as they contain summaries of evidence from all parties and again permit the reconstruction of a relatively complete picture of the process in question. In the case of the Spain Inquisition the survival rate for heresy trials is much lower but case summaries forwarded by local tribunals to the *Suprema* do exist and these fill in some of the gaps. However, they can be frustratingly brief.

Conversion records need to be treated with caution. Although the biographical information is usually reliable, it was generally in the intending convert's interest to present the Inquisitors with a plausible rather than a truthful account of their faith history. Interpreters could be complicit in this. Moreover, because conversions were often part of the integration and assimilation of recruits for military, naval or professional service in Spain, it was in the interest of the Inquisition, as an arm of the state, to ensure their successful completion.

How the Inquisition worked[15]

Throughout its three hundred or so years in existence, the Holy Office retained the form and discipline of its origins as a doctrinal police. Over time it diversified into other areas of activity, including social policing and migrant assimilation. Strictly, it enjoyed jurisdiction only over Catholics and was initially intended to detect and penance Catholics of Jewish and Muslim origin, who were accused of backsliding into the practice of their ancestral faiths. The Inquisition's grisly popular reputation is largely based on its treatment of *conversos* and *moriscos*, who were convicted of heresy in the very active first years of its existence.[16] Overall, however, and particularly with regard to Irish subjects, its dark reputation is not so well deserved. Out of the hundreds of Irish processed by the Holy Office, there were three death sentences whose record survives. There were, undoubtedly, many miscarriages of justice. This was particularly so when the Inquisitions did not respect its own procedures. It also occurred when political motives dominated or when the institution's economic advantage or its social and ethnic prejudices prevailed. In general, however, the Holy Office functioned no more vindictively than any other arm of the early modern state. Its capital conviction rate was lower than the civil average. Its use of torture was codified. Its method of execution, always delegated to the civil authority,

compares not unfavourably, for instance, with the hanging, drawing and quartering of the English common law.

The chief official of the Holy Office was the Inquisitor General who was nominated by the Spanish monarch and approved by the pope. He headed the central or ruling council of the Holy Office, called the *Suprema*. The Inquisitor General was assisted by about half a dozen ordinary Inquisitors who developed religious policy and acted as the final court of appeal in matters of faith. The *Suprema* exercised jurisdiction over a network of about twenty local inquisitions (*tribunales*), set up around Spain and in the New World after 1482. For foreigners like the Irish the most important of these were in port cities like Seville, Lisbon and the Canaries, where the Irish were most numerous. The local tribunals were generally staffed by two Inquisitors each. They were assisted by a theological expert (*cualificator*), a bailiff (*alguacil*) and public prosecutor (*fiscal*). Supporting the small staffs of the *tribunales* was a network of local commissioners, usually parish priests, who assessed local heresy cases, conducted preliminary interrogations and referred cases as necessary to the local tribunal. The commissioners in turn were assisted by a network of unpaid but socially privileged lay *familiares*. Generally, the *familiar* was the first point of contact between the person accused of heresy and the inquisitorial apparatus.

Although its foundational mission was against backsliding *conversos* and *moriscos*, the Inquisition later became interested in the policing and suppression of other religious groups in Spain, including the *alumbrados* (Christian mystics and religious enthusiasts) and, of course, Protestants, generically referred to as *luteranos*. It was in this latter context that the Irish first came to inquisitorial attention. For the Inquisition, Protestants were initially treated as lapsed Catholics and were subject to the same procedures and penances as backsliding *conversos* and *moriscos*, and *alumbrados*. At the same time, the Inquisition functioned as a moral police for the orthodox Catholic community, punishing a range of infractions that included bigamy, confessional solicitation and sodomy. For these offences, incoming Catholic Irish, like their Spanish brethren, fell under inquisitorial jurisdiction. After the 1570s, the majority of Irish processed by the Inquisition were intending converts, who were subject to a special conversion procedure called *reducción*.

The classic inquisitorial process was that for heresy, and its secondary procedures, including *reducción*, were based on it. Those suspected of heresy came to the Inquisition's attention by way of anonymous denunciation. Denunciations, which followed a judicial form, were initially

received by the relevant *familiar* and referred to the local commissioner or Tribunal for assessment. If the denunciation was judged plausible by the Inquisition's theological experts the accused was arrested and their property confiscated to pay for their keep. The accused appeared before the Inquisitor or commissioner for three hearings (*audiencia*), recorded verbatim by a notary. Where foreigners like the Irish were concerned, an interpreter, usually Irish, was provided. In the first hearing the court established the accused's personal history. This is the part of the process record that provides the richest biographical information on the defendants' lives prior to arriving in Spain, usually outlining their parentage, education, and their religious and professional history.

This was the first of three hearings. If the defendant declined to admit guilt he was formally charged and given an opportunity to answer. Witnesses were then secretly empanelled and their evidence written up as charges and read to the defendant (*prueba*). The accused could call witnesses in his favour. If he successfully challenged the motivation of any of his anonymous denouncers, their evidence was dismissed. If the case remained strong and the defendant refused to admit his guilt, supervised torture was sometimes used, to elicit information rather than as a means of punishment. Obviously the unfortunate victims would not have appreciated the distinction. A jury (*consulta de fe*), consisting of the local tribunal's Inquisitors, a representative of the local bishop and theological experts then voted on the evidence, deciding on the appropriate sentence. This was publicly announced at the subsequent *auto de fe*. There were four possible outcomes. An acquittal involved suspension of the case, with the accused remaining under suspicion of heresy. Penancing was the second option. It was imposed on accused who admitted their guilt. It involved light physical penances, and the wearing of the *san benito* or penitential garment. The penanced were readmitted to the Church. For serious recidivists, the sentence was reconciliation, which involved more severe physical penances, like flogging and galley service, and the permanent wearing of the *san benito*. The severest sentence, for obdurate heresy, was death by burning at the stake. After sentencing at the *auto de fe*, those condemned to death were handed over (*relajado*) to the civil power, which executed the sentence.

Although this is a book about Irish migrants in early modern Spain, it starts with a chapter on Anglo-Spanish relations. This is not meant to be mischievous. Early modern Irish migration to Spain occurred in a geopolitical context, dominated by the volatile relations between the Habsburg and Tudor monarchies. In the 1560s, Irish migrants first came to the attention of the Inquisition as vassals of the heretic queen,

Elizabeth. Later, as it became aware of their complexity, and potential, as a migrant group, the Inquisition formed a self-interested association with the Irish, to provide conversion and other brokering services to the Spanish monarchy, itself in need of cross-confessional and inter-dynastic agents. Accordingly, the account of this apparently odd partnership begins in the 1550s, when Philip II of Spain, as husband of Mary Tudor, briefly assumed the Irish crown.

Part I
Sixteenth Century

1
The European Context for Irish Migrant Mobility

The history of sixteenth-century Hispano-Irish relations is usually chronicled as a failed Catholic salvage operation bankrolled by Philip II, and bookended by the Desmond revolts and the Nine Years' War. It comes as something of a surprise, then, to discover a substantially different narrative in the records of the Spanish Inquisition. For the Holy Office, Ireland was not Spain's most favoured charitable object but, first and foremost, a threat, like England, to the religious and political integrity of the monarchy. In 1558, vassals of the Protestant English queen were, ipso facto, liable to arrest, trial and punishment for heresy. In 1604 her successor's visiting vassals were granted, along with important commercial advantages, official immunity from inquisitorial interference. In between these two dates, separated by years of wars and conflict, the English and Spanish monarchies faced the challenge of cutting a confessional deal that would permit reasonable cooperation in one indispensably crucial area of mutual interest, trade. The pursuit of this end, historically obscured by the inquisitorial pyre, long periods of warfare and economic embargoes, was a constant in English–Spanish relations throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. Its successful solution in 1604 conferred special status on the Protestant vassals of the English monarch visiting Spain for trade, whether they were English, Irish or Scots. If, during the same time, Irish Catholic visitors to Spain emerged as a recognizable subgroup among the English monarch's vassals, it was a consequence of this larger process. The achievement of 'visibility' for Irish Catholic vassals was mirrored by, and dependent on, the conferring of the special standing on the now Protestant English.[1] In this piecemeal process, the Inquisition played a crucial role. In 1558 its credit with the Spanish monarchy was high, and its responsibility for the maintenance of religious uniformity seemed unquestionable.[2]

The reality was more complex. For Philip II, the Inquisition was not an autonomous religious authority but a tactical instrument of Habsburg strategy, responsive to its political and commercial interests.[3] At the very heart of the Inquisition's dealings with Irish and English visitors in the half-century after 1558 lay mundane *raison d'état*, diplomatic horse-trading and the greasy marks of commercial exchange.

Anglo-Spanish tensions

Philip II married Queen Mary in 1554, and in the following year he accepted the lordship of the Netherlands from his father, Charles V.[4] These events created twin strategic priorities for Philip: the maintenance of peace in the Low Countries and good relations between England and Spain. It was difficult to conceive of one without the other. England was so close to the Netherlands and their economies so interdependent that, in a real sense, Philip had little choice but to court the English. While Mary lived, these strategic and economic interests were for the most part assured. With her death in 1558 and the accession of her Protestant half-sister, Elizabeth, Spanish interests suffered a blow. For the new queen, Habsburg vulnerability in the Netherlands was an advantage to be exploited rather than palliated by alliance. Freedom to intervene in the Netherlands in England's own interests rather than Spain's gave strategic independence to the Elizabethan regime, and the opportunity to compete with Spain, gingerly at first, for a larger share in the American trade. Therein lay the rub. Despite the accession of a Protestant to the English throne and the champion of international Catholicism to the Spanish, the strategic fortunes of the two kingdoms were joined at the hip.

Philip was aware that the Netherlands were the soft underbelly of his Habsburg inheritance. So he trod carefully.[5] Although Elizabeth's succession was unfortunate, there was no immediate reason to assume that the Tudors' renewed break with Rome would necessarily jeopardize Habsburg interests. The queen's heresy was, of course, a disappointment, which distressed Philip. But while there was no doubting the sincerity of his attachment to Catholicism, Spain's strategic priorities determined how he expressed it diplomatically and militarily. In the late 1550s, peace with England was desirable, and it was strategically important to foster it. As a token of his good intentions, Philip, for instance, refused to consider offers from discontented Irish nobility to harry the new queen in her Irish kingdom.[6] His rebuff prompted complaints that his indulgence of the English queen was fostering heresy on

her Catholic island.[7] The king was unmoved, and his initial refusal was a token of things to come. He was prepared, on occasion, to listen to Irish requests for military assistance but responded only when assured that Habsburg interests were served.[8] English Catholic militants had the same experience. For the king of Spain, faith in God and his dynasty were one.

In the meantime, he had a more immediate religious problem on his hands. Philip was still in the Netherlands when, in May 1558, the Inquisitor General, Fernando de Valdés, informed him that indigenous Protestant cells had been uncovered in Valladolid and Seville.[9] A panicked inquisitorial clampdown followed, stoked by rumours of foreign Protestant infiltration. Stories spread of dissident Spaniards in collusion with English heretics to introduce a seditious fifth column into the peninsula.[10] One English agent had claimed that, 'it was a great miracle that so many countries had embraced Protestantism, Spain will do the same, notwithstanding the Inquisition's vigilance and the country's remoteness from the German Protestant heartland'.[11] Everywhere the Inquisitors looked, Protestantism was on the march.[12]

The panicky, paranoid mood was grist to the inquisitorial mill. For the periodically unpopular institution, the domestic Protestant crisis of the late 1550s and the accompanying fear of heretic infiltration were a godsend. Together they presented the Holy Office with a new opportunity to demonstrate its indispensability to the monarchy in the maintenance of religious orthodoxy and political obedience. The Holy Office seized the opportunity with both hands. Even before Philip had returned to Spain, the Inquisitor General, Valdés, had swung into action, securing extra inquisitorial powers from Pope Paul IV to investigate suspect clergy, including bishops. In a move to control the circulation of heretical ideas, strict censorship of the press was imposed and Spanish students were forbidden to frequent unauthorized foreign universities. In October 1559, hot on the heels of his homecoming, Philip attended in person the public penancing of heretics at the *auto de fe* in Valladolid.[13]

The crackdown was successful, not only in weeding out putative Spanish Protestants but also in demonstrating, once again, the efficiency of the Inquisition as the royal instrument par excellence of religious uniformity. Spanish Protestantism had been nipped in the bud, and for this the king was grateful.[14] To keep heresy in check, however, it was also necessary to control the ingress of foreigners and their potentially pernicious ideas and books. Again the Inquisition stepped up to the mark, detaining Protestant merchants and confiscating their cargoes in Spanish ports, especially Seville.[15] Among the detainees were traders

from England and Ireland.[16] This was not an entirely clinical exercise. It was the practice of the Holy Office to confiscate not only the property of the individual charged with heresy but also that of the entire ship in which he had sailed. This caused enormous disruption and prompted objections not only from foreigners but also from commercial interests in the Spanish ports. For them the Inquisition, which financed its activities in part through confiscated property, was acting self-interestedly, for personal enrichment rather than love of orthodoxy. There was more than a grain of truth to that accusation. However, despite local opposition to the Inquisition's exactions and the constant importuning of the king on behalf of foreign traders, only interim concessions were granted and the situation for foreign merchants remained troublingly unpredictable.

For the queen's Protestant vassals it was a dangerous time to be abroad. For the obedient majority of her trading vassals, public conformity became the order of the day, with recusants paying the price for their religious convictions, usually in fines. Even in Irish ports public conformity was enforced, and traders generally complied.[17] However, difficulties arose for conforming Irish and English merchants when they dropped anchor in Spanish ports. For the Inquisition, they were apostate Catholics, who had culpably fallen into heresy. Ipso facto, they were liable to the penances imposed by the Holy Office, in the same way as backsliding *conversos* (converted Jews) and *moriscos* (converted Muslims). Initially, the prudent majority of visiting English and Irish conformists kept their heads down and observed Catholic rites, at least while in port. However, their practical dissimulation pleased neither their sovereign nor their hosts. Moreover, it bred precisely the sort of duplicity the Inquisition had been originally established to detect. Nor were all visiting Protestants happy with the deceit. Some despised their countrymen's oily nicodemism. A few of the more missionary minded considered it their duty to enlighten the benighted Spaniards, and a handful paid the ultimate price.[18]

This created an awkward situation for Philip, who had to balance his religious obligations against his dynastic duties and his responsibility to keep his Spanish kingdoms prosperous. On the one hand, the Inquisition's gung-ho attitude to prosecuting visiting merchants was perfectly justified both by its remit and by the threat of Protestant contagion in Spain. It was unthinkable that Philip would not do all he could to assist the Holy Office. Apart from the risk of running a bar sinister across the Habsburgs' Catholic escutcheon, failure to act risked heretical contagion at home and encouraged demands for religious freedom in the

Empire, especially the Netherlands. It would also contradict centuries of Spanish investment in religious orthodoxy against crypto-Judaism and Islam. On the other hand, Philip's regime feared that inquisitorial activities in the ports would discourage international commerce and damage Spanish trade.[19] It also risked provoking the English regime into retaliatory action on the high seas and potentially in the Netherlands. If Philip recognized the need for some sort of compromise for the sake of trade, he was, however, unsure how to go about it.

Inquisition and the English Embassy in Madrid

To compound his discomfiture, an English embassy was now on its way to Madrid.[20] Elizabeth, at this stage, anxious to avoid antagonizing the Spanish any more than was technically or operationally necessary, had appointed a Catholic ambassador, Sir Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague.[21] However, he was mischievously partnered with the canny Protestant diplomat, Sir Thomas Chamberlain (1504–1580). This meant that, after the embassy's arrival in early 1560, Philip had vassals of a Protestant monarch officially resident in the city. Although all members of the embassy were obliged to attend public Mass, the Inquisition suspected that the embassy harboured heretics, and bristled at the perceived provocation.

Worse was to come. On returning to England, Montague left the Protestant Chamberlain in charge, exacerbating the king's difficulty. The Protestant ambassador, who conformed in public, had no reason to doubt the king's protection. However, that security was a personal, not a real grace, attaching only to the body of the ambassador and not 'extraterritorially' to the embassy or to the queen's vassals. Chamberlain was anxious to formalize his personal immunity. At this delicate moment a similar concession was not contemplated for the harried English and Irish merchants in Seville, but it fell to the ambassador to plead their cause too. In the recent past Chamberlain had pressed for his diplomatic rights, making a great fuss as ambassador in Brussels when Charles V forbade him to hold religious services in his house.[22] In Madrid, however, he accepted the obligation to maintain the fiction of official Catholicism, fully understanding Philip's unwillingness to grant anything more than personal assurances. But he was also resolved to obtain for the English mission in Madrid at least the same privileges as those accorded to the Spanish ambassador and his household in London.[23]

In the meantime, the Inquisition kept a beady eye on the embassy, constantly on the lookout for breaches in public conformity. One came

their way in October 1560 when Chamberlain's own personal secretary, the Protestant Thomas Staferson, was denounced to the Holy Office. Surprisingly, the denunciation originated from within the embassy with Chamberlain's Catholic majordomo, William Fayer, who does not appear to have appreciated fully the delicacy of his master's position.[24] According to Fayer's accusation, Staferson, on visiting a city church, had refused to make the sign of the cross with holy water. This public omission disturbed the pious majordomo and sparked a theological argument between them.[25] To Fayer's consternation, Staferson then proceeded to deny the existence of venial sin. Worse again, during subsequent conversations in their lodgings, and in earshot of other servants, Staferson rejected Church teaching on purgatory and on the Mass. On foot of Fayer's denunciation the Inquisition launched an investigation. Simultaneously, however, Chamberlain approached the duke of Alva whom he persuaded to intervene to abort the inquiry.[26] *Raison d'état* prevailed, obliging the Inquisition to drop the case. However, it continued to pester. Early in 1561 it interviewed the embassy laundry lady, Lucia Lopez, who had denounced an embassy servant, Thomas Quinn, for spitting on an image of the Virgin Mary.[27] This time the evidence was too ambiguous to permit an investigation but it was another scare for Chamberlain. Incidents like this made waves in the English diplomatic network. In a letter to Chamberlain from Paris, the English ambassador there, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, commented on Philip's interventions to stay the Inquisition.[28] He went on to warn Chamberlain of the possible nefarious consequences of the Inquisition's continued interference:

> And though I be here in a place as evil looked upon as any occupying this place of good time hath been, I am not troubled for these matters. I think it be rather to fear you, than for any meaning to infringe the ancient privileges of ambassadors in those cases or else I trust that like measure will be measured to those which occupy like charge in England.[29]

In January 1562, Chamberlain was replaced at the embassy by the experienced Sir Thomas Chaloner, who, despite his notorious hypochondria, stayed until May 1565.[30] He was no 'hot gospeller' and continued to conform publicly to Catholicism. Imposing the obligation to attend Mass on his Protestant staff was a different matter. In March 1563, Juan De Accuna, a knight of the order of Calatrava, noticed a number of foreigners, whom he took to be Chaloner's servants, misbehaving at Mass.[31] In his denunciation, he reported that they refused to kneel and talked boisterously during the most solemn moments of the ceremony. This

was a public affront to religion, which would certainly have triggered an inquisitorial prosecution had it been committed by an Irish or English merchant or his boy in Seville. Exceptions were made, however, for the ambassador's servants and, yet again, the Inquisition found its hands tied.

Confident of the king's support, Chaloner took these jousts with the Inquisition in his stride. On occasion he also deployed his own persuasive powers to allay inquisitorial doubts and suspicions. During Holy Week of 1563, for example, he contacted Lopez de Salas of the Madrid vicariate, ostensibly to request a licence for an embassy confessor.[32] The vicar complied, approving an Irish priest who had been chaplain at the Spanish embassy in London. During their conversations, Chaloner informed him of the new religious dispensation in England and its consequences for the queen's subjects abroad, who were now obliged by obedience to conform. He himself, he went on, was under surveillance by London spies and could no longer attend Mass in Madrid except in disguise.[33] Chaloner's plea for understanding did not fall on entirely deaf ears but it was not in the vicar's interest to upset the diplomatic applecart. Though sympathetic to Chaloner's predicament and shocked that he was subject to such hefty fines for Mass-going, he preferred to skirt the issue of conflicting religious and political obligations. He maintained the official fiction that the household was observant. The ambassador, he assured the Inquisition, was 'very Catholic' indeed.

Not everyone reporting to the Inquisition agreed. In July 1563, an Englishman, Charles Luet, in the course of his own trial for heresy, denounced the ambassador and his household for religious dissimulation.[34] As Protestant hardliner, Luet's disgust at Chaloner's nicodemism was so strong that he was willing to denounce him to an institution he could have only despised. Luet explained how, on first arriving in Madrid the previous September, he had lodged in Chaloner's house and had occasion to observe what went on there. The embassy, he informed the Inquisitors, was a haven of heresy. With his own eyes, he had seen the ambassador and at least three of his staff, reading heretical literature. Even though they were baptised Catholics, and had practised Catholicism under the old queen, they were now avoiding Catholic ceremonies and making their own arrangements. The suggestion that some form of religious service was being celebrated in the embassy appalled the Inquisitors, implying the flouting of the most basic law of the land.[35] For the Inquisition, Luet's testimony looked like the perfect basis for a prosecution, and in ordinary circumstances would have triggered an investigation. The Holy Office, however, was under royal starting orders and not free to proceed as usual. For the zealous Luet, there was

no compensatory plea bargaining. He was later convicted of heresy and handed over to the secular authorities for execution.

This was not the end of Chaloner's close shaves with the Holy Office. Later in in 1563, his elaborate religious fiction was again jeopardized, this time by a fresh incident within the embassy household. One of Chaloner's servants, Thomas King, had married a local woman, Isabel Alonso. On King's death, Alonso was evicted from his house and received no compensation from the ambassador. On the advice of a local clergyman, she denounced Chaloner and his lackeys for allegedly attempting to persuade her dying husband to reject the last rites. In her denunciation, Alonso provided a vivid account of her husband's death: the house crowded with neighbours, the ministrations of the parish priest, the mid-morning visit by the ambassador's servants, her husband's agitation at their apparent interference. She also recalled how, when the English servants left, a pair of visiting friars found her dying husband hysterical, bleeding from an apparent suicide attempt and convinced that he was tormented by demons.

Here was a dangerous set of allegations, and Chaloner calculated that it might be necessary to do more than passively rely on the king's grace. He resolved to take the fight to the enemy. Accordingly, he allowed his majordomo Fayer to submit a counter-denunciation against Alonso, accusing her of deception and moral turpitude.[36] For dramatic colour, Fayer claimed that Alonso had been visited by her dead husband's ghost, had become hysterical and later admitted that she had been acting under the influence of a female relative. To cap it all, he concluded, she was a bigamist and inclined to sleep with guests in the hostel she had run with the dead husband.[37] Fayer concluded his petition with a request that the Inquisition open a case against Alonso for calumny and fornication. The Holy Office made a great fuss and then lamely decided to suspend all action, pending consultation with the king.[38] For his part, Philip remained unwilling to allow inquisitorial interference to endanger diplomatic relations with Elizabeth.

Chaloner was very happy to leave Madrid in 1565, but could not have been completely dissatisfied with his mission. Immunity from inquisitorial investigation still depended on the king's grace, but the embassy had survived its brushes with the Holy Office, and the king's willingness to curb its activities had been tested and not found wanting. His successor, the more lowly born John Man, was less temperate in his proceedings and quite indiscreet about religion. Although it can be argued that he had to deal with a tenser international situation and an accrual of conspiratorial suspicions,[39] his gaucheness did not help. He refused to play

the diplomatic game of public conformity, openly demanding religious immunity. Despite Alva's sympathy, he alienated the king, who refused even to receive him.[40] To make matters worse, he allowed his house to became a Protestant meeting place and encouraged religious discussion there.[41] For the Inquisition, unmuzzled by the king's dislike of Man, this was a step too far. A inquisitorial investigation followed, leading to his recall to London in June 1568.

Towards practical tolerance, 1568–1574

Rather unwisely perhaps, Elizabeth decided not to replace Man with a permanent ambassador, preferring to use special envoys in the Netherlands to deal with Spanish business. She may have felt she could now afford to be more assertive. As the Dutch revolt deepened in 1566 into a serious assault on Habsburg authority there, England's strategic importance strengthened and, with it, Elizabeth's capacity to discommode Spanish interests. With the destabilization of the Netherlands, tensions mounted. In 1568 agents of the bishop of London entered the Portuguese embassy and arrested people attending Mass there. This resulted in a stand-off between the Portuguese, aided by the Spanish, and the bishop's mob.[42] The following year the outbreak of the Northern Rebellion in England and the First Desmond War across the water in Ireland soured the mood in London.[43] Elizabeth imprisoned the Spanish ambassador in 1569 and officially sanctioned privateering activity against Spanish shipping. John Hawkins's attacks in the Caribbean particularly infuriated the Spanish, who retaliated by imposing a trade embargo.[44] This led to a flood of inquisitorial denunciations and confiscations of cargoes. Because the king was less willing to stay investigations, there was a rise in convictions and executions.[45]

The inquisitorial clampdown, the diplomatic uncertainty and the embargo combined to disrupt trade. Within a short time olive oil supplies had run so short that woollen manufacturing was affected, to the fury of commercial lobbies on both sides. Even the Inquisition was forced to admit that the pursuit of religious error might have undesirable economic consequences. Cardinal Quiroga, the Inquisitor General, commented, 'having discussed the great number of foreign heretic traders who enter Spain it is obvious that one cannot prohibit the trade without serious damage to the kingdoms'.[46] That was the king's line too when he proceeded to relax the embargoes. This brought English and Irish Protestant merchants back to Spanish ports. However, because the king's intervention was not synchronized with instructions to the local

tribunals of the Inquisition, those in Seville and other ports proceeded to arrest returning Protestant merchants. This led to a paradoxical rise in detentions, exactly what Philip wanted to avoid.[47]

It was now become obvious to the king that, whatever his views on heresy, an agreed and universally applied protocol for the treatment of visiting Protestants was urgently required. London was pushing in the same direction, prompted by pressure from commercial interests there. In 1573 a group of merchants petitioned the Privy Council, pleading for 'a sensible peace … as no one can prosper without the other'.[48] With this prodding, Burghley raised the matter of inquisitorial arrests with Antonio de Guaras, the acting Spanish ambassador. Guaras, though he defended the Inquisition's way of proceeding, pointed out distinctions that might facilitate an understanding.[49] Permanent sojourners in Spain would always have to conform, he insisted, but visitors, such as merchants, need not be molested on account of religion. This was enough to facilitate negotiations.[50] Despite persistent diplomatic tensions over the Netherlands, France and the Caribbean, impetus for an agreement strengthened.[51] In August 1574, a peace was concluded, with both sides agreeing not to support the other's rebels.

Seizing the moment, Elizabeth, who was anxious to put an end to summary confiscation of cargoes, sent Sir Henry Cobham, an old Spanish hand, to Madrid, in late June 1575.[52] He was well received by Alva and negotiations were engaged at once. True to its investigative traditions, the Inquisition snooped around Cobham's house and interviewed all Spanish visitors to the house. One of these was the 35-year-old layman, Gaspar de Arratia,[53] who reported that the ambassador did not attend Mass and ate meat on days of abstinence. He had heard, he went on, that when the Blessed Sacrament was borne past the ambassador's house his servants had appeared to rush to close the door. There was plenty here to concern the Inquisition, but its aborted investigation was merely window-dressing as there was no question of a prosecution. In any case, Cobham, a diplomat of the same discreet temperament as Chamberlain and Chaloner, brought his mission to a successful conclusion. By December 1575, with the duke of Alva's support, a deal had been struck to permit English merchants to operate 'freely from the extremities of the Inquisition'. The informal arrangement already outlined in correspondence between de Guaras and Burghley was formalized. Henceforth, English and Irish Protestant sailors who landed in Spanish ports were exempt from examination by the Inquisition for faith offences committed on foreign soil.[54] In cases where they were processed for a faith offence committed in Spain, only their personal goods were subject to confiscation.[55]

It took time to ensure the observance of the new accord. Inevitably, there was initial unevenness in the application of the accord, mainly owing to inquisitorial heel-dragging and disagreements between factions within the Spanish administration.[56] The English reacted strongly to the Inquisition's dillydallying. In reprisal for the detention of an English subject in the Canaries, for instance, the queen granted the captive's father permission to take Spanish hostages until the new protocols were respected.[57] For his part, Philip proved responsive, instructing the local tribunals to comply.[58] The English now had the maritime firing power to oblige Philip to muzzle the Inquisition, and knew how to use it.

The Alva–Cobham agreement occasioned a sea change in inquisitorial attitudes towards English Protestants, which was soon reflected in procedural adjustments. When dealing with visiting Protestant vassals of the English monarch, the Inquisition suspended its historic activity of heresy detection and assumed the role of reconciler. A typical case came before the Toledo tribunal in 1577. Richard Bayle, an English embassy servant, petitioned the Inquisition for reconciliation.[59] Because Bayle had been baptised and reared a Protestant, the Inquisition ruled that he could not be treated as a lapsed Catholic. The Holy Office thereby accepted that defendants who were born Protestants were no longer subject to prosecution for apostasy.[60] Moreover, the Inquisition accepted Bayle's Protestant baptism as a valid sacrament.[61] This change led to a reduction in the number of cases and in the severity of punishments for those convicted.

Once processed by the Inquisition, converted Protestants were liable to be recruited for royal service in Spain.[62] For the Habsburgs all manpower, whatever its creedal past, was welcome, especially in wartime. In 1591, for instance, over seventy English prisoners of war in Seville converted, without either fanfare or apparent compulsion.[63] These generally uninstructed, nominal Protestants were *tabula rasa* for good catechists in the Jesuit tradition. Later, in 1602, Robert Persons elaborated that

> very few [English Protestants in Spain], especially of the younger sort (how earnest protestants soever they shew themselves) are to be accompted hereticks properly … for they lack sufficient knowledge of the Catholic faith or leastwise instructions, having never byn actually Catholicks.[64]

Initially, the Inquisition insisted that new converts spend a period of time in a monastery, to ensure that they were properly instructed in the faith. Very quickly, however, the practice of interning new converts

in monasteries for religious instruction was regarded as something of a joke, because so many of the inmates absconded.[65] In a great many cases, conversion was nominal, and it was only after many years of living in Spain that converted migrants absorbed the Catholic culture, essential to the formation of a new religious identity.

The acceptance of the new arrangement took time and, inevitably, there were many setbacks. A temporary improvement in Spanish affairs in the Netherlands under Alexander Farnese, coupled with Orange's assassination and the Portuguese union[66] rekindled political tensions between Spain and England from 1580. Even more seriously, the implication of the Spanish ambassador Bernardino de Mendoza in the Trockmorton plot of 1583 led to his expulsion early the following year and occasioned a fresh breakdown in diplomatic relations. From 1584, English raids on Spanish shipping resumed, setting off retaliatory action by the Spanish, which culminated in a new trade embargo and outright war in 1585. Whatever the political and ideological stakes of the war, the embargo was deeply unpopular in Iberia, a fact noted by the religious authorities. In 1586, the apostolic collector in Lisbon reported to Rome that the king was inundated with anti-embargo petitions from Spanish and Portuguese mercantile interests.[67]

For the Irish, the economic cloud had a silver lining. On this occasion, the embargo was not applied to Irish shipping, the first real indication that the Spanish administration was making an official distinction between the English and Irish vassals of Elizabeth.[68] Although the exemption was no doubt strategically motivated, intended to foster the Spanish interest in Ireland, it was also practically inspired. By allowing the Irish to continue trading, commercial links with the North were kept open, however precariously. Irish merchants enthusiastically took up the slack occasioned by banished English merchants. Acting as English proxies, they proved more than willing to cooperate with them to facilitate third party trading.[69] For their part, English merchants adapted to the situation, frequently using Irish and Scots aliases as covers.[70] This suited everybody. With Spanish connivance and Irish intermediaries, trade continued despite the war.[71] This set an enduring pattern of Irish Catholic substitution for English Protestant merchants in the Spanish ports during periods of hostility.

The Inquisition did not lose all its teeth, and wartime conditions made it more vigilant and severe, as the captured crews of the English *La Manuela* and the Scottish *María de Gracia* discovered to their cost.[72] There were onshore perils too. In Málaga, an Irishman, Roldán MacSweeney, was denounced to the local magistrate for praising Francis Drake and

disparaging the Spanish as scoundrels (*bellacos*). His frankness earned him a referral to the Granada Inquisition on charges of Lutheranism.[73] Even English Catholic students, bound for the college in Valladolid, were subject to inquisitorial detention and vetting.[74] However, in the main, Inquisition officials, including those who conducted ships' visitations, colluded. They were quite content to leave suspicious vessels unmolested, provided the crew attended Mass while in Spain.[75]

The new order

Following the defeat of the Armada, the Inquisition again drew in its horns,[76] and Philip took stock of what was now a permanently altered changed geopolitical situation. On the one hand, the embargo remained in force and offensive sallies continued, like the attempted descent on Ireland in October 1596[77] and the Kinsale landing in 1601.[78] On the other hand, normal trade continued to grow.[79] The accession of James I brought a ceasefire and the opening of Spanish ports. In 1604 Spanish and English delegates convened in London to discuss the articles of a peace.[80] Pushing their recent advantage, the English refused to grant public toleration to English and Irish Catholics, and declined to accept Spain's exclusive right to trade with the Americas.[81] However, despite the war mongers, they agreed to withdraw from the Netherlands and to suspend attacks on Spanish shipping.[82] On the thorny question of inquisitorial molestation of visiting traders, article twenty-one of the resulting Treaty of London repeated the essence of the Alva–Cobham arrangement, conceding that

> therefore that commerce may be safe and secure as well by land as by sea, the said most serene king of Spain and the archduke and archdukes, shall take care and provide that [the subjects of the king of England] be not molested or disturbed contrary to the rights and privileges of commerce for conscience sake, unless they have given scandal and offence to others.

This was not religious toleration by any stretch of the imagination, but it was the creation of a restricted zone within Spanish territory in which the fundamental law of Spain was suspended. Henceforth, bona fide visiting Protestant vassals of the king of England were exempted from the prosecuting authority of the Inquisition. To save inquisitorial face, this article was not presented in the main text, but published separately. The effect was the same. The legal and practical consequences were rapidly

drawn. The Supreme Council of the Inquisition (*Suprema*) in Madrid issued instructions to local tribunals on how to deal with the English, Irish and Scots Protestants.[83] These included directions on the general demeanour of the Inquisitors. Henceforth, all Protestants were potential converts and, as such, were to be treated 'with great gentleness' (*com mucha sauvidad*), with everything done to encourage their return to the Catholic fold. The threat of heresy remained. However, although local inquisitorial commissioners were still required to keep an eye on all English vassals, none was to contemplate an intervention without prior consultation with the *Suprema*.

On the vexed question of public conformity, the *Suprema* interpreted the treaty to remove the compulsion on Protestants to attend Catholic services. If Protestants did enter a Catholic church they were merely required to observe due reverence. Potentially awkward situations were anticipated and guidelines issued. For instance, should a Protestant meet a public procession bearing the Blessed Sacrament, they were requested to kneel respectfully. However, they also had the option of avoiding the procession altogether by going into another street or entering a house. Regarding the possession of books, always a sensitive issue for the Inquisition, commissioners were informed that Protestants covered by the treaty could retain heretical books, provided they were for their personal use only ('*para su usso*'). In those cases where there was a breach of the treaty commissioners were empowered only to warn the offender but could not proceed to an arrest or an interrogation. The offenders were to be escorted to the nearest port and put on a ship home.

These instructions brought legal clarity and procedural consistency to the treatment of Protestant vassals of the king of England, and would remain in force until the dissolution of the Inquisition in the early nineteenth century. England and Spain were frequently at war after 1604 but the old confessional edge was blunted. During time of war, Protestant vassals of the English king could find themselves at the sharp end of inquisitorial procedure, but in peacetime there was nothing to fear except inconvenience and some ritual humiliation. The Stuart kings were quick to appoint English consuls to the main Spanish ports, whose primary purpose was to ensure observance of the treaty, including the article concerning religion.[84] They proved vocal and effective advocates, quickly adopting leadership roles in English trading communities abroad and sometimes at loggerheads with the Catholic Irish, who were nominally under their jurisdiction. In some ports the Catholic Irish were sufficiently numerous to have their own consul.

The Inquisition, for its part, took stock of the new political reality. It clung to its remaining prerogatives, including that of visiting foreign ships to inspect for suspect literature.[85] This was not just a question of religious vigilance. Inquisitorial visits were charged to the ship and represented an important source of revenue for the inquisiting officer in question. In the seventeenth century he would usually be accompanied by English-speaking interpreters, many of whom were Irish Catholics. The new treaty created unexpected opportunities for sufficiently adaptable Catholic migrants.

The Anglo-Spanish agreement functioned as a model for dealing with other categories of visiting foreigners. Already in the 1590s, in its Alva–Cobham version, it had been extended to Hanseatic merchants trading with Spain.[86] Later, it became the model for the religious articles in the Spanish–Dutch armistice of 1609 and the 1648 peace of Münster between Spain and the United Provinces. The new agreement ensured that bona fide Protestant visitors to Spain, whatever their personal religious proclivities, were no longer exposed to the machinations of zealous Inquisitors, the ambitions of opportunistic inquisitorial *familiares*, the rancour of their own countrymen or the ups and downs of international diplomacy.

The religious article of the Treaty of London recognized officially what had become common practice in permitting two confessionally distinct states, with state-enforced religious uniformity, to continue to interact in defined areas, principally for the purposes of trade. No matter how great the ideological distance between them or how tense the international competition, Spain, England and Ireland were part of an ever more integrated commercial world. Shared trading interests, stimulated by the penetration of American precious metals and produce into the European economy, meant that trade bans were double-edged swords, to be avoided at all costs. Commerce was too important to be completely disrupted, even in times of war.

Nearly half a century later, in the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, the European monarchies would agree that because the state was the basic sovereign political unit mutual interference for religious reasons was proscribed.[87] However, with the Treaty of London, the English and the Spanish had already negotiated a practical understanding that delivered similar assurance. In a way, it was the development of this understanding between the Protestant English and the Spanish that permitted Irish Catholics to emerge as go-betweens, not only or even primarily for purposes of mischief and intrigue but primarily to oil the cogs of commercial contact, diplomatic relations and general social and cultural interchange between these two worlds. During the sixteenth

century, the fate of Irish residents in, and visitors to, Spain was decided not by the grand narratives of international relations between England and Spain or the clash of opposing religious police forces, but rather by the prosaic diplomatic and mercantile horse-trading conducted in the Spanish and English embassies and on the quays of Seville, Bilbao and Lisbon. Spain and its Inquisition, despite continued Catholic and Protestant grandstanding, and the crusading rhetoric of English and Irish Catholic militants, contrived to operate a system of practical religious connivance, without having to admit it. Even at the height of the so-called religious wars, the blurred frontiers between the confessional monarchies could be negotiated, notwithstanding the vigilance of doctrinal border guards like the Inquisition.

There were, of course, other contemporary efforts to work out similar exceptions in freshly confessionalized Europe. The Edict of Nantes is only the best-known example. But the Alva–Cobham arrangement, confirmed by the Treaty of London, produced an arrangement for a limited form of religious collusion exactly where least expected, hidden in plain view of the Inquisition's doctrinal searchlight.[88] For imaginative and versatile migrants these ambiguities were ripe for exploitation.

2
Irish Merchants and the Inquisition

There can be few groups in sixteenth-century Ireland who had to juggle political and religious loyalties more constantly than the internationally trading port merchants. Because their business obliged them to cross between Protestant and Catholic jurisdictions and deal in territories where the Inquisition operated, they were the first to feel the practical consequences of the religious conformity required by the Elizabethan regime. Their lot was conflicted and not always happy. According to the traveller Henry Piers, writing in the 1590s and speaking in particular of the Galway merchants, Richard Skerret and Valentine Blake,[1] then trading through Seville,

> … doe prove evidentlie that the merchants of Irelande which trafficke for Spaine were then in a verie harde Case, for there, they weare for the moste parte suspected of heresie, and reputed for spies, heere in Ireland vexed and ill thought of for beinge papistes and mistrusted as intelligencers for the Spainiardes.[2]

The ambiguities of which Piers wrote, not all of which were quite so negative, remained at the heart of the Irish mercantile experience in Iberia throughout the early modern period. For Irish merchants in Spain, the political and religious uncertainties of the mid-sixteenth century greatly complicated trading activity. However, while Elizabeth and Philip's representatives alternately fought and negotiated, traders adapted to create for themselves a role and position that would ensure their usefulness to both the Spanish and British regimes for the following two centuries. Their experience of the Inquisition was part of this process. For the Holy Office, the Irish were initially just another suspect foreign group, like the English, the French and the Dutch. However, the

strategic necessities of both the Spanish and the English and the Irish merchants' ability to pose convincingly as both orthodox Catholics and as vassals of the English monarch, created circumstances that they learned to exploit. The first evidence of their success came in 1584, with their exemption from the Spanish trade embargoes. This was a token of things to come.

Sinews of trade

The longstanding Irish trade with Spain and Portugal comes into early modern inquisitorial focus at a key moment in the economic history of Iberia. The creation of a truly Atlantic economy, consequent on Portuguese and Spanish discoveries, had multinational foundations and affected all their European trading partners.[3] It was, at the same time, shaped by the fiscalization and centralization activities of the Iberian monarchies.[4] Like all international merchants, the Irish active in Spain operated under state licences, respected navigational controls and acquiesced to state oversight. However, although state regulation was unavoidable (smugglers aside), the trading and navigation sectors that sustained the vast colonizing enterprises of the Spanish and the Portuguese were based in and carried on through urban centres, like Lisbon and Seville, which retained the trading and governing liberties inherited from the Middle Ages. In Ireland, an equivalent role was played by the port cities in Leinster, Munster and Connacht. Despite the historical exactions of local potentates and the gradual encroachment of the sixteenth-century state, these towns and their merchants maintained a significant degree of autonomy in local government, the organization of religion and the management of their international contacts. At the beginning of this period, their loyalties were first and foremost to their cities with their cultural and religious traditions.

Although commercial contact between sixteenth-century Ireland and Iberia was tiny from the Spanish and Portuguese viewpoints, it was significant from the Irish side, with Spain and Portugal being Ireland's most important continental trading partners in the sixteenth century.[5] The exploitation of primary produce was at the core of the relationship, especially Irish fisheries, which attracted fleets from a number of European countries, but especially Spain.[6] The exploitation of this resource was regulated, with taxes levied on both the Spanish and Irish sides.[7] Fishing stimulated trade and brought Irish merchant ships to Spanish wharfs. Waterford was the most active international port on the island, with nearly half the Irish vessels to Spain in the period

from 1585 to 1604 originating there.[8] The Basque and Asturian ports received about a third of Irish traffic, the Galicians about a tenth[9] and Lisbon and Seville[10] about a fifth each. Trade in wine, salt, iron,[11] textiles (especially linen) and foodstuffs was brisk.[12] Lisbon was particularly important (Figure 2.1).[13] In the 1560s, for example, Galway merchants like Henry O'Flaherty traded cloth, butter and flour there.[14] The Irish also networked into other markets, associating with third party Dutch traders, for example, who operated in the city. From at least the early sixteenth century, trade volumes warranted the establishment of commercial partnerships[15] and supported a business in chartering vessels.[16] Traffic moved both directly between Ireland and Spain and indirectly through other Atlantic and Mediterranean ports.[17]

Although Irish ships were on the high seas all year round,[18] the Lisbon and the Seville trade had important seasonal rhythms. By the acquisition of their empires, Spain and Portugal had access to more exotic produce, which passed principally through Seville and Lisbon. Accordingly, every year, from August onwards, craft from Northern European ports waited for the returning Portuguese Indies fleet, ready to distribute its cargoes northwards.[19] In October 1578 it was reported that there were nine Waterford trading vessels in the port of Lisbon.[20] A decade or so later, in 1593, the Jesuit John Howling wrote that ten Irish vessels were docked there.[21] Spanish New World territories were accessed through Seville, whose powerful trading guild (*Consulado*) monopolized the American trade. However, Spain relied on merchants from all over the continent to distribute Spanish and American produce around European markets. Foreign mercantile activity was strictly regulated and, officially at least, foreigners were barred from the Spanish New World territories. However, the monarchy was incapable of enforcing the ban.[22] From at least the 1560s, Irish and English visitors, many of them taken prisoner from captured English privateers, had already settled in Spanish America.[23]

The Anglo-Spanish wars of the second half of the sixteenth century affected, but by no means stifled, Irish–Spanish trade. As noted in Chapter 1, the engagement of hostilities was generally accompanied by a trade ban. The first was imposed in 1563–4, in retaliation for English privateering. The second came after John Hawkins's third privateering expedition and lasted from 1569 to 1573. Official trade was again suspended during the wars from 1584 to 1604.[24] This was the longest ban of the century, and it forced English merchants to rely on exempted Portuguese and Irish colleagues to maintain trade with Spanish territories.[25] For Irish merchants, these war years were a halcyon period, and they took full

Figure 2.1 Lisbon in the sixteenth century
Source: Sixteenth-century engraving by Georg Bauer and Hogenbert in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, vol. 5 (Cologne, 1598) © The Art Archive/Alamy.
Note: The largest early modern Irish migrant community was in Lisbon, where it was firmly established by the end of the sixteenth century. A small number of the Lisbon Irish were tried for heresy by the local Inquisition. A great many more applied to the Holy Office in order to convert to Catholicism.

advantage, maintaining a brisk trade with Iberia. In 1597, for instance, there were three Irish ships at one time in Lisbon, one each from Dublin, Drogheda and Waterford.[26]

Given the level of trade activity between the Irish and Iberia, and their capacity to ride out international wars, it is not surprising that small groups of Irish settled in a number of the larger Spanish and Portuguese ports. Lisbon was especially important. In the 1550s, for instance, Dominic Lynch was already settled there.[27] The Lisbon Irish were of varied composition but nearly all connected with trade. In 1573, for instance, the group included several merchants and sailors with a sprinkling of tradesmen, vagrants, sundry hangers-on and a landlady called Catherine Burke, who appears to have played an important role in the local Irish community.[28] She was married to a local Portuguese merchant, Antonio Ribeiro, who made frequent trading trips to Galway.[29] Two Irish tailors were long-term residents of the city, one of whom was settled there with his wife and family. A few years later, in 1577, one of the Irish merchants in Lisbon lodged the eleven-year-old Maurice, son of James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, who was attending the local Jesuit school.[30] Later, in the mid-1580s, John Daniel and his wife were running a tavern for foreigners in the city centre and lodged fugitive merchants like Patrick Enright.[31] The latter, a political refugee from the failed Baltinglass rebellion of 1580, was associated with the Luttrell brothers, Nicholas and William, who lived by street hawking, as did another Irishman called Nicholas O'Keeffee [Crif]. They in turn were connected with Francis Cusack, who was a servant to Alvaro de Sousa and arranged for some of them to stay in his house. If anything, deteriorating relations between London and Madrid served to strengthen the Irish presence in the port. In 1588, the Waterford merchant, Michael Purcell, was active in the city,[32] and, in 1591, Thomas Burke of Limerick, a wine trader, was settled in the city centre with his wife, Jeanette Arthur.[33] In 1591, an Irish surgeon called Maurice Daniels was active in the city. His ministrations were not just physical. In the same year he appeared before the Holy Office to denounce a certain Meph Coph for heresy.[34]

Another important Irish network was established in Seville. By the 1590s, a considerable number of Irish merchants were reportedly active there.[35] At the other end of the country, Irish merchants maintained a presence in Galician, Asturian, Cantabrian and Basque ports. In Bilbao, the Dublin merchant Henry Dowdall was entrusted by Bilbao colleagues with quasi-legal and representative roles in the early 1590s.[36] Other Irish appear to have been settling in the Basque port at about the same time. For instance, the Limerick-born Esteban Arnold made a request for domicile

rights there in 1594.[37] There was an Irish guesthouse in the city in the early seventeenth century, and the Irish Dominicans had a presence there at the same time.[38] As in Lisbon, these small groups, while remaining distinct, were connected, sometimes through marriage, with the local community.[39] Frequently, they acted as staging posts for Irish travellers and visitors, many of them clergy, on their way to destinations in Madrid, Rome and the New World. In wartime they circulated intelligence, which was of interest to both the Madrid and London governments. Patrick Grant, a Waterford native, worked as a Spanish agent in Bayona in the 1590s. Further east, in Santander, at about the same time, Juan de Galway gathered information from visiting Irish craft on the situation in Ireland.[40] These groups also helped circulate cultural objects, especially literature, most of it devotional in nature. In the 1590s theological works and religious books bound for Ireland were passing through these ports, piggybacking on merchant shipping.[41]

Dealing with the Inquisition

Merchants trading with Europe and associated abroad groups were the first to feel the direct effect of the religious changes in Ireland and the hardening of religious attitudes in Spain from the late 1550s. It was perhaps the latter that affected them most. If they came under any religious pressure it was to conform to the norms and practices of Iberian Catholicism. This proved unproblematic for most, and it seems that these abroad groups were instrumental in maintaining direct links between Irish port communities and continental Catholicism. The first Irish seminaries abroad, founded later in the century, were an iteration of this role.[42] From an early stage, these Irish groups appear to have been trusted by the local Inquisition. In 1555, the Lisbon tribunal was confident enough to entrust the education and spiritual welfare of a young English heretic to Dominic Lynch.[43] Later, in 1580, the Waterford-born Robert Comerford, who was also consul for Irish merchants in La Coruña,[44] was employed by the Santiago Inquisition in its routine visitations of foreign ships.[45] He also assisted in organizing the freight of theological and liturgical books back to Ireland.[46] His son would later follow in his footsteps, acting as both interpreter and *familiar* for the same tribunal.[47]

The isolated and no doubt claustrophobic conditions of these mercantile groups encouraged spiteful infighting, sometimes involving malicious denunciation to the Holy Office. A typical example occurred in Lisbon in 1573, when Henry Naughton of Limerick denounced

Anthony Foran [Fonte] for heresy. Foran had allegedly made heretical remarks in conversations with two Irish tailors, James O'Dea [Diogo Dias][48] and James O'Flattery [Diogo Fernandez].[49] The pair confirmed Naughton's accusations. Foran, they claimed, had not only compared the Catholic Mass to the Anglican communion service but also disparaged clerical celibacy and mocked pilgrims and pilgrimages.[50]

Following a preliminary investigation, Foran, who had been bound for England with a cargo of salt,[51] was placed under arrest. Under interrogation, however, he proved rock solid and easily convinced the Inquisitors of his orthodoxy. He expertly turned the heretical reputation of Ireland to his credit, describing how the intense Protestant repression in Galway had failed to dissuade his family from attending clandestine Masses in the city. Moreover, since coming to Lisbon, Foran himself had scrupulously fulfilled his religious obligations. The Inquisitors interviewed other members of the local Irish group to vouch for the accused. The Irish papal representative, David Wolfe SJ, recently returned to Lisbon following his release from Dublin Castle, obliged, as did Foran's landlady, Catherine Burke, and her Portuguese merchant husband, Antonio Ribeiro. The latter, who was knowledgeable about Irish habits and character, warned the Inquisitors that Naughton was a drinking man with a penchant for picking rows.[52] This was confirmed by the Portuguese tailor, João Fernandez. He had noticed that the Irish were inconstant by nature, commonly falling out and making up with one another. These testimonies, and particularly the suggestion that the indicters were drunkards, fatally compromised Naughton's original denunciation. The case was suspended and Foran released. Normally, Naughton himself would then have been liable to prosecution for false denunciation.

Foran's case highlights how vulnerable short-term Irish visitors were to malicious accusations of heresy, especially from within their own ethnic group. In his case the accusation was false and mischievous, but this was not always so. Irish traders and merchants, trading in Iberia and who had conformed to Anglicanism in Ireland, were ipso facto subject to the jurisdiction of the Holy Office. From the inquisitorial viewpoint, they were apostates and liable to the usual penalties. Technically speaking, the Holy Office, until the Alva–Cobham arrangement, could claim jurisdiction over faith crimes committed by a defendant in any part of the world, but in practice they were mostly concerned with crimes perpetrated in Spain or Portugal. Consequently, for short-term visitors to Spanish ports, public conformity to Catholicism was generally enough to ensure immunity from inquisitorial investigation. For

the many Spaniards dependent on foreign trade, this was fair enough. Over-zealous Inquisitors put trade at risk. The government agreed. In 1566, the *Suprema* was instructed to direct local tribunals not to proceed against foreign subjects unless an identifiable act of heresy had been committed on Spanish territory.[53]

However, for those Irish merchants who had conformed to Anglicanism and subsequently wished to settle in Spain and Portugal, reconciliation was a prerequisite. After 1575 they benefited from the new inquisitorial dispensation regarding British and Irish Protestants, ushered in by the Alva–Cobham arrangement. These reconciliations were generally uncontroversial, as the 1582 case of Paul Lombard, one of the Catholic Lombards of Waterford, illustrates.[54] Similarly, that of the 24-year-old Michael Purcell, also of Waterford.[55] Purcell, who was the unmarried son of Peter Purcell and Margaret Linsey, had been a Catholic until introduced to Protestant doctrines by his sister-in-law's father, an English merchant called William Stonel.[56] His mentor had a persuasive style, and followed up his little sermons to Purcell with recommended readings.[57] Purcell explained to the Lisbon Inquisitors that he had not confessed his apostasy in Waterford because it was impossible to find a confessor, due to the recent anti-Catholic clampdown in the city.[58] Since the news had gone out that the Spanish were about to invade, he went on, even clandestine services were impossible and clergy avoided going about publicly. He was reconciled with minimum fuss and given merely spiritual penances.[59]

The Lombard and Purcell reconciliations were no doubt motivated by the need to settle in Lisbon, probably to look after family commercial interests there. Shorter term Anglican visitors to Portuguese and Spanish ports were loath to go to the same trouble. Indeed some, especially younger sailors and junior clerks, could make a virtue out of their Protestantism and act provocatively, especially when under the influence of alcohol. Thanks to the public, street-based religious customs of Spain and Portugal, there was ample opportunity to give and take offence. On meeting a religious procession in the street or the Blessed Sacrament en route to a sickbed, Protestant visitors might ostentatiously omit to remove their hats or refuse to kneel. These failures to adopt a worshipful attitude excited public anger and could have public order implications. Inevitably, given the heightened religious tensions of the time, stoked by both English and Spanish propaganda and inflamed by the papal bull of 1570, Irish traders and seamen featured among the foreign offenders hauled before the port tribunals, especially Seville.

On the eve of the Alva–Cobham accord, Gomes Walsh of Waterford appeared there in 1574, charged with Lutheranism. He was penanced

and duly reconciled.[60] However, while serving his sentence, he escaped and fled the jurisdiction. Having failed to recapture him, the Holy Office declared him excommunicate and ordered him to be 'relaxed in effigy' to the secular arm as an impenitent and contumacious heretic, with confiscation of goods. Although the garrotting and burning of his effigy hardly caused Walsh any physical distress, the retention of his property would have been a major loss for a trading man.

At about the same time the Ulster-born Patrick Land, probably a member of a ship's crew, was charged and sentenced in Seville.[61] The 39-year-old had been denounced by four witnesses for insulting the pope and the Mass. He denied the charges and steadfastly refused to confess. However, when the tribunal voted to subject him to the persuasions of torture, he changed his tune and admitted all charges. His confession spared him the inquisitorial rack but his sentence was nonetheless severe. Although reconciled, his property was confiscated and he was incarcerated for life. Moreover, the first four years of his prison sentence were to be purged in the king's galleys. That was not an appetizing prospect. Inquisitorial life sentences rarely lasted more than a few years but conditions in the galleys were terrible and many succumbed.[62] If the sentence was carried out as handed down, it is doubtful that Land survived it.

A similar inquisitorial discipline was observed at the other end of the country, in the tribunals of Santiago and Logroño. In 1586, the Waterford native William Grant was denounced for criticizing the monasteries and religious life.[63] After torture, he appears to have been reconciled but was penanced to the pillory and banned for life from the seas. Four years later, in 1588, John Moore [Juan Moriz], from Waterford, was charged with professing Protestantism.[64] A carpenter by trade, Moore was eventually reconciled. Along with a prison sentence, he was sentenced to wear the *san benito*, the garment of public humiliation, which, on his death, would have been displayed in the local church, transferring the notoriety of his offence to his family. Moore, however, slipped his inquisitorial leash and escaped. This obliged the Logroño tribunal to retry him *in absentia*. He was sentenced, unsatisfyingly one suspects, to execution in effigy by the secular arm at the *auto de fe* of 1599.

Less fortunate was the 35-year-old Leinster-born tailor James Kavanagh [Diogo Quieban], tried by the Lisbon tribunal in 1566.[65] Of Catholic origin, he had become disenchanted with his religion while in the Netherlands, where he heard sermons, 'preached to the people', probably public sermons delivered by itinerant Protestant ministers. Later, in Santiago de Compostela he was arrested with several Englishmen, and

questioned by the local Inquisitors.[66] Subsequently set at liberty, he was rearrested in Lisbon, while waiting for a ship to Ireland. His case seems to have stalled until September 1566 when Fray Jorge, provincial of the Jeronimites in Belem, reported that the Irishman had attempted to hang himself.[67] In a harrowing account, the cleric described his attempts to revive the prisoner, aided by an unnamed Irish bishop, who interpreted for the unfortunate Kavanagh.[68] The Irishman later recovered and faced trial.

During the proceedings, his theological sophistication surprised his interrogators. When asked what church he believed in, Kavanagh said the 'Catholic Church established in England', adding that the true Church was no longer in Rome ('*não em Roma*'). He denied the real presence in the Eucharist and the necessity of revealing the 'secrets of his heart' to a priest in confession. Elaborating on his faith history, he explained that his rejection of Catholicism was not due to human agency but divinely inspired. For Kavanagh, his old faith was a sin, prompted by the same demon who had wheedled him into attempting suicide. During the following weeks, the Inquisitors deployed a team of clergy, including a pair of Jesuits and an English Dominican, to instruct Kavanagh and convince him to return to the Church. He proved impervious to their persuasions. He was convicted of contumacious heresy and handed over to the secular arm for execution.[69]

Kavanagh was something of a conundrum for the Inquisitors, with his political self-awareness and his doctrinal confidence. In his deposition, he described himself as 'Irish by nation, of the kingdom of England',[70] and the account of his conversion was clearly that of a man who understood the creedal distinctions between the contending confessions. A similar, if more formally erudite sophistication was evident in the case of the soldier Henry O'Neill, whose heresy came before the Neapolitan inquisition in the 1580s. The Catholic O'Neill, it emerged, had originally arrived in Spain in the 1570s, seeking assistance from Philip II. Thereafter he was sent to Naples, with a number of Irish, English and Scots officers diverted from the African crusading fiasco of King Sebastian of Portugal (1578). It was possibly under the influence of his English and Scottish associates, considered spies by some Spanish officials, that O'Neill converted to Protestantism. Whatever its origin, O'Neill's Protestantism was of the proselytizing variety. In 1586 he was accused of assisting the translation of heretical works from English into Italian, arrested and questioned by the Roman Inquisition. There he confessed his errors and, having purged his sentence, was released, along with a Scottish companion, on a promise of good behaviour. On returning to Naples, however, O'Neill went back to

his old ways, behaving scandalously, refusing to attend Mass and luring his countrymen into error.[71]

Other Irish merchants and travellers, conformists of convenience, appear to have been less attached to their Protestantism than either Kavanagh or O'Neill. Some indeed, depending on their port of destination, juggled double conformity and, when detected on the Spanish side of the religious divide, cut their losses by submitting voluntarily to the mercy of the Inquisition.[72] In their accounts, all the tropes of the exculpatory narrative, to be repeated by generations of Irish defendants before the Inquisition, are already present, practically fully formed. Posing as victims of externally imposed circumstances, they pleaded that conformity was legally required by the Dublin government. They insisted that force was used to secure and maintain it, and that the preservation of their family's status and property required their obedience. They also carefully distinguished between their apparent external conformity and their real internal recusancy.

The case of the Limerick-born wine merchant, Thomas Burke, who appeared before the Lisbon tribunal in 1591, was typical.[73] Aged 36, married to Geneta Arthur and resident with their two children in Lisbon's city centre, Burke was a permanent member of the Irish expatriate community and a Catholic. As he later explained to the Inquisitors, his business entailed frequent visits back to Ireland, usually via France and England. In 1589, he had sailed on a French ship from Cádiz, with a cargo of wine, bound for Ireland. The vessel docked in London, and, while on-shore, Burke was discovered to the authorities by Thomas Baquer (Baker), a well-known spy who infiltrated Catholic migrant communities. During his interrogation by the London authorities, Burke was forced to take the oath of supremacy. On returning to Lisbon, his apostasy became known and he was obliged to confess his sin to the Inquisition. In his defence, Burke stressed the force used by the English authorities and his concern that if imprisoned in London his wife and family would starve. In mitigation, he explained that his apostasy had been purely external and involved no internal acquiescence.[74] The Holy Office deigned to approve his reconciliation but also voted to confiscate his property. This must have been a serious, if not a fatal blow to his business.

Occasionally and usually by accident, an Irish merchant abroad could find himself separated from his supporting network of compatriots. In these circumstances he was vulnerable to ambient xenophobia and also to suspicions of spying and sedition, suspicions that could easily metamorphose into accusations of heresy. A typical case was that

of the Galway-born Henry O'Flaherty [Fernandez] who in April 1562 was taken up by the civil authorities in northern Portugal, initially on suspicion of larceny.[75] The 40-year-old married man, a merchant sailor, was well-travelled and a veteran of several visits to Lisbon to trade in cloth, butter and flour.[76] In 1561, he weighed anchor in Galway, bound for La Rochelle with a cargo of animal hides and horsehair. In France his vessel took on a cargo of wheat and wine, and sailed on for Spain. On the seas off La Coruña they were intercepted by two English ships. Several of the ship's company, including O'Flaherty, were put ashore. He headed for Oporto and planned to push on to Lisbon, hoping to find a ship bound for Ireland. En route, however, he was arrested for nothing more grievous, he later claimed, than begging for a crust. The local authorities thought otherwise. His vagrancy and English associations unsettled them. He was handed over to the Coimbra Inquisition, who quickly referred him to Lisbon.

In the subsequent trial, the Inquisitors' concerns over O'Flaherty's doctrinal orthodoxy proved unfounded. Under interrogation, he reassured them that he was, in fact, a life-long, practising Catholic. At their request, he confidently recited, in Latin, the Pater, the Ave and part of the Credo, thought he stumbled through the Salve Regina. The Ten Commandments proved an insuperable barrier and he drew a complete blank on the Seven Deadly Sins. However, his was as good a performance as most Portuguese defendants could have managed, and the Inquisitors formed a positive impression of him. They also chose to overlook the detail that, while in England and France, he had omitted to observe the Friday abstinence, for 'fear of the natives'.

Interestingly, O'Flaherty's account was devoid of the persecution, dispossession and oppression tropes, becoming common in Irish inquisition narratives at this time, a fact explained, perhaps, by the relatively early date of his Inquisition appearance. He probably spoke the truth when he reassured his Inquisitors that Ireland was a kingdom where 'there were churches and priests and friars and masses as in the old times'.[77] This did not tally with the much more negative intelligence beginning to filter through from the likes of David Wolfe SJ, papal representative in Ireland, or Redmond Gallagher, papal bishop of Killala, who would arrive in Lisbon 1566. If the Inquisitors were aware of the inconsistency between O'Flaherty's narrative and those of his compatriots, they chose to ignore it, taking O'Flaherty at his word, suspending the process and imposing on him nothing more onerous that a course of doctrinal instruction.

On the high seas and in the New World

In cities with well-established Irish groups, Irish defendants negotiating inquisitorial appearances could rely on the support of their countrymen, especially clergy, who acted as interpreters and character witnesses. They guided them through the process and were literally friends in court. When such support networks were unavailable, as in O'Flaherty's case, for instance, the denounced Irish visitor was isolated and in choppier judicial waters. This was most obviously the case in places like Spanish America, where the Irish were illegal aliens and/or insufficiently numerous to form supportive networks. From the 1560s, a handful of Irish had entered Mexico, courtesy of English privateers like John Hawkins.

For his third privateering and slaving mission, which sailed in 1567, Hawkins took on a number of Irish crew, including the Cork-born John Martin and the Browne brothers from Waterford. The Irish were probably recruited in England and, if not Anglican already, were obliged to conform on entering service. On board Hawkins's flagship *Jesus of Lubeck* and other vessels in the fleet, they attended daily services and heard regular sermons,[78] in which chaplains reiterated the tenets of Anglicanism, especially those at variance with Catholic doctrine.[79] This seems to have been common practice throughout the sixteenth century. A little later, in 1597, when the Englishman, Paschal Sanders, was tried in Mexico,[80] it was charged 'that [the crew] were all heretics and that the captain mocked the rosary and holy images saying that they were nothing but straw and then parodied the Sign of the Cross'.[81] In a way, these pirate and slaving missions functioned like floating schools of Protestantism, with regular indoctrination punctuated by attacks on Spanish shipping and on-shore iconoclasm when the opportunity arose. Failure to comply was harshly punished. In the case of Hawkins's crew, the on-board indoctrination, with the threat of punishment, seem to have had the desired effect. The Waterford-born William Brown, it later emerged, was given to iconoclastic sprees, particularly when inebriated,[82] and the tastes of Harry Keane ran to scurrilously anti-clerical songs.[83]

In 1568, Martin and the Browne brothers were among the hundred or so members of Hawkins's crew taken by the Spanish off Vera Cruz.[84] At this stage there was no Inquisition in Mexico, so the legal processing of the prisoners was left to the civil authorities and the local bishops. Initial attempts to convert the prisoners were not successful, and the men proved resistant to counter-indoctrination by local Dominicans. In a delightfully perverse incident, their interpreter, one of their own

number called Robert Barrett,[85] translated the words of the Dominican friar into a defence of Protestant doctrine! In time the men were tried and sentenced to nothing more strenuous than religious instruction and hard labour. On purging their sentences, they were detained in the Viceroyalty, in part, one suspects, because their skills and experience were in demand there. After a few months of religious reconditioning in the monastery of Santo Domingo in Oaxaca, John Martin was freed and apprenticed himself to a local Irish barber, whose hispanicized name was Domingo Suarez.[86] He seems to have been the key figure in facilitating Martin's enculturation into colonial life. Later the Corkman recalled 'he looked after me and visited me and taught me doctrine and advised me how to act as a good Christian'.[87] After a year in Mexico City, Martin moved to Tezcuco and, following a series of misadventures, settled in La Trinidad in Guatemala in 1572. There he set up as a barber, and the following year married a local woman, Juana de Barrionuevo. Their daughter Isabel would be born in 1574.

In the meantime and unluckily for Martin and his mates, the Mexican tribunal of the Inquisition had been established. As a token of its zeal, it decided to enquire into the whereabouts and activities of Hawkins's dispersed crew, on foot of denunciations regarding their behaviour and doubts concerning the sincerity of their reconciliations. All the men, except for Martin, were located and summoned for formal examination and trial. During these trials, crewmates inevitably testified in one another's cases, very often in mutual support. This permitted the Inquisitors to build up a complex, if sometimes contradictory, pictures of their pasts. In the *auto de fe* held in February 1574, one crewman, the Englishman George Riverley, was executed. John Browne was sentenced to two hundred lashes and eight years in the galleys.[88] Remaining sentences were equally severe.

Thanks to the remoteness of La Trinidad, Martin initially avoided the Inquisitorial dragnet but shortly before the birth of his child, his whereabouts were reported to the Holy Office and he was brought to Mexico City. His trial began in April 1574 and lasted until March of the following year. Martin had sufficiently mastered Spanish to forgo the services of an interpreter, and was thus deprived of a potentially useful go-between. Further, as all of his crewmates had already been sentenced, Martin was isolated in prison and lacked the supportive network of either his old mates or his new Spanish family. Nevertheless, he faced confidently into the trial, sure that he could prove his lifelong fidelity to his Catholic religion. As befitted a cathedral sacristan's son, he displayed a good basic knowledge of his religion. He knew how to

sign and bless himself and could recite the Pater, Ave, Credo and Salve in Spanish, testimony to the success of his enculturation. He also had a good grasp of the Ten Commandments and, as a bonus, could recite the Pater and the Ave in Latin, courtesy, no doubt, of his childhood instruction in Cork. His description of the religious state of Ireland hewed to the hoary clichés of the faithful's physical hardiness and religious stamina. He described, for example, how the country people in Ireland thought nothing of waiting for hours bare-footed in the snow to be shriven.[89]

The Inquisitors were underwhelmed. Unaware of the substantial amount of information they had already gathered on him from the testimonies of his crewmates, Martin denied that he had ever sincerely practised heresy, even while on board ship. This flatly contradicted the evidence of his shipmates.[90] Even more compromisingly, he confused Catholic and reformed versions of Communion, a point noted by the Inquisitors and one that placed another question mark over the truthfulness of his claim to fidelity.[91] Had Martin merely told the truth and confessed his sin, like so many of his more socialized compatriots, he might have saved his life, albeit at the cost of a severe penance. However, the unfortunate man remained grimly attached to his original story of unbroken orthodoxy, insisting that any deviations from the faith had been merely apparent.[92]

As the trial progressed, Martin crumbled mentally, alternately distraught and resigned, declaring that he would have 'to die this death'.[93] His attempted clarifications only compromised him further, and he grew fatigued and frustrated with the frequent cautions of the Inquisitors, despairing 'I'm tired of warnings and it's God's will that my body and soul are sunk here as they are'.[94] In their efforts to coax him into a frank admission of his sin, his interrogators provided him with every incentive. Even when subjected to the rack and waterboarding, the poor man remained obdurate. The waterboarding caused him great distress, and when threatened with a second session he declared 'I don't want to die a second time'.[95] The process ground on until his condemnation for contumacious heresy and a sentence of death.[96] The luckless Martin was handed over to the secular arm, garrotted and burned at the stake at San Hipólito.[97]

Martin's isolation, his mental collapse, his inability or unwillingness to play the process and his failure to confess sealed his fate. His case was dramatic and harrowing, but also rather unusual. Irish defendants generally proved much more flexible in their testimonies and responsive to case requirements, working out as the process continued what

the Inquisition needed to hear. Consequently, more supple suspects, like the Dublin-born Sanders, fared better. He was a seaman aboard the pirateer *Prima Rosa*, active around the Canary Islands in the 1580s.[98] In 1587, while off Tenerife, the captain put ashore a landing party of about forty for a pillaging expedition. The mission ended in bloodshed and the arrest of the survivors, including Sanders. In his testimony to the local Inquisition, the Dubliner played his audience expertly. Echoing O'Flaherty and Martin, he painted a picture of Ireland as a Catholic idyll, 'Mass was celebrated, the pope obeyed and the churches were filled with images and retables, priests and friars.' It was from this Catholic arcadia that he had been plucked as a boy by English soldiers and force-raised a Protestant. He may have been compelled to accept the new religion, he admitted, but he had never given it his internal assent. The Inquisitors voted to penance Sanders's heresy and to confiscate his goods, whatever they amounted to, but he got away with his life.[99]

Sanders's reconciliation narrative, featuring a personal history set in an almost romantically Catholic Ireland, echoed not only the testimonies of O'Flaherty and Martin but also those of a number of Englishmen, mostly soldiers, who served in Ireland at this time.[100] Typical of these was the case of John Sherwin, who appeared before the Toledo tribunal in 1583.[101] He was London-born and a Catholic, but his father had thought it wise to have him baptised an Anglican and he also took him along to Anglican services. However, he soon became worried that his son was succumbing to Anglican influences. In order to safeguard his Catholicism he decided to send him to the Irish wars, confident that over there his son could practise his Catholicism freely. Accordingly, from 1575, Sherwin served under an Anglican captain there and was apparently free to attend Mass and the sacraments. It was only when he arrived in Spain that he learned of his obligation to confess his boyhood apostasy to the Inquisition.

A similar case was processed in 1587, in the Canaries, when Edward Francis, a Bristol-born seafarer and probable shipmate of Sanders, was arrested for piracy, pillage and sacrilege on the island of Tenerife.[102] He too had been born a Catholic and later conformed but took advantage of frequent visits to Ireland to attend Mass and be shriven. When the Inquisitors taxed him with having failed to stay in Catholic Ireland, he claimed that his shipmates had prevented him.

However, these narratives featuring a serenely Catholic Ireland were becoming increasingly anachronistic in the late 1580s, and already from the 1560s were contradicted by the more conflictual version, featuring accounts of religious division, persecution and heroic

perseverance. David Wolfe SJ was a seminal influence in this change. In his reports to his superiors, penned in the 1560s, and his testimonies to the Inquisition in the 1570s, he explained how the Irish, though Catholic in heart and mind were obliged to conform to heresy wherever the queen's writ ran. Mass could not be said openly, non-conformists lived under fear of confiscation, and the pious laity were troubled in conscience about having to attend Anglican services.[103] Wolfe was speaking mostly about the situation in the port towns, which he knew best. The religious situation was probably much less fraught in other parts of Ireland, as testified by the testimonies of O'Flaherty and the English soldiers.

However, as the century progressed it was the Wolfe narrative, which came to dominate, reflecting changes on the ground in Ireland, certainly, but also revealing a hardening of attitude among the Irish abroad, especially the expatriate clergy. On one level, the persecution narrative reflected the grassroots realities of religious conflict in Ireland. It was also a rhetorical device, honed to create a certain impression on Catholic audiences on the continent, including the Inquisition. As the Irish abroad groups settled institutionally on the continent, the persecution narrative was used, not only to explain temporary apostasy, as in the sixteenth-century inquisitorial processes, but also to justify petitions for assistance. They could also enhance clerical curricula vitae. In 1620, for instance, Charles of the Mother of God, an Irish Franciscan in the Algarve province, deployed his personal narrative of wartime persecution and family martyrdom in his application for the post of theological expert with the Lisbon tribunal.[104]

This was a narrative type that quickly petrified and would continue to feature, almost unaltered, in Irish migrant narratives well into the eighteenth century, long after the ending of the religious wars that were their crucible. An important role in the rhetorical transformation of early modern Ireland from a Catholic idyll into a confessional valley of tears was played by the displaced Irish clergy who began to appear in Spain and Portugal after 1558. They form the third face of the sixteenth-century triptych of Irish involvement with the Inquisition.

3
Irish Clergy on the Move

Merchants, tradesmen and adventurers made up the majority of Irish visitors to Spain in the mid-sixteenth century and the bulk of those processed by the Inquisition. In among the merchants, however, a new breed of Irish traveller appeared in the wake of the regime change of 1558. Mostly ecclesiastics, they were a mixture of displaced papal clergy, principally bishops, some religious, chiefly Jesuits, and a sprinkling of students, heading for continental universities.[1] For the majority, their Spanish sojourn consisted in penury and uncertainty, punctuated with first-hand experience of Iberian Catholicism, including the Inquisition. Only a very small number found themselves in the inquisitorial dock, with a larger number serving the Inquisition, as interpreters, witnesses and as denunciators.

Origins of clerical mobility

The journey of these clerics into the audiences of the Spanish Inquisition begins with the accession of Elizabeth in late 1558, an event that effectively turned the tables on Queen Mary's bishops. In England, their en masse resignation allowed the incoming regime to install a totally new and supine bench.[2] In Ireland, the episcopal reaction was less heroic, with most of the Marian bishops accepting the settlement.[3] Their acquiescence was at least in part thanks to the nature of the reform measures presented to the Irish parliament of 1560. Designed to appeal to the religiously conservative Irish clergy and nobility, especially the Old English gentry of the Pale and their urban counterparts, the new settlement left intact the ecclesiastical property confiscations of Henry and Edward. Cannily, the legislation also made provision for the retention of traditional church ornament, liturgical accoutrement

and ritual Latin, universally beloved of religious conservatives.[4] Thanks to these concessions, episcopal opposition to change was muted. Only three objectors emerged, and only one of these, William Walsh O. Cist., bishop of Meath, proved significant. As a Cistercian, he had been among the clergy hardest hit by the Henrician reforms, and became one of the earliest Irish reformation sojourners abroad, acting as chaplain to Cardinal Pole in Rome. Pole trusted him and, with the Marian restoration, appointed him to the diocese of Meath and to the royal commission to deprive married clergy of their benefices. To Walsh, the Elizabethan settlement was theologically abhorrent, a stance that in time led to his deposition, imprisonment and eventual departure for Spain in 1572. In Spain, Walsh secured a living as an auxiliary bishop in Toledo.[5] His house in the university city of Alcalá[6] became a meeting place for other displaced Irish clergy and students.[7] He thus set a pattern for a generation of Irish clergy, displaced to Spain and Portugal, around whom small groups of students gathered.

As the conforming Marian bishops died off, the Holy See continued to nominate to the Irish bench, with the number of displaced papal bishops inevitably growing after mid-century. Given the doctrinal unreliability of so many Irish ecclesiastics, as testified by the conforming Marian prelates, Rome preferred to appoint candidates already on the continent, untarnished by cooperation with the Elizabethan administration and, if possible, with some theological formation in an approved university. These included Irish students in Leuven and Irish members of the religious orders.[8] The former, of both Anglo-Norman and Gaelic origin, had been attending Leuven since the 1540s. Numbers dropped off during Mary's reign but picked up again after 1559. In sending these men overseas, it would seem that the port city elites at any rate were adapting the old-style foreign apprenticeship system to cater for the training of clergy.[9] In this way they took local responsibility for the selection and training of their priests in the idiom of the reformed Catholicism taking shape overseas, long before the clarion calls of visiting Jesuits and seminary clergy.[10]

Three of these early papal appointments were made rapidly enough to permit an Irish representation at the Council of Trent. Thomas O'Herlihy of Ross,[11] Eugene O'Harte OP of Achonry[12] and Donald MacCongail of Raphoe[13] attended the final sessions in 1562–63 and returned to Ireland, via Lisbon and other ports, to political turmoil and limited pastoral impact.[14] Because their sees were occupied by Elizabeth's appointees, the papal bishops were unable to access domestic episcopal revenues, such as they were, and, as a result, could not afford to stay in Ireland.[15] In the

1580s, Bishop Cornelius Mulryan, by then settled in Lisbon, advised the Cardinal de Como that the further appointment of bishops to Irish sees was pointless as they were 'without either revenues or obedience from their subjects'.[16] The case of Richard Creagh, appointed to Armagh, proved his point. He was a Leuven alumnus and was appointed in 1563 on the recommendation of the Irish papal representative, David Wolfe SJ.[17] On returning to Ireland, he was almost immediately arrested by government officers and obliged to depart for Flanders and then Spain, prior to a second, unsuccessful attempt to occupy his see.[18]

Government harassment, cold-shouldering laity and financial difficulties were not the only problems for papal bishops. Many Irish aspirants to episcopal office were politically interested, with traditionalist rather than reformist tendencies, and were often bent on securing an easy life with a European grant. This tide of unsuitability was the bane of displaced Irish reformers abroad who wished to make their pitch for aid to potential continental patrons. In a letter to the Jesuit General, Acquaviva, in 1585, the Lisbon-based Jesuit Robert Rochford complained about Irish clerics who used the excuse of persecution in Ireland to set themselves up comfortably in Spain and Portugal, to the detriment of their abandoned flocks at home.[19] This criticism was regularly repeated throughout the century. In 1594 John Howling SJ, writing from Lisbon to the Jesuit General, complained that some papal appointees 'lacked both zeal for the house of God and for souls'.[20] Eventually the papacy suspended episcopal appointments and resorted to the less publicly visible but more pastorally effective alternative of vicars general.

In the meantime, displaced Irish bishops and clergy sought accommodation and financial support where they could. The Habsburgs pitched in, but rather gingerly. In general, Philip II kept the clerical emissaries of rebellious Irish nobles at arms' length,[21] but he also recognized the possible usefulness of developing a Spanish-supported papal interest in Ireland. Not all enemies of the Tudor regime were welcome in Madrid, but most papal nominees to Irish sees were.[22] In the early years, Habsburg support, when proffered, was episodic and sometimes ill-considered. Spanish support of Miler McGrath, bishop of Down, was only the most spectacular miscalculation. His acceptance of Spanish aid on his way back to Ireland in 1565 did not prevent his subsequent and notorious apostasy.[23] King Sebastian's support of Redmond Gallagher was somewhat better judged.[24] On arrival in Lisbon in 1566, this papal bishop of Killala was made a royal chaplain[25] and successfully integrated into Portuguese clerical circles.[26] The Jesuit Cipriano reported that the

Irish prelate '[gave] an extraordinarily virtuous example and living proof that God was with him'.[27] His prolonged absences from his diocese, however, placed Gallagher in breach of new norms on episcopal residency, but he justified his Lisbon sojourn as a preference 'to live in the company of Jesus, far from home and family [rather] than to enjoy, without Him, the pleasures of the world'.[28] This sort of rhetoric, a sixteenth-century version of white martyrdom, went down well with Portuguese patrons.

Engaging with the Inquisition

The Inquisition also played its part in supporting Irish clerical migrants. A tiny number of suitably qualified clerics were taken on by the Holy Office to serve as interpreters and examiners. Gallagher, along with the Jesuits David Wolfe, Robert Rochford and John Howling, and the Carmelite Walter Bray, all served the Lisbon Inquisition.[29] In the late 1560s, John Burke OP assisted the Seville tribunal,[30] and a little later secular priests like Maurice Quirke and Robert Casey interpreted for Irish defendants before the Toledo tribunal. For displaced bishops, however, the commonest initial expedient was to appoint them as auxiliaries in Spanish and Portuguese dioceses. Gallagher and Walsh performed episcopal functions in Lisbon and Alcalá. Maurice MacBrien, consecrated bishop of Emly in Rome in 1571, spent several years in Lisbon assisting the local bishop.[31] Many others followed, usually serving in port dioceses with existing Irish merchant groups.

Apart from interpreting, Irish clerics also assisted the Inquisition by denouncing those they believed suspect of heresy. These included both foreigners and Irishmen, and, on occasion, denunciations were maliciously rather than religiously motivated. In Lisbon, for instance, in 1575, a row over money blew up between a massing priest called Richard Corbett [Cobardi] and a Rome-bound clerical student, Bernard O'Fiach.[32] Prima facie, this triviality was of no interest to the Holy Office. However, Corbett also denounced O'Fiach for clerical imposture, alleging that he went about dressed up as a priest for the sole purpose of soliciting alms. For good measure, he included a heresy charge, accusing his adversary of questioning papal authority and of having taken communion at Anglican services while in Ireland. To enhance his accusations Corbett invoked a 'bishop of Ireland' (possibly Maurice MacBrien of Emly) who had advised him to alert the Holy Office.[33] Suspecting that there might be more to this denunciation than met the eye, the Inquisitors summoned other members of the Irish community to vouch for the indicter.

These included an Irish student, recorded only as Antonio 'Iberno', who lodged with the quarrelling Irishmen. According to his testimony, Corbett was an honourable man but had acted in a fit of pique. A fourth Irishman, named Patrick, possibly Patrick Lombard, who lived in the same house as Bishop MacBrien, then intervened to calm the situation and arrange a settlement. The Inquisitors, satisfied that O'Fiach was doctrinally sound, suspended the case.

Not all inquisition processes involving Irish clerics were so petty and self-interested. The Irish also used the Holy Office to process the reconciliation of incoming clerics who had flirted with Anglicanism while in Ireland. A typical case was that of the Limerick ecclesiastic David Nealon, who arrived in Madrid around 1587 (see Figure 3.1). He lodged with Cornelius O'Boyle, bishop of Limerick,[34] who had been entrusted with the management of a royal fund for the support of Irish clergy in the city.[35] It emerged, however, that while still in Ireland, the 23-year-old Nealon had succumbed to heresy, serving in the household of the Anglican bishop of Kildare, David O'Nealon (1583–1603), who may have been a relative. In that capacity, he attended Anglican ceremonies and took communion.[36] This warranted an appearance before the Inquisition, where, through his interpreter, Maurice Quirke, Nealon confessed his apostasy. Unhappy with the quality of Quirke's interpretation, Nealon later requested a second audience with a different interpreter, one Robert Casey.[37] His supplementary confession was more thoroughly self-exonerating. He explained that although he had lived with the Anglican bishop for over a year and attended services, he had never accepted Anglican doctrine. Regarding his participation in Anglican ceremonies, he admitted that he had received communion once, but only, he insisted, out of obedience to the bishop, his then master. He added that on reception of the consecrated wafer, 'as the bishop turned away his head, he spat it out to avoid making a Lutheran act of faith'.[38] The Inquisitors somewhat sceptically accepted the new account, and modified Nealon's penance accordingly.

Nealon's addendum was an example of how rapidly Irish clerics mastered inquisitorial procedure and how effectively they used its reconciliation process to control entry into the expatriate community. Some incoming clerics got a very cool reception from their compatriots. In 1589 Nicholas Roche arrived in Madrid seeking assistance, and appears to have applied to the royal fund managed by Bishop O'Boyle. Instead of assisting Roche, O'Boyle denounced him to the Inquisition for heresy, accusing him of having held his Irish living from the queen. The freshly arrived Roche, however, proved to be no legal pushover. He pointed

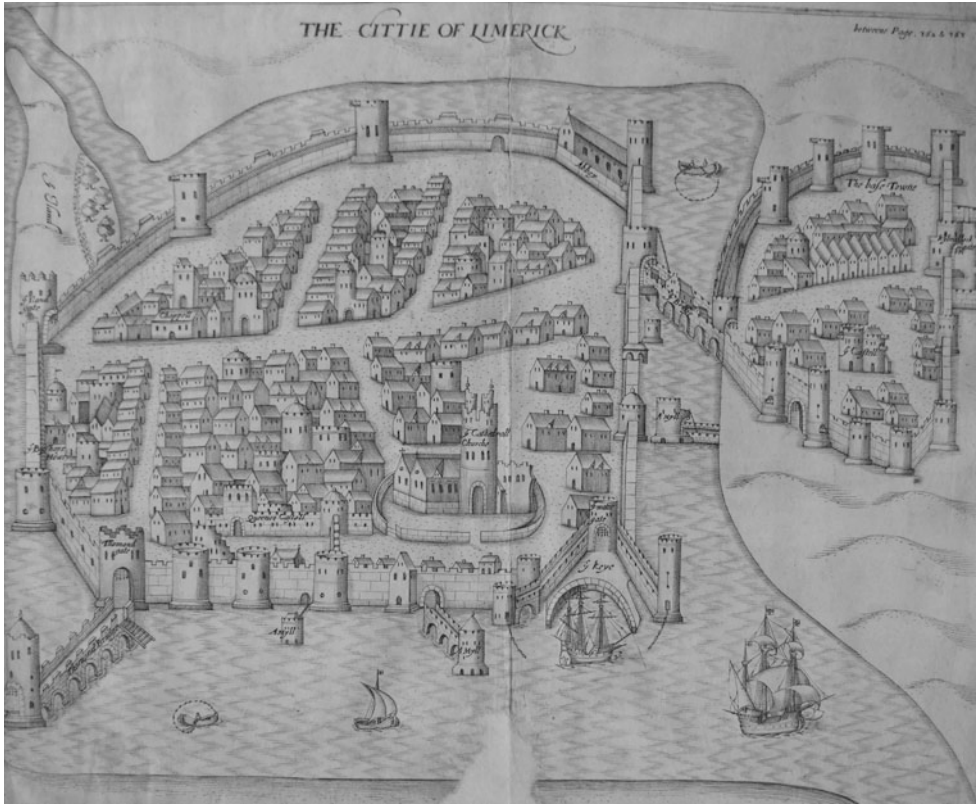


Figure 3.1 Early seventeenth-century Limerick
Source: The city of Limerick from Thomas Stafford's *Pacata Hibernia* (1633). Courtesy of the Russell Library, Maynooth University.
Note: Limerick merchants traded extensively with Portugal and Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Jesuit, David Wolfe, who served as an interpreter and character witness for the Lisbon Inquisition, was a native of the city.

out to the Inquisitors that he had originally held the benefice from a Catholic prelate but, on the latter's departure, was instructed by the new Anglican incumbent to renew his title and swear loyalty. Roche refused to comply and had been obliged to flee to Spain. Additionally, he produced the documentation to prove his original grant and the catholicity of his title. The Inquisitors, sticklers for paperwork, declared themselves satisfied and suspended the case.[39] Whatever its popular reputation for partiality, in these Irish cases the Holy Office never judged against the grain of the written evidence. Moreover, in dealing with denunciations emanating from splintered groups like the displaced Irish clergy, the Holy Office was prudently on its guard against malevolent indictment.

Their Iberian sojourn reminded the Irish that Protestantism was not the only threat to the security of the Catholic world. Occasionally, expatriate Irish clergy helped process compatriots who had been Ottoman prisoners of war. In 1585 Robert Rochford SJ interpreted for Nicholas Wallace, who was probably in Spanish service when captured by the Ottomans sometime before the battle of Lepanto in 1571. While in Ottoman custody, Wallace had been compelled to conform and accept circumcision.[40] Once liberated he was obliged to reverse his conversion and purge his heresy before the Inquisition. As a naval gunner, he was a useful addition to the Spanish navy, and it is likely that his process was part of his reintegration into the forces.

When not outing heretics from among their own ranks, or reconciling Irish Muslims, Irish expatriate clerics assisted the Inquisition in regulating the faith affairs of other migrant nationalities. In 1574, for instance, the former papal representative in Ireland, David Wolfe SJ, denounced two French merchants, Francisco and Ricardo Martins, for Protestant heresy.[41] The displaced Irish clergy also kept a keen eye on their English neighbours. The Lisbon Irish lived cheek by jowl with their co-vassals from England, and relations were usually amicable. In 1554, for instance, Daniel Fanning [Fanyn] testified in Lisbon in favour of his denounced English colleague, George Burton [Burtão].[42] Later on, when relations between Spain and England deteriorated, Anglo-Irish contacts in the city could be more fraught, especially when politically active Irish clerics were concerned.

Robert Rochford SJ was a case in point. In 1580, he had been involved in the unsuccessful rebellion of Viscount Baltinglass,[43] afterwards accompanying the defeated nobleman to Lisbon and associating there with the more militant section of the dislodged Irish clergy. In 1585, while interpreting in the reconciliation of the Irish Muslim, Wallace, Rochford became involved in the denunciation of two Englishmen,

Roger Jeffries and John Carlon. They were both naval gunners and were probably Wallace's fellow prisoners of war. Carlon was denounced for blasphemy and ridiculing the Mass.[44] Jeffries was accused of deriding sacred images, saying they reminded him of buxom women. The Englishman had also criticized the Holy Office, calling it 'the devil's law because it robbed defendants of their property'.

The following year, when acting as interpreter for an Englishman called Stuart Piferd, Rochford was again involved in the apparently opportunistic denunciation of another Englishman, John Nodim, for sedition and heresy.[45] Nodim had unwisely praised the English queen in public and repeated a few heretical propositions. In much the same vein the following year, Rochford prevailed on the 26-year-old Dubliner Nicholas Luttrell to denounce the Englishman William [H]Arte, a native of Salisbury, for heresy.[46] Like Rochford, Luttrell had been associated with the Baltinglass revolt and may have been one of the more militant among the Lisbon Irish. He reported to Rochford that Harte denied the temporal authority of the Church and approved freedom of conscience. As Rochford gathered corroborative evidence, he approached another Baltinglass associate, Patrick English from Limerick, to testify against Harte. At the time English was eking out a living as a street hawker. He refused to have anything to do with Harte's entrapment and declined to corroborate Luttrell's testimony.[47] This did not save Harte from the Holy Office, where he was charged with heresy and under torture admitted his apostasy. Using narrative tropes similar to those employed by the Irish, he pleaded that he had apostatized out of obedience to the queen his sovereign rather than any internal conviction.[48]

After the 1588 Armada, Irish denunciations of Englishmen for heresy dried up. This corresponds with the general change of mood among the Spanish and the Portuguese and the bedding down of the Alva–Cobham understanding regarding the treatment of Protestant visitors to Spain, negotiated in 1575. The Armada fiasco rattled the Spanish, confirming in some quarters the conviction that the Habsburgs were strategically over-stretched. Consequently these were inauspicious times for pressing petitions for Spanish aid to Irish insurgents. For those on the militant end of the Irish clerical spectrum this was unfortunate as it coincided with the beginning of the Nine Years War.

The Hugh O'Neill-led revolt against the queen began in earnest in 1594 and won promising early successes. Some displaced bishops, like Cornelius Mulryan, were inclined to get carried away with their enthusiasm for his cause.[49] In a 1595 letter to the papal representative,

Mulryan repeated a report that O'Neill had ordered the burning alive of four captured Protestant captains for refusing to recant their heresy and disarm.[50] The account was apocryphal but in the circumstances of the time was as likely to repel as attract Spanish sympathies. Stories like this certainly cut no ice with Pope Clement VIII, who in any case doubted the purity of O'Neill's religious motivation. He was aware that a substantial proportion of Irish Catholics were unwilling to support him.[51] Irish clergy from the more moderate end of the spectrum confirmed this, particularly Jesuits of the post-Rochford generation, like the Lisbon-based John Howling. He explained that many Catholics had benefited from the Tudor land settlement and feared that O'Neill's success would cost them their property.[52]

In contrast to Spain, where the inquisitorial tribunals routinely dealt with the reconciliation of apostate Catholics, in Lisbon, except in egregious cases, such cases could be processed through an institution called the *Casa dos Catecumenos*.[53] Established in 1579 by Cardinal D. Henrique, it was modelled on a similar institution set up by Saint Ignatius of Loyola in Rome in 1543 for the same purpose.[54] It provided accommodation and instruction to intending converts of every heretical hue, and had chaplains assigned to the various language groups.[55] The Lisbon institution was placed under the care of the Jesuits, who were assisted by the local Dominicans. Because of the increasing number of Irish and English sailors soliciting reconciliation there, the local Jesuit superior, Pedro da Fonseca (1528–99), nominated Robert Rochford to the Casa on his return from Ireland. After Rochford's death in 1588, he was replaced by his near relative, John Howling.

Under Howling, the Casa dealt with a growing number of incoming Irish and English converts, mostly mariners.[56] In 1593, Howling processed about fifty individuals,[57] and during most of the 1590s comparable numbers were processed annually. Many of these converts turned out to be purely nominal heretics, who in fact had never received any sort of religious instruction. Their rush at this time to regulate their religious affairs may have had more mundane motivation. Jesuit reports described how O'Neill's successes had prompted recent Irish converts to Protestantism to seek reconciliation with the Church, no doubt to hedge their bets in case of an O'Neill victory.[58] Like Rochford, Howling alternated his reconciliation work in the Casa with assignments for the Inquisition proper. This usually involved incoming English and Irish subjects. In 1594, for instance, he interpreted for the London-born weaver, sailor and soldier, Richard Lawrence[59] and the unemployed Richard Hexham, who had been charged with heresy.[60]

Settling into exile, 1590–1604

In the course of his work for the Inquisition and the Casa, Howling also kept an eye out for promising Irish candidates for the priesthood. Like his English and Dutch colleagues, Howling was looking towards the maintenance of the domestic church in the longer term.[61] In the late 1580s, with the support of a merchant called Lee [Leigh], he was able to provide accommodation for a small number of ecclesiastical students.[62] The sheer numbers arriving later prompted more coordinated action. In 1590, a group of Irish residents in the city, including John Lacy and Thomas Fitzgerald, together with Portuguese supporters like Garcia Melho de Silva, founded the confraternity of Saint Patrick to facilitate the setting-up of an institution to receive the Irish students. They acquired premises in 1592, and from then until 1605 the nascent Lisbon college was governed by a board, selected from among confraternity members.[63]

As elsewhere in the Spanish world, the role of local Irish merchants was crucial. They provided financial support and also supplied many of the students, often from their own families. They also transported them to Iberia. In 1593, for example, an Irish ship from Waterford landed a cargo of leather, hides and wax in Avilés (Asturias), and also four young men bound for religious houses in Iberia.[64] In 1598, the Galway merchant Valentín Blacadel listed the transport to Spain of Irish Catholics as one of his many services to the Spanish crown.[65]

Places were scarce in the new college, Jesuit influence was strong and the institution catered for a select clerical student body. This caused friction among the different Irish factions in the city, who clashed over admission criteria, Jesuit management and the college's long-term function. The official festivities to mark the opening of the Lisbon college, for instance, were spoiled by Bishop Mulryan's refusal to attend. In 1592, John Howling confided to his colleague, Patrick Sinnott in El Ferrol, that '[Mulryan] nor any of his would come to our feast on Sunday last, the griefe of which will never goe out of my harte'.[66] In another letter to Thomas Strong, bishop of Ossory, then resident in Santiago, in Galicia, he reported

> the bishop of Killaloe refused to come to our feast and I may boldly saye (as Wily Nougle knowth also) he hath bene and is soner a persecutor then a favorer of this poore congregation. God make him oure frende and pardon his doings hitherto.[67]

Despite divisions like these, a similar nesting impulse seized other Irish clerical groups on the peninsula at about the same time, especially

those most closely associated with the Irish ports and inland towns like Kilkenny and Clonmel. Thomas Strong, bishop of Ossory, had arrived in Santiago in 1582, with a number of relatives, including the future Jesuit Thomas White, and some prospective clerical students.[68] A few years later, in 1587, White brought students to Valladolid, to petition the king. Bonaventura Naughton OFM, bishop of Ross, who, like O'Boyle of Limerick, managed a small clerical fund,[69] petitioned the court for more assistance.[70] Naughton was disarmingly frank about the doctrinal deficit in Ireland and the pressing need for properly trained catechists.[71] Royal support eventually permitted the acquisition of premises in Salamanca, under Jesuit management. Later, the Inquisition would grant staff and students of the college permission to read Protestant works in order to be better prepared for theological disputes with heretic adversaries on the Irish mission.

The setting-up of the colleges in Lisbon and Salamanca, along with a number of student hostels in the Spanish Netherlands, was a decisive step in the institutionalization of the dislodged clerical groups.[72] In one sense, it represented the imposition on them of the new seminary discipline. Although it was never successfully extended to include all or even most of the Irish clergy, not even by the end of the old regime, it was, however, enthusiastically embraced by the clerical elites of the ports and inland towns, which were drawn chiefly from trading families. In time it helped transform a disorganized sojourn of indefinite length abroad into a period of organized preparation in a structured environment. A trickle of seminary-trained clergy filtered back to Ireland, and from the mid 1610s began to have a real pastoral impact.[73] They were concentrated in the ports and surrounding areas, and generally kept a low profile, their diffidence amply justified by the reality of sporadically brutal state repression. The clerical elites now had in their hands the means of their own perpetuation. At a crucial moment the college system also provided an alternative career option for the offspring of Catholic merchant families, increasingly squeezed out of positions of civic responsibility in their native towns by strengthening Protestant authority.

Initially, the clerical produce of these colleges represented only a fraction of the total Catholic clergy active in Ireland. However small in number, the returning clergy served an increasingly confessionalized lay population. In 1606, the Jesuits reported that after the president of Munster obliged peasants in Dungarvan to attend services in the state church, their Catholic landlord refused to allow them back on his land until they were reconciled with the Catholic Church.[74] Some time later, in 1612, the Anglican Bishop Ram of Ferns and Leighlin reported that

the poorer sort did not attend the services of the state church, and told him that

> if they should be of our religion, no popish merchant would employ them being sailors no popish landlord would let them any lands being husbandmen nor sett them houses in tenantry being artificers and therefore they must either starve or doe as they doe.[75]

The colleges in Lisbon and Salamanca were later augmented by similar establishments in Santiago de Compostela, Seville, Acalá and Madrid, and by religious houses too. The Irish Dominicans set up in Lisbon and Bilbao, and the Franciscans in Leuven. Irish religious were also accommodated in the Spanish houses of their orders, notably in the Dominican houses in Madrid (Atocha), Bilbao and Seville (San Pablo), in the Franciscan friaries in Madrid and Bilbao, and with the Jesuits in many places. Coupled with the Irish implantation in the *Casa dos Catecumenos* in Lisbon and much later in the *Casa de Catecúmenos* in Cádiz, the expatriate Irish clerical community in Iberia evolved as a varied and strategically distributed ecclesiastical network.

Practically all these Irish institutions provided interpreters, theological experts and commissioners for various tribunals of the Inquisition in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They also provided military, hospital and domestic chaplains,[76] who played a crucial role in referring subjects to the Inquisition, either on denunciations of heresy or, much more often, for reconciliation to the Church.

The Holy Office attracted some of the most accomplished Irish expatriate clergy. From the 1620s, Michael Wadding SJ, an alumnus of the Irish college in Salamanca, was an examiner for the Mexican Inquisition. A relation of his, Richard Wadding, an Augustinian friar, lectured in Coimbra University and served as a theological advisor to the tribunal there. Another family member, Luke Wadding SJ (a relation of the Rome-based Luke Wadding OFM), who worked from Salamanca, was a theological expert for the *Suprema* in Madrid. This Jesuit was significant, not only in himself but also for his intellectual progeny. Along with Pedro Hurtado de Mendoza, Wadding was a formative influence on Richard Lynch (1610–76). The latter, from the 1640s, taught philosophy in the Irish college at Salamanca. He in turn was involved in a number of intellectual disputes in the University of Salamanca, the most significant of which centred on the theology of Juan Bariano SJ (1615–76), who held a chair in Salamanca and was rector of the local Holy Spirit College. He was investigated by the Inquisition[77] in a prolonged dispute

that involved Lynch[78] and a number of Irish students, including John Richard Crosby, in 1673.[79]

Irish offshore clerical networks originated as temporary shelter for dislodged clerics, some of whom saw them as bridgeheads for the re-establishment of Catholicism in Ireland. By the peace of 1604, Spain explicitly renounced that objective, and Irish clergy, even those at the more militant end of the spectrum, had to take stock. A similar process, with due local variations, occurred in England and the Netherlands at the same time.[80] There was never going to be a Spanish-supported Catholic restoration in Ireland. There would be, however, a continued and organized Catholic presence there, led by scions of the urban elites, the Catholic gentry and the Gaelic aristocracy. In this sense, the Irish clerical presence in Iberia was not an isolated community abroad but an extension of that native ecclesiastical system and a fundamentally important part of its continued existence. The insular and officially proscribed Catholic Church hierarchy was constitutionally European, linked by bone and sinew through its offshore clerical groups, merchant families and foreign military units, to the Spanish and Portuguese churches and their Inquisitions. A pattern had been set: whatever Catholic Ireland became in the future it was now definitively internationalized.

Clerics of all hues, from politique to militant, took stock of the changed relationship between Spain and England. Howling's activist confrère, James Archer SJ, a man in the militant mould of Rochford, who acted as military chaplain to Hugh O'Neill's forces, returned to pastoral work in Lisbon after the war and served the Lisbon Inquisition and the entire colleges network in the early seventeenth century.[81] The defeated followers of the Ulster earls beat a similar retreat. Following the rout at Kinsale, they were dislodged to Spain, arriving principally through ports in Galicia and along the northern coast.[82] On landing, they claimed sustenance, compensation for war losses and longer-term remuneration. Following an initial period of chaos, the influx was either returned to Ireland or absorbed into the Flemish army.[83]

The integration of unemployed Irish military into Spanish service also set a pattern, which suited the Spanish, who were increasingly short of native military manpower. For the following two centuries, Ireland served as a recruiting ground for the Spanish monarchy as the Habsburgs struggled to maintain their fissiparous Iberian kingdoms in obedience. Population decline in Castile, the monarchy's Iberian heartland, meant that the Habsburgs were unable to retain their multinational inheritance without foreign enlistment. It was this demographic fact, combined

with military necessity, along with the vagaries of Anglo-Spanish relations, that explains the continuing Spanish interest in Ireland. Conveniently for the Spanish, the new Jacobean regime in Ireland was not averse to foreign recruitment there, even by former enemies and commercial competitors like the Spanish. The garrisoning of Ulster in particular,[84] and the strengthening of royal authority in Ireland overall, meant that the government positively encouraged the transfer of potentially troublesome military veterans out of the country.[85]

With the Treaty of London in 1604, Spanish military intervention in Ireland was a dead letter, which no Irish petitioner, no matter how compelling, could resurrect. That did not discourage Irish militants from trying, hence the persistent presence of a voluble but largely ignored succession of Irish petitioners at the Spanish court.[86] Of course, Spain might occasionally dust down superannuated invasion schemes as relations with London fluctuated or as English incursions in the Caribbean intensified. From the Spanish viewpoint, however, the situation for Catholics in Ireland was hopeless but insufficiently serious to warrant a change of dynastic strategy. Over time, military service in Spain tended to become a permanent rather than a temporary option for Irish military marginalized by the Dublin regime. Part of the military migrant's motivation may have been the largely chimerical expectation that the units they joined might one day form part of a Spanish- or French-led descent on Ireland. The direction of military traffic between Ireland and Catholic Europe, however, remained stubbornly one way for most of the seventeenth century.[87]

This was something of a paradox. As the Protestant interest in Ireland grew stronger, the role of the continental European armies changed. In the 1580s, 1590s and early 1600s, a Spanish military intervention was the longed-for *deus ex machina* that would decisively settle the struggle against growing Tudor authority in favour of its Irish opponents. After the Treaty of London, the same Spanish military, by absorbing militant Irish opponents of the Tudor and Stuart monarchs for service abroad, helped defuse the military situation in Ireland to the regime's advantage. Not only militant opponents of the Dublin and London regimes but also the surplus sons of better-off Catholic families could make a dignified military career for themselves abroad. In this way, the continental Catholic powers, led by Spain, came to play an indirect and entirely unsung role in the stabilization and later in the maintenance of Stuart authority and its associated Protestant interest in Ireland.

The institutionalization of the Irish clerical diaspora abroad was not the Inquisition's intention. If it had its own way, the Holy Office

would have aligned itself with the militant clerics who so persistently petitioned for a Catholic restoration in Ireland and England, by force of arms if necessary. However, like any other arm of the Spanish state, the Inquisition had to accept geopolitical realities, including that of a Protestant monarchy in England and Ireland, and the religious toleration of Protestant visitors to Spain. These realities imposed compromises and concessions, even in the so-called age of religious intolerance.

Part II
Seventeenth Century

4
Diversifying Migrant Roles

The seventeenth century saw Irish migrants in Spain branch out from their traditional haunts in the counting house and the seminary into the army, the navy, the university and, of course, the Inquisition itself. Their complex relation with England, central to their sixteenth-century reception in Spain, continued to mark their experience abroad. The peace brokered at the 1604 Treaty of London ushered in a new era of diplomatic relations between the rulers of Spain and England and permitted the exchange of ambassadors. Initially their role, like that of the port consuls, was to ensure the observance of the treaty. By and large, the new arrangement disadvantaged Spain, which was left with its strategic vulnerability in the Netherlands and its susceptibility to English, French, Dutch and Danish incursions into its New World territories. Queering the diplomatic pitch was the vague possibility of a Spanish match for Prince Henry, the eldest Stuart heir, unrealistically premised by the Spanish on religious guarantees for the Stuarts' Catholic subjects in England, Ireland and Scotland. This was the central plank in Anglo-Spanish relations in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and set the volatile context for the reception of Irish visitors travelling to Spain and within its Empire.

Trench warfare at the English embassy

The embassy of Charles Howard, first earl of Nottingham, officially re-inaugurated full diplomatic relations between London and Madrid. He was succeeded by Francis Cottington, who acted as English chargé d'affaires in Madrid, and he in turn was followed by Sir Charles Cornwallis.[1] In 1610, Sir John Digby (1580–1653), first earl of Bristol, was appointed ambassador to Spain and arrived there in June 1611.

Like his predecessors, Digby's first task was to ensure the continued observance of arrangements for British merchants agreed in 1604. As regards the royal match, the death of Prince Henry in 1612 transferred the matrimonial whimsy to his brother, Charles. The ongoing negotiations fostered unrealistic expectations on both the English and the Spanish sides, the most extravagant being the prince's conversion to Catholicism.

Digby arrived with a retinue, which included a few Irishmen, recruited among the Irish London diaspora.[2] Young, single and better-born Irish males were common there, even in the years before the massive Irish migration of the 1640s.[3] As least three of Digby's entourage were of Gaelic origin. Andrew Shiel had already been twelve years in London, in the service of a Catholic gentleman. Henry Cruc had gone to London and joined the service of the earl of Clanrickard,[4] later serving in a Protestant household before joining Digby's embassy. Thaddeus O'Farrell, a musician, had served in the viceregal residence in Dublin until 1607, when, at the age of eighteen, he was sent to London to serve in the household of Richard Bancroft (1544–1610), archbishop of Canterbury. His master's death occasioned O'Farrell's entry into Digby's household.

All the Irish were cradle Catholics but had conformed in London. Bancroft had insisted that O'Farrell convert, and Cruc had adopted the religion of his master, obediently accompanying his master's mother to Anglican services. She assured him that anything he heard there would be for his good.[5] Digby naturally insisted that all his servants conform, though discipline in the Madrid embassy appears to have been rather lax. This was particularly the case with O'Farrell, whose musical talents earned him special status, '… since they treated [me] with more respect for [my] being a musician and they neither forced nor obliged [me] to attend the said [Protestant] services'.[6]

Although the Inquisition was insatiably curious about goings-on in the embassy, the Treaty of London guaranteed freedom from molestation on religious grounds for well-behaved British visitors, including embassy staff. It was a different matter, however, if the embassy staff included 'incarcerated' Catholics. This was precisely the denunciation against Digby made to the Inquisition by the formidable Irish Franciscan, Florence Conry. He was archbishop of Tuam, and like his sixteenth-century predecessors, depended on the Spanish to sustain him during his enforced absence from his occupied see. More in the militant tradition of Redmond Gallagher and Cornelius Mulryan than Richard Creagh or John Howling, Conry was officially outlawed in Ireland for his support of the recent uprising in Ulster. He had just

arrived in Madrid at the behest of the exiled earl of Tyrone, erstwhile military ally of the Spanish and now conveniently mothballed in Rome.[7] While in Madrid, Conry prepared a denunciation against Digby, alleging that he had forced three Catholics to conform to Protestantism and was retaining them against their will.

If Digby was restraining his Irish servants, they had little difficulty in quitting his service. Shortly afterwards, accompanied by an Irish interpreter, Shiel, Cruc and O'Farrell appeared before Inquisitor Quiroga.[8] All three repeated the narrative tropes by now commonplace in Irish reconciliations. There was the usual insistence that they had remained Catholics at heart. Their conformity was entirely external and maintained only out of obedience and fear of punishment. To the already well-disposed Inquisitor, these were convincing arguments. The Irish were speedily reconciled and dispatched, probably to military service in Flanders.

In London, meanwhile, diplomatic interest in a Spanish match quickened. In 1614, James I chivvied a reluctant Digby to engage in the preliminaries of a marriage negotiation. The issue of the Spanish demand for liberty of religious practice for Catholic vassals proved a persistent stumbling block. From 1618 the situation was further complicated by the wars in the Palatinate, involving James's son-in-law Frederick, against Spain's imperial ally. In the midst of the diplomatic hurly-burly, the trickle of Irish defections from the ambassadorial household continued. Digby was powerless to prevent contact between his Irish servants and other Irish residents in Madrid, particularly religious, who seem to have relished the challenge of picking off embassy staff.

In 1620, the year Gondomar (1567–1626) returned on his second embassy to London, two of Digby's servants, Thaddeus Bradagan and Daniel Flanagan, with a little prompting from an Irish Dominican resident in the city, requested reconciliation from the Holy Office.[9] It transpired that for some time they had been groomed by Richard Bermingham OP (Ricardo de la Peña). He was a well-known Irish political activist and author of a recent petition to Philip III, deeply critical of James I's treatment of his Irish Catholic vassals.[10] The contrite Irish duo apparently assumed that their conversion to Catholicism would be compatible with continued service to Digby. They were rapidly disabused and fired. The pair, however, continued wearing Digby's livery, until stripped to their underwear in the street by a posse from the embassy. Two Irish worthies, the count of Berehaven, Dermot O'Sullivan Beare, and the archbishop of Cashel, David Kearney, both fortuitously in the city at the time, took up the cudgels on the lads' behalf, recommending

them for military service in Flanders. Bermingham concurred, arguing that favourable royal treatment of the new Irish converts would encourage more defections from the embassy.

His prayers were soon answered. Digby returned to Spain in 1622 to restart, yet again, the stalled marriage negotiations.[11] This fuelled extravagant speculation on how much the English might concede, short of a princely conversion. The heady atmosphere encouraged more of Digby's Irish servants to jump ship. In July 1622, William Dunne and Matthew Kilanan announced their intention to convert. The Inquisition obligingly provided them with two Irish clerics as interpreters and began the reconciliation process. This was conditional, of course, on their absenting themselves from prayers in the embassy. On discovering their new popish frequentation, Digby had the pair ejected from the embassy. Still in Digby's livery, Kilanan and Dunne wandered around the city until, apparently inveigled into meeting up with some of their erstwhile embassy colleagues, they were stripped down to their 'ropa interior' and told to be with their new Catholic friends.

Richard Bermingham, ever alive to a propagandistic opportunity, took up their case with the Spanish authorities, claiming that the pair had been beaten and stripped for their faith, and that this represented an offence against the Catholic religion and consequently, a breach of article twenty-one of the Treaty of London.[12] As intended, this raised the stakes, propelling a banal domestic incident into a diplomatic spat that could compromise the ongoing marriage negotiations. By now these had reached an advanced state, spawning a special *junta*, established by Philip III, to consider the theological and religious issues pertinent to an eventual settlement. In Rome, a group of cardinals considered the same matter.

The stakes were pushed higher still by the surprise arrival in Madrid of the prince of Wales, in March 1623 (see Figure 4.1). Anxious to force the pace of the marriage negotiations, Charles impetuously took personal charge, sidelining the astounded Digby and feeding Spanish expectations of an imminent princely conversion.[13] The giddy diplomatic situation tended to highlight and sharpen religious sensitivities. In May, during the Corpus Christi procession, Digby's perceived failure to honour the passing Blessed Sacrament earned him a Spanish rebuke.[14] Moreover, as the prince's visit wore on, and the issue of concessions remained intractable, the king's minister, Olivares, concluded that there would be no conversion. He also accepted that sufficient concessions for English Catholics would never be granted and that the proposed marriage was, in fact, chimerical.[15] A mutual bluff was elaborated,

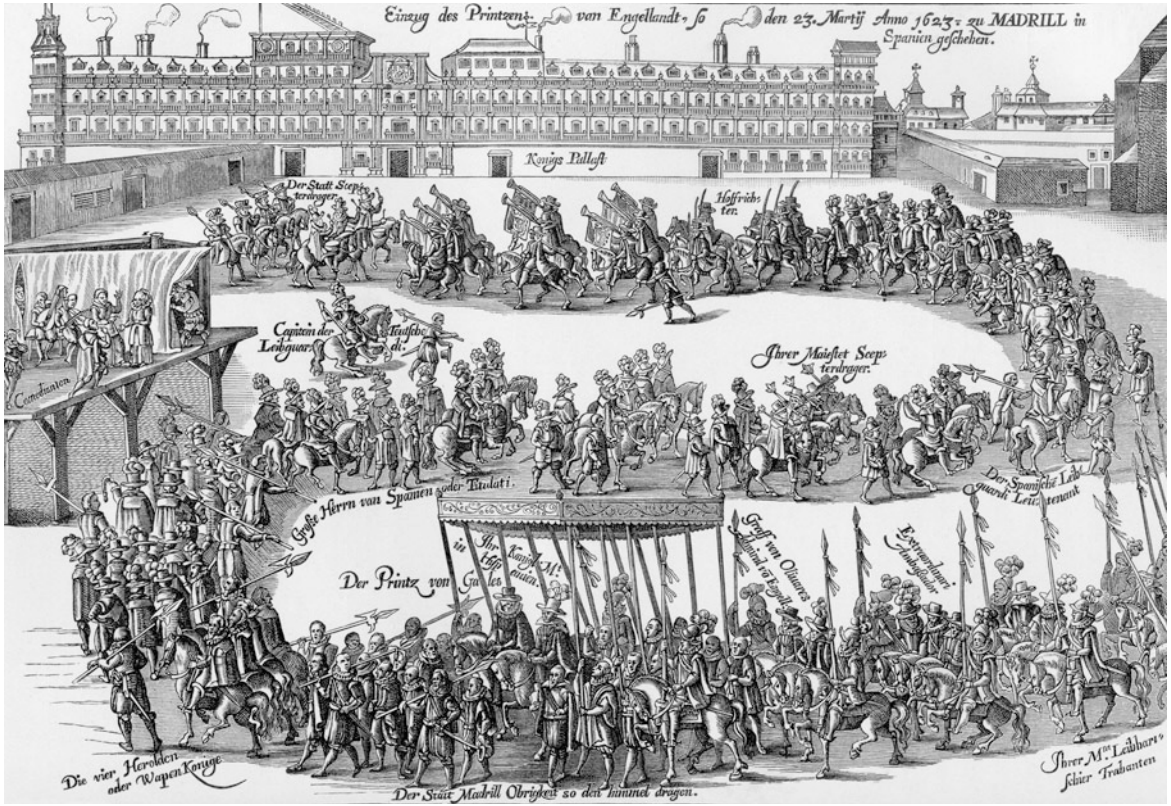


Figure 4.1 Entry of the future Charles I of England to Madrid, 1623
Source: Seventeenth-century engraving, German School © The Art Archive/Alamy.
Note: There were Irish members in most of the early seventeenth century English diplomatic missions to Spain. Some Irish members of Charles's entourage worked with the local Inquisition to entice Protestant colleagues to convert to Catholicism, to the great displeasure of the Prince of Wales.

permitting both sides to save face, and Charles was finally spirited out of Madrid in late August, leaving behind a durably disabused Digby. The marriage was off.

Unaware of the scale of the prince's deception, and confident, to the very end, of his conversion, a number of crypto-Catholics in Charles's entourage had begun to break confessional ranks. Charles's own secretary, Francis Cottington, something of a religious weather vane, was among them. On falling ill with fever, he came out as a Catholic and received the last rites. Further down the princely party's social ladder, hopes of Charles's conversion had hardened into quasi-certainty. Among the hopefuls were Richard Nugent and John Falvey, both military men and willing to chivvy any wavering Protestants back to Rome.

A golden opportunity arose in late July 1623, when one of the prince's pages, John Wadington, fell ill.[16] His Spanish nurse formed the impression that the dying Englishman wanted to be attended by a priest and set off to the local Jesuit house to fetch one. She does not appear to have been completely discreet and the news spread fast. By the time the English priests arrived, several members of Digby's household had already formed a Protestant phalanx around the bed, insisting that the moribund be left unmolested. The thickening throng of Catholics, both in the house and outside, insisted that the dying man's wishes, as reported by the nurse, be respected.

A tense two-hour standoff ensued, during which one of the ministering English priests was punched in the face. The situation was partially defused by the arrival of Digby and Gondomar.[17] The latter, ever the peacemaker, calmed the crowd and the room was cleared. However, in a subsequent statement to the Holy Office, one of the exiting Catholics claimed that he saw the English administering an unguent to the dying man, insinuating that they had hastened his death to prevent his conversion. Wadington's decease a few hours later fuelled the rumour mill, as did the news of his scandalously clandestine midnight interment in Digby's garden. This caused a sensation in the city, and stories circulated that Wadington was a martyr for the faith. The rumours of his servant's sanctity sat ill with Digby. On returning to England in 1624 he had to take the blame for the marriage negotiation fiasco and endured outlandish accusations of connivance with the Spanish to convert the prince.

From 1624 Spain and England were again at war, part of the larger Thirty Years War conflict. This included a Spanish war with France, which the Dutch, supported by London, successfully exploited. The English and the Spanish also clashed in the Caribbean. Spanish trade embargoes did not exclude the Irish, resulting in disastrous losses for merchants in Waterford

and other port cities. Commenting on the consequences, the bishop of Waterford, Patrick Comerford, wrote in 1629:

> as for tradinge, or stirring in mercantile affaires, which is nervus huius regni, it is so much forgotten, that scarce a man doth know of what colour is the coine in this miserable iland at sea a merchant can not navegat two dayes, when is taken either by a Hollander, or a Dunkerk, or a French pirat or a hungrie Biscaner.[18]

Peace was restored in 1630 at the Treaty of Madrid and trade renewed. Over the succeeding decades, relations between Spain and England were sufficiently friendly to permit recruitment in Ireland for Spanish service in Flanders and later in the peninsula itself.[19] These mainly Catholic recruits, with very few exceptions, did not register on the inquisitorial radar.

New inquisitorial roles

Off the field of battle, migrant patterns set by the 1604 peace solidified, and the main interface between the Irish and the Holy Office was on the quayside. The merchant Irish continued to frequent Spanish ports, albeit in the face of increased English, Dutch and French competition.[20] In the ports, the old-fashioned inquisitorial trench warfare, so much a feature of Irish and English maritime life in Spain in the middle of the sixteenth century, was choreographed into ritualized formal visits by Inquisitorial commissioners to inspect incoming vessels and their cargoes.[21] In time, the objective of the ritual was less the detection of Protestant books than the levying of search charges, which provided a valuable source of income to the local tribunals. The Holy Office's right to inspect incoming traffic and charge for the service was contested by Spanish port authorities and merchant *consulados*. Despite merchant complaints that they discouraged trade, commissioners continued to insist on visitation rights, even in peacetime and long after the protocols of 1604 had come into force.

Ships' commissioners were invariably Spaniards but were usually accompanied by an interpreter, often an Irish cleric or Catholic layman.[22] They visited the vessel offshore, subjecting the crew to a formal interrogation, largely regarding matters of religion. The rigour of the visit depended on the zeal of the individual commissioner and on the international situation, but commissioners were generally better known for their administrative than their religious zeal. The visiting commissioners were active in all Spanish ports, including those of the

Canary Islands, where Irish traders were numerous from at least the late sixteenth century. In 1600, for instance, two Irish ships out of Dublin, the *Susana* and the *Jesus*, were visited in Santa Cruz de la Palma by Commissioner Gaspar Fernández Docanto.[23] The *Susana* had a crew of twelve Irish and a cargo of corn, sardines and cod. Richard Staunton vouched for his crew's bona fides and the absence of heretical literature. The crew of the *Jesus* consisted of sixteen Irish, carrying a similar cargo. In this case, interpretation was provided by ship's crewmember William Sexton [Saqueson].

The frequency with which Irish crew members acted as spokespersons for visiting ships of all origins suggests that even vessels originating in Protestant ports carried at least a token Catholic, often Irish, for the purposes of dealing with the inquisitorial visitation. No doubt it was assumed that a Catholic would make a more favourable impression on the visiting commissioner. For the *Saint Andrew*, probably Scottish and under the command of Dick Jennings [Jamens] and John Baxter [Baester], it was Richard Baker [Baquiar], an Irish merchant on board, who made the declaration to Alonso de San Juan, in La Palma in 1602.[24] In 1628 when the Irish vessel *El Cabello Blanco* was inspected in Santa Cruz by José de Avendaño, the declaration came from Irishmen Martin White and James French.[25] In 1695 there were six Protestant crew on the *Suala* out of Dublin, boarded in La Cruz by Commissioner Francisco Fernandez.[26] In this case, the declaration to the commissioner was made by Robert Savage.

Accompanying Inquisitors on ships' inspection was only one administrative role for the diversifying Irish. They also continued to interpret for their British colleagues, acting as useful intermediaries between incoming Protestants and the Spanish authorities. Indirectly, the Irish thereby assisted the Spanish in recruiting for their armed forces and for skilled labour in general. In Santiago, for instance, in 1631, the processing of a shipload of English heretics not only burnished the reputation of the local Irish college, which provided interpretation and catechetical services. It also proved a windfall for the Spanish navy, which acquired a body of experienced mariners. In mid-century, as the Spanish appetite for Irish military recruits grew enormously,[27] the Catholic Confederation in Ireland willingly traded men for money and supplies, exporting soldiers 'as if it were a mercenary state'.[28] Because the bulk of these were Catholic, few passed before the Inquisition. However, when called upon to do so, Irish clergy cooperated enthusiastically with local tribunals to reconcile and effectively naturalize incoming Protestant recruits, whether from England, Scotland or Ireland.

In 1648 the Calvinist, Rodrigo O'Donnell, tercio sergeant major, arrived in Galicia and presented for processing before the Santiago Inquisition, accompanied by his interpreter, Fray Patricio de Augustino.[29] O'Donnell, born in 1618, was the son of Hugh and Margarita O'Larque. He was baptised a Catholic but at the age of seven was sent over to Scotland for safety, due, he said, to government harassment of his family. In Scotland, where he spend four years, O'Donnell was raised a Calvinist, and he continued in that religion when he went to London, first in the service of Robert, son of the Lord Palatine and then in the service of Charles I, as a cavalry commander. He returned to Ireland in 1644 and went to Kilkenny shortly afterwards, where he was invited to take up the command of the Confederate Cavalry on condition that he converted. He demurred, resenting the implied commerce of conscience but was later persuaded to sail to Spain to present himself to the Inquisition.[30]

Other Irish, English and Scots military came in through Basque ports like San Sebastián, where Irish Franciscans, lodged with local confrères, provided their interpretation and catechetical skills to the Inquisition. In 1647 Patrick Kiernan OFM acted for several British immigrants.[31] In 1649 an English soldier, Thomas Hall (de Al), already signed up for Patrick Barnwall's company, was interpreted by Bonaventura Barry OFM.[32] Intriguingly, those processed included a number of females, usually spouses of male converts. The Irish Franciscan, Jacobo de Bautista, interpreted for the Scots woman, Barbara Bizet, in 1640 in San Sebastián.[33] Later, in the same city, the 20-year-old Scot, Isabel Ogilvy, was interpreted by Bonaventure [de la Ascension] Barry OFM.[34] In Bilbao the Irish community provided the same services to incoming Protestants. In the 1640s Nicholas Comerford was designated Irish chaplain in the port. Among his conversion trophies was the Kildare-born ship's pilot, Patrick Casey (1642).[35] The Franciscan, Bonaventura Barry, claimed credit for the conversion of the Dubliner, John Morata (1647).[36] In 1652, Samuel Jedbord [Giedbo], an English Protestant of mixed Irish parentage, joined the Catholic fold, again courtesy of the Irish network in the port.[37]

Most of these converts were on their way to Spanish military service. However, the mass desertions of Irish recruits on the Aragonese and Catalonian fronts to the French in 1653–4 soured the Spanish military and led to the suspension of Spanish recruitment in Ireland.[38] It also prompted the removal of pro-French Franciscan chaplains from the Irish regiments, leaving the Spaniards durably disenchanted with the treacherous Irish. For the moment, the Irish military love affair with

Spain was suspended and would not be reignited until the Bourbons ascended the Spanish throne early in the following century.[39]

Migrant inclusion and exclusion strategies

Behind the interpretative and intermediary roles they played in the Inquisition, subtle changes were occurring in the social status of a small number of incoming Irish. Already in the early seventeenth century, a few were emancipating themselves from their Irish kith and kin to integrate completely into the host society. For this select group, Spanish patronage was essential, but that in turn depended on a number of ancillary conditions, including social and married status, income and the good opinion of compatriots. Some of the most successful of these integrations took place, as will be seen, in Spain's American viceroyalty but a few also occurred in the Spanish heartland. One of the most remarkable was Dominic Murphy, and his case is instructive. By 1637 he was sufficiently assimilated to make a successful application for the office of *familiar* of the Inquisition.[40] This was one of the lower offices of the Inquisition, originating in the function of bodyguard to the medieval Inquisitors. To the holder, it brought social prestige, immunity from the civil courts and some tax concessions.

Murphy was the son of Thaddeus and Mary Ann McCarthy, both of Rosscarbery in Co. Cork. As an assimilating migrant, he enjoyed a number of advantages over the majority of his compatriots. To begin with, he had been born in Spanish territories, in La Guardia, on the Spanish–Portuguese frontier. His parents had arrived there from Ireland, sometime before his birth in 1617. Two years later the family moved to Madrid, and were fortunate to be taken under the wing of the Olivares court faction. When both his parents died precipitously,[41] the orphan was adopted by the countess of Olivares, Inés de Zúniga y Velasco (1584–1647) and reared in her household. The young man also secured a substantial yearly pension, drawn on an ecclesiastical living. With these advantages his marriage prospects were no longer confined to the stifling endogamy of the Irish migrant group. He eventually contracted marriage with a Madrid native, Maria Martinez, and set up house there.[42] It was only on achieving this level of assimilation that Murphy was allowed to take the process a stage further, by applying to the Holy Office for the office of *familiar*. The Inquisition enforced purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*) and did not admit persons of Jewish or Moorish extraction or those tainted with heresy. Accordingly, Holy Office officials interviewed a number of witnesses to vouch for his breeding, faith and character.[43]

The vast majority of these were drawn from the Irish community in Madrid, and it is obvious that Murphy, during his social ascension, had been careful to maintain relations with his own people. Deponents included the mayor domos of the count of Berehaven, Dermot O'Sullivan and his wife,[44] several neighbours from Cork, a Waterford merchant, two clerics, a pair of Conrys from Connacht and a naval officer. All confirmed that Murphy's antecedents were impeccably well bred, including, on his maternal grandmother's side, a progenitor of royal stock.[45] Furthermore, the royal side of the family was propertied. Murphy's grandmother, Marian O'Callaghan, was described as a mistress of vassals (*señora de vasallos*), with an 'extensive estate and tenants' ('*una tierra muy dilatada con sus labradores*').[46]

Nor was his ancestral faith found wanting. Deponents enthusiastically reported that the family, in all branches, was immaculately Catholic. In the recent religious wars in Ireland, the Murphys had demonstrated their fidelity to the old religion. One of the deponents, the chronicler Dominic Conry, recalled that when the 'Catholic League' leader, Dermot McCarthy, had sacked the town of Rosscarbery in 1600, he spared the Murphy property on account of their faith.[47] On no occasion since 'Patrick brought the faith to Ireland', another deponent claimed, had even one of the aspirant's ancestors fallen away from the old creed.[48] Notwithstanding their exalted lineage the Murphys were not above engaging in trade. They were well connected, through commerce, with a number of merchant families, including the Waterford Powers.[49]

Murphy was something of an exception, and other migrants integrated less comfortably, if at all. In the same year that Murphy joined the Inquisition, John Falvey, probably the man of the same name who had been involved in the Wadington affair in the English embassy in 1623, met a violent death in Valencia. At the time Falvey was a militia captain and had been posted in the city for at least a year. In the course of a routine patrol, he entered an inn in a rougher part of town, where he discovered Ignacio Navarro, the Inquisition jailer (*alcaide*).[50] For some reason, Falvey challenged him to disarm, whereupon Navarro attacked him, inflicting a fatal wound. Navarro was arrested but claimed inquisitorial immunity and accused Falvey of provocation.

Navarro enjoyed home advantage, and no fewer than twelve witnesses supported his version, embroidering their accounts with unflattering remarks on Falvey's character and on the Irish in general. The Irishman appears to have been a heavy drinker but his main failing, as reported by his denunciators, seems to have been social and cultural

rather than criminal in character. During the last carnival, for instance, Falvey had spoiled the celebrations with his awkwardness and ignorance. He misunderstood the traditional street games, took offence at ritualized female jeering and reacted violently. Apparently he was also prone, when inebriated, to kiss indiscriminately and a little too eagerly.

Despite the marshalling of so much character evidence against Falvey, however, Navarro failed to impress the Holy Office. He was convicted of voluntary homicide and sentenced to three years' exile from Valencia, with the suspension of his inquisitorial functions for the same period and costs. On appeal to the *Suprema*, his conviction was upheld but the sentence reduced to a third of the time and a fifth of the fine.[51] The mitigating intervention of the *Suprema* was commonplace in inquisition trials.

Falvey's unfortunate fate was in part due to social ineptitude. This was a problem not only for Irish migrants attempting to integrate into Spanish society but also for those who, for one reason or another, attempted to move between socially and geographically distinct migrant subgroups. Irish migrants to Spain arrived with their inherited social prejudices intact, and they proved resilient there.[52] For soldiers, merchant groups and clerical networks, incorporation mechanisms permitting social and professional movement, were ready-made. Soldiers, always in demand, simply enlisted and, if Protestant, were reconciled by the Inquisition. For the merchants, it was family and business associations that mattered most, and marriage was the crucial instrument of incorporation. For clerics, a number of criteria applied. Entry to a continental college, for instance, depended on social background, geographical origin, faith history and approval by an ecclesiastical authority. There were further restrictions according to regional quotas, institutional tradition and the influence of patrons, who set up college burses and foundations. It was exceptional for the Holy Office to intervene in college recruitment, but this occasionally occurred. In 1652, the Inquisitors investigated the college in Madrid on foot of a denunciation for clerical impersonation. In the trial, however, it emerged that other issues were in play, including social and ethnic tensions within the local Irish community.

The Irish college in Madrid did not function as a seminary but rather as a hostel and facility for transiting clergy. These were generally on their way back to Ireland or in transit to Rome or another Spanish city. Visiting priests, even those lodging elsewhere in the city, would come to the college to celebrate Mass and to network. Accordingly, no one took particular notice in early 1652 when a priest calling himself William

O'Connor, from the diocese of Emly, called to ask permission to say Mass. After a perfunctory interview, the college rector, John Martin, allowed O'Connor to use the college chapel, and over the following days the new arrival celebrated Mass publicly on a number of occasions.

However, subsequent events revealed that O'Connor was not the priest's name nor Munster his province of origin. On the contrary, the young man came from Co. Leitrim, and his name was James Mochory.[53] His father's family was Gaelic and landed, his mother Mariana Chacrano [possibly Ó Craidhin] had connections in Portugal, where her brother Patrick practised as a medical doctor and his son Arthur attended the Jesuit college in Evora. His family had always intended James for the church. To this end he was schooled in Latin by local clerical tutors, but the ongoing civil wars in Ireland arrested his progress and forced him to hang around his home until his father's death in 1648, when he took up soldiering. At this time, James Leslie was recruiting for Spanish service, and Mochory, who had been reduced to begging on the Waterford quays, enlisted under Lieutenant Cornelius Doody. They sailed to Ayamonte in Andalusia and marched to Badajoz on the Spanish–Portuguese border in July 1649.[54] There, Mochory deserted, headed for his uncle's house in Lisbon and resumed his interrupted ecclesiastical career. In quick succession he was admitted to the Jesuit college of St Anthony, and, having procured the necessary papers from Rome and from Ireland, was ordained priest in 1651 by Francisco de Sotomayer.[55] Following the event, his uncle held a celebratory dinner, inviting a selection of the Lisbon Irish, including members of the local Irish Dominican community.

The young priest, however, was without a living. In the ordinary run of things, he might have secured a place in the local Irish college to do some theology, or simply waited for something to turn up. However, he appears to have fallen out with his uncle and quit the city. Providentially, one of the holders of the six Irish scholarships in the Jesuit college in Évora had just died. Mochory claimed his place and was accepted. Almost immediately he became amorously involved with a local female, and was obliged by her family to leave the city. Unable to return to his estranged uncle in Lisbon, the young man turned for help to his cousin Arthur and their seminarian colleagues. Together they decided that James would assume the identity of the recently deceased Irish student, William O'Connor, and chance his luck in Madrid. With the dead man's papers in his pocket, Mochory headed for the Spanish capital.

On arrival there in early 1652, he procured temporary lodgings at the General Hospital. Mochory was later described by a supporter as a man

who went about with his head down,[56] but during his first days in town he failed to keep a low profile. With his new alias he went about soliciting local clergy for alms. One of those importuned was the 41-year-old Barnaby Kiernan, chaplain to the marques of Leganes, who was completely taken in.[57] Kiernan later ran into Cornelius Doody, Mochory's erstwhile commander, who enlightened him about the young man's real identity. No doubt piqued at having fallen for the deception, Kiernan immediately denounced Mochory to the Holy Office, which ordered his detention. His alleged imposture, they reasoned, might conceal heretical views on the Mass, perhaps even a denial of the real presence.

Undismayed, Mochory continued with his deception, and the Inquisitors played along. The Irishman finally twigged he was in trouble and made an attempt to escape. On the night of 6–7 May 1652 he burrowed through the clay wall around his cell window, removed the frame and jumped, still shackled, into the street below. Neighbours alerted the authorities and the bruised Mochory was recovered. He had no option now but to come clean and admit his deception. The Inquisitors took a predictably dim view of his fraud, and some wanted to apply torture, reasoning that a man of his character was surely hiding other crimes. When put to a vote this recommendation was not carried. Luckily for Mochory, a Dominican acquaintance from Lisbon was in town and got wind of the trial. Nicholas de León (Lyons), who was on his way to Rome, volunteered to the Holy Office that he had known Mochory in Portugal and confirmed that although the young man was not William O'Connor, he was an ordained priest. This timely intervention cushioned Mochory's fate, and he got away with an eight-year ban from Madrid and the indefinite withdrawal of his ordination certificate. It could have been worse but the sentence put paid to his ambition to join the ranks of the seminary clergy.

The Dominican intervention against Kiernan's denunciation, and the accusations of Mochory's largely Munster-born indicters, suggest that there was a regional and perhaps even an ethnic bias to the case. The Dominicans at this time recruited largely in the west of Ireland, and felt a provincial responsibility to support the Connacht-born and Ulster-connected Mochory. For the Munster natives, on the other hand, Mochory was not just an imposter, he was also an upstart, intent on insinuating himself into a clerical network from which he was excluded by his origins, education and demeanour. The Limerick clerics James Arthur and Matthew Bonfield, for instance, had complained that Mochory had no living, was badly dressed and could hardly refrain from trembling when saying Mass, a sure sign, they believed, of a

bad conscience. The army captain Doody found it incredible that one so ignorant and uncouth could become a priest in the first place. The Inquisitors had to agree that he was theologically undistinguished. Although he could recite his prayers in Latin and put together a few words by way of a sermon, he was worryingly hazy on the commandments and weak on sacramental theology.

Mochory's treatment at the hands of his Munster compatriots contrasted with their handling of their own provincials. In 1652, fresh from his denunciation of Mochory, Kiernan organized the reconciliation of John O'Sullivan, a 14-year-old Calvinist from Bandonbridge in Munster.[58] O'Sullivan's mixed religious ancestry (his English-born mother probably belonging to the Protestant group planted in Bandon after 1604) proved no obstacle to his reconciliation and integration into the local Irish migrant network. These examples of inclusion and exclusion expressed regional and ethnic tensions, which divided the Irish clerical diaspora and were rarely far from the surface even in inquisitorial processes. In 1663, for instance, the Irish Dominicans in Madrid denounced Kiernan and certain Leinster and Munster associates for circulating Peter Walsh's loyalist-inspired 'Remonstrance'.[59] This incident was another act in the ongoing British debate concerning attempts to reconcile Catholic loyalty to king and pontiff.

Mochory was unsuccessful in negotiating his transfer from one migrant network to another. However, he did have his Dominican supporters, and their intervention significantly mitigated the severity of his inquisition sentence. It was a different story for Irish migrants who for one reason or another lacked any support networks. For them, travel to Spain was risky, and even casual conversation could be dangerous, as the 25-year-old Dungarvan-born Thomas Hoare (Hor) discovered on coming to Galicia in 1632. His presence in Spain is unexplained, but it is possible that like Mochory he travelled to secure a place in the local Irish college.[60] Certainly he was sufficiently well educated to aspire to holy orders. He was a competent Latinist and more than held his own in conversations with university students he met in town. It was in the course of one such conversation that Hoare was challenged to compose a Latin verse. In the process he unwisely revealed that he had once written verse in praise of Charles I. For Spaniards, English monarchs and heresy were closely associated, and the chat turned to matters doctrinal. The group discussed the merits of praying for the dead and the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Hoare failed to impress his interlocutors, questioning that confession was necessary for salvation. Nor did he hold, it was reported, with fasting. When he declared that he was

unsure if Hell existed, his interlocutors claimed that they fled for fear of the demon, covering their ears. His former companions now turned informers and denounced him to the local Santiago Inquisition. In the course of his trial, the hapless Hoare endured a session on the rack, screaming his innocence in Latin before finally abjuring.

The Irish merchant John O'Flaherty [Fernandez] had a brush with the Canaries Inquisition in similar circumstances in 1643. On a trip to various Canaries ports he had provided passage to a number of local women. Having disembarked, the women praised the Virgin of the Rosary for their safe passage. O'Flaherty apparently corrected their theology, pointing out that if the heavens had treated them benevolently it was thanks to God's rather than the Virgin's grace.[61] To his consternation he found himself denounced to the local Inquisition on suspicion of heresy, and was sentenced to a severe verbal reprimand, spiritual penances and a lifelong ban from the Islands. This was a disastrous result for a merchant, whose livelihood depended on access to the island ports. O'Flaherty himself believed that he had been the victim of a malicious denunciation, concocted by a Portuguese resident on the island who held a grudge against him.

However, even a solid network and successful integration into the host society did not bring immunity from inquisitorial prosecution. Failure to observe the regulations imposed by the Holy Office could lead to a headlong fall from professional grace and result in social exclusion. This was the experience of some of the most successfully assimilated Irish migrants, including the university teacher, Patrick Sinnott. He was born in Wexford and moved to Galicia in the 1590s, settling in the town of Noya,[62] where he eked out a living as a Latin teacher. In 1611 he secured a position in the humanities faculty at the University of Santiago.[63] His position was not uncontested. Objections were raised, for instance, concerning his choice of textbook for his Latin poetry classes.[64] Sinnott controversially preferred Antonio de Lebrija (1441–1522) to his opponents' favourite, Bartolomé Bravo SJ (1554–1607), thereby aligning himself with a progressive faction among the academic staff.[65] Although accused of absenteeism, lack of punctuality and indiscipline, he retained faculty confidence[66] and was promoted in 1616.[67] As he integrated into university life, Sinnott retained his links with the Irish community in Santiago, where a small college, intended to cater for the sons of incoming Irish nobility in Spanish service, was founded in 1605.[68] In 1612, he supported the Jesuit takeover of the college and its transformation into a seminary.[69]

Sinnott's interests extended beyond Latin prosody to mathematics and astrology, and he did a sideline in horoscopes, probably to

supplement his income. This activity consisted in predicting events based on individuals' birth charts and answering clients' queries on personal, medical and business issues. Although widely practised, most forms of astrology, apart from weather prediction, were not approved by the Holy Office. It was suspicious of any form of divination that pretended to reveal the future, interpreting them as a denial of human free will and, in extreme cases, as necromancy.

Sinnott was undoubtedly aware of this and could not have been completely surprised when two of his clients denounced him for astrology in 1622.[70] The first claimed that Sinnott had astrologically discovered the cause of an illness, the second, that he had mysteriously and correctly identified a thief.[71] Before formal charges were pressed, Sinnott got wind of the denunciation and presented himself to the Inquisition.[72] Under interrogation, he admitted providing astrological services, with the caveat that he advised his clients not to take his findings seriously. He was eventually convicted, given a severe reprimand and exiled from Santiago for two years. This obliged him to give up his post, and he was quickly replaced. It is not impossible that the original denunciation had been made with this very outcome in mind.

Reconciling Irish Muslims

During the seventeenth century the strength of Ottoman influence in the Mediterranean permitted extensive corsair activity against Spanish shipping there and in the Atlantic.[73] Nominally under the authority of the Ottoman Sultan, the north African or Barbary pirates operated independently and included a number of Christian and Jewish renegade captains.[74] Raiding missions were conducted as far north as Ireland. Following their expulsion from Spain in 1609–10, many displaced Moors joined corsair ranks and operated out of Algiers, Salé and other North African ports. This caused a marked increase in attacks on Spanish shipping in coastal waters and on the high seas.[75]

A number of Irish were captured by corsairs in the course of their coastal raids and on the high seas. In a raid on Baltimore in Cork in 1631 about a hundred, mostly English settlers, were taken captive and transported to Algiers for sale.[76] Their petitions to London for ransom went unheard as the government feared payment would encourage kidnapping and discourage sailors from defending their craft. In the Spanish sphere, a number of Irish mariners were captured by Barbary corsairs, from both Irish merchant and Spanish naval vessels. Once in Muslim captivity, they were obliged to embrace Islam and were forcibly

circumcised. If ransomed, freed prisoners were obliged to present to the Inquisition for reconciliation, as their acceptance of Islam, even though enforced, was considered apostasy. The inquisitorial reconciliation process mirrored that required for Anglican converts to Catholicism. Very often, as in the case of converting Anglicans, the men concerned were strategically important on account of their naval or military skills or commercial experience. In their cases, reconciliation was usually a first step in recruiting them for Habsburg service. Thereafter they were quickly reintegrated into the navy or merchant marine, either resuming their interrupted lives or starting new ones in Spain.

The reconciliation records for most of the Irish marines in Spanish service known to have been captured by the Ottomans and ransomed have not survived. From other Spanish state records it is clear that several Irishmen were aboard at least two Spanish naval vessels taken by corsairs early in the century. In 1620, Barbary pirates off the coast of Cartagena took the *Imperial*, which had an Irish company under Captain Arthur O'Morachen. The nine survivors were taken to Algiers, sold to a Greek renegade and held for ransom.[77] In October 1622, another Irish company fell into corsair custody. The men, under Cornelius O'Driscoll, were serving on *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* and were intercepted by Moorish pirates off the coast of Andalusia. All the officers were killed and the surviving crew taken to Algiers.[78] This group of detainees, along with the still-imprisoned crew of the *Imperial*, were the object of representations and petitions to various Spanish Councils by members of Irish interests in Spain. The Spanish authorities were reluctant to release monies for ransom, and when a prisoner exchange was eventually set up, the officer accompanying the Moorish prisoner to Africa, John Fleming, was himself captured and held for ransom. The Spanish authorities at first treated the imprisoned Irish as just another group of foreigners, denying them the assistance of the Trinitarian and Mercedarian religious orders, who specialized in redeeming Moorish captives of Spanish origin.[79] However, in response to Irish petitions, a royal order was issued commanding them to treat the Irish like Spaniards.[80] Some prisoners were eventually ransomed, others escaped, but many endured a long captivity.

Irish merchant seamen were also taken by corsairs and later presented to the Lisbon Inquisition. Most were trading between Ireland and Spain and were only short-term visitors to Iberia. Twenty-year-old David Wadding from Wexford was processed in Lisbon in 1626.[81] He had sailed from Wexford in 1622, bound for Calais with a cargo of salt. Having off-loaded there, the ship continued southwards to the Portuguese

sardine fisheries, where it was boarded by Moorish corsairs. The crew was taken to Algiers, where Wadding was sold and immediately pressurized to convert to Islam. The verbal inducements of his captors, he later assured the Lisbon Inquisitors, were accompanied by physical abuse. Having demurred for several months, he eventually yielded, was duly circumcised and donned Moorish garb. A few years later, in 1631, James Travers, another Irish merchant, recounted a broadly similar experience before the same tribunal. He had been taken hostage on his way back to Ireland from a trading trip to Bilbao. His Moorish captors sold him in Salé and, like Wadding, he was forced to conform. Once renamed, circumcised and vested as a Moor he was allowed to go back to sea. Peter Hall, who presented to the Barcelona tribunal in 1636, was also forced to conform to Mohammedanism.[82] In 1624, his ship, travelling between Ireland and France was intercepted in the English Channel by corsairs. Hall was taken to Algiers and sold to a soldier in the service of the local governor or *dey*.

Echoing the conversion tropes of contemporary Irish Anglican converts to Catholicism, Wadding, Travers and Hall insisted that their apostasy was due to threats and violence. While in captivity Wadding said he prayed to God and the Virgin to return him to Christian lands. For his part, Travers maintained that his Christian heart had never wavered and he had managed to avoid all Islamic ceremonies. Similarly, Hall claimed to have been constant in his Christian faith. Nevertheless, despite their protestations to the contrary, all seem to have made convincing Muslims, and in Wadding and Travers's cases, their masters trusted them enough to allow them to return to sea, even though the risk of escape there was much greater. Wadding spent four years on the high seas and participated in no fewer than nine corsair campaigns. Hall too served on several corsair missions, some under a renegade English captain.

Wadding's escape from corsair custody was by far the most dramatic. According to his account, during one of his missions he secretly made friends with captured Germans and Portuguese, revealed his real identity to them and planned to mutiny with their support, when the opportunity arose. Taking advantage of an inebriated end of Ramadan feast, they attacked their Moorish captors, killing ten of them and taking over the ship, which they sailed to Lisbon. Travers and Hall, in much lamer accounts, recalled how they had been returned to Christendom by intercepting Spanish naval vessels. In all the interrogations, the Inquisitors expressed disappointment that the men had not been prepared to die for their faith and scolded them for preferring to pretend conversion and live the lie of a false creed. However, they were generally

ready to absolve them once it was established that the apostasy was both coerced and insincere. Penances were light. In Wadding's case, he was allowed to walk free. Travers's process had to be abbreviated because he had been enlisted in the Spanish navy and his vessel was ready to sail. The unfortunate Hall had been put to row by his Spanish liberators, and once reconciled was promptly returned to his galley.

Back in Spain and Portugal, the Irish clergy played an active role in the reconciliation of these men. Travers was re-instructed by an Irish Jesuit in Lisbon, and the local Irish Dominicans there ran an active ministry to returning mariners.[83] Several clergy were themselves taken captive by the Moors. One of the Lisbon Dominicans, Andrew of Saint Thomas Hurley (born *c*. 1604), was a prisoner in Algiers from 1631 to 1635.[84] In 1615, Anthony Lynch, a merchant from Galway who joined the Dominicans, was intercepted by Moors on his way to Ireland. He spent eight years in captivity.[85] He was ransomed by the order and was freed in 1623. On return he submitted two memorials describing his captivity and providing strategic information about his captors to the Spanish king.[86] Another Irish Dominican, Raymond O'Hehir, en route to Ireland from Spain, was captured by Barbary pirates in the late 1620s. He was permitted to administer to other Christian captives, before finally returning to Ireland.[87]

In the longer term, the corsair problem in the Mediterranean was pushed back by the reassertion of Spanish and particularly French naval power in the zone.[88] As Spain's military and naval frontiers with the Islamic world fluctuated through the period, its authority in the New World was increasingly challenged by its Christian competitors. From the early seventeenth century, English, French and Dutch incursions in the Caribbean were a problem, which in the longer term the viceroyalty was unable to master. In this conflicted context, Irish migrants crossed the Atlantic in large numbers, the great majority as indentured servants bound for the English-controlled Caribbean islands. A smaller number accessed the New World through Spanish networks, as missionaries and government agents. Some of these found employment with the Holy Office. As will be seen, the New World Inquisitions struggled to keep doctrinal tabs on the more adventurous of these highly mobile migrants.

5
The Irish in Spanish America

The seventeenth-century diversification of the Irish presence in Iberia saw the Irish become increasingly mobile within the Spanish Empire. Soldiers of Irish origin entered Spanish service, serving in the Netherlands from the late sixteenth century and in Spain later on. Irish students frequented Spanish universities, and the colleges' network provided a slender institutional foothold for Irish clergy throughout the peninsula and in the Spanish Netherlands. Given their increasingly diverse roles and their ever greater mobility, it was inevitable that Irish migrants would also venture across the Atlantic to Spain's American territories. Already in the 1560s Irish visitors were present in the Viceroyalty of Mexico and in the Amazon River valley.[1] Later they also appeared on the Caribbean coastlands, with some landing on the Caribbean islands, where other newcomers like the English, French and Dutch challenged Spanish authority. A very small number even made it to the Pacific coasts of Peru. As in Spain, the incoming Irish were subject to the religious authority of the New World Inquisitions, which sat in Mexico City, Cartagena (Colombia) and Lima (see Map 4).

Policing porous frontiers

Despite Spanish state prohibitions, foreigners had been leaking into Spanish America from the beginning of the conquest.[2] The Spanish, like other imperial powers, were hesitant to admit aliens, fearing economic competition, religious contamination and political subversion.[3] However, a distinction was observed between desirable and undesirable foreigners and provision was made for the former. Under the legal structures based on the Spanish *Law of the Indies*, useful foreigners intending to travel across the Atlantic were required to naturalize, a legal process

that normally required between ten and twenty years of residence in Spain. Only with a certificate of naturalization could an individual then apply to the *Consejo de Indias* (royal council for the Indies) for permission to travel. This entailed a second process to establish the applicant's loyalty to the king and the Catholic faith. These demanding conditions were sporadically observed but largely unenforceable. Already by the 1560s there were some Irish in Mexico City, and others arrived, unofficially, via English privateers.[4] Because labour was scarce and expensive in the New World, illegal migrants, even captured pirates, were often welcome, especially if skilled. Once onshore, incoming migrants plied their trades initially in the coastal regions of the colony before heading inland to try their luck. Sheer necessity opened up avenues of advancement even for the uninvited.

The year 1591 saw a change of policy. The cash-strapped Philip II ordered the expulsion of all foreigners from Spanish America, except those resident for more than ten years or married to Spanish women. Other foreigners could arrange to stay on payment of a royal contribution (*composición*). It took decades to implement the new system, and it was riddled with inconsistencies and confusions. Officials wondered, for instance, if the charge applied to Portuguese and Flemings, who at this juncture were Spanish subjects. Others counted the potential economic costs of such a measure and complained that it would stifle trade and depress royal revenues.[5]

The colonial Inquisitions functioned as part of the Spanish state's generally ineffectual but sporadically vindictive immigrant control to the New World. As in Europe, they specialized both in the detection of doctrinal deviation and in the reconciliation of heretics, the latter often as a preliminary to the converts' entry into royal service. The establishment of the Mexico tribunal in 1569 formalised state enforcement of doctrinal orthodoxy, up to then in the hands of the local episcopate, thus bringing colonial discipline into line with peninsular practice. John Martin's condemnation and execution in 1574 was among the first processed by the new tribunal, and its severity was intended as a token of its zeal. Initially, the new tribunal was self-financing, relying on revenues generated by confiscated property, mostly from *conversos* in the 1590s.[6] In the early seventeenth century, the tribunal successfully petitioned the king for reserved cathedral canonries, and by mid-century nine of these were generating the office's salaries, with other expenses paid from judicial fines.[7] In the first decades of the seventeenth century, as the Tribunal relaxed into relative torpor, its caseload declined. Nevertheless, the sheer extent of Spain's American territories necessitated the expansion of the

inquisitorial network. Tribunals were also set up in Lima to deal with business from the western and southern parts of the Empire, while the tribunal of Cartagena de Indias had responsibility for the coast and the Caribbean islands.[8]

As a branch of the Spanish state in the New World, the colonial Inquisitions were closely associated with the administration of the king's viceroy, usually a Spanish grandee, but relations were complex and sometimes fraught.[9] In order to maintain its position and its authority, the Holy Office exploited differences between the viceroy and local elites and between the viceroy and the Madrid administration. The early decades of the seventeenth century were marked by jurisdictional disputes between the Mexican tribunal and the viceroy. These became so bitter that state officials refused to participate in inquisitorial business and, by 1638, not a single case was pending before the Holy Office.

This situation changed dramatically in the 1640s with the Portuguese revolt. The tribunals in Mexico City, Cartagena and Lima seized the opportunity provided by the political tumult to move against wealthy Portuguese merchants in the colonies, who were often *conversos* and suspected of relapsing into Judaism. This activity reached its controversial crescendo in the *auto de fe* of 1649. Charges of corrupt procedures, partiality and general predation led to a sensational investigation of the Mexican Inquisition by the *Suprema*, which eventually resulted in the imposition of a series of disciplinary measures in the 1650s. In general, the colonial Inquisitions were buffered from the mitigating influence of the *Suprema* in Madrid by distance and lapses in communication. However, whenever general inquisitorial privileges came under external scrutiny or attack, local tribunals and *Suprema* closed ranks. The Mexican episcopacy, being less well established than its peninsular counterpart, exercised weaker checks on inquisitorial pretensions, as Palafox, the reforming bishop of Puebla, discovered in the 1640s when he attempted to impose ecclesiastical reforms on his reluctant colonial charges.[10]

Pirates, soldiers and settlers

Because of their tiny numbers and relative unimportance, the Inquisition paid scant attention to the incoming Irish, with the spectacular exceptions of John Martin in the sixteenth century and William Lamport in the seventeenth.[11] There were some more prosaic cases. In 1592, an Irish sailor called Michael Andrews was before the inquisitorial commissioner in the city of Nombre de Dios (Panama), charged with unorthodox moral views, including the proposition that fornication was not a sin.[12]

Despite Martin's terrible fate in 1574, Irish mariners still succumbed to the attractions of buccaneering in Spanish America. There were Irish crew aboard Sir Francis Drake's 1585 mission, and an Irishman, Thomas Grey, was among those taken by the Spanish off San Mateo in 1594.[13] Following his arrest, the cabin boy Grey was persuaded by his confessor to admit his heresy and seek reconciliation. His offences, as recorded, were trivial, including an alleged failure to salute Catholics appropriately.[14] Nonetheless they earned him a prison term, with the confiscation of his property, which hardly amounted to much, at the *auto de fe* of 1595. More significant than the alleged offence, however, was the controversy the sentence occasioned between the local tribunal and the Madrid *Suprema*. According to the local tribunal's calculations, Grey was old enough to have been born at a time when there were still Catholics in his native land and would have been raised a Catholic.[15] This was how they justified his conviction for apostasy and the confiscation of his property. By the late sixteenth century, after forty years of continuous Protestant rule in England and Ireland, this was an extravagant assumption. In Spain, the tribunals had already changed their discipline on the matter, in line with the Alva–Cobham arrangement. Colonial tribunals seem to have dragged their heels. When eventually informed of Grey's sentence, the *Suprema* contested its severity,[16] ordering a review and the restoration of Grey's goods.[17]

In subsequent trials involving British pirates, the Irish appeared on the defence as well as the prosecuting sides, changing allegiance opportunistically. In 1597, for instance, an English pirate crew, having skulked off the coast of Mexico, sent a landing group ashore at San Francisco de Campeche to ransack the local church and create general mayhem.[18] The locals repelled them, killing most of the party and capturing five alive. When they appeared before the Inquisition, they were denounced by an Irishman, probably another crewmember. There may have been less to this than meets the eye. Turning Inquisition's evidence was a common stratagem for both Irish and English Catholic members of British crews and for men of mixed religious ancestry. Nor was it unknown for a Protestant crewmember to testify self-interestedly against Protestant mates.[19]

By the early seventeenth century, pirate crews were not the only threat to Spanish maritime security in the New World. More formally organized English, French and Dutch expeditions into the Caribbean became common. These expeditions, though not averse to plunder, were intended to secure toeholds on the islands with a view to exploiting their economic potential. Consequently, territorial security, as well

as heresy, became overwhelming concerns for the Spanish colonial authorities, who were especially fearful that competitors would establish colonies in the zone. In the early 1600s, as the Treaty of London was being negotiated, a rumour circulated that the English intended setting themselves up somewhere in Florida.[20] This made the viceregal authorities wary of foreigners in the territory, especially in militarily sensitive zones.

It was in this period of heightened security that an Irishman fell into the Inquisition's dragnet and was brought to trial in 1604. The defendant, Theobald Nash, was a naval gunner with a Spanish wife who had been living in San Juan de Ulúa on the Gulf coast of Mexico (see Figure 5.1). San Juan was a complex of military fortresses and a strategic part of Spanish coastal defences. In 1604 several of Nash's acquaintances came together to denounce him for heresy and sedition.[21] In particular, they accused him of religious imposture, claiming that he was a closet heretic. Furthermore, his Spanish marriage was a sham, they claimed, contracted solely with the intention of obtaining permission to travel to the Americas

Figure 5.1 Storming of Cádiz, 1596
Source: *Historical Scrapbook* (c. 1880) © The Art Archive/Alamy.
Note: The Irish gunner, Theobald Nash, who was arrested by the Mexican Inquisition in 1604, admitted to having been a member of the English force that stormed Cádiz in 1596.

to spy for the English. His objective, his indicters continued, was to scout out Spanish fortifications in La Havana and San Juan, as a prelude to the establishment of an English military presence in Florida. Whether he was a spy or not, Nash, by all accounts, had been indiscreet in his conversations, in the course of which he had apparently dismissed Catholic doctrine, criticized interfering priests and lazy monks, and upbraided the Spanish for putting up with them. He had also offended with his fulsome praise of England, where all men, he claimed, had liberty of conscience. Particularly shocking, his indicters continued, were his unsacramental views on marriage and libertine notions of sex.

Prima facie, these were serious accusations, and Nash was an isolated and vulnerable defendant. However, he was also a skilled gunner, with wide maritime experience and important strategic intelligence. His potential usefulness to colonial defences outweighed his heresy and sedition, which included, he later admitted, concealing heretical literature and participating in Robert Devereux's raid on Cádiz in 1596. Correctly reading the situation, Nash played to his kid-gloved Inquisitors, conveniently revealing that during his travels he had met many Catholics and had begun to form a good impression of some of them. If Nash was fishing for sympathy, the Inquisitors were happy to rise to the bait. Conscious of his military and intelligence potential, they arranged for his permanent retention within the jurisdiction of the Viceroyalty, no doubt intending him for service in the Spanish navy. His only penance was a course of religious instruction in a local monastery.

The Spaniards needed more than opportunistic recruitment like this to face the new pressures on their authority in the Caribbean. From the 1620s, the islands west and south of Puerto Rico attracted increasing attention from English, French and Dutch intruders with colonizing intentions.[22] They were also attractive to European economic immigrants, some, like the Scots, moving there after unsuccessful attempts to settle in Ireland.[23] Cuba, Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico remained in Spanish hands, but the chain of islands running south-westwards fell to her European rivals, who fought among themselves over the spoils, with sporadic and ineffective interventions by the Spanish. Of the bigger islands, Martinique and Guadeloupe went to France, which set up its *Compagnie des Iles de l'Amérique* for their commercial exploitation in 1635. Barbados, Montserrat (colonized largely by Irish indentured servants) and Antigua went to Britain. San Cristóbal (St Kitts) was divided between the French and English until it went entirely to the British in 1713. Although the Dutch held only Tobago, their naval power gave them substantial range, as did the precocious establishment of their West India Company, in 1621.

Theoretically, these occupied islands, like Cuba, Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico, fell under the authority of the Inquisition in Cartagena (Colombia). However, the fact that the major Catholic power in the occupied islands was France, which cooperated closely with the recently founded papal congregation with responsibility for non-Catholic lands, Propaganda Fide, tended to compromise the Inquisition's authority in the zone. Propaganda's missionary oversight dovetailed with French need for a uniting and organizing ideology for its disparate and chequered possessions, and also chimed with Rome's desire to cultivate French Bourbon support after so many years under Spanish domination.[24]

Given the shrinking intervention range of Spanish naval power in the area, the Inquisition was restricted to prosecuting heretics who passed from English, French and Dutch islands into Spanish territory. A number of these were Irish, some of whom came to that part of the New World as members of British expeditionary forces or as settlers. These Irish migrants were mostly Protestant, and some went on to become land and slave owners as well as island administrators. Typical of this set were Anthony Briskett in Montserrat, a Catholic-tolerant Wexford Anglican,[25] John O'Neill, who owned a sugar factory on Jamaica[26] and 'Don David', a medical doctor on Jamaica in the 1640s.[27]

The overwhelming majority of incoming Irish migrants, however, were Catholic indentured servants.[28] The traffic in indentured servants fed a voracious appetite for labour in the Caribbean, on tobacco, cotton and sugar plantations. It was routed through Bristol under mostly English and Dutch captains, with the Irish migrants, mainly from Munster, distributed or sold in the West Indies. Throughout the 1630s an Irish Catholic population built up on practically all of the English islands and on some of the French islands as well. Suspended during the wars of the 1640s, the indentured servant trade resumed and intensified when the Cromwellian regime adopted it as a means to clear the country of potential troublemakers.[29] The arrival in the Caribbean of large numbers of Catholics, who as indentured servants were obliged to repay their sea passage with free labour, fuelled local Anglican fears that they might ally with the neighbouring French, or even the Spanish. For their part the Irish moved between islands and territories, as the ebb and flow of international rivalries in the zone permitted.[30]

This unrestricted influx was hostile to Spanish interests, but the Viceroyalty was unable to check it. Nonetheless, it continued to recruit opportunistically, processing potentially useful heretics through the Inquisition. Recent converts to Anglicanism and migrants of mixed religious ancestry were the most amenable to the tactic. It was not

uncommon for Irish soldiers, who had enlisted for service with the English, to end up, by accident of war, in Spanish and consequently inquisitorial jurisdiction. A typical case was that of the 20-year-old Limerick native Robert Walters, who had been reared a Catholic but conformed on moving to London in 1627. Two years later he signed up for the English expedition to San Cristóbal (St Kitts), and was stationed in Fort Charles on the island.[31] The territory, originally annexed by Spain, had a British settlement since 1623 and a French colony after 1625. In 1629, however, the Spanish, based in Brazil, and under the command of Fradique de Toledo, arrived to clear the island, in what proved to be a temporary success. Walters was taken prisoner and transported to Lisbon for recycling into the Habsburg war machine.[32]

In processing Walters from British Protestant intruder into Spanish Catholic combatant, the Inquisition was greatly facilitated by the young man's Catholic past, his allegedly enforced conversion and his expressed willingness to return to his ancestral faith. Walters connived as necessary in the administrative fictions, recalling an exemplary Catholic youth in Limerick and excusing his temporary Anglicanism as an enforced dalliance. He stressed that the deception was entirely for his English masters' benefit and that his Irish comrades in arms never doubted his true faith, nor he, apparently, theirs. This was a classic reconciliation narrative, and it suited the Inquisition. Like tribunals all over the Spanish empire, the Lisbon Holy Office, whatever its hidebound reputation, had adapted its procedural machinery to facilitate recruitment into the Habsburg armies. Walters was quickly reconciled and returned to the Armada for service against the Dutch in Brazil.

The Lisbon Inquisition took Walters's case in its stride, but not all such cases in the Caribbean were so clear-cut. The increasingly fraught military situation in the area created ever more complex and varied migrant profiles as individuals, families and, on occasion, entire groups, moved between different jurisdictions. When the 48-year-old John Drake (aka 'Gales' [Welsh] and 'Cox'), a mariner of mixed English and Irish descent, appeared before the Cartagena Inquisition in 1647, his *cursus vitae* revealed a history of imposture and deceit that probably baffled even the most venerable Inquisitor.[33] Like a number of English soldiers with Catholic leanings,[34] Drake's father had served in Ireland, in his case under the earl of Essex in the late 1590s. While in Ireland he married a local woman called Walsh, who had Catholic trading relatives in the Low Countries. Following a falling-out with Essex, Drake's father sent his son to the care of his Irish uncle in Ghent. There the boy began a long apprenticeship with the sea that brought him as far as Alexandria.

In 1618, he joined the Imperial army to fight in the Swedish war, and later returned to England where he joined the English navy, returning to fight on the royalist side in the civil war. Declared an outlaw by the parliamentarians, he took ship with a Dutchman, adopted his mother's name and, like so many displaced by the civil and confederate wars in the three kingdoms, headed for the Caribbean, first to Barbuda, then to San Cristóbal (St Kitts) and later Eustatia, in the Virgin Islands.

In the Caribbean, Drake fell in with a group of island-hopping Irish refugees, expelled as security risks from successive English-held territories. His Irish associations brought him into the Spanish sphere, eventually to Caracas in Venezuela. There he associated with the local Irish, including a woman called Leonor, who warned him to be formally reconciled if he wanted to avoid prosecution for imposture by the Inquisition. Drake had never formally renounced his Protestantism, but while in Spanish territories had been attending Catholic services. This brought him to the attention of an English friar, who suspected his countryman of subversive intent[35] and denounced him to the Inquisition for imposture. Drake was eventually detained by the Spanish army, and in April 1650 appeared before the Caracas tribunal. He professed bafflement at his imprisonment, incorrectly conjecturing that his irregular matrimonial arrangements had finally caught up with him. The Inquisitors were sufficiently sophisticated to see through his excuses but had trouble deciding what to do with him. Like their colleagues in Lisbon and Mexico, the Cartagena Inquisitors were aware of Drake's possible usefulness to the colonial administration but had doubts about his reliability. He was simply too practised in imposture to be believed. Eventually they entrusted him to the care of the local Jesuits to see what they could make of him.

The colonial Spanish administration was also keen to recruit economic expertise for the profit of the viceroyalty and the royal revenues. By the mid-seventeenth century, some Irish had become involved in the Spanish sugar production industry, including the 30-year-old Kinsale native John Matthews [Juan Mateo de Placer]. He was active in the Bogotá area in the mid-1650s as a sugar estate manager.[36] There he enjoyed the trust of the estate owner and was assigned oversight of a large number of estate hands. His charges found him a demanding boss, later describing him as more of a 'crafty serpent' than a 'turtle dove'. In 1655, it appears that relations between him and a group of Spanish, African and Native American workers soured, prompting accusations of heresy against the Irishman. These were escalated into formal denunciations to the local Holy Office commissioner. Inter alia, Matthews was

accused of blasphemously referring to his workers as 'Christian dogs' and disrespecting their religious beliefs and practices. They also charged that he attended Mass offhandedly, made insufficiently deep reverences at the moment of consecration and frequently dozed off in church. The commissioner, rather gullibly as it would turn out, approved the denunciations and had Matthews arrested. However, once the audience began, Matthews pleaded malicious denunciation and had his counter charge upheld.

There were limits, however, to the transformative capacity of the inquisitorial reconciliation and naturalization process. This was the case, for instance, where a heretic migrant had already been convicted by a secular court in the Viceroyalty. Some time in 1685 the Munster-born John O'Neill [Nel] was arrested by the Spanish coastguard off the coast of New Granada (Colombia). He claimed that he was fishing for turtles, but the Spanish suspected he was involved in other activities, possibly smuggling, perhaps sedition.[37] He was tried and sentenced to be hanged. Prior to his execution, however, he was visited by an Irish Dominican, a Fr Colman, no doubt a military or hospital chaplain in the territory. Colman learned that his countryman had not only been born a Catholic but that, when he was a boy, his family had fought on the Catholic side in the Confederate wars. That conflict had left the eight-year-old a homeless orphan. Whereupon, one of the Parliamentary soldiers adopted him and took him to sea. He subsequently served on several pirate missions and, in his new environment, changed religious allegiance, spending the following thirty years as a sea-faring, God-fearing Protestant. In the meantime, he married on San Cristóbal and settled in Jamaica. There he set up a sugar business, with over forty African slaves, an extensive plant and stock.[38] O'Neill's reconciliation seems to have been that rarest of things, a sincere act of conscience, though the imminence of death no doubt focused his mind. Following his reconciliation he was returned to the military authorities for the execution of his civil sentence.[39]

Irish clerics on the Spanish mission

Illegal Irish migrants to the Spanish New World may not have been numerous, but their skills and experience were valuable to the Viceroyalty, once the Inquisition had naturalized them for the king's service. There was also an entirely legal strand of Irish migration to the Spanish New World, consisting of Irish ecclesiastics who ministered as parochial clergy for Spanish colonists or missionaries among the native populations. The great majority of these clerics were Franciscans. From the beginning of

the conquest, this order had dominated the evangelization of Spanish America.[40] In the early years of the conquest they were highly motivated, sometimes millenarian, and seized on the conversion of Native Americans as the opportunity to renew the international Church.[41] Once Spanish authority was firmly established they became a normalized part of the colonial establishment and shared the mission with other clergy and religious orders. In the seventeenth century, the task of instructing the native people in Christianity and maintaining the European populations in orthodoxy was beyond the capacity of the local colonial church. Consequently it required constant injections of new clerical personnel from the Old World.[42]

The inflow of foreign clergy to the Viceroyalty was closely supervised.[43] Any foreign cleric intending to serve in the New World required both his superior's and the king's specific permission, with the regular clergy even more tightly controlled. Official measures were carefully applied by the Casa de Contratación in Seville, which delivered permissions to travel. Understandably, non-Spanish clergy, such as the Irish, were not numerous, as the law required a lengthy period in Spain before granting permission to travel. However, the establishment of the Irish colleges network from the 1590s provided means for Irish clergy, not intent on returning home, to take up a ministry in Spain or the Empire. The fact that in 1620 Philip III addressed a *cédula*, or order, to the governors of Peru and New Spain (Mexico), granting a four-year permit for the collection of alms for the Irish colleges in Spain, suggests that supplying the New World missions may have been part of the royal intention in agreeing to set up the college network in the first place.[44]

The earliest examples of Irish clergy ministering in the New World are all of regular clergy. The religious orders provided useful contact networks and greatly facilitated the migrant's progress, once admission had been gained. One of the first was the English Dominican of partly Irish parentage, Thomas Gage. He was educated in Valladolid in the 1620s, where he became friendly with another Irish Dominican Thomas de León (Lyons).[45] Both Gage and Thomas were assigned, via America, to the Philippine mission. En route, both grew doubtful, with Gage absconding to the Guatemalan mission, while Thomas de León regained his nerve to continue on to the Philippines. Gage, meanwhile, grew discontented and returned to England, converted to Protestantism and, notoriously, turned priest-catcher. There were other clerical strays too, mostly, it seems, Irish regulars who had already naturalized in Spain and were in the colonies as peninsular missionaries. In the early 1640s, for instance, Bernardo Queely [Questi], born of Irish parents in La Coruña in 1619,

was a religious of the order of Saint John of God. In that capacity he acted as hospital chaplain in San Sebastián, Cartagena. With his French and Italian education he probably stood out among the local clergy. Whether this alone made him vulnerable to malicious denunciation is hard to say, but he was indicted before the local Inquisition for heresy and blasphemy.[46] Luckily for him, his three indicters were outnumbered by the dozen character witnesses prepared to testify in his favour. His case was suspended and the cleric released.

It was the Jesuits, however, who had the most developed system for transforming incoming clerical migrants into successful and persevering agents of the Spanish mission. Due to their domination of the Irish college network in Iberia and Spanish support for their mission in Ireland, they had the pick of promising young clerical aspirants coming out of the kingdom, especially from the port towns of Munster. Although some of these were deployed by the Society in educational and missionary activity in the colleges and back in Ireland, a small number were integrated into the Jesuit network, both in Spain and on the New World missions. The Jesuits were active in the Americas from 1572.[47] In 1577, they posted a recent Limerick-born recruit, Thomas Field (1547–1626), to Brazil.[48] His limited experience of Spain and the shortness of his preparation make him somewhat an exception. The *cursus vitae* of most subsequent Irish clerics on the Spanish mission included a lengthy period of cultural acclimatization in Spain prior to posting abroad.

In the early seventeenth century the Jesuits recruited with most success among a network of east Munster families, including the Waddings, Purcells, Sherlocks and Comerfords. The geographical epicentre of this network was the city of Waterford, which in the early seventeenth century, because of its dense mercantile relations with Spain and Portugal, fed back to the Munster towns the reforming energies of contemporary European Catholicism. These families also enjoyed a stout reputation abroad for their Catholic constancy. Waterford citizens were so Catholic, the Inquisition was told, that the English referred to them simply as '*los papistas*', and the city prided itself as '*la Roma pequeña*'.[49] Traditionally prominent in public life, the civil elites of Munster towns like Waterford found themselves marginalized by the Elizabethan and Stuart regimes. Increasingly from the 1570s, sons who were surplus to domestic requirement no longer had the option of decent ecclesiastical livings or public service. In these circumstances, the traditional stint abroad for sons of Catholic merchant folk metamorphosed into a permanent migrant option. Inevitably the Waterford family networks exploited their Spanish and Portuguese links with Europe to palliate

the harsher domestic realities. As already seen, first in Lisbon and later in other port cities, arrangements were made to cater for this outflow, leading to the establishment of the first colleges. Ostensibly they were intended to supply the Irish domestic church or mission, as it was coming to be called. However, they quickly adapted to serve also as sorting houses for the second and third sons of Catholic ports families in search of a church or civil career.

The Waterford-born Jesuit Michael Wadding was one of the most successfully integrated and significant of this generation of migrant Irish clergy in the Spanish sphere.[50] He had close relations in religion all over the Spanish world. His brother, Peter (1583–1644), was Jesuit chancellor of the University of Prague.[51] Another brother, Ambrose (d. 1619), also joined the Jesuits and taught theology and Hebrew in the Bavarian town of Dillingen. A third (half-) brother, Luke, son of Anastasia Devereux, joined the Jesuits at Villagarcía in 1610 and taught in the Colegio Imperial in Madrid. A first cousin, Paul Sherlock, was assessor for the Inquisition in Valladolid (Figure 5.2).[52] Luke Wadding OFM in Rome was another first cousin and assessor for the Inquisition there. Richard Wadding OSA, another cousin, lectured in the University of Coimbra and was assessor to the local Inquisition.[53]

Michael, for his part, entered the Irish college in Salamanca in 1607. The Jesuit managers of the college, who had an eye for talent, immediately recognized his potential. Two years later he had entered the Jesuit novitiate in Villagarcía, before joining the Mexican province. In 1619, he took vows and was sent to cut his pastoral teeth with the native peoples in the Jesuit missions in Sonora and Sinaloa, on the modern Mexico–Arizona border.[54] These peoples had recently been at war with the Spaniards, and a peace agreement had been worked out in 1610.[55] The Jesuits arrived in 1617, and Wadding was with the first group under Cristóbal de Villalta SJ (1578–1623), who assigned him to minister among the Yaqui people. This Native American nation formed part of a new Jesuit mission area, which prospered thanks to its remoteness from Spanish mining enterprises.

In 1626, Wadding was professed and assigned to teaching duties in a number of Jesuit establishments in Spanish America. He also assisted the local Inquisition, principally as assessor and censor of books. In 1628, he was sent to teach in the college of San Jerónimo in the Mexican city of Puebla, where he became rector. From then until the end of his life, Wadding was periodically in the city. As well as teaching, he undertook the spiritual direction of local religious. Two of these were remarkable women: María de Jesús Tomellín (1579–1637), a Conceptionist nun in

Figure 5.2 Frontispiece of *Commentaria* (1589)
Source: Frontispiece of *Commentaria in Sacrosanctum Mathaei Evangelium* by the Augustinian Gasparo a Melo (Valladolid, 1589). Courtesy of the Russell Library, Maynooth University.
Note: The frontispiece is autographed by Paul Sherlock (1640), a Waterford native and relation of the Waddings, a family of merchants and intellectuals. He worked as censor and theological expert for the Valladolid Inquisition.

the convent of La Purísima Concepción, and Isabel de la Encarnación Bonilla (1596–1633), a discalced Carmelite in the convent of San José and Santa Teresa. Wadding maintained an epistolary relationship with Isabel throughout the rest of her life, facilitated by her colleague in religion, Sr Francisca de la Navidad (d. 1658).[56] Under Wadding's guidance, Francisca later composed Bonilla's spiritual biography.[57] Tomellín's biography, written by Sr Agustina de Santa Teresa, was also supervised by Wadding. These texts, originally of simple narrative content, underwent complex rewriting and editing. In their final published form they acted as instruments of religious communication between these individuals and the wider Christian community. It was with the help of these reworked sources that Wadding assembled, about 1630, a manuscript text entitled 'Vida y heroicas virtudes de la Madre Isabel de la Encarnación, Carmelita descalza del convent de San José y Santa Teresa de la Puebla de los Angeles'.[58]

The fact that this text and Wadding's mystical magnum opus, *Practica de la theología mística*, remained for so long unpublished[59] points to the doctrinal sensitivity of the material and the controversies attendant on the nuns themselves.[60] Their private supernatural struggles found expression in spectacular visions and sometimes in the imagery and language of diabolic confrontations. The clergy, and especially the Inquisition, were sceptical of these phenomena, suspicious of them as either relics of superstition or as deviations from orthodox religious forms. The tenacity of traditional religions, especially in the New World, and the incidence of religious fraud, seemed to justify their caution. Consequently, mystics of all shades had been traditional prosecution fodder for the Inquisition, starting with the sixteenth-century heave against various groups of religious enthusiasts (*alumbrados*) in Spain. In general, mysticism sat uneasily with the Holy Office's legalistic understanding of religious experience and tended, in turn, to run against the official standardization of religiosity occasioned by both the Protestant and Catholic reforms.

During the 1620s and 1630s, Wadding successfully walked the thin line between directing the nuns and maintaining the approval both of his superiors and of the Inquisitors. In the challenging task of representing these women to the public, Wadding used traditional theological models.[61] Notably, he shoe-horned the mystical biographies into literary forms derived from medieval hagiographical collections. Traditionally, these narrated heroic martyrdom undergone in defence of the faith. In such literary forms, few extravagances were outlawed. Under Catholic Reform influences, however, biographical and spiritual texts came to stress less the martyred heroism and more the piety and virtue of the

individual saint. In this context , hagiography became much more than a static biographical form. It developed, like the Golden Legend in its heyday, into a potent form of cultural mediation. In the hands of these religious women and spiritual directors like Wadding, a venerable literary form was adapted to transmit to the public a story of theological and spiritual value, contextualized within sacramental practice and adapted to a programme for Christian living.

Crucially, Wadding drew on his own Society's rich store of catechetical techniques. The Jesuits had a complex and effective method of catechesis for all states and ranks, clerical and lay. Each had its appropriate textual expression and, in the domain of spiritual direction, operated in tandem with strict confessional practice. In the case of the mystical nuns, it was the role of the sympathetic confessor to guide the confessant, distinguishing and ordering the sensory and experiential narrative to permit the listening penitent to use these, suitably organized, for contemplation. They fed a growing appetite for spiritual interiority, an area of intellectual and mystical activity that was easily accessible to women. This helps explain the centrality of women as subjects, authors and editors of these experiences and texts.

Wadding's work with the nuns was accompanied by his own personal '*exaltación espiritual*'. Neither was appreciated by his more earth-bound Jesuit confrères. However, his views and activities did resonate with the spiritual interests and preferences of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1600–59), the reforming bishop of Puebla and visitor general of New Spain, who arrived in New Spain in 1640. Palafox had been chaplain to Maria of Austria, the sister of Philip IV, and was a member of the Council of the Indies.[62] The new bishop and Wadding shared views on the subject of spiritual perfection and the role of mystics.[63] Like Wadding, Palafox was supportive of the discalced Carmelites, one of whom, Juan de Jesús María, was his spiritual director.[64] There was also a very practical side to their relationship. From about the time of the arrival of Palafox and under his prompting, Wadding completed the redaction of the first versions of the spiritual biography of María de Jesús Tomellín. Its publication was intended by Palafox to support her cause for beatification in Rome. It was also linked to a larger-scale pastoral project in his diocese that included the completion of the cathedral.

The cooperation between the Jesuit Wadding and the reforming Palafox ran against the grain of the Society's general attitude to the new bishop.[65] The local Jesuits were wary of Palafox's longer-term plans to subject the pastoral role of religious, like the Jesuits and Franciscans, to episcopal jurisdiction.[66] Wadding's close links with Palafox helped

maintain an understanding between the reforming archbishop and the Society in the turbulent 1640s. With Wadding's death in 1644, however, a sharp deterioration occurred in Palafox's relations with the Society. This coincided with the opening of divisions within the colonial administration. These deepened into open hostility between various factions, including the Palafox-led secular clergy and their regular opponents.

The most telling testimony to Wadding's mollifying gifts was his 1641 nomination for the post of theological examiner of the Mexican Inquisition, with the recommendation of his Jesuit superiors. It took a rare irenic talent to maintain the confidence of the local Jesuit superiors and of the Holy Office after years of risky association with the mystic religious and his recently established relation with the reforming Palafox. The consultation process that preceded the confirmation of this nomination necessitated the verification of his genealogical record back in Europe.[67] This was carried out in Madrid, where the Inquisition, over a few days in February 1644, interviewed sixteen Irish residents concerning Wadding's ancestry and religious orthodoxy.[68] The majority of those summoned were clerics, reflecting less a prejudice of the Inquisition, perhaps, than the composition of the Irish group in Madrid at that time. Some had livings in the Spanish Church, including William Casey, a native of Clonmel, who had a living in the diocese of Cartagena. Given the scale of the Irish military presence in Spain at this time, it is surprising that only one military person was interviewed, Edward Butler, who was sergeant major in an Irish military unit in Badajoz. He was in the city to negotiate conditions for a Spanish military levy in Ireland.[69] Three other interviewees, John Marial, who lodged with a man called Peter Grace, James MacGrath and John de Burgo, may have had trading or business links in the city.

Genealogical approval probably arrived shortly before Wadding's death in December 1644. By that time the colony was in the midst of an institutional crisis, occasioned by the Portuguese revolt but expressing factional tensions within the governing elites. This set the senior officers of the colonial administration at loggerheads. Following a breach with Diego López Pacheco Cabrera y Bobadilla, marquis of Villena, viceroy from 1639, on suspicion of the latter's alleged support for the Portuguese revolt, Palafox, the bishop of Puebla, became interim viceroy of New Spain for a short time in 1642 and interim archbishop of Mexico City from 1642 to 1643. Long before Wadding's death in late 1644, Palafox, both as royal visitor and interim viceroy, had begun to show his political and jurisdictional mettle. The ensuing turbulence brought a group of remarkable Irish migrants to the attention of the Mexican Inquisition.

6
Inquisitorial Intrigue and the Mexican Irish

The final years of Michael Wadding's mission in Mexico saw the arrival of a fresh batch of Irish missionaries to New Spain.[1] This was not a Jesuit but rather a Franciscan initiative, led by Juan Navarro and Pedro de Zuñíga. The missionary groups who arrived in Mexico during 1640 included three Irish Franciscans: John Lamport from Wexford, Michael Lombard of Waterford[2] and James Nugent from Westmeath.[3] An unnamed Irish Carmelite also accompanied them.[4] In that same year, a new viceroy travelled to New Spain. He was Diego López Pacheco Cabrera y Bobadilla, marquis of Villena (1599–1653). Accompanying him on his voyage to Mexico City was the new bishop of Puebla, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. The latter had a royal commission to investigate allegations of corruption against the outgoing viceroy, the marquis of Cadereyta (1575–*c*. 1640), who had been appointed as the first native-born viceroy in 1635. John Lamport's brother, William, who was a layman, was part of Palafox's entourage.

Like the earlier generation of migrant clerics, missionaries such as Thomas Gage, Thomas de León and Michael Wadding, these ecclesiastics were naturalized Spaniards, following long stays in Spain. John Lamport had been in Madrid in the 1630s, and on arrival in Mexico was posted to minister in Zacatecas with the Chichimic Native American people. James Nugent had joined the Irish Franciscan province in 1620 and was subsequently sent to Madrid, where the general of the order assigned him to the Andalusian province. He had served in Cádiz and Seville, before travelling to Mexico. He was posted to the province of Señor San Jorge in Nicaragua and later acted as procurator for his province at the order's general chapter of 1644 in Toledo. On returning to New Spain in 1646, he was put in charge of a missionary group.[5] Thereafter he held a number of posts of responsibility, acting as guardian, custodian and

definitor, or advisor, of the provinces of Nicaragua and Costa Rica.[6] Until his Inquisition arrest warrant was issued in 1657, Nugent continued as 'chaplain and catechist to the Indians' (*capellán y doctrinero de los indios*),[7] remaining in contact with some of his Irish confrères, including Michael Lombard, whom he had occasion to meet on visits back to Mexico City.[8]

Nugent's 1657 arrest was not the first of an Irish cleric by the Mexican Inquisition. In 1643, a friar, whose religious name was Diego de la Cruz, had been indicted by another Franciscan friar in Costa Rica for allegedly scandalous theological opinions.[9] Although Nugent also bore the name Diego de la Cruz in religion, it is unlikely that the two were the same person. Some other Irish clerics also got into hot water with the ecclesiastical authorities in Guatemala. Andrew Lynch, a Galway-born priest and domestic chaplain to the bishop of Guatemala, reported to his superior that an Irish friar had a copy of Thomas Gage's anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic text *The English–American, his travail by sea and land*.[10] This was probably the same Lynch, who in 1678 made provision in his will for the Irish college in Seville.[11] His activities indicate the presence of Irish secular clergy in Spanish America, along with the more numerous regulars.

William Lamport in Mexico

During the 1640s, 1650s and 1660s a number of these Irish religious became caught up in a much larger inquisitorial process, which engulfed John Lamport's brother, William, soon after the latter's arrival in Mexico City in 1640. Although not a religious, William, like his brother, had spent many years in Spain prior to coming to New Spain. Just as the Irish clergy in the New World depended on their orders' support network, so William Lamport, like Dominic Murphy before him,[12] depended on the patronage of Gaspar de Guzmán, count-duke of Olivares (1587–1645). He was, in fact, a creature of the count-duke, and as long as Olivares remained the king's right-hand man, or *valido*, Lamport too benefited from the flow of royal favour and influence. Like any foreigner in this position, he had Olivares's interests at heart. As a member of Palafox's entourage Lamport provided intelligence services to the bishop and to the government in Madrid. However, as the *valido*'s position in Madrid declined and Mexican politics became increasingly polarized, Lamport's position grew more precarious.

By 1640, William Lamport was already a seasoned veteran in Spanish royal service. His career had begun typically enough. Of Wexford seafaring and trading background, he was sent up to the Dublin Jesuits, who thought enough of the boy to recommend him to their English confrères,

probably to study law. His arrival in London in 1627 coincided, however, with the dispersal of the local Jesuits.[13] This forced an early change of direction, away from Britain and towards the continent. He sailed for Spain and later entered the Irish college at Santiago de Compostela,[14] where he enjoyed a felicitous and altogether successful first association with the Santiago tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition.

In the mid-seventeenth century, the tribunal in Santiago was noted neither for its enterprise nor its industry.[15] However, its location in, and jurisdiction over, north-western Spain frequently occasioned dealings with foreign heretics, usually smugglers and pirates. Occasionally foreigners presented themselves voluntarily for reconciliation or conversion. Many of the latter were British and the staff and students of the local Irish college acted as their interpreters. Just such a case occurred during Lamport's sojourn there. Sometime in 1631, a group of English sailors came ashore at the port of Puebla del Dean, under their captain, Richard Shoreman [Chorman].[16] He and his crew wished to convert to Catholicism.[17] In port, Shoreman was taken in hand by an Irish student, possibly Lamport, who directed him to the Inquisition. In due course, the official process of reconciliation was conducted by two local Franciscans, with Lamport acting as interpreter. Shoreman and sixteen companions were received into the Church and handed over to the Irish college staff and the local Franciscans for instruction. This would have been a feather in Lamport's hat and placed him on an untypically auspicious migrant trajectory. Later Lamport went to some lengths to capitalize on his good fortune, attempting to pass himself off as a *familiar* of the Inquisition when he moved to Madrid.[18]

It was no doubt on the strength of his conversion exploits in Santiago that Lamport gained an introduction to the governor of Galicia, who subsequently recommended him to Gaspar de Guzmán, count-duke of Olivares. The latter seems to have preferred dependants who had no roots in Spain as they were less likely to serve interests or parties contrary to his and the king's. On joining the count-duke's service network Lamport was sent for training to the college of San Lorenzo del Escorial. Over the following years he served on a number of missions on the minister's behalf, in Spain, the Empire and the Netherlands. In 1639, he was sent to America as part of the entourage of Archbishop Palafox, the royal visitor to New Spain.

As one of Palafox's factotums, William Lamport's job was to supply intelligence to Olivares and the Madrid administration on the general state of the viceregal economy and on the viceroy's conduct of government. Much was left to his own initiative, allowing him to indulge an

interest in the workings of local commerce, which was a crucial source of income for the monarchy.[19] Of particular interest to him were the taxes and dues paid by the wealthy Marrano community in Mexico City.[20] They were a largely *converso* group and mostly refugees, via Portugal, from the 1492 expulsion of Jews from Spain.[21] With the outbreak of the Portuguese rebellion in the Iberian Peninsula in 1640, both Viceroy Villena, who was of Portuguese background, and the Marranos, fell under suspicion of sedition.[22] In his reports, Lamport, who was conscious of their importance to the royal revenues, downplayed local misgivings regarding the Portuguese, presenting an upbeat account of their activities and loyalty.[23]

During the first months of his stay in Mexico City, Lamport networked his way into local society, establishing a broad range of contacts. Some were with local soldiers. He also struck up friendship with the astrologer-tailor Saboyano, and with criollo[24] families. These contacts allowed him to become acquainted with the condition of the native populations, forming contacts with a Native American, Ignacio Pérez, from the mining area near Taxco. Pérez familiarized Lamport with the economic exploitation and consequent grievances of the native and mixed race populations.[25] Lamport's interest in astrology, similar to that of his near contemporary Patrick Sinnott,[26] led him to explore, with Pérez's assistance, the hallucinatory and divinatory properties of the native peyote plant.[27]

As the Portuguese rebellion spread, relations between Viceroy Villena and Archbishop Palafox became strained. Some of this was due to Villena's support of the native Spanish administration in the viceroyalty, instead of the criollo families favoured by the archbishop. In his efforts to protect native Spanish interests, Villena, for instance, had been obstructing Palafox's visitation and sided with local regular clergy in their efforts to thwart the archbishop's pastoral reforms.

Lamport became caught up in these disagreements. As royal agent-at-large, he supplied information to Madrid and he also attempted to take the political temperature of marginalized groups in the Viceroyalty, particularly the Native American and African American populations.[28] This involved resorting to the usual range of duplicities and subterfuges used by early modern intelligence gatherers. In Lamport's case it also concerned the elaboration of feigned conspiracies, intended, it would seem, to win the confidence of his informants. Part of this tactic was the composition of an imaginatively contrived proclamation that later came into the possession of the Inquisition. In this document, Lamport outlined an extravagant plan to oust the Habsburgs and the

Spanish-born administration from Mexico and to replace it with a native government.[29]

It also included a remarkable twenty-one-point reform plan, which envisaged, among many other political and economic innovations, the liberation of slaves. In composing this document, Lamport appears to have been influenced by his Jesuit education, particularly the political and ecclesiological writings of Suarez and Bellarmine, based in turn on the theological writings of Vitoria.[30] Lamport referred indirectly to the latter's questioning of the moral legitimacy of land confiscation from the American Indians. He also appropriated ideas regarding the legitimacy of political resistance and sovereignty transfer, associated with Bellarmine and Suarez and well known to Catholic militants in Britain and Ireland. The apparent radicalism of the bulk of the document was tempered, however, by other proposals that included the retention of a reformed version of the Holy Office. Although Lamport's real intentions in composing the document are unclear, it was a dangerous composition, especially if it fell into hostile hands. Its discovery would expose Lamport to charges of sedition and to the real risk of arrest by the Villena administration.[31]

The viceroy's own travails may explain why Lamport's activities did not land him in jail immediately.[32] Suspicions about the viceroy's Portuguese connections and doubts about his loyalty prompted Madrid, in June 1642, to have Villena step down. Palafox was authorized to take temporary charge of the viceroyalty, pending the expected arrival, the following November, of the new viceroy, Salvatierra. For six months in 1642, Palafox headed the civil, judicial and ecclesiastical administration of the colony. His first priority, having sidelined Villena, was to contain the alleged threat to the king's interests posed by the Portuguese in the colony. Accordingly, he approved the Inquisition's decision to arrest leading Marranos. In June–July 1642, over seventy prominent Marranos were taken into custody, and during the following months a number of inquisitorial investigations were conducted. Lamport was not the only one who believed that the Inquisition's actions were motivated as much by peculation as concerns over heresy.[33]

In the weeks after Palafox took power, Lamport remained at large and was consulted by the archbishop regarding the availability and disposition of troops in the colony.[34] However, their mutual patron, the king's minister, Olivares, was coming under increased pressure from opponents in Spain, and his days in office were numbered. His waning influence weakened Palafox's position, even as he accumulated more and more responsibilities. Anti-reform interests in Mexico were quick

to take advantage. These included the sidelined viceroy, Villena, who probably had a hand in reporting Lamport's clandestine contacts to the civil administration. This was no doubt intended to embarrass Palafox. In October 1642, Lamport was denounced for political subversion to the royal justice, Andres Gomez de Mora, by Méndez Ortiz. Given the political sensitivities involved, de Mora was reluctant to take him into custody. Accordingly, he advised Ortiz instead to report Lamport to the Inquisition on a charge of astrology.[35] Lamport had exposed himself to this accusation by writing up horoscopes. There was also his friendship with the astrologer-tailor, Saboyano, and, of course, his dabbling in experiments with the peyote plant.

Following Ortiz's denunciation, Lamport found himself under arrest. He was charged not only with astrology but also with demonical communication to unseat the viceroy, Villena, and to prevent the new viceroy, Salvatierra, from taking up office.[36] The basic charge of sedition fell within the remit of the civil courts, but the linking of his sedition to astrology introduced a useful and probably intended ambiguity. It allowed the Inquisition to assume jurisdiction over what was, *prima facie*, a civil case.[37] For the Inquisition, of course, heresy and treason were always closely related. As recently as the previous summer, the Inquisitors had ignored the distinction between civil and ecclesiastical authority when arresting the Marranos. Although Lamport would later insist that the Inquisition's real intention in detaining him was to cover up their mistreatment of the Marranos, it is more likely that his initial incarceration was part of a native-Spanish heave against Palafox.[38] For his part, Palafox, who was preparing to vacate the viceroyalty and return to Puebla, did not deem it necessary to intervene on Lamport's behalf. If he assumed that Madrid would order his release, he was mistaken.

Lamport's first audience before the Inquisitors took place in late October 1642.[39] His demeanour was exactly that most likely to infuriate his interrogators. Confident and voluble, he gave a lengthy account of his genealogy and his service to the king, upbraiding the Inquisition for seizing his private papers and interfering with his royal business. Lamport's claims to enjoy the king's confidence seem to have given the Inquisitors pause, and they voted to refer his case to the Madrid *Suprema* and to await instruction. Lamport may have expected an intervention by Olivares, but the Portuguese rebellion and the crisis it provoked had swept the count-duke from office. Lamport's case was discussed in Madrid and the king, obliged to compromise, decided that the inquisitorial process should be allowed to proceed and that Lamport ought to be sent home to Spain afterwards. On 12 May 1643, the

king wrote directly to the Mexican Inquisitors, requesting the speedy conclusion of the heresy case and Lamport's delivery to the viceroy's custody.[40] The Inquisitors demurred, pointing out that the royal order was not countersigned by the Inquisitor General in Madrid.[41] This was a useful delaying tactic, and for the remainder of Lamport's process, the Mexican Inquisitors constantly referred his case to the *Suprema* in order to postpone a decision. This usually occurred on the presentation of new evidence or the formulation of fresh charges.[42] The latter were often derived from denunciations by fellow prisoners. Lamport, ever the stickler for procedure, pointed out that this was contrary to the Inquisition's own regulations.[43] In the heat of the Portuguese crisis, the Mexican Inquisitors were untroubled by such legal niceties.

By now Palafox himself was in serious trouble, and his political decline impacted on Lamport's predicament. The archbishop's reforming measures had alienated the religious orders, particularly the Jesuits and, in time, also made an enemy of the Holy Office, whose integrity Palafox had cause to doubt. In retaliation, the Inquisitors probed Lamport's relations with Palafox, no doubt with the intention of implicating the archbishop in Lamport's alleged plot against Villena. When, in November 1645, Lamport was accused of colluding with Palafox to unhorse Villena, the prelate pleaded ignorance, denying any part in it. The following year, however, Lamport's efforts to contact Palafox became public.[44] By March 1647 Palafox himself was in exile, and, despite a later Roman vindication, remained under a cloud for the rest of his life. He was translated back to a humiliatingly unimportant Spanish diocese, and in time vacated his seat on the royal council of the Indies (*Consejo de Indias*).[45]

None of this boded well for the incarcerated Lamport. With Palafox's eclipse, Lamport's case fell into abeyance,[46] and it was not until early 1649 that the stalled legal machinery restarted.[47] In January, a new set of charges was prepared, and by March the Tribunal was ready to declare a verdict and hand down sentence. Although the majority of the presiding Inquisitors concluded that Lamport should be penanced more or less severely, the archbishop of Mexico City, Juan de Mañozca, hesitated. He feared that Lamport's appearance at the forthcoming *auto de fe* would cause difficulties for the Inquisition. In view of the public order risk he recommended that the case be referred back to the *Suprema*. His view prevailed.[48] By their own admission, the Inquisitors were unsure what to do with Lamport, convinced that all possible courses of action were fraught with risk.[49] New evidence, including the arrival in 1650 of letters from Lamport's common law wife and child in

Madrid, provided fresh pretexts for further referral to Madrid, with the customary delays.[50]

Lamport's radicalization

Prior to his detention, William Lamport had had reason to be grateful to the Holy Office. His first career break, after all, had been thanks to his involvement with the Galician Inquisition in 1631. However, his seven years of detention, from 1642 to 1649, led him to adopt a more critical stance. So too did his knowledge of the plight of the Marranos, and his interest in them had grown during his captivity. As already noted, Lamport's initial interest in the Marranos was economic and political. His correspondence before his arrest reveals his assessment of their importance to the royal exchequer.[51] In prison the Marranos were among his fellow detainees, and he came to know some of the most prominent in the city, including Francisca Texoso, Francisco Botello,[52] Tomas Terviño de Sobremonte,[53] Rafaela Enríquez,[54] Simón Váez Sevilla,[55] Inés Pereira, Juana Enríquez and others. In the beginning, relations were not always cordial. Lamport testified, for instance, against some Marrano prisoners, including Francisca and Inés Texoso.[56] In turn, Lamport himself was accused of judaizing by Isabel de Silva.[57] Simon Vaez and his son Gaspard both informed the Inquisitors of Lamport's astrological dabblings, and also his claim to have worked cures for sexual impotence and other ailments '*por malos medios*'.[58]

After 1649 his interest in the Marranos became more personal. In August of that year he was assigned a Jewish cellmate, Solomon Machorro, alias Juan Pacheco de León. Born in Antequera in Andalusia in 1609, Machorro had lived in Livorno[59] and later travelled to Mexico. By the late 1630s he lodged with Simón Váez Sevilla, serving as Hebrew tutor to his son. From his arrival in Mexico, Machorro acted as a religious authority to the local Marrano community[60] and, like so many of them, was taken up in the Inquisition swoop of 1642. His process, not unlike Lamport's, followed a contorted course, as he alternately denied and affirmed his Christian baptism. Lamport took a keen interest in his case, writing a defence of Machorro's claim to be Catholic, which was included in his official Inquisition dossier. More generally, his cellmate's case was the occasion for Lamport to set out general principles for the judgment of lawsuits where legal proof of baptism was unavailable. Lamport's recommendation was, that in the absence of other evidence, the testimony of the one claiming to have been baptised was to be accepted.[61] This was in line with the recommendations of contemporary economic

commentators in Spain. The so-called *arbitristas* called for changes in Spain's legal system. In particular they advocated the relaxation of *limpieza de sangre* requirements, which they believed had stymied economic activity.[62]

The Inquisitors were unimpressed by Lamport's recommendations, and the Irishman's interventions in no way benefited Machorro. He was eventually sentenced to a flogging and a spell in the royal galleys. Nevertheless, Lamport continued to reflect on the treatment of the Marranos, reasoning that both Machorro and himself had been illegally treated by the Inquisitors. In his own case, the Inquisition was guilty of *lèse-majesté*, because it intercepted and retained correspondence between himself and the king. In the case of the Marranos, Lamport applied the same neo-Thomistic principles he had already used to critique the enslavement of the native American populations by the colonizing Spaniards. The Inquisition had unlawfully confiscated Marrano property for its own benefit, depriving them of what was rightfully theirs, and in the process denying the king his lawful share of the tax income they might have been expected to pay. To this end, he continued, they had been prepared to frame innocent Catholics as judaizers by manipulating the interrogation procedures and offering inducements for denunciations. They stood charged, he concluded, not only with peculation but also with the perversion of religion.

Lamport had plenty of time to gestate this critique of the Inquisition,[63] and his thinking had probably come to maturity in the late 1640s, coinciding with the *auto de fe* of 1649. The referral of his own case, yet again, to the Madrid *Suprema*, and the *Suprema*'s slowness to act, convinced him that any appeal was useless. He had by now concluded that the *Suprema* was as corrupt and culpable as the Mexican tribunal.[64] Accordingly, his only possible redress was the public, including the viceroy. This was the context in which he secretly penned a critique of the Inquisition[65] and planned an escape to take it to the world.

Thanks to the indiscretion of Lamport's new cellmate, Diego Pinto Bravo, detained for his alleged part in fomenting a family of religious visionaries,[66] the Inquisition soon got wind of Lamport's escape plans. They appear to have connived in the adventure, in the expectation, it seems, that it would constitute another useful criminal charge against him.[67] However, they did not reckon with Lamport's plan to use his escape to smuggle his critique of the Holy Office to the public.[68] Prior to his evasion, Lamport secretly prepared several versions of his critique on a number of improvised placards. On the night of 25–26 December 1650, he successfully escaped, taking his placards with him. Once at

liberty, he posted them on the cathedral doors and other public places in the city centre. Prior to his recapture[69] he also managed to get a copy to the viceroy, Don Luis Enríquez de Guzmán.[70]

When it came to light on 26 December, Lamport's coup threw the Inquisition into a panic. The Irishman's theatrical escape, the posting of the placards and their delivery to the viceroy, launched an inquisitorial emergency. An order for the confiscation of the placards was immediately published. All those suspected of having read the placards were summoned for interrogation. The viceroy was requested to hand up Lamport's papers. The contents of Lamport's placards amply justified the Inquisitors' anxieties. The placards on the cathedral door were a blistering attack on the Inquisitors' treatment of the Marranos. Specifically, Lamport accused them of arresting sixty families on pretext of heresy in order to divest them of their property. The prisoners had been abused, physically neglected and subjected to illegal torture. In their greed to confiscate their property, the Inquisitors had garbled the interviews, planted detainees with incriminating literature and, in some cases, forcefully circumcised prisoners to create 'evidence' of Judaism. They had even induced children falsely to denounce their parents as judaizers.

A second placard entitled 'Pregón de los justos juicios de Dios' was even more dramatic in tone and content.[71] It too contained a critique of the Inquisition, but was elaborated in a more theatrical fashion, conceived to appeal to the popular imagination. The main body of the placard consisted of an account of an alleged ghostly visitation to Lamport on the evening of 12 December 1650, the night of the death of the archbishop of Mexico and visitor of the Inquisition, Juan de Mañozca y Zamora. According to Lamport's account, the deceased prelate had appeared to him in a fiery blaze, having returned from hell to admit his guilt.[72] Crushed by remorse for his heinous offences during his lifetime, the archbishop's spirit was compelled to lead Lamport safely out of his prison cell and have him proclaim the archbishop's sins to the world.[73]

The public posting of this extraordinary document was intended to bring Lamport's critique alive on to the city streets. In this form it became accessible not only to the literate audience but also to the illiterate gossips and storytellers who repeated it. Prior to its removal, it had already been read by several early morning Mass-goers and Guadeloupe-bound pilgrims. A number of the placards circulated long enough to be re-read and discussed among the townsfolk.

Lamport had gone to great lengths to ensure that the viceroy received a copy of the 'Pregón'. With the copy intended for the viceroy he included a more sober description of the Inquisition's depredations

along with a concrete set of reform proposals for good government and the encouragement of commerce.[74] These included a thorough reform of the Inquisition, more rigorous selection of personnel and more targeted use of the death penalty. He also suggested measures against false denunciations and stricter controls on inquisitorial confiscations. The Inquisition's distinction between 'new' and 'old' Christian, he said, had deformed inquisitorial justice and ought to be discarded. The same held for the term 'Judaizer'. If these recommendations were followed, he argued, the public's confidence in the Inquisition would be restored. In particular those Marranos who had fled for fear of the Holy Office would be inclined to return to the viceroyalty and bring their wealth and experience with them. Adopting the rhetoric of the reforming *arbitristas*, and echoing the economic rhetoric of Portuguese Jesuits like António Vieira (1608–97),[75] Lamport argued that their return would help rebalance the silver trade to Spain's advantage and reduce the capital outflow from Spanish dominions to enemy countries. This in the long term would weaken Portugal, and facilitate the return of that errant kingdom to the Spanish fold.

These recommendations, all conceived from the point of view of strengthening royal authority, were now safely in the hands of the viceroy, and the Inquisitors were concerned to recover them. Pleading inquisitorial privilege, they requested the handing over of Lamport's papers. The viceroy realized the jurisdictional sensitivity of the incident, as Lamport, by approaching him, had, in fact, invoked the authority of the civil power.[76] Initially he agreed to return only his copy of Lamport's 'Pregón' and delivered the rest of the package after a copy had been made, for submission to Madrid and the Council of the Indies.[77] The Inquisition made sure its version of the incident was also transmitted to Madrid, in dispatches to the *Suprema*.[78] In their version, the Mexican scribe helpfully drew the Inquisitor General's attention to those passages where Lamport had castigated the entire inquisitorial apparatus. Lamport's critiques, it was implied, were not just against the Mexican tribunal but the whole inquisitorial organization in the monarchy.[79]

Once back in prison, Lamport strategically retracted his critique.[80] Technically, this should have triggered the conclusion of the case and a sentence. However, in their report to the *Suprema* of 24 April 1651 the Inquisitors reiterated the risk Lamport posed to the reputation of the Holy Office and his apparently irredeemable '*mal natural*'.[81] Nevertheless, both the king and the *Suprema* were eventually obliged to consider reports, including Lamport's, of inquisitorial malpractice and mistreatment of the Marranos. In May 1651, Pedro Medina Rico,

a veteran of visitations to other American tribunals, was appointed to investigate the recent conduct of the Mexican tribunal.[82]

As Rico set to work on his investigation,[83] Lamport remained incarcerated and repeated his doubts about the Inquisition's authority to judge his case. He also composed, in secret, a mystical-poetic body of verse entitled 'First book of the royal psalter of Guillermo Lombardo …' ('Regio salterio').[84] The survival of this remarkable work was due to its discovery and confiscation by Inquisition officials in 1655. It was later entrusted to two Jesuits examiners, Marcos de Irala and Matthias de Boanegra, for theological appraisal. Overlooking the intense penitential tone of the psalms, their vivid baroque-Christian imagery and their debt to the Jewish psalter, the unliterary examiners combed the verse for any suspicious doctrinal content.[85] They were not disappointed. Peppered through Lamport's highly personalized poetry they found abundant evidence of heresy, notably crypto-Judaism.[86] These charges were duly added to the long list of those already pending against Lamport.

The stage was now set for the final act in Lamport's protracted inquisitorial drama. The industrious Rico was anxious to expedite all outstanding cases, especially those, like Lamport's, which had dragged on for so long. Two hundred and twenty-eight charges were finally compiled against him and his trial began.[87] During the ensuing hearings, Lamport, like his countryman John Martin nearly a century before him, adopted an inflexible attitude to the Inquisitors, playing into the hands of those who preferred to resolve his case by execution. The result was tragically unsurprising. The Inquisitors voted a guilty verdict and at the *auto de fe* held in Mexico City on 19 November 1659, Lamport's death sentence was read, followed by his delivery to the secular arm for execution.[88]

His success in accessing Spanish and colonial patronage had brought Lamport to the core of colonial intrigue, affording him a level of agency rarely achieved by contemporary Irish migrants. No matter how well assimilated, however, Lamport remained vulnerable as an outsider and, as his patronage network came under pressure, he was among the first to be picked off by his patron's enemies. There was more than enough 'evidence' to ensure his rapid conviction, but for his captors Lamport was more useful alive than dead. As long as they held him, Lamport was a proxy target in their ongoing dispute with Palafox. It was the latter's decline and death in 1659, perhaps as much as Rico's zeal, that rendered his continued detention superfluous and precipitated his execution.

Lamport's garrotting and immolation did not, however, completely end the affair. In fact, a few years prior to his final condemnation, the Mexican tribunal learned that Lamport had sympathizers among some local religious. The specific charge involved James Nugent OFM (Juan de la Cruz), who had been in Spanish America since 1640. In 1657, Nicolas de Santoyo, supported by three other Franciscans, denounced Nugent for approving Lamport's criticism of the Holy Office and for repeating seditious remarks concerning the Spanish succession.[89] In the giddy political atmosphere of the time these denunciations were sufficient to warrant his summons to Mexico City in 1662. His trial dragged on until 1667, when he was sentenced to permanent reclusion in the local Franciscan Friary.[90]

It was no consolation either to Lamport or Nugent that Rico's investigations eventually uncovered a litany of legal irregularities and failures in the Mexican tribunal. In the course of his investigation Rico exposed fifty-five failures to substantiate charges prior to prosecution, including Lamport's. Numerous defendants, he discovered, had been imprisoned illegally, and in nearly every case where judicial torture was administered, the justifying evidence was unsubstantiated. His report also revealed that a number of convicted offenders, including certain Marranos, had not served their sentences, suggesting collusion between the tribunal and the defendants, almost certainly lubricated by bribery. The investigation eventually yielded 175 indictments, including ninety-eight charges of peculation. Most of these were appealed to the *Suprema*, but Rico's report did mark a longer-term sea change in the running of the Mexican Inquisition. It was brought into line with standard Iberian practice and set on a firmer financial footing.

Waning of the New World Inquisitions

The Lamport and Nugent convictions were the most spectacular cases involving Irish migrants in America. Although they were not the last, the Inquisition after Rico's visitation had lost its bite. Later in the century, misbehaving foreigners were dealt with more lightly. In the early 1690s, for instance, the Armagh-born George Castrioto's religious indifference got him deported, but there was no smouldering pyre.[91] The patterns set after Rico persisted into the eighteenth century, when the relative importance of the Inquisition declined further.[92] Workshy Inquisitors adopted a laissez-faire attitude to foreigners, and only interfered when their hands were forced by egregious heresy or the persistence of indicters, most of whom turned out to be maliciously

motivated. War sometimes forced their hands. At the onset of the War of the Spanish Succession, Philip IV ordered the detention of all British subjects in the Viceroyalty. This led, in 1702, to the arrest of several Irish visitors, most of whom were working with English and other foreigners in city workshops and as tradesmen. One of the detained was the Dublin-born John King, who had originally left Dublin for Spain because he wanted, he said, to live in peace as a Catholic.[93] Once in Spain he had joined the royal navy and was eventually posted to Veracruz, but for health reasons came to Mexico City where he worked as a tailor. He contested his arrest by the king's men, reminding his gaolers that Ireland 'confesses allegiance to His Majesty [the king of Spain] whom it loves as a Catholic'. The Belfast-born Joseph Sunday, taken up in the same police swoop, also claimed to be a natural-born vassal as 'no one in my land recognizes anyone except His Catholic Majesty as king'. None of these cases was referred to the Inquisition but xenophobia survived the war. In 1729, for instance, the Irish lawyer, George Moore, was accused of being a Jew for the simple reason that his indicter, María de Conteras Villegas, heard him speak a foreign language.[94] She also claimed he was circumcised, though her knowledge, she assured the Inquisitors, was not first hand. The Inquisition ignored the denunciation.

A not dissimilar experience befell the medical doctor Nicholas O'Halloran a few years later. He had been schooled by the Jesuits in Galway and later worked in the women's hospital in Cádiz, where his brother Mark was chaplain. He spent three years in the Irish college in Seville, probably as a lay student, and then lived with a local merchant before travelling to Madrid, Cádiz, Bilbao and back to Ireland, where he married. He then sailed to the New World and travelled around the country as a medical doctor. In his travels he seems to have relished the opportunity to show off his European learning, and on occasion appears to have underestimated the xenophobic sensitivities of his provincial audiences. Accordingly, in 1736, he found himself denounced for heresy by three local men in Guadalajara.[95] Some of the accusations involved unusually erudite theological matter, like O'Halloran's alleged denial of the divine essence. Others were more prosaic, including his supposed rejection of the sacramentality of extreme unction and the efficacy of holy water as a sacramental. His indicters also objected to O'Halloran's deficient piety, including his failure to carry a rosary beads on his person. Someone had gone to the bother of going through all his clothes to verify this.

Under questioning, O'Halloran rebutted the denunciations, some with impressively extensive explanations, the legacy, no doubt, of his

three years in the Seville college. It would seem that the Inquisitors realized they had met their theological match, and condescendingly ordered O'Halloran to keep his mouth shut. There was more than a hint of cultural and professional jealousy here, with O'Halloran, the know-all foreigner, being taken down a peg by the native Inquisitors.

There was a trickle of Irish Protestant converts through the Mexican Inquisition, usually sailors, like William Cogan[96] or soldiers, like George Deusberry.[97] The latter fought on the English side in the American war and was taken prisoner in 1780. With his lapsed Irish Catholic wife, Brigid Lennon, and their children, he decided to regularize his religious situation, probably with the intention of settling in the Viceroyalty. However, most of the Inquisition's business with the Irish had to do with malicious denunciations, usually the result of internal rows and disagreements. The Mexican abroad communities were as riven with petty jealousies as their counterparts in Spain or Portugal. In the 1750s, for instance, the British community in Mexico City was the setting for a sustained inquisitorial campaign against the Waterford-born Paul Archdeacon by the Scottish surgeon John MacTagart.[98] Archdeacon was part of a far-flung mercantile network and had family in the New World, including a brother who managed a mine in Temazcaltepec and a relative who worked as a priest in Cuba. MacTagart's denunciations cast Archdeacon as a deist, who was worryingly up to date with philosophical developments in France and insufficiently respectful of scriptural and church authorities. Although MacTagart's charges referred to conversations that occurred some time earlier, he proved so persistent in pressing them that the local commissioner felt obliged to go through the motions of an investigation. He summoned a number of witnesses for questioning, including the Irish priest Ignatius Lindsay, who rejected MacTagart's accusations and reported that Archdeacon was anything but a deist.

In the meantime MacTagart denounced another Irishman, the Cork-born Charles Allen, who had recently arrived from Peru, and the ensuing inquisitorial inquiries involved a number of English, Irish and Scots residents in the city. It is doubtful that the investigation would have progressed much further but in any case the process was cut short by Archdeacon's death in 1762. One gets the impression that MacTagart's zeal and persistence were not appreciated by Inquisitors who would have spared themselves the bother of the investigation if they could.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the experience of Irish migrants in the New World was only infrequently marked by the intervention

of the Holy Office. Back in Spain, however, the sheer volume of Irish arriving there and the need, for various reasons, to naturalize large numbers of them, provided the peninsular tribunals with a fresh opportunity to demonstrate their usefulness to the monarchy. Ironically, it was to be during the eighteenth century, a time of general decline for the Inquisition, that the bulk of its Irish cases were processed.

Part III
Eighteenth Century

7
Irish Soldiers and the Inquisition, 1700–1750

New challenges for the Holy Office

The eighteenth century brought fresh opportunities to the Irish in Spain and new challenges for the Inquisition. The most significant factor drawing early eighteenth-century Irish migrants to Spain was war, specifically the War of the Spanish Succession. Beginning in 1701 and continuing for more than a decade, this conflict pitted the French-supported Bourbon claimant, Philip V, against the Habsburg candidate, Charles III, supported by the British, Dutch, Prussian and Austrian 'Grand Alliance'.[1] Initially, the theatres of war were in Northern Europe. However, because William III of England wanted to control the Mediterranean and shut down Spanish traffic with the Americas, an Anglo-Dutch expeditionary force arrived in Portugal in 1702. Its early successes helped coax the Portuguese into abandoning the Bourbons and, under the Methuen Treaty (1703), they joined the Grand Alliance. The treaty provided the British with the opportunity to bring the war to the Spanish heartland. Their longer-term strategic aim was to secure the entire Spanish inheritance for the Habsburg claimant, who was more likely, on the restoration of peace, to open the coveted Spanish American markets to British trade. By early March 1704 the Habsburg claimant was in Lisbon and military operations began in earnest.

Irish soldiers fought on both sides. The Grand Alliance Irish were recruited in Ireland or England, and transported directly to Spain. Some of these were Catholics, and were obliged to conform to Anglicanism on enlistment. The Methuen Treaty, however, made provision for Irish Catholics to be recruited by the Portuguese army.[2] On the Bourbon side, the Irish were mostly Jacobite in origin and passed from France into Spain under the duke of Berwick. In the early stages of the

conflict, Berwick won some minor victories on the Portuguese front, but the Grand Alliance imposed itself. They took Gibraltar and profited from emerging divisions between the constituent kingdoms of Spain. Although Castile had accepted the Bourbon succession, Catalonia and Valencia were more circumspect. This encouraged the Grand Alliance to open a Mediterranean front. For a time, this campaign went well for the allies, with Barcelona falling in October 1705 and Valencia a few months later. When Madrid fell, Philip V moved his administration to Burgos. However, the Allies were overstretched and, by October 1706, Philip was back in control of the capital. In April 1707 at Almansa, near Murcia, the duke of Berwick won a decisive victory over the Grand Alliance. Although the war would continue for several years, by 1710 Philip V's position in Spain was largely secured.

For the Inquisition, the Bourbon accession and the wars exacerbated deep-rooted difficulties.[3] Financially, the institution had been in difficulty for some time. Throughout the seventeenth century, its revenue from confiscations had gradually dried up, to such an extent that in 1677 a major retrenchment of the organization was mooted. It failed to materialize, but the financial situation continued to deteriorate. On his accession, Philip V did not envisage changing the status of the institution. The social and institutional roles of the Holy Office were simply too entrenched and too important to the monarchy and the state for such drastic action.[4] However, his government did favour reducing staff numbers.[5] At the same time, the Inquisition, like the Spanish clergy in general, had taken sides in the succession dispute, and with the return of both the *Suprema* and monarch to Madrid in 1706 Bourbon retrenchment was accompanied by purges of Habsburg sympathizers.

Fundamentally, the challenge for the early eighteenth-century Holy Office was to defend and at the same time redefine its role within the new Bourbon administration. On one level this entailed reiterating its historic role as the regime's ideological police. On another it meant exploring fresh ways of responding to the monarchy's current needs. In this context the wars, and the threat they represented to the dynasty and the Spanish state, were a godsend. As the country flooded with combatants, deserters and prisoners of war, many of them heretics, the Inquisition deftly stepped in, ostensibly to staunch the flow of religious and ideological error. At the same time, it reconciled the incoming heretics, many of whom were Irish, and made them available for military service on the Bourbon side. With its own army of mobile military chaplains and commissioners at large, the Inquisition operated as a virtual naturalization service for the Bourbon military machine in

a more organized way than before. In a synchronizing move in 1709, the Bourbon administration raised the *Hibernia* regiment, under Ronald MacDonald, to recruit Irish deserters from the invading Grand Alliance armies.[6] Another Irish regiment, called *Ultonia*, was raised by Dermott MacAufliffe in late 1709 from troops previously in French service. The *Irlanda* regiment, in existence in French service since 1699, did not enter Spanish service until after the war.

Naturalizing Irish heretics

The Inquisition processed incoming Irish Protestants for service in the Catholic Bourbon armies through its network of local tribunals. All of these were served by special commissioners, sometimes themselves army chaplains, who were responsible for making contact with the soldiers on the ground and interpreting for them in the subsequent reconciliation process. The Inquisition's first priority was to vet the non-Spanish chaplains who dealt first hand with the influx of deserters, prisoners of war and enemy wounded. The specificity of the required skill set, especially languages, the unpredictability of the pastoral work plus, in the case of military chaplaincies, the necessity to follow the army, combined to make these posts unattractive to native Spanish clerics. This opened up opportunities for Irish clerics as military and hospital chaplains, permitting them to gain footholds in the otherwise closed Spanish ecclesiastical establishment.

Among the first recruits for chaplaincy service were Irish regular clergy, mostly Jesuits, Franciscans or Dominicans.[7] Regiments like those of Berwick and Henry Crofton had their own chaplains. For instance, an Irish friar, John Harvey [Avory], was chaplain to Henry Crofton's regiment, which was composed of both Irish and English soldiers. Another friar, Laurence Farrell, looked after Berwick's men. In deploying these operatives, the Inquisition was surprisingly responsive to wartime conditions and flexible in adapting to needs on the field. With armies roaming all over the country, inquisitorial personnel were authorized to act extempore and chaplains encouraged to use their initiative. For instance, in December 1707, Fray Miguel Hirisco, chaplain to Mahony's regiment, was commissioned to absolve heretics without recourse to the local tribunal. One of his first converts was John Feviet, an Anglican from Leitrim, whom he reconciled on the field.[8] In February 1708, Dominic Magennis OP came across four Irish soldiers in Fuenlabrada, outside Madrid. They had all been enlisted in Ireland, conformed to Anglicanism and deserted on arrival in Spain, where they joined up

with the Bourbons.[9] Magennis alerted Madrid and arranged for a special commissioner, Miguel Aguado, to come to Fuenlabrada to process their reconciliation. Conscious of the propaganda potential of the occasion, Magennis and Aguado arranged for the four to be reconciled publicly in the local church 'with all the ceremonies and rites appropriate to similar cases', in the presence of 'the regimental officials and soldiers of the Walloon royal guards'. In this way, the chaplains transformed what had traditionally been a private reconciliation process into a public ceremony. This, they calculated, would encourage ditherers to convert and at the same time affirm the authority of the new regime and its Inquisition. Irish interpreters and chaplains also helped select suitable guardians (*curadores*) for under-age defendants, of which there were many.

The largest group of Irish converts processed by the Inquisition at this time were not cradle Protestants converting to Catholicism but rather former Catholics returning to the papal fold after a spell of compulsory conformity with the British army. In Stuart and Hanoverian Britain, naval impressment was regulated by law,[10] but such niceties did not apply in the army, where the use of carrot-and-stick recruitment techniques was sanctioned by the desperate need for fighting men. When they came before the Inquisitors, Irish deserters from the Grand Alliance often claimed that they had been inveigled into military service with bribes, alcohol and false promises of religious tolerance. The 26-year-old Terence Mulryan, testifying in Murcia 1707 through his Irish interpreter, Robert Creagh, maintained that his British recruiting officer assured him that he would be in a Catholic unit.[11] Thaddeus Fogarty of Limerick repeated a similar story, alleging that he had been hoodwinked into enlisting in 1703.[12] The 30-year-old James Cahan [Caan], a Longford merchant, told the same story, adding that he had managed to desert before leaving Ireland, but was recaptured and then taken to Spain.[13] Some other deserters had more explaining to do. The intending clerical student Hugh Connaughton claimed to have been buttonholed by British recruiters on his way to a European seminary.[14] He hoped that his enforced spell in a heretic band would not hinder his ecclesiastical prospects. Not all Catholics, however, signed up under pressure. In 1708, the 22-year-old Peter Barrett from Clare explained how he had volunteered for the British army and conformed to the religion of his comrades as a matter of course.[15]

However they were recruited, all British soldiers under arms were expected to take the oath of allegiance and attend Anglican services as instructed by their commanding officers.[16] James Cahan explained

how religious conformity in barracks and on the field was assured by a variety of threats, including physical mutilation.[17] John Caddan, a 40-year-old from Armagh, confirmed this.[18] In 1706, the 24-year-old Bernard Gargan, a barber by trade, claimed that he had conformed for fear of being shot.[19] He added that demurring Catholics en route to Spain from Britain were put on board blazing wrecks, which were then set adrift. Edward Moor, a 20-year-old from Monaghan, repeated this detail, which may have been apocryphal but if true could hardly have failed to persuade.[20]

It would appear that British officers were generally suspicious of former Catholics in the ranks. Although James Keating had been taken to London as a five-year-old and reared a Protestant by his uncle there, his application to join the militia had been subjected to special scrutiny, on account of his ethnicity and Catholic parentage.[21] English Catholics, like the Londoner Charles Smith endured a similar discipline. Like Keating, he later deserted, joining the Walloon regiment as drummer.[22] Very occasionally, Catholics claimed to have continued to practise Catholicism after enlistment in the British army. This was obviously easier when the army was posted to Catholic Spain. Edward Harte of Connacht, who was taken prisoner at Almansa, claimed that he had been attending Mass in Spain, though still under British colours.[23]

Desertion was always a possibility for a discontented recruit, whatever their religion. Where the risk of recapture was low and alternative prospects existed, it could even be an attractive option. For Irish soldiers in British service in Spain, the opposing Catholic army proved a magnet for deserters. It was all the more attractive due to its significant Irish contingent, under Jacobite command and staffed with chaplains ready to facilitate the required ideological reformatting. Early in the conflict Irish chaplains developed a network of contacts to ensure that deserters were quickly processed. Barely a month elapsed between Thomas Gree's desertion at Monserrate in Portugal and his reconciliation in Madrid.[24] Peter Barrett also deserted on the Portuguese front and, prior to his reconciliation, had been recycled into Bourbon service.[25] The networks were similarly dense, and effective, on the eastern front. The 28-year-old Constantine Smith deserted from the Habsburg army around Alicante, immediately entering Bourbon service under Marshal Daniel Mahony, with fast-tracked reconciliation in Murcia in 1707.[26]

Even when the incoming Irish were recent converts to Protestantism, the full, formal rigours of the reconciliation process were generally observed. When the 20-year-old Edward Harte from Connacht was taken prisoner at Almansa, he fell seriously ill with typhus. He was attended

by an Augustinian priest who provisionally absolved his heresy. His full reconciliation necessitated a subsequent, formal appearance before the Inquisition, when he recovered.[27] The process was even more byzantine for the Wicklow-born stocking knitter James Harte, who appeared before the Madrid tribunal in April 1713.[28] He was taken prisoner at the battle of Villaviciosa in central Spain in late 1710 and spent the following two years in captivity in Ávila. There he came under the pastoral care of a kind but rather undemanding local secular priest, who shrived him, gave him communion but failed to refer him to the Inquisition, as was strictly required. It was only months later, having secured a position as a hosier in the capital, that his irregular situation came to light during his routine confession to hospital chaplain, Maurice O'Brennan. This created a minor sacramental panic, necessitating the intervention of the Jesuit theological expert, Claudio Aldolfo Malboan.[29]

Although the majority of the deserting Irish soldiers were very recent converts to Anglicanism, there were important exceptions. Maurice Sexton, for instance, born a Catholic in Ireland, had conformed on migrating to England as far back as the early 1690s.[30] Crucial to his conversion, it seems, was his meeting, on disembarking in Lisbon in 1704, with local Irish Dominicans, who gave him some preliminary instruction. It is not clear when he deserted, but by the time he came before the Inquisition in Madrid he was already serving in the Spanish Royal Guards. Other deserting Irish Protestants had even more complex creedal histories. Under inquisitorial questioning, William Newpold, a 24-year-old cloth cutter from Cashel, revealed that although his father was a Protestant and he had been baptised in the state Church, his Catholic mother had secretly raised him in the old faith. She later succeeded in having him apprenticed to a Catholic clothier.[31]

The wars naturally brought a large number of prisoners of war into Bourbon custody.[32] Some captured Irish and English Catholics, who had recently conformed to Anglicanism, may have joined the Bourbon ranks directly without ever passing before the Inquisition. It was a different story, however, for captured soldiers of Protestant background, who were naturally more reserved about signing up for the Bourbons. This, no doubt, concerned religious beliefs, dynastic loyalty and suspicions about Spain and the Spanish. However, for the rank and file, the continued presence of their senior officers was also a factor in discouraging reconciliation. This was certainly the case of Samuel Quinlan, a 20-year-old native of Donegal, who, following his capture, was taken to Madrid.[33] Although the offspring of a mixed marriage, he had been raised a Protestant by his strictly observant mother. While incarcerated

in Spain, he said, he had his first contact with Catholics but, because he was confined with his Protestant commanding officers, he ignored their proselytizing overtures. Not for very long, however, as soon afterwards he joined Crofton's *Dragones Irlandeses*.[34] To complete his transition to the Bourbons he was sent to Madrid for formal reconciliation.

The Bourbons made full use of available Irish clerics to facilitate these more challenging conversions. In the case of the 30-year-old James Keane from Longford, the Irish clerical contact network was crucial. He had been impressed in Ireland and immediately conformed. However, prior to embarking, he escaped and confessed his temporary heresy to a priest, who did not possess the canonical faculties to reconcile him. Still in a state of sin, he was recaptured by the British, who obliged him to conform again and shipped him to Spain, where he was taken prisoner by Bourbon forces at Cuenca. There he made a renewed attempt to gain reconciliation but was informed by his Irish Dominican confessor that he would have to pass before the Inquisition. In Madrid he was taken in charge by the Dominican Luke Leyden, who finally arranged for his reconciliation. Other Irish clerics were similarly active. The rector of the Irish college in Madrid, Nicholas Fallon, accompanied Peter Dickson, a Dublin Presbyterian, through his inquisitorial process in 1707.[35] The 36-year-old Dickson, a cobbler by trade, had been captured at the battle of Almansa. It appears that he reconciled with a view to staying in Spain to follow his trade.

Pernickety Inquisitors sometimes probed penitents' motivation, particularly in the case of returning Catholics. Predictably, penitent Catholics, probably cued by their interpreters, made light of their apostasy, excusing it as mere obedience to authority or as a tactic to avoid punishment. This did not always satisfy the Inquisitors, who had to be satisfied that violence was used not only to oblige the subject's original conformity but also to maintain them in heresy. In the case of John Caddan, captured at Cuenca in 1707, the Inquisitors took more convincing than usual.[36] However, they eventually concluded that Caddan's Protestantism was not a rejection of the true faith because 'during the time he confessed and followed the errors of Luther he was under the threat of violence'.[37] This was probably a generous interpretation, given the obvious self-interest of the penitent and his chequered religious history. In general the Inquisitors were prepared to be indulgent, provided penitents supplied believable faith narratives. It was up to their interpreters to ensure that they did, without at the same time appearing to force the penitents' reconciliation. In the case of Maurice Byrne, for example, the hand of his interpreter is apparent in the

well-crafted personal statement. In it Byrne detailed his doubts about Protestantism and stressed the 'internal promptings' that brought him back to the Catholic fold.[38] No hint here of a compelling external force. Statements of this sophistication would have required a helping hand.

Purity of motive and freedom from external pressure were more difficult to ensure in the case of wounded prisoners of war. Often in danger of death and emotionally fragile, they were vulnerable to pressure from hospital chaplains who were themselves under pressure to win converts. These chaplains operated from city hospitals[39] like the Hospital General del Corte,[40] where many war wounded were treated. The Alcalá graduate Maurice O'Brennan had a typical Irish chaplain profile.[41] He first came accidentally to the Inquisition's attention in 1708 when he substituted for the usual chaplain, the Dominican Luke Leyden, in the Hospital General.[42] O'Brennan then secured a special commission to act as inquisitorial interpreter and guided a number of penitents through the inquisitorial hoops. His successes proved his worth. One of his early achievements was the reconciliation of Henry Gore, who proved an enthusiastic convert. Having assured the Inquisitors that his reconciliation was 'spontaneous without any coercing human agency', Gore declared that he was willing to die for his faith, even 'if he was the only Catholic in his country'.[43] With successes like these O'Brennan quickly earned his stripes. He was soon appointed full-time chaplain in the Hospital General and worked closely with Dominic Magennis OP, who provided week-long catechesis sessions for newly reconciled patients.

Foreign language chaplaincy was a specialized activity, which enhanced the usefulness of Irish clerics to the Inquisition. They were not beyond leveraging their skills in negotiations with the Holy Office to parry threats of discipline, secure promotion or negotiate improved remuneration. In this regard, the experience of Maurice O'Brennan is revealing. Sometime in early 1715, O'Brennan had convinced the 34-year-old Englishman John Smith, then ill in the Hospital General, to petition for reconciliation. However, just as the process reached its crucial interview phase, O'Brennan abruptly downed tools, accusing the Holy Office of treating him unfairly.[44] Neither the Holy Office nor O'Brennan were willing to yield, compelling the frustrated chief hospital chaplain to make alternative arrangements. He found a willing Irish Dominican but was unable to hold on to him. Eventually he secured the services of an Irish Augustinian, Francis Comyn, already commissioned by the Valladolid tribunal.[45] The evidence suggests that hospital chaplaincy was demanding, with rapid staff turnover. Migrant clerics took better positions when they could.

Fading military presence

The treaties that ended the Spanish succession war after 1713 inaugurated a new European order that confirmed British strategic superiority. London was in a strong position to dictate terms to Spain, and in a series of treaties, negotiated between 1713 and 1716,[46] secured both Minorca and Gibraltar,[47] and the *Asiento* or slave-trading monopoly. It also obtained most favoured nation status and was entitled to pay duty at Spanish rates. Even though Britain failed to obtain the right to trade directly with Spanish America, these treaties created ideal conditions for the growth of British commercial interests in Spain and Portugal.[48] A peace so unfavourable to Spain was unlikely to encourage long-term amity between the contracting parties. Consequently, the ensuing concord was well-armed and honoured as much in the breach as the observance. Spain supported the 1719 Jacobite descent on Scotland,[49] and tensions over New World trade eventually led to war in 1739. This conflict merged into the War of the Austrian Succession, the Seven Years War and the American War of Independence, in all of which Spain was Britain's adversary.

Because war conditions persisted for most of the century, Irish migration patterns established during the increasingly militarized first decade of the eighteenth century endured, albeit affected by changing economic conditions in Ireland, which influenced the migrant outflow. Increased prosperity in Ireland after mid-century inevitably affected the volume and profile of Spain-bound Irish migrants. Military service in particular became much less attractive as alternative career opportunities opened up in domestic agriculture and textiles and in new migrant destinations in North America.[50] Nevertheless, Spain remained on the Irish migrants' map, and increasingly diverse migrant types came to Iberia. In the short intervals between wars, demobbed and retired Jacobite soldiers morphed into merchants, industrialists and financiers.[51] Irish textile workers were drawn southwards by Bourbon incentives to modernize Spanish industry.[52] All the while, manpower leakage between their respective war machines continued, drawing an inconstant stream of Irish recruits to Spanish armies. They had increasingly complex creedal histories, due in part to changing religious conditions in Ireland. Typical of these was the 26-year-old James Burke, from Tipperary whom Nicholas Fallon accompanied before the Madrid Inquisition in 1714.[53] Ostensibly, Burke's was the familiar narrative of career-motivated conformity. On enlisting for Queen Anne he had renounced his Catholic faith,[54] and subsequently signed up in Ireland for the Spanish, joining Captain Porter's company

of the Walloon Infantry Guards. Feigning Protestantism to enlist under British colours was, of course, a classic trope in Irish reconciliation narratives after 1701. Under questioning, however, Burke admitted to a much longer history of deliberate creedal duplicity. As a youth, he explained, and prior to enlistment for the British army, he had already conformed, when he took up employment with a local Protestant worthy. What surprised the Inquisitors was that Burke's conformity was not a temporary reaction to a wartime emergency but rather a permanent state of affairs, entailing a religious double life. For the Inquisitors there was something shocking in Burke's glib acceptance of feigned religion as a normal and acceptable part of life. When taxed by the Inquisitors that his deception could only have caused scandal to his fellow Catholics, Burke reassured them that his Catholic colleagues were party to the sham and connived in his conformity of convenience. The overlapping confessional loyalties typical of ascendency Ireland were foreign to the Inquisitors, grown used to the creedal homogeneity of Bourbon Spain.

Because of the peculiar religious complexities in Ireland, Irish clerics in Spain often needed to sensibilize incoming migrants to the religious demands of life under the Catholic kings. In general it was prudent to assume that most incoming migrants, whatever their birth religions, would require some inquisitorial processing. When Fallon, the Irish college rector in Madrid, met the Cashel-born cobbler Joseph Murphy, plying his trade in a Madrid barracks, he was unsurprised to learn that the man had conformed in Ireland.[55] Nor was it surprising that until Fallon's intervention it had never occurred to Murphy that his religious situation was irregular. Other cases suggest that some apostate Irish soldiers, long domiciled in Spain, avoided inquisitorial intervention until very late in their careers. John Heare, stationed in Oran, was 64 when he was processed in 1741, and displayed only the vaguest awareness of his own religious past when interviewed.[56] The Cork-born Charles McCarthy was in his mid-fifties when he settled his creedal accounts with the Inquisition in 1741.[57] Even then, faith considerations were not always to the fore. In the case of John Skinner, a Dublin Protestant watchmaker of London parentage, more mundane motivations were at play. He had arrived in Madrid from Lisbon about 1715.[58] In his subsequent inquisitorial interview he frankly admitted that during his ten years in Lisbon he had never considered reconciliation because his customers there were English Protestants, who would never have dealt with a Catholic tradesman.

This sort of troubling indifference among foreigners was also apparent in the navy. In 1717, during the routine reconciliation of the

London-born Issac Potts, the commissioner of the Murcia tribunal became aware of larger-scale creedal irregularities there.[59] Potts had deserted from the British navy and was catechized by his Irish naval chaplain, Bartholomew Boylan, prior to his reconciliation. Potts's revelation that he was only one of several heretics on board set off alarm bells in Murcia and roused the *Suprema* to commission Boylan to investigate.[60] The work-shy Irishman unenthusiastically complied. During the following weeks he uncovered a nest of heretic mariners in the Spanish king's service, and suggested there were many more as yet undetected. Among his discoveries was an Irishman called John Dowdal, who said that 'he had not yet chosen a religion', and a Hungarian, whose only religious certainty was that he was not a Catholic. The *Suprema* dutifully informed the king, who in 1721 decreed that 'no non-Catholic be admitted to royal service and any already in the ranks are dismissed and deported forthwith'.[61] This decree would be reissued many times during the eighteenth century, testimony to the impossibility of ensuring absolute creedal uniformity in the ranks.[62] Over time, the Inquisition, like the monarchy, had to accept that the admission of foreigners into Spain came with a religious price tag.[63]

A token of this realization was the emergence after the war of a permanent set of services to process incoming British Protestants into Catholics. These were established by Irish and English clerics in cooperation with the Inquisition and were based in the ports and in Madrid. By the 1720s, teams of catechists, chaplains and interpreters were active, seconded by private individuals and religious institutions, to provide accommodation and sustenance to intending converts. All had the overarching support of the Spanish state apparatus, conspiring in what the English ambassador to Portugal described as 'the pernicious practice of the Irish officers in the service of this crown in debauching our sailors and engaging them to enlist themselves into their regiments'.[64] William Lindsay's case was typical of the post-war converts. The 24-year-old Cork Presbyterian was captured on an English ship off Sicily in 1719.[65] Once in Spanish hands he was cajoled into changing allegiance and signing up for Captain Tobin's Waterford regiment. The regimental chaplain referred him to the Madrid-based catechist, William O'Daly. Temporary lodgings were arranged in a local Irish-run hostelry until Lindsay was ready for his Inquisition appearance. This was managed, not by his catechist O'Daly, who had done the instructional legwork, but by the better placed Thomas MacKiernan. Like O'Daly, MacKiernan held a doctorate in theology but was also a senior hospital chaplain and networked into the local Madrileño and Dublin commercial communities.[66]

Over time these structures grew more sophisticated as the variety of incoming migrants increased and as the social position of Irish clerics improved. Initially, Irish interpreters and catechists operated on an ad hoc basis, combining these activities with roles in the local Irish college, as military or hospital chaplains or as residents in the city's religious houses. Although an important incidental part of the Inquisition's conversion machinery, none of them was fully integrated into the organization, as theological examiners, for instance. This now began to change as a new generation of more ambitious clerics arrived to serve the more sophisticated incoming migrant population.

For this new generation of migrant cleric, the Jacobite connection remained crucial. However, what propelled them to greater social prominence than their predecessors was their success in breaking out of the constricting Jacobite mould and accessing other international constituencies. The career of the Limerick priest John Lacy vividly illustrates these changing migrant patterns. He was scion of a prominent Limerick family,[67] well-connected locally[68] and part of a dense Jacobite overseas network. His uncle, Robert Lacy, was rector of the Irish college in Bordeaux;[69] a cousin served in the Jacobite household in Rome, and he had four near relatives in Spanish military service.[70] Two clerical relations were students in the Irish colleges of Alcalá and Lisbon. Like many Jacobites on the make in the early eighteenth century, especially surplus sons of Catholic lineage, Lacy had initially hesitated between the army and the church, briefly signing up as a cadet in the Netherlands but later taking holy orders. He spent a number of years in Bordeaux and Rome completing his theological studies, and in 1734 emerged in Naples with an array of academic distinctions, including two doctorates. It was thanks to his cultivation of Diego Francisco FitzJames Stuart, duke of Liria 1734–8, who happened to be in Naples at that time, that Lacy was appointed chaplain to the multi-denominational Wirtz (Swiss) regiment.

Lacy took full advantage of his good fortune. Prior to departing with his regiment, he had the foresight to acquire faculties from the Roman Inquisition to absolve heresy. During the following months he secured, according to his own tally, no fewer than fifty-three conversions.[71] This was reconciliation on an industrial scale, which easily outstripped the combined recorded output of the Madrid chaplains in the 1710s and 1720s. In the preface to his handbook for catechists, *Opusculum adversus Haereticos*, he humbly gave all the credit to God.[72] The work included a strategic dedication to the Scot, William Clarke SJ, confessor to Philip V,[73] in which he sang the praises of the Society.[74] Whatever

the pedagogic usefulness of the work, it was eloquent public testimony to Lacy's religious bona fides and an apt vade mecum for someone who increasingly had the appearance of a man on the make.

To achieve his extraordinarily high reconciliation scores, Lacy did not depend exclusively on the persuasive discipline of the confessional. Rather he exercised an inclusive pastoral ministry, which took him to bullfights, theatres and dining rooms, to mix with people of all religions and both genders for 'the good of their souls'.[75] His methods did not win universal approval, and he was cited to the episcopal court in Tortosa for allegedly immoral behaviour. Lacy attributed his subsequent detention to a conspiracy, hatched by Protestant Swiss officers resentful at his conversion successes among the heretic rank and file. He later skipped episcopal custody and travelled to Madrid where he presented himself to the papal nuncio, Juan Bautista Barni.[76] The nuncio was persuaded to lift the episcopal sentence and approve Lacy for pastoral work in the capital. Thanks to the influence of old military contacts like the count of Belalcazar[77] and the duke of Montemar,[78] Lacy acquired a senior chaplaincy at the prestigious Portuguese Hostel.[79] In a few years and quite independently of Jacobite networks, he wove his own web of contacts and secured a place for himself in the Spanish capital.

Lacy's reconciliation methods received a mixed reaction from his Irish confrères. Some were overawed by his conversion tally, which, in 1741 had reportedly risen to 248.[80] Others resented his disregard of custom and tradition, including his attempt to hijack the St Patrick's Day celebrations from the Irish college. His alleged use of his Spanish connections to secure immunity from historic and newer charges, some concerning his sexual behaviour, alienated an influential portion of the Irish, clerical, military and lay. Thanks to his careful manipulation of influence, Lacy held his enemies at bay for many years. Until the later 1740s, his social credit remained good enough to allow him to act as referee for Irish applicants to the Spanish military orders. He vouched for Denis O'Callaghan y White in 1744[81] and Joseph Comerford in 1747.[82] Most impressively, given the historic charges against him, he won the confidence of the Inquisition, acting as interpreter, commissioner and censor of books.[83] Nor did he forget his Jacobite roots. In the mid-1740s he translated a number of pro-Jacobite texts[84] and an account of Stuart victories in Scotland.[85] These publications had a complex motivation. Prima facie, they were old-fashioned testimonies of the persecution of Catholics in Ireland and the Stuart riposte. More self-interestedly, they proclaimed Lacy's and other exiles' continued service to Spain's domestic and international interests. In the meantime, his conversion tally

continued to mount. During a short trip home to Limerick in 1750[86] he was appointed parish priest of Ballingarry and in only two months converted, he later claimed, no fewer than sixteen local heretics.

Inquisitorial eclipse

Lacy's success in Madrid was due in large part to his extraordinary success in engineering religious conversions, at a time when the Spanish monarchy still officially demanded religious conformity as a condition for permanent residence. It was ironic that he perfected his technique at precisely the moment when Irish recruitment to Spanish service had gone into rapid decline.[87] Adverse economic conditions in Ireland had fed military migration in the 1720s and 1730s, but thereafter the rank and file outflow dried up and only the officer ranks of the Irish regiments were supplied from the diaspora in the decades before the French Revolution and invasion of Spain. These were drawn mostly from the better-off Catholic large tenant middling classes, particularly in the southern province of Munster.[88]

The Inquisition, of course, continued to process Protestant migrants as necessary, most of them coming in through Cádiz as deserters from the British garrison in Gibraltar.[89] Given Spanish resentment at British occupation of Gibraltar, presenting deserters were generally welcomed. From the religious point of view, every reconciliation was regarded as a minor Spanish victory over heretic England. There was also the practical possibility that the individual convert, depending on their experience and profession, might be a useful recruit for Spanish service. As in Madrid, the Inquisition, in cooperation with local Irish and English clergy, established a dedicated institution to process incoming British deserters. Following the model used in Lisbon since the sixteenth century, the local Inquisition commissioner, Pedro Sanchez Bernal, set up a *Casa de Catecúmenos* with a view to providing accommodation and instruction for incoming converts. Staffed by Irish and English catechists, it processed a steady flow of Irish migrants in the 1770s and afterwards. In late December 1786, three Irish deserters from Gibraltar, all recently enlisted for the Royal Spanish Artillery, were attending Fr John Gallagher's catechism classes there.[90] As in Madrid, sympathetic local officials assisted in these reconciliations. In 1785, for instance, the city's Governor and County Meath native, Alexander O'Reilly, facilitated the conversion of the Englishman, John Flashman.[91] He was put up in the local hospice, instructed and following reconciliation was recommended to the marquis of Floridablanca for enlistment in the Spanish army.

English army commanding officers naturally looked askance at converting underlings but were rarely in a position to do anything about it. Reconciliation cases involving navy hands were more contested, given the stiff wartime competition for naval manpower, and the fear of technical espionage on behalf of continental enemies. Unfortunately for English naval commanders, the reputation of the Cádiz Casa as a safe house for deserters passed from crew to crew. This created a conversion domino effect resulting in a growing number of desertions, which dismayed and infuriated English naval commanders. Some deserting sailors may have been expressing genuine religious preferences but other motivations were undoubtedly at work too. Moreover, British sailors on short leave in Cádiz were often inveigled into deserting by already reconciled mariners they met in the port. In late 1786, for instance, John Haslen, an English sailor on shore leave in Cádiz, fell in with a group of recently converted British sailors in a city street.[92] While they were persuading him to desert, his captain arrived on the scene, took the underling by the scruff of the neck to the local Spanish guard and demanded an escort back to their ship. The reconciled British sailors gave chase, kidnapped Haslen and delivered him to the Inquisition's local commissioner, Bernal.

Incidents like these became common as the Casa's reputation spread,[93] but things came to a head in early 1789 when a dozen sailors, including the Dublin Protestant Thomas Lee, deserted from HMS *Mercury* and *Kingfisher*. Their escapade followed the by now established pattern. On docking on Gibraltar, the crew heard talk about the Casa.[94] Later, when in port in Cádiz they requested short leave, and, once on land, evaded their escort and presented at the Casa. When a troop from their ship arrived to recover them, the Casa authorities refused to hand them over, and the civil governor, in the interests of public order, acquiesced. Given the lack of cooperation from the Spanish civil authorities, it proved impossible for the men's captains to recover them. They vented their frustration in threats, consoling themselves that if the men ever returned to Britain, they would get their deserts. Augustine Montgomery of the *Mercury* in an open letter to his deserting crew wrote:[95]

> As in all probability many of you were not aware of the consequences that attended your desertion from his Majesty's service I write this from motives of compassion and freely make this one offer to you all. That if any return to their duty on board the *Mercury* before she sails from this port I assure them that their crime shall be forgiven

> and forgotten. If you do not think it necessary to accept of this my offer, I can only add I shall put the law vigorously in force against you whenever I meet you and it is well known to you all that death is the consequence.

Spanish failure to turn over deserters made these threats ineffective, and the Inquisition had popular support for its conversion work, especially as war loomed. To an extent the Casa's conversion campaign was a sort of warfare by other means, and the Spanish, after decades of British naval bullying, were inclined to savour these conversions as small if ambiguous victories over a long-standing strategic competitor.

However, the ideological purity of the foreign recruits, even with inquisitorial processing, could not be guaranteed. Newer threats to orthodoxy, other than old-fashioned Protestantism, were now appearing on the inquisitorial radar. Among the military the most worrying of these was Freemasonry. Already in the 1730s, Irish Catholics in Iberia had enthusiastically embraced Freemasonry, attracted by the networking possibilities it offered and also for reasons of sociability. The Irish lodge in Lisbon included several Irish military but was dissolved following a kid-gloved inquisitorial investigation in 1739. On the Canaries, a similar investigation dismantled a masonic network among local Irish traders. In both cases, the Inquisition acted on foot of the papal condemnation of Freemasonry in 1738 and, in the Canaries case, in response to a malicious denunciation from within the Irish community. In neither case was the 'threat' posed by the masons viewed as serious.

The tone changed, however, later in the century as Freemasonry became associated, in the Inquisition's mind, with religious freedom, anti-Catholicism and sedition.[96] In Seville in 1778 Irish military chaplains Andrew Darcy and James Plunkett were grilled over tolerating an alleged blaspheming masonic Swede in the *Hibernia* Regiment, then stationed in Cádiz.[97] The 23-year-old Albert Hauten, a native of Stockholm, was denounced by his regimental sergeant, Fernando Castelli, for blasphemy, heresy and scandalous propositions. The regimental chaplains, all Irish, were compromised by reports that Hauten had been promised promotion on condition that he converted. It later emerged that Castelli had invented the charges. A similar incident occurred a couple of years later before the same tribunal. In 1780, Peter Bourke denounced his brother John for Freemasonry.[98] John was sergeant major of the Mallorca regiment, and in the course of his testimony implicated Thomas Nugent, captain lieutenant of the *Irlanda* regiment.

The case, however, was quickly suspended when the Inquisitors decided that Bourke was 'a sensible young man of ostensibly good reputation'.

In its zeal to pursue masons, the Inquisition sometimes compromised the state interests it was usually so concerned to serve. A typical incident occurred in 1754, during the processing of the Irish mariner Thomas Southwell.[99] Southwell was born a Catholic, but conformed in London to join the British navy, later deserting in Naples. The local governor, recognizing his potential value to the Spanish navy, sent him to Madrid, with recommendations to Richard Wall, then Spanish first minister. His reconciliation process progressed well until Southwell mentioned that he had been initiated into the masons on board HMS *Deptford*. The revelation threw the Inquisition into an investigative flurry, delaying the reconciliation. The interruption greatly displeased Wall, who was anxious to get Southwell off to the Spanish naval base in Cádiz as quickly as possible. When the Inquisitors dragged their procedural heels the minister intervened directly to expedite the case.

Across the frontier in Portugal, inquisitorial vigilance against freemasonry similarly tightened later in the century, particularly after the fall from power of the reforming minister, the marquis of Pombal, in 1777.[100] With the arrival in 1797 of an English expeditionary force to combat the invading French, several new lodges were formed among the military, and they soon began to attract local Irish residents. These included Michael Haid from Cork,[101] Richard Graves of Dublin,[102] both confectioners, and an Irish tailor called William MacDermot.[103] Among the remaining Irish recruits was a man called James O'Reilly[104] and a very naïve 34-year-old priest, Francis Boland, chaplain to the Conde de Val dos Reis.[105] On foot of Boland's spontaneous admission to the Lisbon tribunal, all were pursued and penanced. However, the Holy Office lacked the authority to pursue masons within the British expeditionary force.

The Irish economic boom of the 1760s and the 1770s, coupled with the expansion of the American market and followed by the revolutionary wars at the end of the century, profoundly disrupted what remained of Irish military migration to Iberia. The decline in Irish military numbers was mirrored by the waning of the Inquisition's influence in Spain. Although it retained a socially important role, as a career path for ambitious clergy until the end of the century, politically it became an increasingly divisive presence in Enlightenment Spain. The invading French abolished the institution in 1808 and, on the Spanish side, the Cortes of Cádiz decreed its dissolution in 1813. During its short-lived re-establishment under the restored and reactionary Bourbons (1814–20),

the Inquisition attempted to mop up the ideological damage, especially in the army.[106] Inquisitorial inquiries revealed that a number of senior military staff who were still serving had joined masonic lodges when prisoners of war in France. One of those investigated was Lieutenant General Manuel Asuero, who, in the course of his interview implicated another mason, an Irishman called Manuel Doyle [Doile, Odoile], who was then posted in Catalonia.[107] According to Asuero, Doyle, while prisoner of war in Nancy in 1808, had been an enthusiastic lodge member there. He acted as the lodge's 'orator' and on many occasions spoke of his admiration for Napoleon and his 'doctrina'. Moreover, Doyle was fervently anti-Catholic, having famously declared that if he were Napoleon, it would be the end of confession and all its paraphernalia.[108]

With Freemasons as earnest as Doyle in the ranks, the restored Inquisition had reason to fret. Moreover, the cultural and social tide in Spain was now flowing decisively against it. The liberal revolution of 1820 effectively put paid to the Holy Office, though it was not officially dissolved until 1834. Long before that it had ceased to have any real significance for the diminished number of Irish military migrants entering Spanish service. However, during its long eighteenth-century decline the Inquisition was a crucially important institution for the mercantile arm of the Irish European diaspora. As the next chapter demonstrates, of all the Irish migrant groups in eighteenth-century Spain, it was the merchants who learned to use the Inquisition most effectively as a vehicle for their social integration and for the maintenance of their economic position.

8
Eighteenth-Century Mercantile Diaspora

As reflected through the lens of the Holy Office, the Irish diaspora in Spain and its Empire emerged diminished from the eighteenth century. This was particularly true of its military wing, which slowly withered as better migrant opportunities beckoned elsewhere. The relative importance of the clerical diaspora also tended to decline. Irish clergy continued to frequent the Spanish seminaries, but these institutions were outperformed by the much larger Irish colleges north of the Pyrenees. Perhaps the only element of the original Irish diaspora to weather the eighteenth century successfully was its mercantile core. More enduring, more adaptable and more firmly established, the Irish merchant diaspora prospered and grew throughout the eighteenth century and thereafter adjusted to the changed economic realities brought by the troika of industrialization, internationalization and urbanization. Although their Catholicism was key to their establishment in Spain, religion was not their only ace. Whatever their religious and political loyalties, incoming Irish merchants, following the example of their sixteenth-century ancestors, continued to play on their 'Britishness'.[1] This suited all concerned. For the entrepreneurially conservative Spanish, the Irish were an obvious resource to help manage the difficult relationship with Britain. For their English colleagues, they were useful if occasionally unreliable go-betweens with the Catholic Spaniards. They also saved them the bother of converting to Catholicism in order to gain full commercial access to Spanish networks. The combination of access to British markets (as subjects of the British monarch) with Spanish trading privileges (as Catholics and naturalized Bourbon vassals) created the conditions for a golden age of Irish commerce in Spain.

Economic success of Irish merchants

From the 1650s, new political and economic pressures in Ireland impelled a fresh generation of merchants to permanent residence in Spain. Push factors included the Cromwellian confiscations and the unfavourable religious conditions for Catholics in the country. Other reasons were more prosaically economic, linked to the increased subordination of the Irish to the English economy through the English Cattle and Navigation acts and the Woollen act.[2] There were new opportunities too, especially in the French trade and in the expanding transatlantic theatre as Ireland, whose live cattle exports to England were banned, began to supply salted meats and butter to English and French colonies in the Caribbean and to the English colonies in North America. Initially, this migration wave, which ebbed and flowed over the following half-century, was not directly relevant to Spanish relations with the Commonwealth or the restored Stuarts. Accordingly, it failed to appear on the Inquisition's radar.[3] From the 1690s, however, this situation changed. As more Jacobite Irish departed permanently for Spain, often via France, they found themselves playing a pivotal role in the reconfigured Hispano-English relationship.[4] This was most obvious in the port cities, where the Irish established trading footholds and substantial commercial communities. By prudently managing their relations with both the English and the Spanish, the Irish created fresh economic opportunities and a sophisticated socio-cultural space. They also achieved a level of political and diplomatic activity in their host destination, unique among old regime Irish Catholics either at home or abroad.

From the 1690s, their interaction with the Inquisition was a crucial part of this success. From the Inquisition's viewpoint, the newly arrived Irish, by virtue of their religion and their Jacobite leanings, were a potentially useful intermediary entity in managing the English Protestant presence in Spanish ports. When the War of the Spanish Succession imposed commercial bans forcing English and Scots Protestants home, the Catholic Irish quickly replaced them. On the cessation of hostilities in 1713, the Irish remained in situ, unwilling to yield their advantage to the returning English. Sometime later, Colebrook, the English consul in Cádiz, lamented the Irish stranglehold on the local British factory, or merchants' association. In a letter to Lord Bedford, English secretary of state for foreign affairs, he explained

> upon the breaking out of the War in 1702 the English merchants were forced to retire from Spain and left their concerns under the

> care of their Irish clerk who being of the religion of the place were permitted to stay behind … in the year 1713, the fatal acquisition of *asiento* ruined the trade of England with Spain, so that few of the remaining English merchants thought fit to return … to these flocked numberless relations and dependants from the depths of Ireland and the more considerable of the old people going off to the Spaniards, their newcomers by their numbers made up what was continued to be called the English factory.[5]

This was hardly an unprejudiced view, but the insight was accurate. To Colebrook's disgust, the national duties, traditionally paid to the British factory by visiting Irish and English vessels, had been diverted to un-British activities like the conveyance of popish missionaries to England and Ireland. On occasion, he continued, they were even used to support Irish officers in Spanish service, 'and some ladies without any other merit than being agreeable to the deputies'.[6]

There was little the English could do to change this. In practically every Iberian port with a significant British factory, the Irish gained an unassailably dominant position during the war years. With the return of peace their English colleagues were unable to challenge the well-ensconced Irish, whose position was strengthened by trading privileges granted them by the Spanish monarchy,[7] supplementary to those granted to the English in 1604, 1667 and 1713–15.[8] The resulting tensions between the expatriate Irish and English, with their religious and ethnic inflexions, proved durable. However, in the interests of trade they were adroitly managed in order to allow all parties to continue to make their profit. How this was achieved varied from port to port, but in practically every case the local Inquisition played an important role in continued Irish supremacy.

Assisting the Inquisition in Málaga

The port of Málaga, which fell under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition tribunal of Granada, was home to one of the largest eighteenth-century Irish mercantile groups in the Mediterranean (see Figure 8.1). From the second half of the seventeenth century, members of the Aylward and Wyse families were based there, following displacement from their native Waterford.[9] They were involved in the Málaga–London trade, mostly in wine, dried fruits and textiles. As well as the main offices in Málaga and London, the Aylward–Wyse partnership was represented in other Spanish ports such as Cádiz and was linked to the Arthur

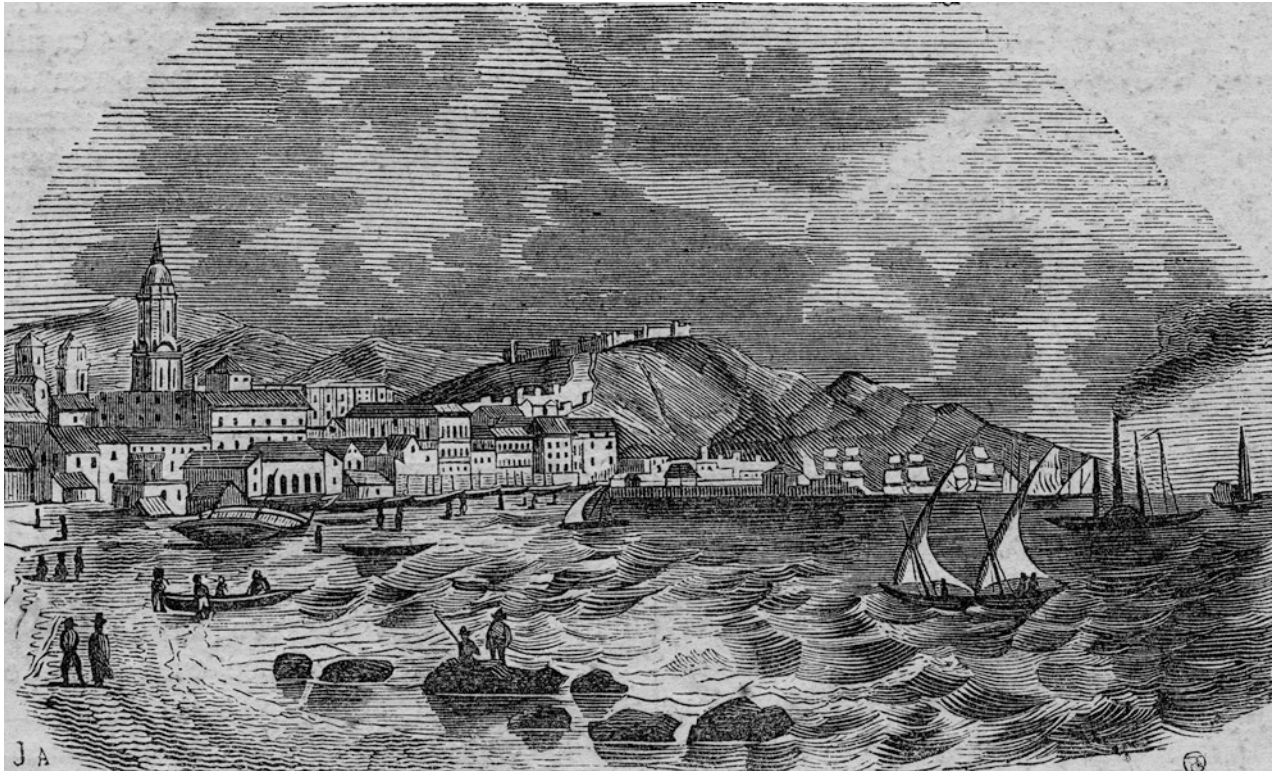


Figure 8.1 The Port of Málaga
Source: *Viaje illustrado* (nineteenth-century) © The Art Archive/Alamy.
Note: During the War of the Spanish Succession, Irish merchants took advantage of the temporary absence of English colleagues to establish themselves in Spanish ports, including Málaga.

and Crean banking interests in Madrid and Paris. In the seventeenth century, relations between Irish and English members of the British factory were sometimes tense. In 1686, for instance, the English-born John Searle attempted to enlist his compatriots against John Aylward, warning them, 'if he [Aylward] should come and flatter you or make you fair promises do not take any notice of it he is an Irishman in this I say all'.[10]

Tensions like these lingered on after the War of the Spanish Succession when returning English traders found the Irish entrenched, not only in local trading networks but also in the local administration. In 1706, Denis O'Brien had been conceded a knighthood of Santiago and by 1720 was military governor of the city.[11] Irish influence, whether Catholic or Jacobite or both, was not to the liking of English traders like Issac Martin, who arrived in Málaga in 1714.[12] It is likely that Martin was a British spy but his ostensible occupation was as innkeeper and petty trader. As foreigners settling in Spain were obliged to convert to Catholicism, Martin soon came under pressure to receive instruction. This was applied by local Irish clergy, but Martin was not for turning. On the contrary, he criticized Catholic doctrine in private, removed his children from religion classes in the local school and shuttered his house whenever religious processions passed.[13] This rankled with the locals and, in 1717, he found himself cited before the local episcopal court for alleged scandalous conversation and behaviour. The Englishman immediately suspected that the Irish priests and their mercantile countrymen had denounced him, speculating later that they had eavesdropped on his private conversations with malicious intent.[14] His hunch was probably sound but, whoever his indicters were and whatever their motive, his episcopal detention later escalated into a full inquisitorial process in Granada, where Martin spent several months in custody. In prison, he found it increasingly difficult to conceal his disdain for the Irish. When taxed by the Inquisitors that the Irish were subjects of the same king as he, he retorted that 'These people have deserted from our army and are enemies to my religion, king and country, and the worst that an English Protestant can have abroad.'[15]

Although Martin later presented his experience in Granada as an example of Spanish religious bigotry and Irish treachery, the incident itself was more purely political. For the displaced Irish, Martin was an unwelcome intruder into a space they had painstakingly marked out for their own. For the Spanish, smarting after Utrecht, his religious defiance had added insult to injury. His detention and subsequent deportation were a precious opportunity for the Spanish to inconvenience the dominating British, who were constantly angling for direct commercial

access to Spanish America. For both the aggrieved Spanish and Irish, Martin's investigation by the Granada Inquisition could only be of symbolic importance, since there was no disputing English hegemony. But it was nonetheless satisfying for that. The Inquisitors certainly enjoyed it. Their interrogations infuriated Martin. The figurative two hundred lashes they imposed and the mortifying jaunt around Málaga astride an ass dented his pride. They were all part of a piece. This was about humiliation, not heresy.

The choreographed degradation had its rules, and at no stage were the proceedings allowed to overstep the mark. Following the intervention of the London government with Cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish first minister, the unrepentant Martin was eventually released.[16] Given the diplomatic conditions of the time, that was inevitable. But even his deportation was attended by the demi-farce that marked his detention and investigation. His departure was delayed when his ship was detained by the Spanish as part of the ongoing diplomatic manoeuvring linked to their support for the Jacobite expedition of 1719.[17] Once back in London, the propaganda boot, of course, was on the other foot. Within months, Martin had published an account of his Spanish experience, which fitted standard English propaganda regarding Spanish bigotry and Irish treachery.[18] It would have been grist to the mill of penal legislators then passing a range of anti-Catholic laws through the Dublin parliament. Of course, incidents such as these served to vent resentments, but they were not allowed to compromise trade or to damage profits. English, Irish and Spanish were agreed on that. As a token of their seriousness, later, in 1739, the English consul's approval was duly sought by the Málaga authorities before accepting Gabriel O'Reilly's petition to be accepted as a Spanish *hidalgo* and to enjoy the social status recognition conferred.[19] Such were the necessary compromises of the new, post-Utrecht order in Málaga and the Spanish Mediterranean.

The industrious Irish of Bilbao

The configuration of Bilbao's Irish community was somewhat different. There, the longstanding Irish merchant presence had been complemented, from the seventeenth century, by a group of operatives and entrepreneurs, involved in the local tanning industry.[20] There was an important Irish religious presence too. From the 1640s, the port was a preferred landfall for Irish religious exiles, including several female religious.[21] About a dozen Dominican friars, led by John O'Reilly, arrived in 1697, following their expulsion from Ireland.[22] With the support

of the local civil authorities, they set up in the city centre, manning foreign chaplaincies and providing translation services to the Bilbao *Consulado* (merchants' organization)[23] and the Irish community.[24] As in Málaga, the Irish emerged from the early eighteenth-century wars in a relatively strong position. In 1721, three of their number, all married to Basque women, secured citizenship.[25] The naturalized trio of Edmund Shee from Dublin, John Baptist Power from Waterford and Arthur Lynch of Galway thereafter acted as character referees for incoming Irish migrants, like Charles MacCarthy, who applied for the status of *hidalgo* at about the same time.[26] In 1725, the same troika petitioned Philip V to grant the incoming Irish exemption from the usual rules of genealogical discovery, pleading religious persecution and property confiscations as justification.[27] This combination of special pleading and selective naturalization greatly facilitated recruitment to this abroad community from Ireland.

This Irish group had a strong instinct for self-preservation. Irish religious in Bilbao, like their Málaga colleagues, were constantly on the lookout for Irish and English government spies and informers. In 1722, two Irish Franciscans, resident in the port, alerted Joseph de Armendariz,[28] captain general of Guipúzcoa province, concerning a recent Irish arrival in the city. According to their information, Charles Donovan, who had applied to join an Irish regiment was, in fact, an Irish government spy, sent out to identify Spanish-trained clergy planning to return to the Irish mission.[29] He had already been snooping around Cádiz and La Coruña, they claimed, and his information had resulted in the arrest of a number of returning missionaries. Armendariz was sufficiently concerned about the allegation to have Donovan arrested. He then contacted Castelar, Spanish war secretary, for instruction.[30] Castelar referred the matter to the *Suprema*, who recommended his transferral to the authority of the Inquisition.

This was not the only service Irish clerics rendered the local church. Imitating practice in other Spanish ports, they also coaxed erring Protestant sheep back to the Catholic fold. Some were unwilling, like Isabel Evans, wife of an English merchant called William Hopkinson. She parried the efforts of Andrew Ryan OP but was eventually cited to the Inquisition for settling in the city without permission.[31] As in the case of Martin, one suspects that in this case the score being settled was not purely religious.

In other less obvious ways the Bilbao Irish managed to access Inquisition structures for their advantage, sometimes against local Basque interests. For many years the Bilbao *Consulado* and individual

local and foreign merchants had been in dispute with the Inquisition over the Holy Office's exercise of its right to search visiting ships for heretical literature. Their objection was less doctrinal than monetary: they resented the Inquisition's imposition of an inspection charge on the visiting vessel. For them this was a disincentive to trade and unfair competition with the public authorities and private interests.[32] Irish merchants featured on both sides of this row. In 1670, for instance, several British ship-owners and merchants, including the Irishman Luke Roche, captain of the vessel *Bachiller*, disputed the issue with the local Inquisition commissioner, Domingo de Leguina. On that occasion, interpretation services were provided by William Kelly, who obviously had the confidence of the Holy Office.[33] Again in 1732, Joachin de Legorburu, the local commissioner enlisted an Irish merchant, Michael Archer, to support the Inquisition's privilege. Later in the same year, the Irish priest Francis O'Quinn applied for the post of foreign language secretary to Legorburu.[34] He was already known to the *Suprema* and was also linked to the merchants Charles Walcot and Arthur Lynch.[35] If there was an Irish interest group behind O'Quinn's application, as there probably was, it was another example of their success in colonizing local disputes and organizations in order to promote compatriots and position themselves in local commercial politics.[36]

The Irish in the Canary Islands Inquisition

Similar tactics were used by Irish traders on the Canaries.[37] The islands were host to perhaps the largest and most influential Irish merchant community in Spain and Spanish territories. This commerce was originally based on wine. Already in the early seventeenth century, the islands were producing wine for the burgeoning British market, and a small group of British merchants, mostly English but leavened with a few Irish and Scots, dominated this trade.[38] As in Bilbao, the Irish had a longstanding presence on the islands, which grew in the second half of the seventeenth century. From the 1650s, Irish clergy also began to appear. Their services were invaluable to the local tribunal of the Inquisition, which sat in Las Palmas on Gran Canaria, and processed a large number of foreigners. As usual, Irish clerics acted as interpreters and they assisted inspections of visiting ships. They also kept a general eye on Protestant traders. The first generation of clerics included Bernard of St Francis, who settled in the Canaries following deportation from London in the 1660s, where he had ministered to the local Irish. Other seventeenth-century clerical interpreters included Francis

Frens OFM (1658), Nicholas Bodkin OSA (1666) and Eugene O'Connor OSA (1690).[39]

Following the trend in other Spanish ports, Irish numbers in the Canaries grew towards the end of the century. From the 1690s, Irish laymen were increasingly active on behalf of the Inquisition, particularly in reconciling foreign sailors. During wartime, when seamen were scarce, this could be a controversial activity as the reconciled sailors were effectively suborned to Spanish naval service. This created a problem for the English consul, Edmund Smith, who intervened to point out that mariners who converted remained under obligation to their sovereign and masters. In 1692, when the English carpenter Anthony White and four companions absconded from their vessel and sought reconciliation, Smith demanded their arrest and return to England, insisting that 'the fact of becoming a Catholic does not dissolve obligations to the king of England'.[40] English and Irish Jacobites, sympathized with, and probably encouraged, the demurring converts. They claimed that if repatriated to heretic England, these new converts would inevitably apostasize. The Inquisition agreed, the Spanish civil authorities acquiesced and Smith was obliged to concede. Later, in 1699, Irish Jacobites denounced the consul to the local inquisition for allegedly hindering conversions to Catholicism. They also contested his right to hold Anglican services in his house.[41] These accusations led to an inquisitorial investigation, which culminated in the consul's expulsion.

This was a portent of the Irish ascent in the British factory. After the outbreak of war in the early 1700s, families like the Waterford Fitzgeralds, who were already established on the islands, slipped into the shoes of the departing English, maintaining ties with English markets, but imposing a new, Irish-run management.[42] With the conclusion of the War of the Spanish Succession, the Irish trading group was 'engrossed by a factory of Protestant English merchants',[43] but this did not threaten Irish supremacy. Rather it occasioned the usual tactics of connivance and accommodation to ensure continued profitable business for all and the necessary face-saving for both the Irish and the Spanish. Except perhaps in times of war, the different interest groups managed their political disagreements and conflicts of interest, for general benefit. Accordingly, when the appointment of a new consul became an issue in 1717, the numerically superior Irish pragmatically accepted the London-approved consul, John Crosse, correctly concluding that without London support a consul would be ineffectual.

These events in the early eighteenth century forged something of a bond between the Irish community on the Canaries and the local

Inquisition. From their main base in Puerto de la Cruz, on Tenerife, the Irish, lay and clerical, continued to provide interpretation and other services to the Holy Office. Clerics included George Drummond (1710s), Walter Walsh (1720s), Eduard Tonnery (1730s) and William Ryan (1740s). Among the lay interpreters were some of the most prominent Irish merchants and businessmen on the islands. They included Andrew Russell, Robert Delahunty, James Shanahan, Santiago Edwards, David Magee, Martin Maddan and Patrick Forrestal. These services were not always provided disinterestedly. In 1733, for instance, Andrew Russell would cite his work for the Inquisition in his application for naturalization.[44] The form of assistance ranged from passive interpretation to active proselytism. As usual the sick came under particular pressure to convert. When George Hymbly, following a stabbing incident, presented at a local hospital with his entrails in his hands he was harangued by John Creagh, Peter Forrestal and other island worthies, about the necessity of converting to save his soul.[45] Protestant patients could resist proselytizing advances, often for reasons other than religious loyalty. In 1761, an Irish officer on an English ship en route home from Senegal was put ashore due to illness. Reconciled *in articulo mortis*, he refused, on recovery, to formalize his conversion as 'it would cost him his very life and bring dishonour on his family if his fellow crew revealed at home that he had converted abroad'.[46] To a surprising degree, perhaps, individual preferences, especially in the case of male subjects, were respected by the Inquisitors. In any case, as the century wore on, non-Catholics had to make themselves obvious in order to attract the Inquisition's attentions. It was social clumsiness rather than religious difference, for instance, that brought Henry Woods to the attention of the Holy Office, when his eccentric behaviour triggered an investigation in 1752.[47]

The Irish community on the Canaries was sufficiently large and varied to be subject in its turn to inquisitorial investigation, sometimes on foot of malicious denunciation by other Irish. The inquisitorial panic caused by the papal banning of Freemasonry in 1738 was used as a pretext to settle scores among the migrant Irish. In 1739, the Dublin-born Alexander French and Bernard Maguire, residents on Tenerife, were denounced as Freemasons by Patrick Roche and Patrick Ward.[48] This case, almost certainly mischievous, implicated a large number of Irish residents on the island, but ended inconclusively. In 1756, two Irish sisters, Barbara and Juana Ryan, denounced Robert Delahunty, an Irish merchant and former army lieutenant, for scandalous propositions.[49] Because Delahunty enjoyed a good reputation, the local commissioner, Joseph Perez de

Abren OP, hesitated to press charges. The commissioner also had a dim view of the Irish women involved, commenting that among the Irish 'the worst educated are the most convinced believers'.[50] Nonetheless, he eventually decided to proceed with the investigation, mainly, it would seem, because Perez got a whiff of deism from Delahunty's alleged denial of miracles and universal salvation. Nothing came of the case, however, and, three years later, Delahunty was serving as official interpreter to the Inquisition.[51]

Although the Irish had no dedicated religious houses on the Canaries, Irish clergy were numerous there. There were also some Irish clerics in local religious communities and, like their lay compatriots, they were expected to toe the current doctrinal line. Some of these Irish religious, like the Franciscan friar Christopher Russell, were actually born on the islands. Christopher was a bright but rather unstable young man, whose parents doubted his suitability for religious life. It was probably with the intention of dissuading his precocious vocation that they sent him to Dublin in 1737. This failed to weaken his resolve, and by 1740 he had returned and taken religious vows. Russell was well treated by the order, got on well with the other friars and was a favourite of the provincial, Fr Mireles, an old man with a sense of humour. For his entertainment, Russell and some other friars were in the habit of staging spoof inquisition trials, to general hilarity. Among his colleagues, Russell was regarded as well-educated and well-travelled, and, thanks to his trips and ethnicity, knowledgeable about foreign heresies.

The provincial's indulgence, however, and Russell's own naivety made him careless in his talk and vulnerable to in-house jealousies. In 1746, two of his confrères denounced him to the local tribunal for heresy.[52] If their accounts are to be relied on, Russell was a man of interesting views. Christians, he believed, were not obliged to accept the Old Testament, clerical marriage was acceptable and Catholics had deformed scripture to suit their doctrine. What appears to have especially irked his indicters was the Irishman's alleged disrespect for the Franciscan order and the Inquisition. The local commissioner suspected malice but proceeded nonetheless. Once the process started, Russell's health collapsed and, despite being released to convalesce in his brother's house,[53] his mental state deteriorated further. He began to concoct accusations against himself, alleging hubris, drunkenness and sexual depravity. These transgressions were almost certainly imagined and wisely ignored by the Inquisition. Moreover, as the case proceeded, it became clear that there was bad blood between Russell and one of the original indicters, over a proposed Russell family marriage. Indeed, the

original denunciation was probably intended to embarrass the Russell family and scupper the nuptials. Russell was eventually sentenced to two years' religious instruction in a local monastery, intended to restore his mental and physical health as much as his orthodoxy. His brother's continued cooperation with the Inquisition in later years suggests that the incident did not permanently damage the family's reputation on the island.

Although the Canary Irish and the local Inquisition generally enjoyed cordial relations and cooperated to mutual benefit, there were some difficulties, originating in the 1690s, particularly concerning conflicting opinions over the status of new converts. For the Irish colony, the conversion of British Protestants was of more than religious significance. In a real way it was also a political event that vindicated their ideological loyalties. More mundanely, the wartime conversion of visiting Protestant mariners, especially the more skilled, could be a considerable practical gain to an Irish or a Spanish ship owner or captain, if the convert did not return to his Protestant captain's ship. This was an issue, which had already arisen in the 1690s, when Edmund Smith had been outmanoeuvred by the Jacobites and their Holy Office friends.

However, in the eighteenth century not all Inquisition officers were of the same mind on the question. From the 1730s, Holy Office officialdom, echoing Smith, argued that despite their change of religious allegiance, converts were still bound by dynastic loyalty and employer contract. In 1731, the Santa Cruz commissioner questioned the lawfulness of refusing to return a converted mariner to his Protestant superior's authority.[54] He also expressed doubts about the sincerity of certain deserters' motivation, suspecting that they converted solely to jump ship or desert. In some cases it appeared that Irish clerics and merchants connived in what were, in fact, sham conversions, to make a political statement or to gain a skilled deckhand. On occasion the Irish seem to have gone even further, conniving with criminals on the run from both civil and ecclesiastical authorities.[55] In 1756, things came to a head when the local tribunal decided that unless the religious bona fides of a candidate for conversion was established, the Holy Office would not proceed with the reconciliation process. Nor would the Inquisition use force to restrain a convert's superior from reclaiming a crewmember's service. These rulings, a sign of the Inquisition's softening attitude, stemmed the tide of converts of convenience, though deserters continued to present (see Figure 8.2).

Overall, the Canaries Irish were successful in using their relations with the Inquisition to bolster their position on the islands. Their

Figure 8.2 Santa Cruz Church, Cádiz
Source: Bayard Taylor (ed.), *Picturesque Europe* (New York, 1875-9) © The Art Archive/Alamy.
Note: In the eighteenth century, Cádiz was home to a large and prosperous Irish merchant community. A number of Irish clergy assisted the local Inquisition in arranging for the conversion of visiting Protestants from England, Ireland, Scotland and North America.

Catholicism won them a significant degree of acceptance from the local population, born of religious complicity. This could be quite sophisticated. The retired army colonel, de Franchi, who had dealings with Irish merchants, remarked, in the early 1740s, on the fun some of his Irish acquaintances derived when abroad from visiting churches and meeting houses of other denominations. For them, he said, it was a source of diversion and even entertainment, singling out attendance at Quaker meetings as a favourite amusement.[56] However, even with this level of cultural and religious collusion, it was unwise for the Irish to forget that they were foreigners and that, in certain circumstances, they remained 'British' in the eyes of their hosts. On occasion this became deadly obvious. During the early years of the War of the Austrian Succession, when a British privateer was repelled by the local militia near Las Palmas, the captured privateers, who included several Irish Catholics, were all massacred.[57] In peacetime, no matter how useful Irish trading experience was to the Spanish, their self-interestedness could rankle with their hosts. In the 1760s, a Protestant visitor to Tenerife, on enquiring about the character of the Irish merchants there was informed by his Spanish interlocutor:

> they are all Catholics and very good people but they are only Christians of St Patricio, these men are all very well in their way but they must not be compared to Christians of these islands … it is not for nothing they come to our country.[58]

Some of the Irish were morally suspect too. The 80-year-old Diego Ignacio de Soria, who visited an Irish lodging house in Tenerife to beg alms from the guests, formed a bad impression of the daughter of the house, Isabel Burke, who was 'free with her embraces and kisses, after the custom of her country'.[59] Nor was resentment of pushy Irish parvenus unknown. Traditional Spanish elites resented their successful libidinous colonization, through intermarriage with local women, and took a dim view of self-interested Irish cooperation with the Inquisition, their infiltration of local confraternities and their all too canny use of naturalization for commercial advantage.

Those who traditionally dominated the local administration warned against allowing foreigners like the Irish to accept public office for fear of treachery and subversion. In a famous case in 1767, the old Spanish elite of 'regidores perpetuos' opposed Denis O'Daly's election to the public office.[60] Objections were also raised about two other foreigners, David Magee and Thomas Cullen, who also had their eye on public

positions.[61] This was not, of course, an exclusively insular phenomenon. Similar incidents occurred elsewhere. On the Pacific coast in 1745, the Irishman John Gordon, an ex-interpreter with the South Sea Company, was elected *alcalde mayor* of the town. The local magistrates forced him to stand down and return to Spain.[62] On the mainland, objections were raised to Irishmen in the military, diplomatic service and royal administration.[63] In the wake of his failure to take Algiers for the Spanish in 1775, the Irish commander, Alexander O'Reilly, became a lightning rod for nativist resentment of foreign influence.[64] An earlier denunciation of O'Reilly to the Inquisition for possession of pornography and freemasonry may also have been xenophobically motivated.[65]

Contesting English interests in Lisbon

Although outside Spanish jurisdiction after 1640,[66] the Irish community in Lisbon was perhaps the most significant on the whole peninsula and its relations with the local Inquisition the most revealing. The Irish in Lisbon were well established. Lisbon was home to their first Iberian seminary, founded in 1590. The Irish Jesuit mission in its various sixteenth-century incarnations was maintained from the Portuguese capital and, from the 1580s, Irish Jesuits and Dominicans were both attached to the local *Casa dos Catecumenos*. Later the Irish Dominicans founded male (1633) and female (1639) houses there. The city was also home to a tightly knit and prosperous Irish merchant group, closely linked to other Irish port communities in Iberia.[67] The traders were accompanied by shopkeepers, innkeepers, craftsmen and street hawkers.[68] The community grew over the following half-century, and by the eighteenth century numbered in the hundreds. Like the rest of the city, it was devastated by the earthquake of 1755.[69] The stocktaking following the calamity[70] revealed a surprisingly high number of poorer Irish migrants in the city, people 'so obscure as not to be known to any but the Irish friars'.[71]

Because the Portuguese joined the Grand Alliance, there was no exodus of English merchants from Lisbon during the War of the Spanish Succession. This deprived incoming Irish Catholic merchants of the opportunities for consolidation they had enjoyed in Málaga, Bilbao, the Canaries and Cádiz. With English merchants in a dominant position, the local merchants' association became a less welcoming institution for Irish Catholic merchants. In part this was due to the fact that British charges, or *consulage*, levied on all visiting vessels from Britain or Ireland, were used to pay an Anglican chaplain, a practice Irish Catholics were reluctant to support. But it was also because of an official

process of barring papists that mimicked measures to exclude Catholics from public life at home. For Irish Catholics in Lisbon, this was formalized by parliamentary legislation regulating *consulage* in 1721, and subsequently by measures approved by the London government in 1725, 1742 and 1790.[72] Irish Catholics would not be readmitted before the Factory's abolition in 1810.[73]

Despite this, Irish traders, as British subjects, did benefit from the Methuen Treaty (1703), which allowed British woollen cloth duty-free access to Portugal in return for a lowering of British duty on Portuguese wine. The treaty inaugurated nearly half a century of prosperity in English and Irish commercial relations with Portugal until the 1750s, when the protectionist reforms of the marquis of Pombal, aimed at stimulating the Portuguese economy, began to prejudice British interests. Later, the Portuguese used Irish parliamentary independence as an excuse to withdraw the Methuen privileges from the Irish and prohibit the import of Irish woollens. This caused a political stir in Dublin, exposing some of the unforeseen consequences of legislative autonomy.[74]

Lisbon had a very active tribunal of the Inquisition, which, until the advent of Pombal's regime in 1750, enjoyed greater independence from the state than its Spanish equivalent.[75] The treatment of British Protestants in Portugal was officially agreed in the treaties of 1642 and 1654, and followed the model set in the Treaty of London (1604). These agreements stipulated that no British visitor could be molested on account of their religion; Protestants could keep their own bibles, were free to attend services in designated private houses and had burial rights.[76] Officially, there was no obligation for longer-term heretic sojourners to convert to Catholicism. For the first half of the century the Inquisition was in a position to contest these concessions and, thanks to the volatility of the city mob, sometimes succeeded in obliging the monarch to restrict them.

Given its strategic location it is unsurprising that throughout the eighteenth century the Lisbon Inquisition did a roaring trade in reconciliations and conversions. In the 1770s and 1780s alone, over fifty Irish Protestants, mostly unmarried males, were processed back into the Catholic fold.[77] Anthony Fleming OP helped process no fewer than thirty of these.[78]

As usual, there was more to this than met the eye. In contrast to Spain, where converts' immunity from repatriation was sometimes successfully disputed, in Lisbon the Inquisition, at least until the 1750s, was nearly always authoritative enough to prevent the return of converts to their Protestant masters. Accordingly, a Protestant marine, deserting in

Lisbon for whatever reason, had only to declare his intention to convert to Catholicism to secure immunity from repatriation. Nor was the decision to seek reconciliation with the Church of Rome uninfluenced by material inducements. These included temporary accommodation in the *Casa dos Catecumenos* (accompanied by religious instruction), alternative employment (in the Portuguese marine or with an Irish or Portuguese merchant house) and even financial rewards. Despite all that, not all conversions were brought to a satisfactory conclusion. In 1782, for instance, Fr John Butler informed the Coimbra Inquisition that an intending Irish convert, the military drummer William Bunting, had fled the jurisdiction before completing his process.[79]

It is clear that conversion was not only a religious act but also served as a cover for the organized subornment of skilled marine personnel for both military and commercial gain. Visiting English ships were the usual victims. It was common practice for local merchants in Lisbon to employ crimps or undercover recruiters to go aboard competitors' vessels to shanghai crew. In 1741, for instance, a number of Irish and English Catholic crimps were discovered and arrested by the captain of the English ship *Cumberland*. Immediately the local Irish Dominicans complained to the Portuguese king, who sympathized with them. Even with the assistance of consuls and ambassadors, Protestant captains were powerless to recover suborned men from the Casa. Attempts to do so could cause riots, as in early 1757, when Edward Hay, the English consul, tried to recover James Ward and Robert Smith. They had been seduced by 'Irish friars' from the English vessel *Seahorse*.[80] When a midshipman and sergeant from the *Seahorse* appeared at the Casa to persuade the reluctant Ward to return with them, they were set upon by a local mob.

Behind all this the English recognized the occult scheming of the Irish friars, in collusion with their trading compatriots, to subvert Protestant sailors. In this precise context, James O'Hara (Lord Tyrawley), British ambassador to Lisbon from 1727, described them as 'the vilest set of fellows that ever breathed'.[81] John Coustos, the Swiss–English jeweller, repeated the compliment in an embellished narrative of his detention for Freemasonry by the Lisbon Inquisition in 1743.[82] The published account, something of a vitrine for his vitriol, included a version of his alleged conversation with the Irish friars who, presumably in fulfilment of the evangelical exhortation, had visited him in prison:

> I was often visited by the Irish friars belonging to the convent of Corpo Santo, who offered to get my release, provided I would turn Roman Catholic. I assured them that all their endeavours would be

> fruitless; I expecting my enlargement from the Almighty alone, who, if He, in his profound wisdom thought proper, would point out other expedients for my obtaining it, than my become an apostate.[83]

Coustos was an unpromising candidate for reconciliation, but one has to hand it to the friars for trying. Hard for them, perhaps, to resist this opportunity to nose-thumb English Protestants in Lisbon in symbolic retribution for hurts at home. And equally difficult for the returned Coustos not to embroider his experience into a readable piece of British propaganda against Catholic continental enemies and their Irish lackeys. Ultimately, Coustos could rely on the intervention of the London government, who, in these situations, generally managed to prevail, delivering him from 'that infernal band of friars'.[84] Interestingly, Coustos's work was republished on a number of occasions in mid-century Ireland. This was probably for its usefulness in justifying local Protestant vigilance against Irish Catholics and their Iberian allies.

As in the Canaries, the Irish community in Lisbon was large enough to become susceptible to internal moral regulation by the Holy Office. Occasionally, a Catholic would pass himself off as a Protestant and feign conversion in order to profit from the inducements in money and kind offered to converts by the authorities. In 1731, John Ford, a Catholic, pretended Protestantism and then feigned a desire to convert. He was lodged in the Casa, underwent the customary instruction and was 'reconciled'. Four years later his deception was discovered and punished.[85] Of course, financial inducement worked in both directions. In 1729 Richard Lyons, a student in the Dominican house, was sanctioned by the Inquisition for threatening to go to England and convert to Anglicanism for the reported reward of £40.[86]

There were also some old-fashioned heresy trials. In 1743, for instance, Baltasar Comerford, employed in the firm Medici e Nicolini, was charged with holding heretical views.[87] Other sins investigated were of a less spiritual nature, including bigamy. Thus, in 1727, John Burgess, a Dublin cobbler and bigamist, was cited to the Lisbon tribunal by his Dublin parish priest, John Cassin.[88] The basic inquisitorial fare, however, remained reconciliations. In some of these processes, the Lisbon Inquisitors, like their Spanish contemporaries, heard echoes of, what to them were, the peculiar religious conditions pertaining in Ireland. In 1729, for instance, John Bryan, a sailor from Cork, resident in Lisbon and aged 22, appeared before the Inquisitors, accompanied by his interpreter, Richard O'Brien OP.[89] Bryan was born and reared a Catholic, but when apprenticed to a Presbyterian carpenter, at the age of eleven,

had been physically compelled, he claimed, to abjure his religion. On learning this, Bryan's father cited the Protestant minister responsible to the local magistrate on a charge of unlawful use of force. The Protestant magistrate decided that the boy had been compelled and awarded the father the judgment. In an equally impartial interpretation of the law, he went on to bar the boy from ever acquiring or exercising his trade in Ireland without first taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. This legal Catch-22, by no means unusual at the time, obliged the boy to leave the jurisdiction. Revealingly, he headed not for Catholic Europe but for cosmopolitan London, where no one asked him about his religion, allowing him to complete his apprenticeship, unmolested by magistrates. However, practising his trade there must have been a different matter, as he then opted to go to sea. On arrival in Lisbon he came to the notice of the Irish Dominicans, who, as Tyrawley claimed, seem to have approached all visiting British sailors with subornment in mind. Bryan needed little persuasion, and the friars quickly arranged for him to purge his heresy.[90]

The earthquake of 1755 exacted a grim toll on the Irish community in Lisbon, and it took years to recover. The activities of confraternities like that of Saint Patrick at Corpo Santo, the social cement of the group, were disrupted. The Dominican house was destroyed and did not reopen its doors until 1771. As regards the Irish college, it survived the earthquake but not the 1759 suppression of the Portuguese Jesuits. This was a heavy blow from which the college had difficulty recovering.[91] Trade, however, proved more robust than the institutions of religion. Irish merchants and bankers like Edward Ffrench, John O'Neill and the firms of Roberts & Moylan, Morrogh & Connolly and others not only survived but went on to prosper. Although Portuguese trade with England declined from mid-century, the America routes flourished and the Lisbon Irish, like their colleagues in the Canaries, and indeed at home in Ireland, were active in this commercial theatre.[92] Some, like Stephen Moylan (1737–1811) from Cork, who started out in Lisbon, later moved to Philadelphia, while retaining close links with Portugal. This repeated a trend already visible in the Canaries. From the 1790s, the wealthy Lisbon Irish began to register their wills in London, testimony to the new trading realities created by the reorientation of the Irish agricultural economy to the supply of the English urban and military markets and the enormously expanding North American trade.[93]

The last years of the Inquisition saw fewer Irish converts but an increase in the number of prosecutions for Freemasonry, associated with the massive arrival of British forces for the French wars. A number of Irish were

taken up by police on suspicion of masonry.[94] They were unwittingly continuing a tradition among the Lisbon Irish, whom the Inquisition had already investigated for masonry over half a century earlier, in 1739. The men involved had been members of a lodge founded by the Scot, George Gordon, in 1737 and called The Royal House of the Freemasons of Portugal *(Real casa)*. The lodge boasted a mixed membership that was, however, largely Catholic and mostly Irish. Among the brothers, military men were to the fore, led by Hugh O'Kelly, who was colonel in the Monteiro regiment, and Denis Hogan, a cavalry lieutenant in the Alcántara regiment. The latter's regimental colleague, Sergeant Mauricio Luis Magno, was approached to join, it appears, but declined, objecting to the oath of secrecy.[95] Recruitment was more successful with local mariners. James Tobin and Patrick Brown, both ships' captains, signed up. There was one entrepreneur, Michael O'Kelly, the owner of a glass factory, and two businessmen, Thomas French and Charles O'Carroll. The professions were also represented. James O'Kelly, formerly dancing master to the king, joined. So too did two medical doctors, William Noonan and a man called Smith, the latter a recent convert to Catholicism. There was one Irish Protestant member, a confectioner called William Rice, and a Scots Protestant called Arthur, who ran a wine business. Hugh O'Kelly was elected lodge grand master in June 1737, and the brothers met monthly on Rice's premises. In keeping with masonic custom, the lodge gave religion a wide berth.[96] Entertainment was modest but not entirely austere, and consisted, it was reported, in the temperate enjoyment of food, conversation and music.[97] According to James Thomas O'Kelly, conversation was suitably elevated, covering mathematics, medicine, architecture and music.[98]

Somewhat surprisingly, but only perhaps in retrospect, the lodge also included a number of Dominican religious, members of the Irish Corpo Santo community in the city.[99] They were Patrick Kennedy[100] and Patrick Tilan, who, by 1738, had already returned to the Irish mission. There was a third Dominican member, a priest called Leynan, who was a ship's chaplain.[101] No doubt the friars joined for the same social reasons as other Irish members. However, there appears to have been a pastoral motivation too. Their lay brothers later explained to the Inquisition that if the masonic priests on returning to Ireland had reason to come before Protestant magistrates who were also masons, they could expect more lenient treatment. It was thanks to their masonic associations, the brothers argued, that the friars could move more freely around penal Ireland, bearing 'incomparable fruit' for the Church.[102]

However, the political reaction against freemasonry was especially strong in Portugal, and it was the oath to secrecy taken by masons that

proved the lightning conductor for state opposition. The oath protected the exclusivity that members no doubt valued, but it also exposed them to suspicions of sedition. For this reason, the Catholic powers pressurized the Holy See to ban the movement. Accordingly, on 28 April 1738, Clement XII published the bull *In Eminenti*. It aped the language of the existing civil bans, taking exception to the oath to secrecy, 'for if they [masons] were not doing evil they would not have so great a hatred of the light'. Presuming the corrupting potential of masonry for the simple and the innocent, and the consequent peril it posed for civil order as well as religious orthodoxy, the bull commanded bishops and Inquisitors to proceed against Catholic masons, calling, if necessary, on the support of the civil power. News of the bull soon reached the Irish in Lisbon and lodge members became uneasy. Some, like Thomas French, had already quit. As a precaution, Hugh O'Kelly decided to approach the local papal nuncio, Caetano de Cavalieri, for mutual reassurance. When his emissary, Patrick Brown, was not received at the nunciature, O'Kelly suspected the worst. He then sent Denis Hogan and Michael O'Kelly to make a representation to the Inquisition. They undertook to dissolve the lodge forthwith, assuring the Holy Office that no member had ever disobeyed the Church and that the lodge was entirely '*conducente para a boa sociedade e convivencia*'.[103] Two inquisitorial investigations ensued, neither uncovering anything remotely subversive.

Converting English heretics in Cádiz

The Lisbon Irish were closely connected with their compatriots in Cádiz and other Andalusian ports. Relations between the Inquisition and the Irish community in the southern ports had their own unique configuration. In Seville, Sanlúcar, El Puerto de Anta María and Cádiz, the Irish had close business associations with their English colleagues. Following the pattern set in the Canaries, the most significant single influx of Irish merchants occurred in the 1690s and 1700s. As in the Canaries, Málaga and Bilbao, the English war-time absence after 1702 provided Irish commercial interests with an opportunity to consolidate, developing autonomous local links, participating in the American trade while at the same time remaining closely tied to English and Irish trade networks.[104] This activity coincided with significant restructuring in Spanish domestic commercial organization. Cádiz's growing commercial importance within Spain and its Empire was confirmed by Philip V's decree of 12 May 1717, transferring the *Casa de Contratación de Indias* and the *Consulado de Cargadores* to the city.[105]

However, the restoration of peace in 1713 was marked by difficulties concerning the de facto double British and Spanish nationality of the Irish. Like his colleagues in Lisbon, the newly installed English consul, George Bubb, would have no truck with the chameleonic Irish and moved to eject naturalized Irish from the British factory in 1717.[106] The Spanish retaliated in 1720, preventing British subjects naturalized in Spain from benefiting from the privileges of the treaties between Spain and Britain. However, neither side's strictures were stringently observed. Certainly in 1721, a naturalized Irish merchant, Richard Hore, was still a member of the British factory of Seville and Sanlúcar.[107] The proximity of the British garrison in Gibraltar added special zest to inquisitorial dealings with the British in the area.[108] In 1712, for instance, the Inquisition fretted over the treatment of Catholics in the British zone.[109] However, most of the disputes dealt with involved allegations that Protestant ministers in Gibraltar were performing marriages for Protestant couples in Cádiz and other Spanish ports. This exercise of heretic jurisdiction was resented by the Seville Inquisition and was in technical breach of the 1604 treaty. Irish clergy were happy to discommode their Protestant compatriots by reporting offenders to the Holy Office. In 1774, an Irish Augustinian priest, James O'Kelly, reported to the Seville tribunal that a marriage had been solemnized by a Protestant minister in the English consul's house in Cádiz. Later, in 1777 a similar report was submitted.[110] That, however, was as far as the matter went. Provided ministers kept their heads down and exercised due discretion, they were generally untroubled by the Holy Office.

Like Spanish ship owners everywhere, those in Andalusia greatly valued British seamen and took every opportunity to engage them. Sometimes they suborned them directly, or 'acquired' them by purchasing the vessels on which they were crew. In either case, recourse to the Inquisition for reconciliation was necessary. This was usually in the face of the objections of the British consuls.[111] Like Lisbon, Cádiz did a brisk business in foreign conversions, and the port had a number of specialist institutions catering for foreign catechumens. The hospital of San Juan de Dios, which took in the destitute sick and vagrants, generally made an effort to convert heretic inmates. Between 1761 and 1779, for instance, it received over thirty Protestants, many of whom were looked after by James O'Kelly OSA, who was commissioned by the Seville Inquisition.[112] Most of his charges were English, but he looked after a sprinkling of Irish too and the odd Scot. O'Kelly was diligent but his efforts were not always crowned with success, as in 1769, when his proselytizing advances were repelled by the Englishman Thomas Bully.

As already mentioned, there was also a dedicated institute for the conversion of heretics, mostly foreigners, called the *Casa de Catecúmenos*. It operated in close cooperation with the local Inquisition, but its effectiveness depended on the zeal of the local commissioner. From the late 1760s Pedro Sanchez Bernal was in charge, and he proved to be an energetic supporter of the Casa and its proselytizing mission.

To process the hundreds of converts, Bernal had a team of catechists in the Casa, including the English lay convert Thomas Page, and Irish priests John Baptist Gallagher and James Daly. The catechists doubled up as fundraisers and propagandists, constantly petitioning church and state authorities for support.[113] Some of these, apparently, needed special persuasion. The local governor, Alexander O'Reilly (1780–6), for instance, fretted over awarding Bernal permission to solicit alms in a city already coming down with religious and secular mendicants. The local clergy, for their part, were tight-fisted, as Bernal informed the Inquisitor General, Augustin Rubin de Cevallos, in Madrid in 1786.[114] Furthermore, locals, including the bishop, he complained, were insufficiently respectful of his inquisitorial dignity, an indication, perhaps, of that institution's declining public prestige.[115] In an interesting effort to improve the profile of the Casa, Bernal, Gallagher, Daly and Page pointed out its international propaganda value for Spain's global reputation. Protestant propaganda, they explained, had painted the Inquisition in the lurid colours of cold-hearted persecution, but the Casa, by providing food and shelter along with the indoctrination, was putting a human face on Spanish Catholicism and its Inquisition.

These sentiments may have been over-sanguine, but there was a grain of truth in their claim to be the human face of the Inquisition. Certainly the regime in the Casa was anything but onerous by the standards of the time and infinitely laxer than any observed on board ship.[116] Inmates rose at 6am to start the day with organized prayers,[117] ablutions and breakfast. Instruction followed from 9am, in small groups, with the more advanced assisting new arrivals.[118] A midday meal was served, with recreation, and class resumed out of doors, weather permitting, at 4pm, prior to a general revision session, supper and lights out at a civilized hour. Thanks to the attractive regime, the offer of a new suit of clothes and regular meals, the Casa was seen as a soft touch by visiting sailors and attracted some ambiguously motivated clients. Moreover, the influx of mariner converts inevitably sparked trouble between visiting ships' captains and the Spanish authorities over repatriation of absconding sailors.[119] On occasion it also drove a wedge, as in the Canaries, between the Inquisition and civil authorities concerning converts' immunities.

The converts processed by the Casa were a mixed bag, but far from entirely disedifying. In 1787, a 14-year-old Cork boy, David Fitzgerald, turned up in the city streets, requesting admission.[120] He was of Catholic stock on his paternal side, but his father had conformed, he later revealed, to secure a post as a tax official. On the breakup of his parents' marriage, the boy had been apprenticed by a Dublin relative to a ship's captain. On board, he heard of the Casa and decided to present there. More typical, perhaps, was the case of the 16-year-old Belfast Presbyterian John Borland, obviously on the run from his captain, who presented at the Casa in the same year. Though he had presumptuously brought along a change of underwear to his hearing, a fact recorded disapprovingly by the notary, Borland's claim to have acted under divine inspiration was accepted at face value and he was admitted as a catechumen.[121]

Conversions of convenience like Borland's tended to increase in the 1790s, not for religious reasons but rather because the Spanish, rattled by developments in France, clamped down on foreigners and attempted to register them.[122] During the early years of revolution, Spain remained hesitantly allied with France. With the execution of Louis XVI, however, it threw in its lot with France's opponents, and from 1792 the typical clerical refugee in Spain was more likely to be French than Irish. All foreigners, however, fell under suspicion of possible subversive intent. In 1791, a royal decree ordered their registration, and if they were not so already, their conversion to Catholicism. They were also obliged to swear an oath of loyalty to the king.[123] Among the eighty or so Protestants registered in Cádiz under these measures in the following ten years, were about half-a-dozen Irish. Thereafter, Spain, tempted by the prospect of regaining Portugal, gravitated towards the French. This change of ally was disastrous for Cádiz, given the importance of its maritime links with Britain. By 1808, the French alliance had degenerated into a French invasion, sparking the War of Independence and the first suppression of the Inquisition.

The Irish merchant diaspora successfully exploited its relationship with both the English and Spanish monarchies and state agencies to create a favourable economic and social environment for their abroad communities. Their dealings with the Inquisition illustrate some of their most successful integration and assimilation strategies. Two other subgroups within the larger Irish diaspora in Spain also interacted with the Inquisition, with more or less success. Industrial workers/craftsmen and women, always important components of the diaspora, became increasingly visible in the inquisitorial record as they began to arrive in larger numbers from the beginning of the eighteenth century.

9
Irish Money and Industry in Spain

Financiers and the Inquisition

For most Irish visitors, early eighteenth-century Madrid remained, ostensibly, what it had traditionally been, a stopping place on a journey to the court. Among the Irish guests, questing clerics, secular and regular, were the most numerous. Most were drawn to the capital in search of the royal travel subsidy offered to missionaries returning to Ireland.[1] During their brief stays, these clergy were put up in various religious houses around the city, particularly with the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians. Secular clergy had the option of staying in the small Irish college.[2] The permanent Irish community they temporarily joined was tiny, composed of active and retired military, some clergy and the odd merchant or trader.

In 1702, a commissioner for the Inquisition, Jacinto Lucas Pallin y Luares, spent eight days tracking them down. No denunciations were in question. He simply needed them to verify the genealogical record of an Irish friar, Bartholomew White OFM, recently recommended as examiner for the Lima Inquisition.[3] The bulk of his interlocutors were religious: three seculars in the Irish college,[4] two Augustinians,[5] three Franciscans[6] and a sole Dominican.[7] Pallin's inquiries also took him to the homes and lodgings of some of the more prominent Irish laity in the city, three of whom had military backgrounds.[8] Only one Irish merchant was interviewed, the 55-year-old Francis White, from Dungarvan, who had been in business in the city for about fifteen years. There was little sign here of any change in the traditional migrant profile, long dominated by merchants, clergy and soldiers.

However, there were some new faces in town. Among them was a man called Edward Crean, who was accompanied by his two clerks,

Michael MacDermott and Thomas Fagan. They were staying with another Irishman called Francis Arthur, relative of the Paris Jacobite financier, Daniel Arthur.[9] Although the inquisiting cleric described him as a merchant, Crean, like Arthur, was actually one of a new breed of Irish sojourners in Madrid. In partnership with Arthur, he headed a banking concern, established to manage the financial affairs of Jacobite exiles on the continent. The Jacobite exodus, which brought a tide of Irish merchants to Spanish ports, also triggered a significant capital transfer from Britain and Ireland to the European mainland. Arthur & Crean's operation in Madrid was part of a larger financial concern that played a crucial role in maintaining Jacobite solvency abroad. Over the following years, their activities in Madrid prospered. In 1718, an English visitor described Crean's partner as 'one of the richest bankers in Europe and the most gentleman-like'.[10]

In establishing themselves in Spain, practised hands like Crean knew how to play the traditional religion card and the well-rehearsed role of persecuted exile.[11] Notwithstanding their Catholic Jacobite origins, banking operations like Crean's actually carried little ideological freight and, when it came to money, were both dynastically and religiously indifferent. Accordingly, while providing services to the British Jacobites, who supported the Bourbon claimant in the Spanish War of Succession, Arthur & Crean also acted for the invading Grand Alliance armies. During the short British occupation of Madrid in 1710, for instance, they provided exchange services and paid monies for the support of British prisoners of war. A little later, in 1719, James Butler, duke of Ormond, stayed in Crean's house while negotiating Spanish support for a Jacobite expedition to Scotland.[12] Arthur & Crean also acted for Irish mercantile interests in the Canaries, notably Bernard Walsh's.[13]

Most importantly, Arthur & Crean developed a strong relationship with the incoming Bourbon regime. Whereas in the past, Irish migrants in Madrid had posed as deserving beneficiaries of Habsburg largesse, Arthur, Crean and their ilk represented a new type of Irish presence in the peninsula. Thanks to their international connections and their financial expertise, they could sell useful financial and banking services to the Bourbons and their administration. The price was social status and a permanent place in the monarchy's financial management. From at least 1709, Crean was involved with the reorganization of the royal tax farms.[14] This allowed him to accumulate capital, which supported a banking business dealing in local and foreign trade, and money orders.[15] Crean also built up contacts with local banks and commercial interests, such as those of Martin de Zelada and Antonio Trebani.[16] In

the meantime, he developed close links with the other Irish financial houses established in the city. These included Joyes & Darcy & Joyes, founded by Patrick Joyce (1684–1745), with branches in Cádiz and Bilbao.[17] Another of Crean's Irish banking colleagues was the Galway-born Florence Kelly (d. 1732). He was a wealthy, Paris-trained physician, an anatomist, importer and honorary oculist to Philip V. His son John was treasurer of the royal library, and both were *aficionados* of the artist Murillo, and dedicated bibliophiles.[18]

Concurrently, Crean was involved in the domestic and economic affairs of Irish residents in the city, executing wills[19] and procuring employment for incoming migrants.[20] Like most successful Irish Jacobite migrants, Crean had strong military links. Two nephews, Daniel and Andrew, were in royal service, and the former was a member of the military order of Santiago.[21] Following the example of other Jacobite soldiers, Crean's nephews transitioned from the military arts into financial management. By 1719, Andrew Carroll was looking after his uncle's interests in Andalusia and acting as receiver general of the royal revenues in Cordova. It was testimony to his uncle's reputation and to his own adaptability that Andrew, in 1719, successfully applied for the office of *familiar* in the local Inquisition.[22] His Spanish referees for the post, all senior residents of Cordova, included three serving *familiares*, one public notary, a beneficed cleric and a royal receiver. With support like theirs, Carroll's application was destined for success, but the Irish community in Madrid also played its part, with several of them providing character statements to the Inquisition. As in 1702, the 1719 Irish migrant community included a large clerical cohort, mostly Dominicans,[23] but also a more diverse selection of Irish businessmen and financiers, including Michael Bray from Dungarvan, Francis Loftus of Limerick and the already mentioned Florence Kelly.[24] Carroll's social ascent, and assimilation into Spanish society, went a step further when he was declared *hidalgo* in 1724.[25]

The success of the Arthur & Crean operation marked a sea change in the role of the migrant Irish in Spain. This reflected not only the changing political and economic situation in Ireland but also the altered international position of Spain, particularly in its relationship with Britain. Throughout the seventeenth century Irish migrants might, at a stretch, have been of some putative geo-political utility to the Spanish in dealing with London. However, with the War of the Spanish Succession and the Treaty of Utrecht, Spain shed its role as an autonomous military power on the continent and, apart from the Spanish American trade, was obliged to accept British maritime supremacy.

This changed geo-political context allowed eighteenth-century Irish migrants to Spain to adopt new roles, including that of providing technical expertise and manpower to promote state-sponsored industrial projects.

Converting Irish operatives

From their accession in 1700, the Spanish Bourbons had been anxious to modernize Spain's military infrastructure and its ancillary industries, particularly shipbuilding and textiles.[26] Their strategy included enticing skilled labour from Northern Europe to Spain with attractive contracts and promises of favourable conditions.[27] The mercantilist attitudes of the time imposed restricted practices and discouraged the free movement of technical knowledge and skilled labour.[28] However, where real opportunities beckoned, individuals had little trouble slipping through administrative and legal barriers, the Irish tanners in the Bilbao region being the best-documented example.[29] Individual Irish and English textile immigrants, for instance, already accustomed to internal migration at home,[30] appear sporadically in the early eighteenth-century records.[31] In 1720, Irish operatives were working in the royal textile manufactory in Guadalajara, and by 1727 they included a master dyer and a number of stampers.[32] About this time Irish migrants start turning up in the royal glass factory at San Ildefonso.

Some of these early industrial arrivals were Protestant and, as they apparently intended to stay permanently in Spain, were required to convert to Catholicism. Gerald Fitzgerald was an early case. He was the son of a mixed marriage, an ex-soldier and had come to San Ildefonso by way of Bilbao. Once on site he introduced himself to the chaplain, Alexander O'Ryan OFM, who referred him to his Madrileño colleague, Bonaventura de Burgo, who arranged for his reconciliation.[33] This informal industrial recruitment network included staff at the Scots college in Madrid. In 1736, for instance, the Scot, William McGill SJ, oversaw the reconciliation of Charles Martel, son of Charles and Maria O'Cline of Cork.[34] As an engineer, with extensive international experience in Russia and Portugal, Martel was a real catch for the royal manufactories.

The opportunistic recruitment of incoming migrants was not sufficient, however, to supply the growing skilled labour and technology needs of the state-sponsored works, both civil and military. From the 1740s, Ensenada,[35] the Spanish naval minister and Caravajal,[36] Spanish secretary of state considered setting up organized subornment schemes. There were excellent precedents. Subornment of foreign sailors had long

been a feature of life in Spanish and Portuguese ports,[37] and, during the War of the Spanish Succession, the Bourbons regularly enlisted foreign deserters.[38] However, in these new schemes, there were two important innovations. First, the schemes targeted intending migrants abroad, especially in Britain, rather than foreigners already in Spain. With British restrictions on the transfer of skilled labour, this meant that recruiting operations there had to be clandestine. Second, because it had been historically difficult to retain recruits, mostly young, mobile males, in long-term service, it was decided to target married, rather than single men, because they were more likely to stay. Given that Ensenada, the naval minister, was particularly concerned to modernize the Spanish navy, he prioritized the recruitment of two sets of operatives: shipwrights and skilled sail-makers.

In 1749, Ensenada sent the polymath and naval engineer Jorge Juan y Santacilia (1713–73) to England to scout for shipwrights and marine technology. It eventually proved impossible to maintain secrecy, but the mission was not entirely unsuccessful. Irish clergy serving in the Catholic embassies assisted the Spaniards by identifying suitable candidates.[39] Richard Wall, at that time Spanish ambassador to the court of St James, was also discreetly helpful, especially in the procurement of technical literature. Overall, Jorge Juan managed to recruit about fifty operatives, mostly Catholics and many of them Irish. He also arranged for the transportation of their wives and immediate families. Among them was Matthew Mullan (d. 1767), who went on to become an accomplished naval architect in Spain and Cuba.[40] Others included Richard Rooth, Edward Bryant and Patrick Lahey, who, on arrival in Spain, were distributed around various Spanish naval yards.[41] As they were mostly Catholics, these men had no dealings with the Inquisition. However, Jorge Juan, somewhat misleadingly, reassured recruited Protestants that they would be free to practise whatever faith they wished in Spain. In spite of his guarantees, some family members refused to travel for fear of the Inquisition.[42] These fears were not entirely unjustified. After a short time in the yard at El Ferrol, one of the new recruits, the Protestant John Harris, quit Spanish service and returned to England, complaining that he had been pressurized to convert.[43]

In the meantime, Spanish agents were scouting in France and the Low Countries for textile operatives to man the expanding royal manufactories in the Madrid area. They were led by Teodoro Valente Argumosa (1712/13–74). He was the author of *Erudicción política: despertador sobre el comercio, agricultura y manufacturas* (Madrid, 1743) and a firm believer in the economic modernization policies of the government.[44] From

the mid-1740s, he had already been recruiting in France and the Low Countries. There he enticed a number of operatives to Spain, to train Spanish workers and to manage plants that had been retooled or built from scratch. Among these early recruits was a sprinkling of Irish operatives, already on the continent. They included the Dubliner Christopher MacKenna, who became foreman and master in the Guadalajara textile manufactory.[45] For the Catholic MacKenna, religion was no obstacle to his economic insertion but other recruits needed inquisitorial processing before taking permanently to the factory floor. The Holy Office subjected incoming heretic operatives to exactly the same process as incoming heretic soldiers, often using the same officers. In 1745, for instance, the indefatigable John Lacy processed the conversion of 37-year-old Dubliner John Scott.[46] Having deserted from British service in Ghent, Scott, a dyer and weaver by trade, had been drawn to Madrid by the promise of work. A little later, in 1748, Peter Cullen, an Irish silk worker, took up a job in the San Fernando plant. He appears to have been recruited in the Low Countries, where he had married his Dutch Calvinist wife, Catherine Reynard, in 1743. She was reconciled in order to settle with him in Spain.[47]

However, makeshift recruitment like this was frustratingly hit and miss, and could not supply the range or volume of operatives required for the new royal factories. With his appointment as superintendent of Guadalajara in 1750, Argumosa decided to adopt the organized recruitment model already used for shipwrights, identifying a specific recruitment area and employing a properly contracted recruiting agent. No doubt prompted by the Irish already in the plant, Argumosa decided to recruit directly in Ireland for a new production unit planned for San Fernando.[48] Catholic operatives, he reasoned, would be more numerous there and easier to recruit. As for a recruiting agent, he entered into negotiations with an Irish merchant, Ambrose Berry, who had been recommended by MacKenna. Berry was eventually contracted to engage fifty weavers, twenty-five cloth shearers and nappers, and a number of specialized workers including fullers, carders and engineers to make and maintain the machine blades.[49] With these workers and technicians, Argumosa planned to establish a 'world-class' facility.[50]

Berry set to work immediately and seems to have concentrated his recruiting efforts in Dublin. Shortly afterwards, the first Irish operatives and their families began to arrive, by way of Bilbao and Cádiz. There were several engineers among them, all Catholics. They included Henry Doyle.[51] He was associated with John Dowling, who, with his nephew Patrick Bolger, were contracted to design engines, mostly pumps,

polishing machines and mechanical looms, in several royal sites, including Guadalajara, San Fernando and Vicálvaro.[52] Initially, the Irish engineers and weavers were settled in San Fernando, near Guadalajara, where the new plant was planned. However, because of its contaminated water supply, the site proved unsuitable. MacKenna himself fell seriously ill in May 1750, to Argumosa's consternation, and a number of the newly arrived ended up in Madrid hospitals.[53] It was subsequently decided to relocate the workers to more salubrious accommodation in nearby Vicálvaro.[54]

As might be expected, the religious welfare of the incoming Irish workers was a concern for the factory administration. A team of Irish chaplains was engaged to look after them. In 1746, Gerard Plunkett, a former rector of the Irish College in Alcalá, was appointed chaplain for foreigners in San Fernando.[55] Later, he was seconded by Alipio Mooney OSA, who looked after operatives in the new plant at Vicálvaro. The ubiquitous John Lacy, chaplain in San Antonio, also hung around the new plant as an unofficial chaplain, burnishing his reputation with a number of reconciliations. The chaplains did not always agree. Relations between Lacy and Mooney were particularly taut, principally owing to Lacy's popularity with the men[56] and his improper treatment of one of their wives. In the course of these rows, Lacy inveigled eight of the workers into addressing a petition to Caravajal, to have Mooney sacked.[57] The fact that the appeal was countersigned by the sober Irish Quaker Thomas Beaven was testimony to Lacy's multi-denominational charms.[58]

The newly arrived Irish brought other religious and moral problems. The paternalistic Argumosa worried over a pair of Irish workers who were cohabiting without the benefit of Christian marriage. Sharpening his moral concern was the fact that both were Protestants and in double danger of eternal damnation. Of even more concern to him was a second case, involving a married couple, both Catholics. They had arrived safely in San Fernando but subsequently fell out and separated.[59] Naturally, Argumosa fussed over his Protestant employees and their wives. Of the eighty or so workers hired by Berry in Ireland, at least fifteen were non-Catholic, totalling about twenty per cent of the Irish group in the San Fernando–Vicálvaro plants. Argumosa, who had travelled extensively in Northern Europe, saw no particular problem with hiring Protestants. In 1747, he joked that Dutch Protestants, who had so few religious feast days in their native country, would jump at the opportunity to work in Spain, where religious holidays were so common.[60] Nevertheless, he preferred Catholics, because they had less trouble making the cultural transition to life in Spain and, of course,

did not require, like Protestants, an appearance before the Inquisition. Indeed, the difficulty in recruiting Catholic weavers in London had been a factor in convincing him to start hiring in Dublin.[61]

Although there is no ostensible evidence that Irish Protestant operatives in Madrid were forced to conform, they were certainly expected to do so. Few had difficulties in complying. Argumosa claimed that he derived great personal solace from their reconciliation. In 1752, he observed 'that without either hypocrisy or credulity I can say that they [the Irish Protestants under instruction] were a source of great consolation …'[62] As a practical man, however, he also knew how to play the religious card. In a report to Caravajal, penned in 1752, describing yet another difficult wage negotiation with the San Fernando Irish, he expressed his concern that if Caravajal did not authorize a wage rise, they were likely to quit royal service and return to Dublin. For the Protestants among them, he hinted, there was the added risk that their premature departure would cut short their religious instruction and occasion their return to heresy.[63]

The reconciliation of incoming Irish Protestants was organized by the Irish chaplains, under inquisitorial supervision. Between 1745 and 1753 fifteen Irish Protestants connected with the woollens manufactory, and two others, were processed, the majority between 1751 and early 1753. John Lacy, whose conversion tally by now ran to the hundreds, acted as inquisitorial commissioner and/or interpreter in nine of these reconciliations. Gerard Plunkett oversaw six, and Arthur Magennis and Peter O'Dwyer SJ handled one each. Of these, fourteen were male, the three females being spouses of male operatives. Generally, the Irish were processed in small groups, indicating that they travelled together and were already associated prior to coming out. Thus Thomas Gibson and John Hall were both processed in January 1751; William Sheercraft on his own the following July; Maria Nichols, Margaret Howell (Sheercraft's wife) and Thomas Hoey in December 1751; William O'Dwyer and Francis Lawlor in May 1752; brothers Samuel and John Slattery, and Samuel's son, John Junior in May–June 1752; William Harden the following July; and Samuel Nessfield and James Campbell in early 1753.

Of the seventeen, seven were from Dublin, three from Clare, two from Cork, and one each from England, Mountmellick, Tipperary, Kildare and Roscommon. As with so many Irish presenting to the eighteenth-century Inquisition, their religious backgrounds were complex. Only five came from solidly Protestant backgrounds, in the sense that both their parents were of the Protestant religion. More typical was William Sheercraft's case: his father was a Protestant, his mother a life-long

Catholic.[64] The faith history of the Clare-born Slattery brothers Samuel and John was even more complicated.[65] Their father was born Catholic but on marrying the Protestant, Isabel Williams, he had converted 'to please the parents of the said woman'.[66] After the wedding, he promptly reverted to Catholicism, but Isabel raised their children, Samuel and John, as Protestants. When Samuel later married Mary Maher, a Catholic, their son, John, was raised a Protestant.

In Francis Lawlor's case, his parents were Protestants who converted to Catholicism but thereafter continued to raise him a Protestant. This was probably for career reasons. Later, at school in Dublin, Lawlor lodged with a Catholic priest, but continued to practise as an Anglican. In the case of Charles Murray, his father oscillated between the two faiths, eventually dying as a Catholic. Murray Junior, however, remained a Protestant, until his arrival in Spain. In William O'Dwyer's case, both his parents were life-long Catholics, but he practised as a Protestant from 1743, most likely for career reasons. As for William Harden, his mother was a Catholic, but he followed his Anglican father to church. In the case of the orphan Isabel Fling, her father had been a Catholic but Isabel attended church with her Anglican mother. Isabel's brother, however, was a Catholic. James Campbell's parents were Protestants but apprenticed him to a Catholic surgeon in Dublin, who apparently applied no proselytizing pressure on the boy.

The majority of the converting Protestants were, therefore, from families of mixed religious background, and their reconciliations appear to have been conventional and uncontroversial. It must be said that the Inquisition's legalistic understanding of religious loyalty, and its preoccupation with its external manifestations, helped. None of the Inquisitors probed deeply and appropriate motivation was taken for granted. For most of the converts, their Madrid reconciliations were another circumstantial requirement, imposed by authority. Coming from multi-denominational Ireland, where access to many types of work was conditional on religious conformity, and so many slipped over and back across confessional boundaries, the operatives had little difficulty in complying.

Inevitably, this bred a degree of religious indifferentism, which occasionally troubled the Inquisitors. The case of James Campbell is revealing in this regard.[67] Both his parents had been Anglican, but he confessed to the Inquisitors that

> I had never enquired into my religion, but did as my Protestant parents said, and I would have been as inclined to follow this as any

> other sect if my parents wished, whether it was Catholic Roman and Apostolic, it would all be the same …[68]

His apparent nonchalance jarred with the Inquisitors, who worried if he believed in anything. He probably spoke from the heart when he continued,

> I have only tried to live as a good man, that is not to cheat anyone, and until the day that God opened the eyes of my heart … I never made any particular effort to find out what was good or bad for my soul.[69]

As with military converts, though far less commonly, illness was sometimes the immediate occasion for reconciliation. Isabel Fling and her husband, Peter Sherry, a weaver, were hospitalized in August 1752. She was immediately prey to the religious attentions of the chaplains, who impressed on her the advisability, given her condition, of settling her spiritual affairs.[70] Isabel proved remarkably receptive, confessing deep-seated Romish proclivities and recalling that during the recent Holy Year celebrations in Dublin she had attended several Catholic sermons. These, she went on, had an extraordinary effect on all listeners, 'producing such good fruit throughout the kingdom'.[71] Her 42-year-old husband, Peter Sherry, was less of a pushover. He was a cradle Catholic, but had been orphaned young and taken in by a Protestant neighbour, who sent him to an Anglican school and got him a trade.[72] He confessed to having been a zealous Protestant, repentantly admitting in the end that he had on occasion restrained his wife for her Catholic inclinations.

Argumosa's Vicálvaro operation was a qualified success. By 1754, when he drew up a general account of the plant, it was already operating as an integrated production unit.[73] The plant had one hundred looms, fifty-nine of which were in operation, twenty-two cloth-shearing benches, thirty-four de-knotting tables, two cloth presses, storage and ancillary buildings and sixty-one accommodation units for employees. There were seven masters under their supervision, including the Irishmen Gerardo Floyster, a master napper, William Sheercraft, a master cloth shearer, and Andrew Creswell, a master fuller.

Incoming operatives in the early 1750s signed three-year contracts. By 1754, the first of these was starting to expire and a number of the Irish weavers were making arrangements for renewal, though they had the option of returning to Dublin.[74] Among those negotiating renewals were Bartholomew Locke, John Nealon and John Dunliven. They were ready

to extend their contracts but only on condition that they continued to receive the same salary. In a note to Caravajal, Argumosa advised that the men in question be let go, as they were no longer needed. The apprenticed Spaniards, he added, were by now sufficiently well trained to permit them to maintain production without their Irish masters.

A small number of the Irish recruits made successful long-term careers in Spain. Almost without exception these were more skilled individuals. The Sheercrafts, for instance, remained in Madrid, William working until he died in 1767. On his death, Margaret applied for a royal pension, obviously intending to stay in Spain.[75] However, it was the engineers recruited by Berry who really prospered. In 1754, Henry Doyle was commissioned to travel to England and Ireland to gather managerial and technical intelligence on textile production there. As the decade wore on and relations between England and France worsened, Doyle's industrial espionage missions grew riskier and the declaration of war put paid to his undercover activities.

Doyle's engineering colleague, John Dowling, enjoyed a more varied professional career. Initially working under Bernard Ward's direction, he constructed industrial machinery from the plans acquired by spies like Doyle.[76] Thereafter he was contracted to design engines, mostly pumps, polishing machines and mechanical looms, in several royal sites.[77] In 1757, while working on a project in Madrid, Dowling came to the attention of Richard Wall, by then Spanish first minister.[78] One of his 1761 machine designs featured in the *Encyclopédie*.[79] By the late 1760s he had begun to work on steel manufacturing, and in 1767 was placed in charge of works on the San Ildefonso site. Later he contributed to the Manzanares canal project in Madrid and designed machinery at Guadalajara and Toledo.[80] Dowling also had managerial talents. He oversaw the organization of a number of royal installations and insisted on high standards. In one factory he required that

> the masters and apprentices [will] have good quarters and conditions, and [I will oblige them to] live there in an orderly fashion and [to] dress appropriately, giving good example to others in both work and conduct, and I will not tolerate any of the carelessness I have seen in other royal factories, with workers heedless of themselves and others.[81]

Dowling's nephew, Dermot Crow, also an engineer, worked with him in Spain and later partnered with the Spaniard Tomás Pérez.[82] Another of Dowling's nephews, Patrick Bolger, also joined him in Spain.[83] Bolger

set up a light woollen stuffs factory in Ávila in the 1770s[84] and recruited directly in Ireland and France for male and female operatives. He later worked in the royal plant in Guadalajara, where the English engineer Samuel Bird was also active.[85] There was some Irish involvement in other projects. Peter Sinnott, for instance, was concerned in a scheme to establish a soap factory in Galicia in 1783.[86] Laurence McKeown was connected with flax-growing interests in later eighteenth-century Ávila.[87] In the Málaga area, Irish entrepreneurs introduced new machinery and manufacturing techniques for sugar production and metallurgy in the second half of the eighteenth century.[88]

There was also an Irish presence in the medical profession in Spain and the empire.[89] Penal legislation permitted Irish Catholics to practise medicine, and a relatively large number of Irish students attended European medical faculties, some electing to practise abroad. Not all were Catholics. In 1718, for instance, the Cork-born Protestant doctor John Corcoran was reconciled in Puebla.[90] Other Irish medics had more fraught encounters with the Holy Office. The already mentioned Nicholas O'Halloran, an itinerant medic in Mexico, was investigated for heresy in Mexico in 1736, on foot of apparently mischievous denunciations.[91] Edward Wogan, also a medical doctor, was denounced for Freemasonry in Manila in the 1750s.[92] New World medics, many of whom were of foreign extraction, were commonly subject to inquisitorial investigation, in part because of their exposure to the public and consequent vulnerability to malicious denunciation.

Irish medics were not the only Irish professionals attracted to the New World. Migrants of a technical bent sometimes travelled onward from Spain to the Empire. Most of these were Catholics and had no dealings with the Inquisition. The already mentioned shipwright Matthew Mullan moved to Cuba in the 1760s. The following decade, Thomas Archdeacon of Cork, whose brother was investigated for alleged deism by the Mexican Inquisition, managed a mine in Temazcaltepec.[93] As in Spain, Irish textile operatives were in demand in the New World, and occasionally became involved with the local Inquisition, as in the case of the 44-year-old William McKenna of Derry. After some imprudent and inebriated remarks in a local inn, he was denounced, probably maliciously, for blasphemy to the Lima inquisition in 1780.[94] He was convicted and sentenced to a flogging and deportation. McKenna was not the only Irish operative in the viceroyalty of Peru at this time. In a 1775 lawsuit regarding the admission and residence of foreigners to the viceroyalty, several Irish were listed, including a hydraulic engineer called John Ignatius Black in Lima, and John Costello, a technician,

who worked in the Royal Mint in Totosí. Much more numerous were their commercial compatriots. Irish merchants had a network all over the Viceroyalty, with Michael Murphy operating out of Tacna, Thomas Delvin out of Chota, James Lynch and Arthur Power out of Trujillo, John Maddan out of Cochabamba, and Arthur Kirwan and Christopher Alcayde out of La Paz.[95] Most of these incoming Irish were Catholic and consequently exempt from inquisitorial processing.

Knowledge transfer

Just as the religious deficiencies of incoming Irish operatives sometimes justified inquisitorial intervention, so too did the rising tide of technical literature that inspired and guided the Bourbon economic reforms.[96] The modernizing regime's approval of this literature made inquisitorial intervention irrelevant, though the usual Enlightenment fare, like Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois* and Holbach's *Système de la nature*, were condemned by inquisitorial edict. Later in the century the Inquisition, in its role as defender of the monarchy, condemned radical political literature, but this only tangentially affected the Irish. In the decades prior to the French Revolution, Irish migrants were generally free to feed the modernizing Bourbon regime's appetite for works of political economy in particular, but also technical literature in translation. A number of Irish authors and translators were active. In 1750, in Valencia, Bernardo Ward (d. *c.* 1779) published his *Obra pía y eficaz modo de remediar la miseria de la gente pobre de España*[97] and, thereafter, spent four years on fact-finding missions abroad for the Spanish authorities.[98] His posthumously published *Proyecto económico* was prepared in the 1750s, but did not appear in print until 1779.[99] It drew heavily on the work of José del Campillo (1693–1743). Argumosa's *Erudicción política: despertador sobre el comercio, agricultura y manufacturas* (Madrid, 1743) was from the same intellectual stable. It plagiarized Jean François Melon (1675–1738), who was already well known in Ireland through David Bindon's translation, published in Dublin as *A political essay upon commerce* in 1738.[100] This was one of a number of works on economic reform produced in Ireland in the decades after the foundation of the Royal Dublin Society in 1731.[101] This corpus informed Irish contributions to the economic debate in Spain, influencing royal policy to dismantle vested economic interests and increase state control over the money supply.

Irish translators also facilitated knowledge transfer. Peter Sinnott, who authored a number of conventional texts on language learning, translated John Barrow's *A new and universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*

(1751–4), which was never published.[102] He also translated William Buchan's *Medicina Doméstica*, which was published in partnership with Peter Kearney,[103] earning an inquisitorial censure in the process.[104] Daniel O'Sullivan also contributed to learned publications in Spain and to the translation of specialist texts into Spanish.[105]

As might be expected, the Inquisition intervened to control the circulation of works deemed morally reprehensible. It also tried to bring misbehaving booksellers to heel. In 1752, the Holy Office seized the library of John Lacy, on foot of denunciations for illegal trafficking in books.[106] According to his compatriot Bernard Oxley, Lacy was illegally disposing of censored books acquired from the Inquisition, through a network of Irish and Spanish agents.[107] Lacy also seems to have circulated samizdat, some of it deemed injurious to the Jesuits and certain prominent Church personalities. He also had some unwholesome material, described by the theological examiners as lascivious, but mercifully composed in a foreign language. Meanwhile in Mexico, the Irish ship's doctor Ralph Ellerquer [Eyeker] was detained by the local commissioner in Veracruz for possession of a disapproved Spanish–English dictionary.[108] This seems to have been an example of an excess of inquisitorial zeal. The dictionary and other books were seized, but Ellerquer suffered nothing more than an inconvenient detention.

As the momentum for economic and political change grew in the second half of the eighteenth century, the Inquisition's slow decline tended to accelerate. For the supporters of economic change it was a brake on progress, and the future of the institution now became a matter of explicit political debate within Spain itself. As its activities grew more restricted and its financial situation more precarious, the Holy Office shed what little independence it had, becoming an ideological football at the boot of warring traditionalist and liberal factions. In 1797, Charles IV permitted foreign heretic tradesmen, except Jews, to enter Spain and actually prevented the Inquisition from bothering heretic operatives over religion.[109] Two years later, his chief minister, Mariano Luis de Urquijo, suggested that it was time to suppress the Holy Office.[110]

10
Gendering the Migrant Experience

The Inquisition records might seem an unpromising source for a gendered account of early modern Irish migration to Iberia.[1] However, many Irish women appeared before various tribunals and, particularly in the eighteenth century, become more visible as denunciators, witnesses and even interpreters. The Irish females who appear in the Inquisition records, like their male counterparts, were members of small migrant groups, with high levels of social cohesion.[2] When they participated in the legal processes of the Holy Office, they did so as cogs in larger social networks, rather than as self-consciously individual persons. In this, the female experience of the Holy Office did not differ in quality from that of contemporary males. It is true, of course, that the corrective and coercive activities of the institution were gender-inflected. For instance, women were treated more leniently than men. However, they were not gender-specific, and women enjoyed the same freedom as males to make denunciations, act as witnesses and provide character references. Their evidence was as good as any man's, and Irish female denunciators generally got a fair hearing from the Inquisition. This was the case, even when the accusations were dubious, as in 1756, when Robert Delahunty was denounced by the Ryan sisters for scandalous propositions.[3] Despite doubts about the women's reliability, an investigation was opened.

Heresy, at its core, was finally the act of the individual person, but the Inquisition had an overwhelmingly social understanding of what the individual was. Consequently, inquisitorial processes were occasions for the articulation of social relations, which were often conflictual in nature. The individual, whether denouncing or providing evidence, acted as a cipher for family, group and community interests. Even reconciliation, another ostensibly personal experience, and the most common inquisitorial process involving Irish females, was actually

an intensely social process, involving the transfer of religious, family and cultural loyalties and movement across confessional boundaries. Although conversion was, officially, an unforced, personal 'act' of a spiritual rather than carnal nature, in the confessional context of the time it was inevitably interpreted as the victory of one religious tribe over another.

Denunciations for rape and sexual molestation carried similar social freight. They were much rarer, of course, but their articulation of social relations was just as strong. Sex offenders were prosecuted, not in vindication of the victim but of her family, clan or community. As will be seen, sex investigations involving Irish women were the theatre for vicious turf wars between male-dominated, migrant subgroups. Nevertheless, in the resulting legal cases, women successfully exercised agency, but in defence neither of their person nor their sex.[4] In court, female migrants acted overwhelmingly in tandem with and usually subject to husbands, guardians, chaplains and faction leaders.[5] There were occasional exceptions. In bigamy cases, for instance, the male was generally run to ground on foot of a female denunciation. However, even in those situations, a successful prosecution depended on a high level of cooperation between the female indicter and the very male Inquisition. Tellingly, convicted bigamists paid costs to the Holy Office, not to the wronged woman.

Female conversion narratives

Irish women usually appeared before the Inquisition as Protestant heretics seeking reconciliation with the Church. In the early eighteenth century, a great number of these were war wives. For the women who accompanied their Protestant Irish husbands to war in Spain, religious loyalty depended on the ebb and flow of the battle-lines. Their partner's imprisonment or desertion could necessitate their own conversion, and in this regard most women obediently followed their husbands as a matter of course. The reconciliations of the Enniskillen-born Isabel Roule[6] in Murcia and of Ana Isabel Reilly in Madrid were perfunctory affairs, the uncontroversial consequences of their husbands' changed circumstances.[7] Other early eighteenth-century cases were more complex. The 20-year-old Maria Noble presented to the Madrid tribunal in 1707.[8] She described her parents, George Noble and Margarita Armstrong, as 'of the Irish nation but by origin and ancestry completely English'.[9] Maria had been reared a Protestant, but in her testimony to the Inquisitors recalled that as a young woman she had felt 'inspired by the Lord' and over time developed an

internal desire to become Catholic.[10] Owing to her subjection to parental authority ('dominio de sus padres'), she kept her secret to herself.[11] After marriage to an English soldier, Richard Hemming, that parental authority slackened. It disappeared altogether when she followed him to war in Spain. As in many other conversion narratives, illness played a pivotal role in hers. She became unwell in Valencia and vowed that if she recovered, she would fulfil her inner desire to convert to Catholicism. This incident probably coincided with her husband's capture or desertion, and it may even have been precipitated by the latter. It is almost certain that without her husband's cooperation she would not have been able to travel to Madrid for reconciliation.

In her narrative, Noble uses her native Protestant language of conversion to describe her reconciliation with the Catholic world. This was common among Protestant women, and is even more obvious in the personal testimony of Anne Fourel. She was the Belfast-born wife of Patrick Lein, himself a military deserter.[12] Similarly, Margarita Flynn, who had been born a Catholic but raised by Protestants relatives, spoke of her subsequent reconciliation in Lisbon as a 'spiritual illumination'.[13] This Protestant conversion trope is also present in the 1708 testimony of the Scots Presbyterian Sibbla Sinclair, but she deployed it with greater depth and interiority.[14] This was probably because her conversion was a more socially mediated process than Noble's, and consequently required a decisive spiritual intervention to offset her apparently all too human and mundane motivation. From her account it emerges that her conversion was heavily influenced by her Catholic Jacobite husband, Neil MacGill of Antrim. MacGill had come out to France with James II, and by 1708 was a captain in Berwick's regiment. During the early years of their marriage, Sinclair retained her parental faith. Once in Spain, however, she found her religious curiosity piqued by visiting Spanish churches and attending religious processions and street devotions. These constituted temptations to which she had not been exposed at home and for which she was no doubt emotionally unready. For a while, however, she held back, suspicious that her motivation was merely human. It was only over time that she came to believe that her attraction to Catholicism was divinely rather than carnally inspired.[15] Sinclair mentioned that the spectacle of religious life in Spain had initially attracted her to Catholicism. This was not an uncommon element of the reconciliation narratives of Protestant women, though it was not particularly gender-specific. Protestants of both sexes could be gulls for Catholic ceremony. In Oporto, an Irish Protestant girl called Nancy told a Catholic cousin that she was greatly attracted by the comeliness of Catholic churches in the city.[16]

Roule, Fourel and Noble appear to have been women of relatively low social status. In cases where higher-status converts were in question, whether male or female, the religious authorities tended to make more of a procedural fuss. In February 1707, Alexander Mitchel, a Belfast Anglican, and his English-born Protestant wife, Maria Dowdel, applied for reconciliation following Mitchel's desertion to the Bourbons.[17] The couple's conversion was regarded as something of a social coup, as evidenced by the involvement of the well-known society Jesuit, Claudio Adolpho de Malboan, who was a social cut or two above the average Irish chaplain.[18] Socially better placed she may have been, but Dowdel's conversion narrative mimicked those of the soldiers' wives in most of the detail. Like Noble's, it featured a strategic and decisive illness. In Dowdel's case, she fell ill in the middle of the process and, apparently *in extremis*, was granted conditional absolution. Like Noble, however, she recovered, and the Jesuit Malboan insisted on completing the official investigation, even though her conversion was a fait accompli. For Malboan it was essential to establish and vet the social context for the woman's conversion. To assure himself of Dowdel's bona fides, the Jesuit interviewed Mitchel's commanding officer, his wife and a slew of Irish army officers. For the Jesuit, reconciliation may have been the fruit of a personal enlightenment but it was also a social event and inconceivable apart from spouse, family and entourage.

Most migrating Irish women processed by the Inquisition came to Spain as part of a couple. However, a small number of single women were also processed. Usually they were orphans or widows, intended, in Spain or Portugal, for marriage, nannying or domestic service. Edward Crean, the Irish financier, organized the passage to Spain of some of these women. In July 1708, for instance, his cousin, the 28-year-old London-born Maria Gower [de Gouer], was brought to Madrid and put up in his house.[19] She had been orphaned and placed in Crean's charge, but her Protestantism disqualified her from permanent residence in Spain. It was also an embarrassment to the socially ambitious Crean, who, since his arrival in Madrid in 1702, had made much of his Catholic credentials. Maria Gower's conversion owed much to her cousin's persuasions and to the coaxing of local clergy and laity.[20] Given her circumstances it is unlikely that it had much to do with her personal preferences or convictions. Similarly, the 26-year-old Cork Protestant Sarah Hoy, who arrived in Madrid from Alicante in 1750, had left Ireland the previous summer and appeared to have no one in the world except a watchmaker brother. Thanks to contacts in Madrid, including the Irish Jesuit, James Davin, this literate woman secured

a position in the house of a local nobleman, probably as a nanny or English-language tutor.[21]

Although few of these single women were free to exercise significant public agency, there were variations. The 24-year-old Cork-born Catherine O'Driscoll, for instance, came to Madrid in response to an advertisement placed by Edward Crean in a London paper.[22] In her 1713 account to the Inquisition, she explained how her Catholic parents married her off, at the age of 18, to a Protestant called John Staunton. It was not a happy union, she recalled. During their five years together in London, Staunton was violent and compelled her to conform, 'hugely embarrassed that his wife would stand out as a Catholic'.[23] His premature death was something of a personal liberation for Catherine, permitting her to quit London, where she was so obviously unhappy. Crean's advertisement came as a godsend and provided her, she declared, with the opportunity to move to a country where she was at least free to practise her own religion.

O'Driscoll's youth was on her side in starting a new life in Madrid. However, even for older women, there could be life after marriage. The 43-year-old Elizabeth Blackwell had also replied to one of Crean's newspaper advertisements in London.[24] She explained to the Inquisitors that when orphaned she had been fostered to a local Protestant who brought her up in the state religion. She was later married off to an English tailor, Daniel Harvey, who took her to London. Sometime in 1708 he abandoned her there. Although she knew some Catholics in the city, God, she explained, had not yet decided to 'give her knowledge', and so she continued obediently as an Anglican.[25] It may have been due to her age and perhaps higher social standing that, on arrival in Madrid, she was not immediately obliged to conform to Catholicism. In fact, she continued to live as a Protestant for some time and decided to convert only after coaxing from Crean and the Irish clergy. Cajoling Protestant women into conforming was largely unproblematic when the social integration of single females was at stake. They might otherwise take up an immoral profession or, worse still, die in heresy. Nevertheless, catechists and interpreters had to be on their guard against appearing to force them back to the Church.

Because they were contingent on parental authority, marriage, widowhood and other factors, women's creedal loyalties were even more liable to change than men's. Consequently, for many Irish women their inquisitorial reconciliation was a stage in or the conclusion of a long period of religious ambiguity. Helena Barry's 1738 conversion narrative describes a complex career of religious dissimulation, carried off with

ingenuity and panache.[26] According to her account, she was born in Clonakilty, Co. Cork in 1709, to a Catholic father who had conformed to Anglicanism for what she described as professional reasons. She was placed in the care of Catholic guardians, probably relatives, and they raised her in the old faith until her father, on one of his visits home, insisted that she return to the permanent practice of the state religion. At the age of 14, she was married to Tobias Purcell, a former Catholic, who, like her father had had a professionally induced conversion to the state religion. With him, Helena moved to Dublin and their marriage, as she describes it, was happy. This was principally because her husband connived with her in skipping Protestant services.

Helena's life of sporadic conformity was cut short by the death of her understanding spouse in 1736. Social propriety demanded that she return to her Protestant family in Cork but she attempted to postpone the reunion. She placed herself under the protection of a ship's captain and travelled to Philadelphia, possibly in the hope of finding a marriage partner there. During all this time she continued in external conformity to the state religion. The trans-Atlantic trip was unsuccessful and she soon found herself on her way back to Ireland. En route to Cork, the vessel called on Lisbon. On going ashore, Helena found a thriving Irish mercantile colony, with a Jesuit-run seminary and two Irish Dominican houses. For the 29-year-old widow, this seemed more confessionally congenial than Clonakilty, and she resolved to stay.

Her confessor, John Maurice of Saint Thomas OP, informed her, however, that, as a technical apostate, she was guilty of a faith offence reserved to the Inquisition. She duly appeared before the local Inquisitor, Agostinho Gomes Guimaraes.[27] He doubted the alleged insincerity of her Protestantism, noting, disapprovingly, that she had not been in real danger of death for her faith, and had displayed little fear of God. Barry was uncowed, responding that she had never once doubted an iota of Catholic doctrine and that, to her particular credit, she had procured a priest for her moribund husband in Dublin. For the Inquisitor's benefit, she also delivered herself of a short discourse on the difference between real and apparent faith. She concluded with an account of the inconveniences she had suffered, mostly in silence, for the faith. At that stage, Guimaraes relented and admitted her to reconciliation. Here was a woman, he no doubt reasoned, destined to do more good inside the Church that outside it.

Barry's pluckiness was not that uncommon. Some migrant women, even though unaccompanied, managed, at least for a time, to live self-reliantly. One of the best examples concerns the Burke women,

mother and daughter, who arrived in Tenerife, from North America, in the late 1740s. They rented a house from the local Irish worthy John Cologan,[28] and lived by taking in lodgers, mostly English sailors, and dealing in victuals.[29] However, their foreign connections, combined with their absence from the local church, aroused suspicions among the Irish community and occasioned an intervention. A priest named James Roche and his lay uncle, James Murphy, denounced the pair to the Inquisition, alleging that Sarah Burke, though baptised a Catholic, was not practising and that her daughter Isabel was a Quaker and hence not entitled to permanent residence on the island. In the ensuing investigation, it emerged that Sarah, a native of King's County, was indeed a cradle Catholic. She had emigrated to Philadelphia, where she married three times, twice with Protestant husbands. She had come to Tenerife to escape one of them, and her failure to practise Catholicism was economically motivated. Her English Protestant clients, she explained, would not deal with her if she practised as a Catholic. Her claim was corroborated by a Spanish man who used to call to the Burke premises to beg alms from her clients. On one occasion, he said, he had brought up the question of religion and for his trouble was shown the road.

In the case of the Burke women, the denunciation was probably the means by which the local Irish community brought errant members into conformity with group practices and customs. It was also a way, perhaps, to clip the wings of these females who crossed religious and ethnic boundaries at their own discretion. There were cases, however, when women had reason positively to welcome inquisitorial curiosity. This was most notably so when the Inquisition intervened against bigamists. Because marriage gave women independence from parental authority, and conferred social status, they had most to lose when husbands contracted a second union. Consequently it was often the abandoned first wife who took the initiative in running the footloose spouse to ground. In these cases, they could generally rely on the support of the Inquisition and its clerical officers. The latter's motivation, of course, was the protection of the sacrament rather than the vindication of the abandoned woman.

Some of the best-documented Irish cases occurred in Lisbon. In 1663, Alicia Clancy's denunciation brought her husband before the Inquisition there.[30] The allegedly bigamous spouse was Christopher Bermingham, a lieutenant general in the Portuguese army. Theirs had been a war-time romance. They met in France, in 1656, when Alicia was in the company of her brother and another male relative, both on campaign with the French army. At that time Bermingham was also under French colours,

and having met Alicia, proposed marriage. Her guardians approved and a friar was procured to solemnize the union. The couple lived together in France and had three children. In 1660, Bermingham left Paris for Portugal and in Lisbon met another Irish woman, Leonor Nugent. Maddened by passion, he later claimed, the two eloped to Oporto. Leonor's uncle, Dermot Garvan, fretful for his family's honour, joined pursuit, bearing a royal arrest warrant. This news cooled Bermingham's ardour. If convicted of abduction he stood to lose both his reputation and his army post. In the heat of the moment, and conveniently overlooking his first marriage, Bermingham decided to save Leonor's honour, and his own skin, by marrying her. For the following two years, Nugent and he lived together and had two children. In the meantime, news of his second union had filtered back to France and to his first wife, Alicia. It was her arrival in Lisbon, armed with a marriage certificate, that obliged Bermingham to submit to the Inquisition. His jesuitical defence failed to convince the Inquisitors, who voted to confine him to the jurisdiction. However, a suspension of the case ensued, for reasons of contradictory evidence, notably regarding the disputed validity of the first battlefield marriage. Frustratingly inconclusive outcomes like these were common in bigamy investigations. However, because it was always possible for suspended cases to be reopened, Bermingham remained vulnerable to subsequent inquisitorial intervention.

Other bigamy cases had clearer outcomes. Henry Green, for instance, a serial bigamist, was unhorsed in 1713 when his third wife, the Cork-born Anne Clarke, denounced him to the Lisbon Inquisition.[31] Green, an innkeeper in Corpo Santo, had first contracted a marriage in Dublin as a Protestant. On arriving in Lisbon he married again, living with wife number two for only a few months, before absconding to Gibraltar. On returning to Lisbon he found that his second wife had left for England, whereupon he sailed for Cork and married a third woman, Anne Clarke. He spent only nineteen days with her, and returned to Lisbon, where he converted to Catholicism in 1708. It was, perhaps, with the mistaken impression that reconciliation freed him to marry again that he took a fourth wife, Margarida Teller. They were wed just a few months when Anne Clarke arrived on the scene. Green was sentenced to a public whipping through the streets, six years in the galleys, a course of religious instruction, spiritual penances and full costs. Pleading bad health and the confused circumstances of the war, which had apparently clouded his moral judgment, he appealed his sentence. His judges relented, but only enough to spare him the public whipping.

In the case of Patrick Burgess, it was his step-daughter, Anna de Cruz, who first alerted the Inquisition to his bigamous delinquency. Her mother, Isabel Hannigan, had taken Burgess as her second husband in 1707 when both lived in Lisbon.[32] Relations between them deteriorated, causing the marriage to break down. Burgess abandoned Hannigan and returned to Dublin, where he married again, this time to Elizabeth Moore. News of his second union reached Lisbon, prompting his step-daughter's denunciation in 1720. Given Burgess's absence, the Lisbon tribunal did not pursue the case. In due course Burgess's second wife died. Shortly afterwards, John Cassin, parish priest of St Michael's in Dublin, learned of the first marriage and hauled Burgess in for interview. Because he had contracted his first marriage in Lisbon, Cassin concluded that Burgess's offence was reserved to that tribunal and refused to absolve the now repentant defendant. In 1727, he was obliged to return to Lisbon to face the inquisitorial music. He was eventually convicted, ordered to pay costs and declared 'suspect in the faith', a judgment that undoubtedly affected his reputation in Dublin but hardly benefited Anna de Cruz or his first wife, Isabel.

Solicitation and sexual harassment

When pursuing bigamous spouses, female migrants often found allies among the clergy. Although the latter were usually more concerned to defend the sacrament than to justify the wronged woman, these temporary court alliances afforded female migrants a rare opportunity to exercise judicial agency. Women were also involved in the prosecution of cases of confessional solicitation, though obviously not with the cooperation of all the clergy involved. Occasionally, of course, a conscientious cleric would spontaneously own up to the offence. In 1718, for instance, the 50-year-old Irish Dominican priest, Richard Lyons, admitted soliciting a Dominican nun four years previously.[33] In general, however, the Inquisition had to weed them out, as in the case of the 64-year-old Antonio do Rosario Caron OP, who was prosecuted in Lisbon in 1714.[34]

Prosecution, however, was not always a smooth process, and solicitation remained a crime that bedevilled the early modern Iberian Church. Its prevalence reflected the growing importance of regular confession, both as a pious practice and a means of social policing. Its incidence may also have been indirectly related to the increasingly successful effort to impose clerical celibacy and the shrinking acceptance of socially tolerated clerical sexual activity.[35] The Inquisition claimed

jurisdiction over the offence as an abuse that presumed a sacramentally deficient understanding of penance on the part of the priest. It was also, of course, the potential cause of grave public scandal.

Complicating the Inquisition's prosecution of the offence was the fact that the offending cleric and the female in question frequently connived. Furthermore, given the seriousness of the crime and the dire consequences for the cleric if convicted, there was also the risk of malicious denunciation. This could originate with the woman herself or with a manipulating third party. Even when the offence was prosecuted, the evidence could be ambiguous and difficult to verify. These were only some of the problems facing the Madrid Inquisition when it investigated the Irish priest Thomas O'Ryan for solicitation in 1782.[36] He was denounced by the 23-year-old Maria Shelly, who had come out from Ireland in 1775 to live with a relative. Thomas, also a relative, was chaplain to the Walloon regiment of the Royal Guards and lodged in the same house. According to Shelly, the priest had initiated an improper relationship with her, which on his advice she had not previously confessed. On the day of her marriage, O'Ryan made her promise in confession to maintain their relationship. Because she was beholden to him, she acquiesced, and in the months following her wedding, they exchanged letters. Maria, however, began to take a cooler view of things and eventually showed the letters to her husband. He sent her directly to a confessor who instructed her to denounce O'Ryan to the Inquisition.

This looked like a straightforward case of confessional solicitation, but as soon as the inquisitorial investigation began, the waters muddied. Investigators discovered that O'Ryan, foreseeing a possible denunciation, had taken the precaution the previous year of submitting a statement, denouncing Shelly for calumny. According to him, Shelly had wormed her way into the affections of their mutual relative in order to inherit his property and exclude O'Ryan from the will. By proleptically undermining Shelly's motivation, O'Ryan, whether guilty or not, had gained a legal advantage, which he exploited in the subsequent process. This was a classic deformation of the inquisitorial process, which managed to deliver legal retaliation before any attack occurred. The same tactic was also open to Shelly, of course, but clerics who knew their way around inquisitorial procedures were at an advantage when it came to parrying denunciations from less well-informed indicters. The prosecution of solicitation cases revealed this crucial downside to inquisitorial secrecy and the vulnerability of its processes to manipulation for extra-judicial purposes, especially by insiders.

These limitations were even more obvious in the series of sexual scandals that rocked the Madrid Irish community in the 1740s. In January 1745, the well-known Irish priest John Lacy, a veteran of hundreds of conversions, was accused of rape, sexual incontinence and unlawful carnal knowledge. The rape denunciation was made on behalf of the Dublin-born Catherine Plunkett. Prima facie, this looked straightforward, but there was more to the charges than met the eye. Their immediate context was a bitter schism within the Irish Madrileño community. The flamboyant Lacy had arrived in Madrid in 1740, on the run for offences, some of them sexual, committed in Mallorca, Valencia and Tortosa in the 1730s. Thanks to his military connections he secured immunity and a post as chaplain to foreigners in the prestigious Hospital of San Antonio in the city centre. This had raised a few eyebrows, but Lacy was well connected and his off-handedness endeared him to many male acquaintances. But not to all his compatriots. In fact, his predacious style gradually alienated a substantial section of the local Irish community in the city. Clerical feathers were ruffled by his success in carrying off several trophy converts and taking charge of all Irish cases pending before the Inquisition. Laity objected to his money dealings and his interference in legal matters, particularly the drawing-up and executing of wills. When Lacy secured power of attorney of one of the beneficiaries of Colonel Morgan's will, a row broke out between the parvenu and the old guard.

The most motivated of his opponents was a medical doctor, Bartholomew O'Sullivan, who practised in the city.[37] He had known Lacy for years, but the pair had fallen out over money. As a local community worthy, O'Sullivan had his finger in many Irish pies, and he resented Lacy's growing influence among his compatriots. It would appear that for him the Morgan will was the straw that broke the camel's back. As a doctor, O'Sullivan was often the first to know about extramarital pregnancies and venereal infections. In fact, Catherine Plunkett had first come to him after her encounter with Lacy. It turned out that O'Sullivan was not above using this privileged knowledge to legal effect. In order to put a stop to Lacy's gallop, he drew up a denunciation, accusing Lacy of sexually harassing several women, including Plunkett, trafficking in influence, alienation of affection and abuse of the confessional secret.[38]

To enhance the denunciation, O'Sullivan enlisted the support of the 70-year-old count of Berehaven, Daniel O'Sullivan Beare, brigadier general and governor of La Coruña.[39] The count does not appear to have had an obvious personal grievance against Lacy, but he feared,

apparently, that the priest's moral turpitude would harm the reputation of the Irish in general. Colonel Charles MacCarthy, lieutenant colonel in the *Irlanda* regiment, appears to have been similarly motivated when he agreed to lend his support to O'Sullivan.[40] Others who associated themselves with the denunciation were John Magrane, rector of the Irish College[41] and a college resident, Edmund O'Doran.[42] Patrick Curtis, chaplain to the duke of Osuna, was initially supportive too.[43] In the course of the proceedings, the anti-Lacy alliance named General Reinaldo MacDonnell and local merchant, Nicholas McGrath, as parties hostile to Lacy. The denunciation was duly lodged with the Madrid vicariate in early January 1745. Because Lacy was a commissioner of the Inquisition, the vicariate case was immediately referred to the Holy Office, which opened an investigation that ran from January to September 1745. Given their seriousness, Lacy was taken into provisional custody and his goods embargoed.

Several women were named in the initial denunciation, but the most serious charge, that of rape, was made by Catherine Plunkett. Plunkett had been in Madrid for several years, and though networked in the city,[44] remained unmarried and did not appear marriageable. Nor was she a candidate for religious life. In her initial statement to the Vicariate, drawn up under O'Sullivan's supervision, Plunkett claimed that she had first known her alleged assailant when they shared lodgings in the house of a woman called Catherine Egan. At that time, she said, Lacy had unsuccessfully attempted to have sexual relations with her. She had repelled his advances and thereafter avoided contact with him. However, late in 1744, she needed help writing a letter to her brother in Paris. She called at San Antonio to ask Lacy's assistance. This time, she reported, he forced himself on her and immediately afterwards abused her verbally, accusing her of dissolute behaviour. Believing she had contracted a venereal infection from Lacy and was perhaps pregnant by him, Plunkett visited Bartholomew O'Sullivan a short time later. Whatever the truthfulness of her accusation, Plunkett's social marginality made her vulnerable, not only to sexual predators like Lacy, but also to the opportunistic legal machinations of his enemies. In O'Sullivan's resolve to topple Lacy, the pretext of rape was as good as any. It was he who prevailed on Plunkett to take the matter to the authorities.

In his own statement, submitted at the same time, O'Sullivan filled out Plunkett's account, summarizing, from hearsay, Lacy's alleged sexual adventures with his serving girl, Maria Garay and her sister, and several other women. He also repeated stories of Lacy demanding sexual favours from German female pilgrims in San Antonio. Lastly, he speculated that

Lacy was the source of a number of venereal infections that had come to his attention in the course of his work. The other deponents corroborated these accounts. At the same time, Bartholomew O'Sullivan, Berehaven and MacCarthy submitted a similar set of accusations to the board of the Confraternity of San Antonio, Lacy's employers.[45]

Lacy, no stranger to legal manipulation himself, counter-denounced, accusing his indicters of malevolent intent. He also submitted a strong statement of innocence to the board of San Antonio and mustered his supporters. These included Irish College residents like Denis O'Sullivan and Hugh Lane, the Irish Franciscan commissioner, Bonaventura de Burgo OFM[46] and Thaddeus O'Sheil,[47] chaplain in the Hospital General. Crucially, Lacy could also call on Spanish and Irish army top brass from his chaplain days in the east. However, his most practical helpers were Captain Daniel O'Leary, Bernard O'Connor and Daniel O'Berry, who, following his detention, orchestrated his 'informal' defence. In this they were greatly assisted by the porous nature of the inquisitorial secret. Despite its official policy of absolute secrecy, intended to prevent witness intimidation, knowledge of Inquisition investigations often became public. This was especially so when warring factions within incestuously small communities, like the Madrileño Irish, were involved.

Having learned of Plunkett's denunciation, Daniel O'Leary and Bernard O'Connor, accompanied by a notary, paid her a visit. In the course of the meeting, they persuaded her to sign a notarized document, retracting all her accusations against Lacy.[48] They also swayed her to denounce Bartholomew O'Sullivan for bribery and calumny against Lacy. This document was duly submitted to the Inquisition, which quickly arranged to interview Plunkett. In the course of that interview Plunkett officially withdrew her denunciation. O'Sullivan was probably unaware of this when he, in turn, made his statement to the Holy Office.[49] He reiterated his earlier submission to the vicariate, with notable additions, including the accusation that Lacy had also sexually importuned another Irish woman, Barbara Murphy.

On foot of O'Sullivan's declaration, the Inquisition interviewed Murphy, a Waterford native, married to a French chef.[50] Whether she was subject to intimidation by one or both of the factions is unclear, but her testimony certainly favoured Lacy. The accused, she said, had lodged with her in 1741, and during all his time there was an exemplary boarder of impeccable moral reputation. The other women interviewed delivered similarly favourable accounts of Lacy's conduct and reputation. Some of them even upbraided the Inquisitors for their

impertinence. Maria Rodrigo, a 40-year-old servant, reproached the Inquisitor for even suggesting that she might have been the object of Lacy's attentions.[51]

As it became clear that the tide of testimony was running decisively in Lacy's favour, the anti-Lacy alliance began to crack. Berehaven backpedalled furiously,[52] Curtis backed off,[53] and MacCarthy moderated his charges. On the other side, Lacy's supporters pressed their advantage, further undermining their opponents' credibility. Hugh Lane described O'Sullivan as a malicious begrudger and a petty liar.[54] Denis O'Sullivan[55] and Bonaventura de Burgo chimed in.[56] The *coup de grâce*, however, was delivered by Captain Daniel O'Leary.[57] He informed the Inquisition that Plunkett was, in fact, a fallen woman and that Lacy had actually been attempting to place her with *Las Recojidas*, a religious house for repentant prostitutes.[58] At the time the young woman had demurred, he said, claiming to be an honest woman. This, he concluded, was the origin of her grudge against Lacy. O'Leary's account was a decisive final blow to the O'Sullivan faction. When Lacy himself was finally interviewed at the end of March, he had every reason to believe that the investigation had gone his way. Accordingly, his performance before the Inquisitors was a master class in self-justification, ingratiation and detraction.[59] As the initial denunciations were discredited and no new evidence was forthcoming, the Inquisitors suspended the investigation, releasing Lacy with a reprimand.

For Catherine Plunkett, the investigation was a disaster, and it is unlikely that her reputation, such as it was, ever recovered. As a single woman without prospects and marginalized within a small community, she had been vulnerable even before the investigation began. The investigation exposed her to intimidation from all sides, and she was too unsupported by the O'Sullivan faction to hold the line against Lacy's minions. This was in marked contrast to the married Barbara Murphy, who, whatever the truthfulness of her testimony, enjoyed sufficient social scaffolding to participate coherently in the affair, even if her testimony, in the end, was greatly to Catherine's detriment. The lowly Maria Rodrigo's spirited scolding of the Inquisitors for their presumption only highlights Plunkett's passivity and her social marginality.

The Inquisition case, though suspended, remained open, and Lacy would have been well advised to lie low. He did briefly leave the city, on a Jacobite escapade to Paris, but his foreign interlude was cut short by the bad news concerning the Jacobite defeat at Culloden in 1745. On returning to Madrid he incorrigibly refused to lower his profile. From 1746, he was involved in new financial litigation.[60] Simultaneously, he

was investigated for abuses of inquisitorial procedure, notably coaching female defendants.[61] Trouble was also brewing in San Antonio, where he was indicted in 1749 for absenteeism, inebriation, affray, sacramental extortion, insubordination and sexual incontinence. According to his principal indicter, Lacy's impunity to date was entirely due to cronyism.[62]

Lacy certainly had his friends, but even they were unable to save him two years later when he was again accused of sexual impropriety, this time with an English Protestant woman, Margaret Howell. She was married to William Sheercraft, one of the Irish weavers in Vilcálvaro, and in late 1751 was preparing for reconciliation with the Church. Lacy, who had instructed her husband, undertook to catechise Margaret.[63] It was after a catechism class that Lacy made a sexual pass at the catechumen. Margaret proved more than a match for her accoster and repelled his advances, ticking him off for conduct unbecoming of a cleric. Although she informed her husband, they decided not to take the matter any further. There the matter rested until, later in the year, word of the incident became public. Lacy's enemies seized the opportunity and arranged to extract a notarized statement from Margaret. An interview was organized with the local inquisitorial commissioner. Arthur Magennis, rector of the Irish college, and no friend of Lacy, sent the factory chaplain, Alipio Mooney, to interpret for Margaret. She agreed to denounce Lacy for sexual molestation. Although sworn to secrecy, Sheercraft unwisely confided in an Irish female colleague, who immediately spread the news among the Irish community in San Fernando. Margaret came under pressure to retract, and, in what was almost a repeat of the Plunkett case in 1745, yielded, accusing Mooney of soliciting her to make a false denunciation.

Margaret Sheercraft, however, was not Catherine Plunkett. She was fully supported by her husband, and once both of them were sufficiently reassured by the Inquisition that their positions in Vicálvaro were not in danger, she confirmed her original denunciation, implicating Lacy. She even went a step further, denouncing her intimidators by name, including the factory foreman, Christopher McKenna.[64] The Inquisition reopened its investigation of Lacy, and this escalated into a full-scale trial, issuing in eighty charges against him.[65] He was sentenced in June 1754 to definitive exile from Madrid, the loss of all titles and honours and compulsory rehabilitation in a local religious house. He was also forbidden to hear the confession of any female for six years and ordered to pay costs.[66] There was no subsequent mitigation of the sentence. Lacy retreated first to Galicia, where he had family, and then returned home, where he served as parish priest of Ballingarry in Co.

Limerick.[67] In the 1760s, he was still in communication with the Holy Office over the restitution of his property.

Like Barbara Murphy, Margaret Sheercraft was a pawn in a larger game of influence, but within the limits imposed by her circumstances and inquisitorial procedure she held her own. With her husband's support, she faced down an orchestrated attempt at intimidation, earning herself a permanently secure place in the local Irish community. She, her husband and their two children remained in the Madrid area until her spouse's death in 1767. Whereupon Margaret successfully petitioned the king for a pension, adroitly arguing that without support her children would return to Britain and revert to heresy.[68]

Social pressures

Less experienced wives of lower-status workers did not enjoy Margaret Sheercraft's resources nor her agency. When the 38-year-old textile worker Andrew Coyle died suddenly in August 1751 in Vicálvaro, he left behind his wife, Eleanor Lucas, with three children, including a four-month-old baby, born in Spain. In her case there was no petition to the king and no pension. Funeral expenses, however, were paid by her husband's workmates, suggesting that Eleanor and her children had some sort of social support in their catastrophe.[69] Those women whose marriages, for one reason or another, broke up, do not appear to have benefited from the same level of solidarity. In 1751, when a newly arrived Irish woman, depressed by conditions in the factory, became estranged from her husband, she was gradually ostracized from the Irish group. This development worried the paternalistic Spanish plant manager, Argumosa, who fretted that she might be tempted to turn to an immoral profession. His solution was to secure her a place in a religious house, possibly with *Las Recojidas*, where Lacy had allegedly tried to place Plunkett.[70]

Widowhood and marriage breakup tested migrant women to the limit. So too did the inevitable stress of leaving home and adapting to a new country. In these circumstances, the religious reconciliation process could involve extra strain.[71] In the factory communities like those at Vilcálvaro and San Fernando, the anxiety was probably lessened by the fact that reconciliation was part of a contract that ensured employment, accommodation and acceptance for them, their children and husbands. Where Protestant female migrants were joining a religiously mixed abroad community, the situation was more complex and could be more traumatic. In the Canaries, for example, as in Lisbon and Oporto, British

migrants, both Catholic and Protestant, Irish and English, lived cheek by jowl and not always in harmony. In those circumstances conversion could be controversial. As noted earlier, religious conversion was a social act that transcended the merely individual and personal. If it facilitated, at the European end, the individual's integration into the host country it also marked ejection from their clan and country of origin.[72]

For women, the situation was exacerbated by their dependant status, and this on occasion led to bizarre situations. The Dublin-born Isabel Thornhill, for instance, was of a Protestant family but she married a Catholic language teacher called Charles MacCarthy. Sometime in the 1770s he travelled to Oporto for work, and she later followed him there. In Dublin, Isabel had not converted to Catholicism for fear of alienating her Protestant relatives. When she got to Oporto she wished to convert, but feared that her conversion would alienate her husband's English Protestant clients. Oporto Protestants apparently had a deeper aversion to Protestants converted to Catholicism than to cradle Catholics. Isabel's imaginative proposal to the Inquisition was that she be allowed to convert secretly and pretend to her husband's clients that she had always been a Catholic. By this subterfuge she hoped to save both her soul and her husband's livelihood.[73]

In general, continental tribunals were unused to the complexities of Irish religious loyalties and proved mostly unsympathetic to such suggestions. In 1737, the Roman Inquisition was asked to adjudicate in a similar case. This one involved a female Dubliner, who had recently converted secretly to Catholicism. Fearful that her family would cut off her annual allowance if her conversion became public, she requested permission to attend Protestant services '*per aliquod temporis brevissimum intervallum*', to preserve appearances.[74] The Roman Inquisitors proved as unsympathetic as their Portuguese contemporaries. They voted against permission, citing precedents from religiously diverse situations in Africa and China.

For a global organization like the Church, concessions in Dublin could have unexpected repercussion elsewhere. In Madrid, too, officials struggled to appreciate how Irish Protestant and Catholics shared the same jurisdiction. On one occasion an exasperated notary lamented 'the promiscuously practised Irish custom of mixed marriages'.[75] In Mexico, the Inquisition was unimpressed with the religious fibre displayed by Brigid Lennon, the Irish wife of George Deusberry, a soldier in English service in America.[76] When Deusberry was taken prisoner by the Spanish and decided to convert, the Inquisition discovered that his Catholic wife had never spoken of her religion nor dared reveal her

Catholicism for fear her husband would be ejected from the army. Her lack of heroism disappointed them.

A tiny number of migrant women actually served the Inquisition. At the upper end of the social scale, they sometimes acted as mutually acceptable go-betweens, transacting business that might otherwise be socially embarrassing to either party. One such instance, involving the Protestant duke of Ormond, occurred in 1722. Ormond was exiled from Britain and moved to Spain in 1709, where he remained until the early 1730s. His presence was of strategic value to the Bourbons, and his high rank excused him from reconciliation. However, the Holy Office was unhappy with the resident heretic, and at some point before 1722 seized some of his books. This provoked an inquisitorial folderol, which the Jesuit Malboan eventually cleared up. He secured the release of the books and entrusted them to 'Mrs Arthur', probably the wife of Francis Arthur, the Madrid banker and associate of Edward Crean.[77] It was she, not Malboan or an inquisitorial officer, who returned them to the duke. More rarely, women adopted roles like interpreting. In 1752, Mary MacCarthy interpreted for the converting Englishwoman Sarah Lenci in Veracruz.[78]

The historiography of early modern institutions, like the Inquisition, tends to treat women either as the victims of repressive systems or, more rarely, as clever subverters.[79] In general, this view is calibrated to the specificity of the female experience, usually in contrast to that of males, across a 'rationalist' to 'intuitive' spectrum.[80] The inquisitorial records of Irish female migrants, however, yield a more complex picture, at least in the case of the Irish. In the cases covered here, Irish women do exercise agency but in socially complicated rather than individually personal ways. The sad fate of estranged wives and other marginalized women is testimony to the indispensability of the social network, however male-dominated, for any effective female agency. Migrant conditions probably exaggerated some of the gender-specific behaviours of females. Women's assumption of family leadership roles, where merchant or military husbands, for instance, were frequently absent, gave migrant women a stronger public presence than native women. This may help contexualize the French visitor Cerrere's remark on visiting Lisbon in 1797 that the Irish women there were far more independent and outgoing than their Portuguese contemporaries.[81]

Conclusion

The Irish were only one of many migrant groups in the Iberian world and, as such, shared the conditions common to all early modern people on the move.[1] However, given the particularity of their religious status and the complexity of their political loyalties, the peripatetic Irish managed to forge a unique partnership with certain Spanish institutions, notably the Inquisition, to become a small but intriguingly distinct cog in Spain's state-building machinery.[2] This book has attempted to capture the uniqueness of that migrant experience, without detaching it either from its general migration context or its changing social and political backdrop in Ireland and England. The evidence presented ascribes a surprisingly high level of agency to particular sections of the Irish migrant cohort. In particular it reveals how as both Catholics and English vassals, Irish merchants and clerics exploited their liminal status to establish themselves as brokers in the Hispano-English relationship. Particularly significant was their association with the Inquisition in the assimilation of approved incoming foreigners.

These findings tell us a great deal that is new about the migrant Irish and their reception in Spain. Far from being purely accidental arrivals on Spanish shores, their presence in Iberia was a response to the larger economic, political and religious factors that shaped the early modern Spanish and English states. It was their capacity to assume specific roles, especially suited to their particular economic, political and religious profiles and to the needs of their hosts, that made the abroad Irish so useful and permitted them to establish a varied and durable presence overseas. Moreover the Irish in Spain remained connected back to their homeland. Indeed, thanks to the density of their homeward links, their abroad experiences also illuminate aspects of the broader, 'core' narratives of Ireland and England. One could go further to suggest that, because of

the interconnectedness between diasporic home- and host-lands, the general migrant experience needs to be repositioned away from the edge and back towards the core of regional, 'national' and dynastic narratives. This would ensure that their multi-layered agency is properly integrated into explanations of core historical change. There are many themes here but that of conversion is only one that obviously needs to be approached simultaneously from its local, British and European contexts. The Irish conversion experience could in turn be compared and contrasted with the conversion experience of other contemporary politico-religious groups, in order to situate the findings here in the bigger European debate on general conversion practice.

The diasporic account presented in this book includes the traditional narratives of religious difference, military conquest and state-building. However, it sets them in the more complete context of their interdependent, international origins and in the granularity of individual and group initiative. On the one hand it argues, along traditional lines, that the diaspora emerged in part in reaction to the classic causes of political marginalization, religious persecution and economic dislocation. However, it also points out that the diaspora was at the same time an opportunistic response to the thickening networks of international connections ushered in by related state-building enterprises in other jurisdictions and by the globalization of the European world. Its geographical location and its role in English state-building ensured that by the early seventeenth century the island of Ireland was firmly within the British system. Despite major hiccups in the 1640s, the 1690s and the 1790s it would remain there. In a curious way, integration into the British system permitted the island of Ireland, or more particularly certain mobile sections of its population, to play a crucial role in mediating informally between England and Spain.

The bridging and brokering roles of the migrant Irish developed and changed over time, guaranteeing effective connectivity over increasingly well-defined religious and political boundaries. The European colleges' network is an eloquent example, providing a continuously active link between the Catholic community in Protestant Ireland and the Catholic mainland of Europe over more than two centuries. The Irish military units in the Spanish army are another. For a time, they absorbed redundant soldiers, removing from Ireland a sporadically significant threat to the interests of the new regime there.[3] As for the merchant colonies, thanks to their dual loyalties to the Spanish king and the English monarch, they ensured a safe passage across dynastic boundaries, especially in time of war. Later, the abroad Irish facilitated

the southward transfer of technology and labour, male and female, taking advantage of the relative skills shortage in Spain.

In all these complex exchange processes, the Irish diaspora engaged with the Inquisition to draw economic and political advantage out of religious necessity, in a quite calculated fashion. This raises interesting questions about the role of religious difference in early modern boundary-building and the function of institutions, like the Inquisition, in ideological control. The Holy Office's participation in boundary-crossing processes like conversion complicates debates on strategies of confessionalization, particularly as they relate to religious purging and state control of religious minorities.[4] It would appear that institutions with the most intolerant of reputations did not always live up to their name.

Received views of the Inquisition may be partly to blame for the relative under-use to date of its archive as a source not only for migrant but also for diplomatic and other histories. More recently, this has begun to change, encouraged by evolving trends in Inquisition studies. Newer work is beginning to link the traditional doctrinal police functions of the Holy Office more intimately with its political, social and cultural agency in Spain, Portugal and their overseas territories.[5] Historians have started to build on the traditional annals-inspired statistical studies of the Inquisition in order to develop a fuller appreciation of the complexity of the institution's processes and their interplay with social elites, including migrants. These initiatives have informed the methodological underpinning of this book.

The picture presented here is necessarily incomplete. This is due in part to the imperfect and partial archive base. It is also because of the enormity of the task of exploiting the vast, complementary archives in other state and private collections. Nor is that all. The archives of the Portuguese Inquisition, which are much more complete than the Spanish, deserve more thorough investigation. They promise to provide rich and detailed insight into relations between the Irish and English abroad communities in Portuguese ports, especially Lisbon and Oporto. This will help fill out the picture of the Inquisitorial Irish in Iberia, which is structurally incomplete without a parallel study of their English co-vassals.

This raises another point. The inquisitorial archives in Spain, Portugal and Mexico contain far more material on English than on Irish migrants. Although some of this material has already come into the public arena, it has hardly been used for the reconstruction of the English presence in the Spanish and Portuguese worlds. This has been due in part to the enduring strength of inherited historical prejudices,

particularly among English-speaking historians. Somewhat blinkered by the Inquisition's 'Black Legend', many have assumed that the archive of an institution dedicated to doctrinal policing would be of little interest for the study of the social or economic experience of English migrants.[6] Nothing could be further from the truth. The full-scale study of English-interest material in the inquisitorial archive promises to transform the historical understanding of the English presence in Spain and, at the same time, to throw a revisionist light on the confessional dimension of English early modern state-building.

These archives do, of course, foreground the bitterness of the religious differences that separated England and Spain in the early modern period. However, they are also a treasure trove of social record, taking the historian of English migrants to Spain into the interiority of the migrant experience and permitting a sharper understanding of the various strands of the foreign presence in Iberia and how they interacted. Examination of the conversion records in particular will not only complicate the role of this process in maintaining inter-dynastic connectivity. It will also reopen the question of the role of religion and of religious prejudice and propaganda in forming early modern state identities.

The same exercise would be feasible for other migrant groups in Spain like the French, the Dutch and the Germans. Historians of Judaism have been to the fore in using inquisitorial archives for this sort of social as well as religious and political history.[7] Their experience will be a valuable guide to historians of other religious, ethnic and regional groups who engaged with the Holy Office. Unfortunately, to date this material has not been fully exploited by historians of Irish and English migration to the Iberian world. Nor indeed have they adequately explored the comparative possibilities provided by work on the Morisco,[8] Huguenot[9] and other migrations associated with religious difference.

Emerging from all these fields of enquiry is a common appreciation of the complexity of early modern migration and its centrality to core historical narratives. Applied to the present findings on the Irish diaspora in Spain, the perspectives explored in this book add to our knowledge of the full range of migrant activities. In the future, excavating other foreign groups from the inquisitorial record and uncovering their interdependence will be important steps towards forming a more accurate picture of international relations in the early modern period. This work will also be crucial, of course, to a fuller understanding of Irish migration in the British context. Traditionally we have been accustomed to understanding migration as a forced phenomenon and

somehow definitive. In the Irish case , usually seen as the 'forced' migration par excellence, the inquisitorial records reveal a far more ambiguous picture. As merchant colonies, abroad colleges and military units, the Inquisition Irish inhabited a social and professional space that was neither here nor there, neither at home nor abroad. As individuals and groups in flight from, yet umbilically attached to, their local and international catalysts, these migrants appear more complex and elusive than traditional historiographies have admitted.

Notes

Introduction

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11. Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: a global history*, pp. 416–39.
12. L.M. Cullen, 'Economic development, 1750–1800' in T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan (eds), *A new history of Ireland IV: eighteenth-century Ireland, 1691–1800* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 159–95.

13. See Gustav Henningsen, 'The archives and the historiography of the Spanish Inquisition' in Gustav Henningsen et al. (eds), *The Inquisition in early modern Europe: studies on sources and methods* (Dekalb, 1986), pp. 56–78.
14. See Charles Amiel, 'The archives of the Portuguese Inquisition: a brief survey' in Henningsen, *Inquisition in early modern Europe*, pp. 79–99.
15. For an excellent short introduction, see Helen Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Malden, 2006).
16. For modern accounts in English, see Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: an historical revision* (New Haven, 1997); Bethencourt, *Inquisition: a global history.*

1 The European Context for Irish Migrant Mobility

1. For the situation of the Irish in France, in a slightly later time period, see Éamon Ó Ciosáin, 'Irish Catholic migration to France 1590–1685' in David Worthington (ed.), *British and Irish emigrants and exiles in Europe, 1603–1688* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 136–8.
2. Michel Boeglin, *L'Inquisition espagnole au lendemain du concile de Trente: le tribunal du Saint Office de Séville 1560–1700* (Montpellier, 2003), pp. 280–303.
3. Isabel Karremann et al. (eds), *Forgetting faith: negotiating confessional conflict in early modern Europe* (Berlin, 2012). On immigrants, including religious, more generally, see Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (eds), *Immigrants in Tudor and Stuart England* (Brighton, 2005).
4. Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent king: a new life of Philip II* (Yale, 2014), pp. 49–58.
5. On correspondence between Elizabeth and Philip, see Reyne Allinson, *A monarchy of letters: royal correspondence and English diplomacy in the reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke, 2012).
6. Enrique Garcia Hernán, *Ireland and Spain in the reign of Philip II* (Dublin, 2009), p. 25.
7. Ibid.
8. For an overview, see Hugh O'Donnell (ed.), 'Presencia irlandesa en la milicia española' in *Revista internacional de historia military*, 92 (2014), passim.
9. Parker, *Imprudent king*, p. 129.
10. Deposition of Rodrigo Guerrero, 25 Jan. 1560 (AHN INQ 3715, exp. 9).
11. 'que notase un milagro que avía sido tan grande que en tan pocos días avía estendídose la ley evangélica por toda la Christianidad e que advertise que España se convertiría tan bien presto pero más tarde y para esto le traxo doss rrazones la primera por el gran cuydado que oyó dezir que tenía la inquisición en defender que no entrase, e la segunda como avía entrado por la Alemanja que España era lo postrero'. Ibid. A parallel paranoia existed in England. See Malcolm R. Thorp, 'Catholic conspiracy in early Elizabethan foreign policy' in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 15, 4 (1984), pp. 431–48.
12. Werner Thomas, *La represión del protestantismo en España* (Leuven, 2001), p. 240. Calvinism had been officially tolerated in France in 1562.
13. Parker, *Imprudent king*, p. 135.
14. Ernest Schäfer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Spanischen Protestantismus* (2 vols, Gütersloh, 1902).
15. Thomas, *La represión del protestantismo*, pp. 211–99.

16. Pauline Croft, 'Englishmen and the Spanish Inquisition, 1558–1625' in *English Historical Review*, 87, 343 (Apr. 1972), pp. 249–68.
17. 'Account of the ports, village and chief Catholic and Lutheran noble families of Ireland 1570' (AGS Estado 822, 13–14, cited in Hernán, *Ireland and Spain*, p. 58).
18. Werner Thomas, *Los protestantes y la Inquisición en España en tiempos de la reforma y contrareforma* (Leuven, 2001), pp. 188–90.
19. Pauline Croft, 'Trading with the enemy 1585–1604' in *Historical Journal*, 32, 2 (1989), pp. 281–302 at pp. 298ff.
20. Benjamin J. Kaplan, 'Diplomacy and domestic devotion: embassy chapels and the toleration of religious dissent in early modern Europe' in *Journal of Early Modern History*, 6 (2002), pp. 341–61.
21. She supported Spanish Protestants in London, like Casiodoro de Reyna. See Alfonso Torres de Castilla, *Historia de las persecutiones políticas y religiosas ocurridas en Europa* (3 vols, Barcelona, 1864), iii, p. 71. On religious plurality in London at this time, see Andrew Spicer, 'Of no church: immigrants, *liefhebbers* and confessional diversity in Elizabethan London *c*.1568–1581' in Karremann et al. (eds), *Forgetting faith*, pp. 199–220.
22. E.R. Adair, *The extra territoriality of ambassadors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (London, 1929), p. 113.
23. These included permission to celebrate Mass in the embassy, and Chamberlain wanted the same freedom for the English in Madrid.
24. AHN INQ Lib. 236, f. 300 (251).
25. Testimony of Guillermo Fayer, Madrid, 19 Oct. 1560 (AHN INQ 3715, exp. 10).
26. Ibid., f. 1v, marginal note.
27. Testimony of Lucia Lopez, Madrid, 15 Mar. 1561 (AHN INQ 3715, exp. 10).
28. Throgmorton to Sir Thomas Chamberlain, Orleans, 21 Nov. 1560. See Thomas Wright (ed.), *Queen Elizabeth and her times: a series of original letters* (2 vols, London, 1838), i, pp. 56–7.
29. Ibid.
30. See Allinson, *A monarchy of letters*, pp. 39, 53, 59, 60–3; J.D. Ramsay, *The City of London in international politics at the accession of Elizabeth Tudor* (Manchester, 1975), pp. 85–6.
31. Audiencia de Juan de Accuna, 15 Mar. 1563 (AHN INQ 3715, exp. 10).
32. Report by Lopez de Salas concerning the English ambassador, Madrid, 28 Apr. 1563 (AHN INQ 3715, unfoliated).
33. Chaloner's feat has a seventeenth-century parallel in Wotton. See Albert J. Loomie, 'A Jacobean Crypto-Catholic: Lord Wooton' in *Catholic Historical Review*, 53, 3 (1967), pp. 328–45.
34. Carlos Luet's audience, 16 July 1563 (AHN INQ 3715, exp. 10).
35. On chaplaincy immunity, see William Raleigh Trimble, 'The embassy chapel question, 1625–60' in *Journal of Modern History*, 18, 11 (1946), pp. 97–107.
36. Petitions are undated, but probably 1563 (AHN INQ 3715, exp. 10).
37. Fayer, segunda pecitión, ibid.
38. Voto del consejo, 14 Aug. 1563 (AHN INQ 3715, exp. 10).
39. Thorp, 'Catholic conspiracy', at p. 448.
40. Alba supported Man's request for diplomatic immunity, but only for his family, not the whole ambassadorial household. See Julio Retamal Favereau, *Diplomacia anglo-española durante la Contrareforma* (Santiago de Chile, 1981), p. 38.

41. On Man's household, see AHN INQ 112, exp. 10 (testimony of Bartolomé Escudero, Alcalá de Henares, 5 Mar. 1571, against Raphael Roca).
42. Kaplan, 'Diplomacy and devotion', p. 347.
43. Hernán, *Ireland and Spain*, pp. 35–98.
44. Paul E. Hoffman, *The Spanish crown and the defense of the Caribbean 1535–1585* (Louisiana, 1980), pp. 63–174.
45. Croft, 'Englishmen and the Spanish Inquisition', p. 254.
46. AGS Estado Leg. 829, f. 56.
47. Croft, 'Trading with the enemy', at p. 283; Thomas, *La represión del protestantismo*, p. 259.
48. Croft, 'Trading with the enemy', p. 283, citing BL Lansdowne MS 14, f. 163; A.J. Loomie, 'Religion and Elizabethan commerce with Spain', in *Catholic Historical Review*, 50, 1 (1964), pp. 39–49.
49. Thomas, *La represión del protestantismo*, pp. 273–5.
50. Thomas Weller, 'Religious conflict and commercial interests in early modern Spain' in Karremann et al. (eds), *Forgetting faith*, pp. 221–40, at pp. 224ff.
51. Loomie, 'Religion and Elizabethan commerce with Spain', pp. 27–51.
52. See Croft, 'Englishmen and the Spanish Inquisition', pp. 249–68.
53. Interrogation of Gaspar de Arratia, 21 Oct. 1575 (AHN INQ 3715, exp. 9).
54. For the Inquisition's reception of this agreement, see 'cartas acordadas' of 15 Jan. 1575 (AHN INQ Lib. 575, f. 92r), cited by Boeglin, *L'Inquisition espagnole* (2003), p. 283, fn 1. He observes that this treatment was not extended to French merchants.
55. Francisco Fajardo Spínola, *Las conversions de protestantes en Canarias, siglos xvii y xviii* (Gran Canaria, 1996), pp. 13–22.
56. Parker, *Imprudent king*, pp. 222–3.
57. On the English case, involving a man called Charles Chester, see AHN INQ 1829, exp. 1F (24 June 1576).
58. AHN INQ Leg. 2946, Seville tribunal to Suprema, 6 Apr. 1577.
59. His petition, in Latin, opens, 'Ego Richardus Bayleyus confiteor me in fide mea erasse, libros hereticos legendo, hereticas conciones audiendo, templum frequentando …' (AHN INQ 108, exp. 1, 18 Mar. 1577). He was an Oxford graduate and moved in Catholic circles there.
60. AHN INQ Lib. 1234, ff. 461r–471v.
61. Thomas, *Los protestantes y la Inquisición*, p. 514. According to the Council of Florence (1439–45), where a Catholic was unable to baptise an infant, baptism could be administered by an heretic or even a pagan provided the Trinitarian formula was employed. See Declan Downey, 'Accommodations with the Protestant state and church: a comparative study of respective Dutch and Irish Catholic experiences' in John Bergin et al. (eds), *New perspectives on the penal laws* (Dublin, 2011), p. 84.
62. Loomie, 'Religion and Elizabethan commerce with Spain', pp. 36–7.
63. *The Newes from Spayne and Holland conteyning an information of English affairs in Spayne* (Antwerp, 1593), pp. 2–3.
64. Robert Persons, *A manifestation of the great folly and bad spirit of certayne in England* (Antwerp, 1602), pp. 50–1.
65. AHN INQ 2950, (Seville, 1597).
66. Geoffrey Parker, *Empire, war and faith in early modern Europe* (London, 2002), pp. 19–38.

67. Coleitor Apostólico to the papal secretary of state in Rome, Lisbon, 17 Aug. 1586 (ASV Nunz. di Port., 1–A, ff. 106rv, cited in M. Gonçalves Da Costa, *Fontes inéditas Portuguesas para a história de Irlanda* (Braga, 1981), p. 200.
68. Karin Schüller, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Spanien und Irland: Diplomatie, Handel und die soziale Integration katholischer Exulanten* (Münster, 1999), pp. 96, 99–106.
69. Karin Schüller, 'Special conditions of the Irish–Iberian trade during the Spanish–English war 1585–1604' in Enrique García Hernán et al. (eds), *Irlanda y la monarquía hispánica: Kinsale 1601–2001* (Madrid, 2002), pp. 447–68, citing TNA SP 60–63/247.
70. This alarmed the Spanish who insisted that the Irish carry passes to certify nationality. See AGS Estado Leg. 185 (23 Aug. 1600), cited in Croft, 'Trading with the enemy', p. 287.
71. Croft, 'Trading with the enemy', pp. 281–302.
72. AHN INQ 2072 1B (relación del *auto de fe* Sevilla, 13 May 1586) and AHN INQ 2075, exp. 9 (relación de presos, Seville, 1577–99).
73. AHN INQ 1953, exp. 24 (1588). though he was subsequently pardoned and freed.
74. A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans* (London, 1963), pp. 187–9.
75. *The original writings and correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. E.G.R. Taylor (2 vols, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, London, 1935), ii, p. 221; Loomie, 'Religion and Elizabethan commerce with Spain', pp. 30ff.
76. See, for instance, case of Thomas Pepual, tried in Galicia in 1592 (AHN INQ, 2042, exp. 31).
77. Enrique García Hernán, 'Philip II's forgotten armada' in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *The Battle of Kinsale* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 45–58.
78. Hiram Morgan, 'Disaster at Kinsale' in Morgan (ed.), *The Battle of Kinsale*, pp. 101–46; Óscar Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire 1600–1825* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 48–101; Ciaran O'Scea, 'The significance and legacy of Spanish intervention in West Munster during the battle of Kinsale' in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish migrants in Europe after Kinsale* (2003), pp. 32–63.
79. Loomie, 'Religion and Elizabethan commerce with Spain', pp. 43ff.
80. Albert J. Loomie, 'Toleration and diplomacy: the religious issue in Anglo–Spanish relations 1604–1605' in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 53, 6 (1963), pp. 1–60; Croft, 'Trading with the enemy', p. 297.
81. Parker, *Imprudent king*, p. 366.
82. Henry Kamen, 'Toleration and dissent in sixteenth-century Spain: the alternative tradition' in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19, 1 (1988), pp. 2–23, at p. 22.
83. AHN INQ Lib. 1234, ff. 338v–401r.
84. Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *Silver, trade and war: Spain and Spanish America in the making of early modern Europe* (Baltimore, 2000), pp. 58–65.
85. Alexis D. Brito González, 'Visitas de navío en el Tribunal de la Inquisición de Canarias en el siglo XVI' in *Vegueta*, 3 (1997–8), pp. 89–100. For later periods, see Elisa Torres Santana, 'Visitas de navíos extranjeros en Canarias durante el siglo XVII' in *V coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana 1982* (Las Palmas, 1985), pp. 424–44.
86. AHN INQ Lib. 497, f. 235 (Madrid, 1597).
87. Henry Kissinger, *World Order* (New York, 2014), pp. 11–48.
88. For a deflationary assessment of English imperial pretensions, see David Armitage, 'The Elizabethan idea of empire' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 14 (2004), pp. 269–77.

2 Irish Merchants and the Inquisition

1. Intriguingly, 'Valentine Blake' was also an alias under which an English merchant broke the Anglo-Spanish trade embargo in 1598. See Pauline Croft, 'Trading with the enemy' in *Historical Journal*, 32, 2 (1989), pp. 281–302 at pp. 287–8.
2. Bodleian Library Oxford, Rawlinson Ms D83, 'A discourse of his travels'. The text is reproduced in Martin Murphy, *St Gregory's College Seville 1592–1767* (London, 1992), pp. 135–41. For the experience of English merchants, see A.J. Loomie, 'Religion and Elizabethan commerce with Spain' in *Catholic Historical Review*, 50, 2 (1964), pp. 27–51, pp. 38–9.
3. M.B. Villar García, 'Ingleses y irlandeses en España' in Antonio Eiras Roel and Domingo L. González Lopez (eds), *La inmigracion en España* (Santiago, 2004), pp. 31–76.
4. Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *A nation upon the ocean sea: Portugal's Atlantic diaspora and the crisis of the Spanish empire, 1492–1640* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 17–39.
5. See Karin Schüller, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Spanien und Irland: Diplomatie, Handel und die soziale Integration katholischer Exulanten* (Münster, 1999); Óscar Recio Morales, 'Conectores de imperios: la figura del comerciante irlandés en España en el mundo Atlántico del xviii' in Ana Crespo Solana (ed.), *Comunidades transnacionales: colonias de mercaderes extranjeros en el Mundo Atlántico (1500–1830)* (Madrid, 2010), pp. 313–36, esp. pp. 316–18.
6. See, for example, 'Ejecutoria del pleito litigado por Amad Ochoa de Olozabal con Juanot de Larrandoburo, vecinos de San Sebastián sobre deudas procedentes del contrato de compañia que ambos litigantes hicieron para pescar en Irlanda (1511)' (ARCV, Registro de Ejecutorias, 268, 45). On Irish fisheries, see Michael M. Barkham, 'The Spanish Basque Irish fishery and trade in the sixteenth century' in *History Ireland*, 9, 3 (2001), pp. 12–15.
7. As early as 1508 there were royal orders concerning tax on fishing catches from Ireland. See 'Provision real a instancia … a Bernardino Fernández de Velasco … que no cobre diezmos del pescado procedente de Irlanda' (AHDFB, Municipal, Bilbao Antigua 0016/001/022/001 [1508]). For Ireland, see Timothy O'Neill, *Merchants and mariners in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1987), p. 34.
8. Schüller, *Die Beziehungen*, p. 82, citing TNA SP 63/36–63/247.
9. Juan Juega Puig, 'El comércio maritimo en Galicia 1525–1640' (PhD, University of Santiago, 2012), passim, esp. pp. 563–8.
10. For very early modern Irish trade links with Seville, see Enrique Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes a fines de la Edad Media* (Seville, 1996), pp. 84, 120–4, 154, 193, 235.
11. 'Ejecutoria del pleito litigado por Juan Bruñines, vecino de Bilbao, con Domingo de Cestona, vecino de Castro Urdiales y consortes, sobre la restitución de cierta canditad de hierro que iba destinada al comercio con Irlanda' (1556) (ARCV, Registro de ejecutorias, 863, 21).
12. Schüller, *Die Beziehungen,* pp. 75–106 and 'Irish Iberian trade from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries' in David Dickson et al. (eds), *Irish and Scottish mercantile networks in Europe and overseas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Ghent, 2007), pp. 175–95.
13. Recio Morales, 'Conectores de imperios', p. 316,
14. 'outras muytas vezes de dez anños a esta parte veyo a esta cydade com mercadoryas e frisas e manteyga e outras cousas' (ANTT TSO IL, proc. 10380).

15. 'Ejecutoria del pleito litigado por Antonio de Esquivel, vecino de Vitoria, con Martin Sánchez de Irenoza y Juan Sánchez de Libano, mercader, vecino de Bilbao sobre liquidación de la sociedad commercial formada para el comercio con Irlanda' (1509) (ARCV, Registro de Ejecutorias, 241, 40).
16. 'Ejecutoria del pleito litigado por Gonzalo Alonso, maestre de nao, con Juan de Treceño, vecino de Ribadavia (Orense) sobre el fletamento de un navío de mercancía de Irlanda en Pontevedra' (1554) (ARCV, Registro de Ejecutorias, 804, 46).
17. 'Ejecutoria del pleito litigado por Guillén Menus, mercader, vecino de Bristol, con Sabad de Ibarguen, vecino de Fuenterrabia, sobre pago del importe del fletamento de un navío hecho para comercio y transport de arenques y vino entre Irlanda e Italia' (1507) (ARCV, registro de ejecutorias, 214, 28).
18. See Schüller, *Die Beziehungen,* pp. 80–1, citing TNA SP 63/36–63/247.
19. M. Gonçalves Da Costa, *Fontes inéditas Portuguesas para a história de Irlanda* (Braga, 1981), p. 34.
20. They were on their way to Cádiz to load wine. See Mulryan to Coleitor, Lisbon, Oct. 1578 (ASV Nunz. di Port., l, p. 233. See Da Costa, *Fontes*, p. 186).
21. Da Costa, *Fontes*, p. 30, citing ARSI Lusitania 72, f. 27rv (22 Jan. 1593).
22. See Elenora Poggio, 'La migración de Europeos sepetentrionales a la Nueva España a través de los documentos inquisitoriales a finales del siglo xvi y principios de siglo xviii' in Fernando Navarro Antolín (ed.), *Orbis incognitus: avisos y legajos del Nuevo Mundo* (2 vols, Madrid, 2007), ii, pp. 469–77.
23. AGN Inquisición, tomo 58 (auto de 1575); CUL, Add Ms 7238.
24. Karin Schüller, 'Irish Iberian trade from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries' in David Dickson et al. (eds), *Irish and Scottish mercantile networks in Europe and overseas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Ghent, 2007), pp. 175–95, at p. 185.
25. Croft, 'Trading with the enemy', p. 287. However, during the war of 1625–30 Irish vessels were included in the Spanish trade embargo, with calamitous consequences for Irish ports. See Schüller, *Die Beziehungen*, pp. 96–7.
26. Report on the war in Ireland, Lisbon, 1597(ARSI Anglia, 31–II, f. 701rv), cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 224–4.
27. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 1673.
28. The literature suggests that Irish women played a particular role in the passage from the pre-confessional old religion to 'Tridentine' Catholicism, being the first in their households to boycott the new services in the 1570s. See Ute Lotz-Heumann, 'Between conflict and coexistence: the Catholic community in Ireland as a visible underground church in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries' in Benjamin Kaplan et al. (eds), *Catholic communities in Protestant states: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570–1720* (Manchester, 2009), pp. 168–82, at pp. 174–5.
29. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 10871, f. 8.
30. Coleitor apostólico to the papal secretary of state, Lisbon, 1 Aug. 1577 (ASV Nunz. di Port., 2, ff. 280v–281, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, p. 177).
31. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 2028 (1587), ff. 6v–7r.
32. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 2852, ff. 1–14.
33. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 13124, ff. 1–13.
34. António Baião, 'A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil' in *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, viii (1910), p. 476.

35. Schüller, *Die Beziehungen*, p. 80, citing TNA PRO, SP 60–63/247.
36. 'Escritura de lastro' and 'escritura de poder por Enrique Dudal' (AHDFB, Notarial, NO 437/0349 and NO 487/0350 (12 Nov. 1591)).
37. 'Probanza de hidalguía y limpieza de sangre por Esteban Arnoldo' (AHDFB, Municipal (Bilbao) 0371/001/003 (1594)).
38. TNA SP 63/209 part 2/203A (1601), cited in Schüller, *Die Beziehungen*, p. 105.
39. Catherine Burke, who ran a lodging house for Irish travellers in Lisbon, was married to the Lisbon merchant Antonio Rebeiro. See ANTT TSO IL, proc. 10871, f. 1.
40. Óscar Recio Morales, 'Identity and loyalty', pp. 199–200, citing Patrick Grant, 'Memoria de los mercaderes yngleses en España y Portugal' (AGS Guerra Antigua Leg. 365, f. 70) and 'Account made by Johan de Galbey on 21 Sept. 1594 to be sent to the king' (AGS GA Leg. 405, f. 133).
41. Walter French to Thomas Strong, Lisbon, 6 June 1592 (BL Lansdowne 71, no. 49, f. 102rv, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 210–11). The network here passed from the Jesuit house, through a friend of the house, Philip Wyken, to a third party sailing from Lisbon to La Coruna, thence to Robert Comerford and onwards to Ireland.
42. See Chapter 3.
43. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 1673.
44. Schüller, *Die Beziehungen*, p. 205.
45. *Archivium Hibernicum*, lvi (2002), pp. 80, 90.
46. Walter French, in a letter to Thomas Strong, Lisbon, 6 June 1592, reports that he had sent volumes of Thomist and Scotist theology and a breviary to Ireland via Comerford in La Coruna (BL Lansdowne 71, no. 49, f. 102rv, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 201–11).
47. See María del Carmen Saavedra Váquez, 'La participación de Galicia en el Socorro de Irlanda' in Hernán et al. (eds), *Irlanda y la monarquía Hispánica: Kinsale 1601–2001* (Madrid, 2002), pp. 113–36, at p. 132.
48. Fonte and Dias spoke in Irish, which Dias's daughters did not understand. (ANTT TSO IL, proc. 10871, f. 8).
49. Ibid., f. 5.
50. Ibid. See Mendes Drumond Braga, *Os Estrangeiros e a inquisição portuguesa* (Lisbon, 2002), p. 114; Da Costa, *Fontes*, p. 38, citing António Baião, 'A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil' in *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, vii (1909), p. 154.
51. It was owned by an English merchant named Roberts and captained by a French man named Nicolas Martinez Duram.
52. He had this information from Maurice MacBrien, bishop of Emly, who was on his way back to Ireland, from Rome, where he had been consecrated bishop in October 1571. See Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 416–17; Benignus Millett OFM, 'Maurice MacBrien, bishop of Emly and the confiscation of his baggage, March 1578' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 34/5 (1993), pp. 10–14.
53. AHN INQ Lib. 575, consejo to Galician Inquisitors, 28 Mar. 1566.
54. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 1821. This may be Thomas Comerford the author of 'Account given by Thomas Comerford, merchant from the city of Waterford in Ireland, Lisbon, 22 January 1597' (AGS Estado 434, 68), cited in Enrique Garcia Hernán, *Ireland and Spain in the reign of Philip II* (Dublin, 2009), p. 301. According to him, twenty-five priests were active in Waterford at that time.
55. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 2852, ff. 1–14.

56. Baião, 'A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil', viii, p. 51.
57. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 2852, ff. 5v–6r.
58. Ibid.
59. Baião, 'A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil', viii, p. 51.
60. AHN INQ 2075 (1) exp. 9.
61. He was from 'Cloder' (Clogher?). See AHN INQ 2075 (1) exp. 9.
62. Much later, in 1592, a sailor named Guillermo Quito (William Quinn?) was tried by the Seville tribunal. He was from 'Lua' (Louth?) and may have been from Ireland. He was a crew member of the Orkney-based *Farevel* and was charged with Lutheran heresy (AHN INQ 2075 (1) exp. 14).
63. AHN INQ Lib. 834, f. 226 (*auto de fe* of 1586).
64. AHN INQ Lib. 834, f. 522 (for 1588 case), 801 (for 1599 case).
65. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 63, f. 4. 'Irish by nation, of the kingdom of England'.
66. Ibid., ff. 35r–35v. It is possible that he was a member of an English pirate crew. According to Jaime Conteras, the Galician tribunal processed twelve English pirates in 1566. See his *El Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Galicia* (Akal, 1982), pp. 610–11.
67. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 63, ff. 1–49v.
68. The ecclesiastic, most likely Redmond Gallagher, understood Kavanagh 'in his Irish language' (*em sua lingoajem Hires*). See Da Costa, *Fontes*, p. 132.
69. His sentence was published on 9 Mar. 1567.
70. 'jsrlandes de nacão, do regno de Jnglaterra' (ANTT TSO IL, proc. 63, f. 4).
71. AGS, Estado, 1088, 103 (Philip II to Naples Viceroy, 1576); AGS, Estado, 1088, 277 and 238 (carta de Leonardo Vairo to Philip II, 1586). See Enrique Garcia Hernán, *Ireland and Spain in the reign of Philip II* (Dublin, 2009), p. 268.
72. Werner Thomas, *Los protestantes y la inquisición en España en tiempos de reforma* (Leuven, 2001), p. 514.
73. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 13124, ff. 1–13.
74. 'e metido no Reyno de Inglaterra por algum tempo em escuros carceres, sahio condenado e sentenciado a morte se não confessasse e jurasse que a raynha Elizabeth era cabeca de igreja e defensora da fee'. Ibid.
75. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 10380.
76. 'outras muytas vezes de dez anños a esta parte veyo a esta cydade com mercadoryas e frisas e manteyga e outras cousas'. Ibid.
77. 'E que em este tempo ficava a terra boa e avya nella Igrejas e clerigos e frades e misas como estava no tempo velho' ((ANTT TSO IL, proc. 10380), f. 8).
78. In speaking about John Martin, the Irishman, Guillermo Calens says: 'el qual [Martin] ni mas ni menos que los otros se llevava a rezar sus preces y oir la epla y evangelio que les leian y a confesarse a dios como los demas de la dicha nao y hazia lo mesmo que ellos este Corneles [Martin]' (AGN INQ Tomo 58, transcription in CUL, Add. 7238, p. 26).
79. This is repeatedly mentioned in the various testimonies given by the crew before the Inquisition. See the testimony of Guillermo Calens against John Martin, 'en el qual cada mañana y tarde tomavan el contramaestre un libro en su lengua inglesa que es ni mas ni menos como los que tienen los ministros en Ynglaterra y se arrimava al mastil mayor a cuya redonda sobre la cubierta se hincavan de rodillas todos los marineros soldados, Capitan y quantos alli venian so pena de veinte y quarto horas de prison en el cepo y estando todos de rodillas el dicho contramaestre que se fue con Joan Haqunies

cantava el pater noster y credo palabra por palabra y todos respondian a cada palabra y despues hazian en la dicha rogativa que tenien en esta audiencia que se haze en Ynglaterra …' (CUL Add. 7238, pp. 22–3).

80. AGN INQ Tomo 167, transcription in CUL Add. 7254, ii, pp. 1–133. Sanders had been a soldier in France during the recent religious wars and was accused of sacrilege and blasphemy. It transpired that his grandfather was Catholic, as was his mother. Ibid., p. 46.
81. 'que todos eran luteranos y que el almirante dellos hazia escarnio de los rosarios y de las imagines diziendo que eran palos y hazian asi mesmo burla de la señal de la cruz'. Ibid., pp. 83–4.
82. CUL Add. 7234, pp. 41–2, 59–60 (testimony of Michael Morgan against John Martin, where he associates the Brown brothers and Martin with the burning of images kept by Joan Guilvert in the Ciudad de los Angeles).
83. CUL Add. 7238, p. 71.
84. Hawkins (1532–95) was among the most successful of the English adventurer slave traders and was active between England, West Africa and New Spain from the mid-1550s. Following two successful voyages in 1555–63 and 1564–5, he embarked on his third trip in 1567, which ended in disaster. One of the victims was John Martin of Cork, whose full trial record survives. See P.E.H. Hair, 'An Irishman before the Mexican Inquisition, 1574–75' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xvii, 67 (Mar. 1971), pp. 297–319.
85. CUL Add. 7238, p. 331. Barrett was declared a 'herege pertinaz' by the Inquisition and was sent to Spain in 1571. He was relaxed in Seville and burned at the stake in 1573. See Pedro Gringoire, 'Protestantes enjuiciados por la Inquisición' in *Historia Mexicana*, xi, 2 (1961), pp. 161–79, at p. 165.
86. According to testimony of John Perin against John Martin, the Irish barber was called Xavier of Xuares (CUL Add. 7238, pp. 67, 93). In a later testimony he is called 'Zuarez' and is described as living in the 'calle de Melchior de Valdes' (CUL Add. 7238, p. 118).
87. 'Le favorecio y vistio y enseño la dotrina y le aconsejava que fuese buen christiano' (CUL Add 7238, p. 280).
88. AHN INQ Lib. 1064, f. 56v.
89. CUL Add 7238, p. 167.
90. Ibid., p. 182.
91. Ibid., p. 169.
92. Ibid., p. 278. The advised him to think again 'por que todo o lo mas que a respondido a la publicacion de tantos testigos y tan largos como se le an leydo no lleva verisimilitud della ni es de creer que dezase de entender lo que en las dichas yglesias de Ynglaterra y por la mar viniendo navegando en la dicha nao capitana se rezava leya y predicava pues estava ladino en la lengua y entendia todo el trato comercio y conversacion de los Yngleses y siendole buelto a leer la dicha amonicion y dadosele a entender menudamente …'
93. Ibid., p. 280. 'Estuvo sospirando y congozando y dizo que y el vee que ay en este proceso mill cosas malas y que no a llevado buen camino su proceso … el vee que a de morir esta muerte.'
94. Ibid., p. 288: 'dixo que ya esta cansado de ser amonestado y que lega a dios que con cuerpo y alma sea hundido aqui como esta …'.
95. Ibid., p. 301. 'No quiere dos muertos'.

96. Ibid., p. 348: 'y se haze el *auto de fe* sea llevado fuera de la dicha yglesia e monasterio y cavallero en una bestia de enxalma los pies y manos atadas e con soga a la garganta sea traydo por las calles acostumbradas con voz de pregonero que manyfyeste su delito hasta llegar al tianguez de Sant Ypolito desta ciudad y en la presente y lugar que esta señalado le sea dado garrote y hasta que naturalmente muere. E luego que sea quemado en vivas llamas de fuego hasta que del no quede cosa nynguna y se convierta en seniza y por esta mi sentencia difinytiva juzgando asi …'
97. 'relaxado en persona por hereje luterano ficto y simulado confidente'. (AHN INQ Lib. 1064, f. 68v). Hakluyt, vol. ix, p. 428 gives an erroneous date, possibly confusing Martin with Martin Cornu, a Frenchman who was relaxed with Riveley. His *sambenito* was hung in Mexico cathedral with the legend 'Guillermo Corniels y por otro nombre Juan Min [sic] Yrlandes natural de Corc vezino de la Trinidad barbero herege Lutherano relazado en persona año de 1575'.
98. AHN INQ 1829, exp. 1 (1587).
99. This may be the Richard Sernan mentioned in Fajardo Spínola, Francisco, *Las victimas de la inquisición en las Islas Canarias* (La Laguna, 2005), p. 310.
100. See David Edwards, 'A haven of popery: English Catholic migration to Ireland in the age of plantations' in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds), *The Origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 95–126.
101. AHN INQ 108, exp. 11, confession de John Sherwin, Madrid, 19 Mar. 1583 and petition de John Sherwin, Madrid, 18 Feb. 1589. See Thomas, *Los protestantes y la Inquisición*, pp. 565–7.
102. AHN INQ 1829 (copia), causa de Eduarte Francisco, ingles, 1587.
103. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 10871, for Wolfe's testimony, ff. 10v–12r.
104. ANTT, Habilitações do Santo Ofício, Gabriel, maço 4, doe. 57. See Braga, *Os Estrangeiros*, p. 257; Ana Isabel López-Salazar Codes, 'La question de la naturaleza de los ministros del santo oficio Portugués' in *Hispania*, 71, 239 (2011), pp. 691–714.

3 Irish Clergy on the Move

1. Thomas O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists 1600–1670* (Dublin, 2008), pp. 74–105.
2. Joseph Bergin, 'The counter-reformation church and its bishops' in *Past and Present*, 165 (1999), pp. 30–73.
3. David Wolfe SJ to Cardinal Moroni (*Calendar of State Papers, Rome, 1558–71*, no. 108).
4. Henry A. Jeffries, 'The Irish parliament of 1560: the Anglican reforms authorized' in *Irish Historical Studies*, 26, 102 (1988), pp. 128–41.
5. Philip II to Busto de Villegas, administrator of archdiocese of Toledo, 22 Nov. 1574 (AHN, Consejos, Iglesia, Lib. 1, f. 317v), cited in Enrique Garcia Hernán, *Ireland and Spain in the reign of Philip II* (Dublin, 2009), p. 308.
6. See Enrique García Hernán, 'Clérigos irlandeses en la corte de Madrid' in Declan Downey and Julio Crespo MacLennan (eds), *Spanish–Irish relations through the ages* (Dublin, 2008), pp. 49–71.
7. Óscar Recio Morales, *Irlanda en Alcalá* (Alcalá, 2004), pp. 101–42.

8. Jeroen Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 60 (2006–7), pp. 1–304.
9. Colm Lennon, 'Education and religious identity in early modern Ireland' in *Paedogogica Historica*, supplementary series 5 (Ghent, 1999), pp. 57–75; Helga Hammerstein, 'Aspects of the continental education of Irish students in the reign of Elizabeth I' in *Historical Studies*, 8 (1971), pp. 137–53.
10. Helen Coburn Walshe, 'Enforcing the Elizabethan settlement: the vicissitudes of Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, 1563–84' in *Irish Historical Studies*, 26, 104 (1989), pp. 352–76, at p. 365.
11. He was arrested on his return to Ireland, along with Richard Creagh, and on release lived privately in the household of Lord Muskerry, dying in 1579.
12. He died in 1603. He appears to have accepted the royal supremacy in 1583.
13. At Trent, one of the Irish prelates intervened to support bishops' continuing to participate as state counsellors. See Joseph Mendham, *Memoires of the Council of Trent* (London, 1834), p. 260.
14. F.X. Martin, 'The Council of Trent, 1545–47, 1551–52, 1562–63' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, series 5, 100 (1963), pp. 18–30.
15. Initially, lower clergy were not affected. See Howling to Rome, Lisbon, Oct. 1594 (ASV Nunz. di Port., 9, f. 445, cited in M. Gonçalves Da Costa, *Fontes Inéditas Portuguesas para a história de Irlanda* (Braga, 1981), pp. 214–15). '… et ad accusandum et persequendum catholicum praelatum (simplex vero sacerdos non ita presequitur quia beneficium illum non accusat) …'.
16. 'sine reddibitus et obedientia a suis'. Mulryan to Cardinal de Como, Lisbon, 29 Oct. 1584 (ASV Nunz. di Port. 4, ff. 461–2, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 195–7).
17. Colm Lennon, *An Irish prisoner of conscience of the Tudor Era: Archbishop Richard Creagh of Armagh, 1523–86* (Dublin, 2000), p. 48.
18. Ibid., p. 73.
19. Rochfort to Acquaviva, Lisbon, 31 Dec. 1585 (ARSI Lusit., 69, f. 186rv, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 198–9).
20. Howling repeated these criticisms nearly a decade later, in a letter to the General, Lisbon, Oct. 1594, claiming that '… 'vel quia carent zelo domus Dei et animarum, vel vitae exemplo, vel sufficienti doctrina, non faciunt fructum expectatum, admirantes quomodo hos schismatis tempore similes sunt Romae promoti ad tam altas dignitates' (ASV Nunz. di Port., 9, f. 445, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, p. 216).
21. See, for instance, Philip II's note on a petition from Maurice Fitzgibbon, archbishop of Cashel (AGS Estado 822, 18 (15 May 1569), cited in Hernán, *Ireland and Spain*, p. 34.
22. Enrique García Hernán, 'Obispos irlandeses y la monarquía Hispánica en el siglo XVI' in M.B. Villar García and P. Pezzi Cristóbal (eds), *Los extranjeros en la España moderna* (2 vols, Málaga, 2002), ii, pp. 275–80.
23. Polanco to rector of Barcelona, Rome, 16 Dec. 1565 (ARSI Hisp. 67, 148), cited in Hernán, *Ireland and Spain*, p. 289. McGrath's appointment had a political dimension, which sat uneasily with Creagh's more pastoral understanding of the mission. See Lennon, *An Irish prisoner of conscience*, pp. 74–5.
24. Edmund Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana* (Dublin, 1880), pp. 2–3; Brian Bonner, 'Réamann O Gallachair, bishop of Derry' in *Donegal Annual*, 11 (1974), pp. 41–52.

25. King Sebastião to Pope, Lisbon, 25 June 1568 (ASV Lettere di Principi, 31, f. 289, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, p. 132).
26. ASV Nunz. di Port., 1, ff. 165–66, 173, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, p. 184.
27. 'reside em Lisboa há 30 meses, dando grande exemplo de virtude e mostrando que Deus vive com ele'. Cipriano Soares to São Francisco de Borja, Lisbon, 6 June 1568 (ARSI Lusit., 62, f. 229v, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, p. 132). He was still in Lisbon in 1578. See ASV Nunz. di Port., 1, ff. 216, 173.
28. Ibid. Later in 1573 Wolfe, who was not gentle on absentee bishops, described him as 'as strong as [a] bulwark of the bride of Christ' (*Calendar of State Papers, Rome 1558–71*, no. 865).
29. For Bray, see António Baião, 'A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil' in *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, viii (1910), p. 51.
30. Unknown to the duke of Alva, Madrid, December, 1569 (AGS Estado, 542, 50; Geronimo de Roda to Felipe II, 10 Aug. 1574 (AGS Estado, 559, 30)). See Hernán, *Ireland and Spain*, p. 311.
31. Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 416–17. Benignus Millett, 'Maurice MacBrien, bishop of Emly and the confiscation of his baggage, March 1578' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 34/5 (1993), pp. 10–14. In 1584, Cornelius O'Mulryan of Killaloe reported to the Cardinal de Como that MacBrien was in prison, suffering torture (Mulryan to Cardinal de Como, Lisbon, 29 Oct. 1584 (ASV Nunz. di Port., 4, ff. 461–2, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 195–7)).
32. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 5150, ff. 1–5. See Isabel M.R. Mendes Drumond Braga, 'Os Irlandeses perante a Inquisição Portuguesa: réus e reduzidos (séculos XVI–XVII)' in Igor Pérez Tostado and Enrique García Hernán (eds), *Irlanda* y el Atlántico *Ibérico: movilidad, participación e intercambio cultural* (Madrid, 2010), pp. 111–25, at p. 116. See also António Baião, 'A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil' in *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, vii (1909), p. 226.
33. MacBrien was resident in Lisbon between 1573 and 1578.
34. O'Boyle, appointed to Limerick in 1582, was initially resident in Lisbon (Archivo General Militar, Madrid, libro 6, f. 323v). In 1587, he was the king's preferred candidate for Armagh. See Hernán, *Ireland and Spain*, pp. 309–16, 322–3.
35. AGS Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, 237 (1586).
36. AHN INQ 111, exp. 51, ff. 1rv (spontaneous delation and reconciliation of David O'Nealon, Madrid, 13 Nov. 1587). See Ernst Schäfer, *Beitrage zur Geschichte des spanischen Protestantismus und der Inquisition im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (2 vols, Gütersloh, 1902), i, p. 186.
37. AHN INQ 111, exp. 51, ff. 3r–4v (spontaneous denunciation and reconciliation of David O'Nealon, Madrid, 23 Dec. 1587).
38. 'volviendo el Obispo la cabeza la hecho de la boca por no hazer acto de lutherano' (ibid., f. 2v).
39. 'NR, clerigo yrlandes, de hedad de 30 años. Fue testificado por el obispo Limericen y por dos criados suyos que tenia un benefficio de la reyna de Inglaterra dando por razon que no podia tenerle de otra mano por andar todos los obispos catholicos ausentes … suspendiose su causa.' See Julio Sierra (ed.), *Processos en la Inquisición de Toledo (1575–1610) manuscrito de Halle* (Madrid, 2005), p. 368.
40. Nabil Matar, 'English accounts of captivity in North Africa and the Middle East, 1577–1625' in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54, 2 (2001), pp. 553–72.

41. Baião, 'A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil', vii, p. 159. He notes 'nam pereçeo que se devia mandar a Sevilla por nam constar de culpas que qua ometessem'.
42. Da Costa, M., *Fontes*, p. 38. He notes 'mandou-se chamar este ingres e por ho achar Pedro Fernandes na Misericordia ouvindo missa devotamente e asy por que esta primeira testemunha pareceo muito negociada por hũ contrairo do inters cô que trazia demãda se nõ fez caso mais d'isto'.
43. Baltinglass fled to Lisbon, with Rochford. See James Eustace to Cardinal de Como, Lisbon, 8 Apr. 1582, ASV Nunz di Port., 4, ff. 242rv, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, p. 191.
44. Baião, 'A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil', viii, pp. 423–4. 'No dia 13 de Abril compareceu Nicoláu Vualles, natural de Ibernia que foi captivo dos turcos e se libertou por occasião da victoria de D. João d'Austria, bombardeiro do castello, servindo de interprete o jesuita Padre Roberto Rochefort, e denunciou o bombardeiro inglez Roger Jefre, por dizer que as mulheres são boas como os sanctos, fallando contra estes e as imagens e dizendo, entre outras heresias, que a "Inquisição he lei do diabo, porque leva as fazendas aos homes". Tambem denunciou o bombardeiro inglez João Carlon, que como os anteriores está no castello, por não ouvir missa e fallar contra as imagens.'
45. Baião, 'A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil', viii, p. 425. He elaborates: '… Duarte Piferd, inglez e criado das freiras flamengas que estão no mosteiro d'Alcantara, irmão do organist de S Alteza, tendo como interprete o jesuita Padre Roberto Rochford, e disse que, andando a passeiar com João Nodim, inglez, aposentado em casa de Thomas Godim, o tal João fez elogios à rainha d'Inglaterra e proferio mais palavras hereticas, em favor dos herejes.'
46. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 2028 (24 Nov. 1587). Lutterell's denunction is at ff. 2r–3v, his own examination by the Inquisitors at ff. 6r–7r. See Baião, 'A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil', viii, p. 427. For a summary of the charges, see ibid., f. 22rv.
47. For his denunciation, see ibid., ff. 4r–5v.
48. See 'Senta de tormento de Guilhermo Arte', ibid., f. 26r; for his 'Confissam em tormento', see ibid., ff. 27–32v.
49. For his entreaties to the Spanish, see Hernán, *Ireland and Spain*, pp. 193–4.
50. Mulryan to Nuncio, Lisbon, Oct. 1595 (ASV Nunz di Port. 10, ff. 139–140v (original in Spanish), cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 218–20.
51. Thomas O'Connor, 'Hugh O'Neill: free spirit, religious chameleon or ardent Catholic?' in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *The Battle of Kinsale* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 59–72.
52. Elizabeth's settlement had left monastic properties with their lay proprietors, many of them Catholics. With O'Neill's successes these landowners' descendants were concerned that they would be subject to penalties under Catholic canon law, in the event of a Catholic restoration. Howling to General, 25 Oct. 1597 (ARSI Anglia 31–II, f. 699, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 222–3).
53. For the request for canonical exemptions, including the inquisitorial privilege of absolving from heresy, see John Howling to General, Lisbon, 22 Jan. 1593 (ARSI Lusitania 72, ff. 27rv, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 30, 212–13).
54. Prior to the establishment of the Ospizio dei Convertendi, provision in Rome was available through the *Confraternita dei catecumeni e neofiti*, which was founded in 1542, dealing largely with converting Jews.

55. See Da Costa, *Fontes*, p. 37.
56. Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana*, p. 32; Da Costa, *Fontes*, p. 29.
57. Howling to General, Lisbon, 22 Jan. 1593 (ARSI Lusitania, 72, f. 27rv, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 30, 212–13).
58. Report on the War in Ireland 1597 (ARSI Anglia 31–II, f. 701rv, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 224–5).
59. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 1674, Lisbon, 8 Nov. 1594, ff. 1–12, f. 1r.
60. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 1675, Lisbon, 8 Nov. 1594, ff. 1–19r, f. 1r.
61. For the Dutch case, see Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch revolt and the Catholic exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 59–128.
62. Karin Schüller, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Spanien und Irland: Diplomatie, Handel und die soziale Integration katholischer Exulanten* (Münster, 1999), p. 159.
63. Howling to General, Lisbon, 22 Jan. 1593 (ARSI Lusitania, 72, ff. 27rv, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 212–23); McErlan Transcripts, Jesuit Archives Dublin, 1 Feb. 1593 and 4 Apr. 1600 (p. 26).
64. Recio Morales, 'Identity and loyalty', p. 208, citing AGS GA Leg. 373, f. 43.
65. Ibid., p. 209 ('Account of Valentín Blacadel, Irish merchant', 3 Mar. 1598, AGS GA Leg. 530, f. 88).
66. John Howling to Patrick Synot, Saint Anthony's College, Lisbon, 21 May 1592 (BL Lansdowne 71, no. 49, ff. 95–6, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 202–25).
67. Howling to Strong, Lisbon, 26 May 1592 (BL Lansdowne 71, no. 49, ff. 100rv, cited in Da Costa, *Fontes*, pp. 207–10).
68. Thomas Morrissey, 'The Irish student diaspora in the sixteenth century and the early days of the Irish college at Salamanca' in *Recusant History*, xiv (1977–8), pp. 242–60.
69. Philip, in 1586, gave him monies to support clergy (AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, 237). See Hernán, *Ireland and Spain*, p. 311.
70. Fray Bonaventura, Obispo de Rossa en Irlanda a SM (Madrid, 1590) AGS Cámera de Castilla, memorials, Leg. 673/5, cited in Javier Burrieza Sánchez, 'Escuelas de sacerdotes y mártires', p. 51.
71. 'Estos de Irlanda aun son más probres y menos faborecidos y su tierra con más necesidad de doctrina de quantas ay en el mundo.' Ibid.
72. From 1596 until 1622 the Irish mission, like its English and Dutch counterparts, was overseen from Brussels by the apostolic nuncio, starting with Ottavio Mirto Frangipani.
73. O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists 1600–1670*, pp. 74–105.
74. Ute Lotz-Heumann, 'Between conflict and coexistence: the Catholic community in Ireland as a visible underground church in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries' in Benjamin Kaplan et al. (eds), *Catholic communities in Protestant states: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570–1720* (Manchester, 2009), pp. 168–82, at p. 175.
75. Cited in William Maziere Brady, *Essay on the English state church in Ireland* (London, 1869), p. 15.
76. Benjamin Hazard, 'A new company of crusaders like that of St John Capistran: interaction between Irish military units and Franciscan chaplains, 1579–1654' in Enrique García Hernán and Óscar Recio Morales (eds), *Extranjeros en el ejército: militares irlandeses en la sociedad española, 1580–1818* (Madrid, 2007), pp. 181–97.
77. AHN INQ 4433, exp. 1.

78. Ibid., exp. 4 is 'carta del maestro P Ricardo Linze (capellan maestro, catehdratico de vispersas de la Universidad de Salamanca) y Pedro Abarca (letor de prima de S Ambo de Valladolid y cathedratico de Vispera por la Compagnia en la Universidad de Salamanca)', 20 Dec. 1670.
79. The theses of John Richard Crosby (Crosbaeus), 18 May 1673, ibid.
80. Benjamin Kaplan and Judith Pollmann, 'Conclusion' in Benjamin Kaplan et al. (eds), *Catholic communities in Protestant states: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570–1720* (Manchester, 2009), pp. 249–64.
81. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 104, f. 125rv. See Paulo Drumond, 'Estrangeiros ao servico da Inquisição portugesa' in *Estudos em homenagem a João Francisco Marques* (Porto, 2001), pp. 253–60.
82. See Óscar Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish empire 1600–1825* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 48–102. For the period after 1618, see R.A. Stradling, *The Spanish monarchy and Irish mercenaries: the Wild Geese in Spain 1618–68* (Dublin, 1994).
83. Eduardo de Mesa, *The Irish in the Spanish armies in the seventeenth century* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 7–38; Ciaran O'Scea, 'The significance and legacy of Spanish intervention in West Munster during the battle of Kinsale' in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602–1820* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 32–63.
84. David Edwards, 'Legacy of defeat: the reduction of Gaelic Ireland after Kinsale' in Morgan, *Battle of Kinsale*, pp. 297–9.
85. Chester Dunning and David Hutson, 'The transportation of Irish swordsmen to Sweden and Russia and the Plantation in Ulster (1609–1613)' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 66 (2013), pp. 420–51.
86. Óscar Recio Morales, 'Florence Conry's Memorandum for a military assault on Ulster, 1627' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 56 (2002), pp. 65–72.
87. de Mesa, *The Irish in the Spanish armies*, pp. 213–16; Enrique García Hernán and Óscar Recio Morales (eds), *Extranjeros en el Ejército: militares irlandeses en la sociedad española, 1580–1818* (Madrid, 2007), passim.

4 Diversifying Migrant Roles

1. Maurice Lee Jr., 'The Jacobean diplomatic service' in *American Historical Review*, 72, 4 (1967), pp. 1264–82.
2. Kathleen M. Noonan, '"The cruel pressure of an enraged, barbarous people": Irish and English identity in seventeenth-century policy and propaganda' in *Historical Journal*, 41, 1 (1998), pp. 151–77, at pp. 168ff.
3. Roger Finlay, *Population and metropolis: the demography of London, 1580–1650* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 140ff.; Patrick Fitzgerald, '"Like crickets to the crevice of a brew-house": poor Irish migrants in England, 1560–1640' in Patrick O'Sullivan (ed.), *Patterns of migration* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 13–35. The seasonal migration of the first forty years of the seventeenth century was replaced by the arrival of permanent migrants, many of them Protestant war refugees, settling in the city.
4. Richard de Burgo, fourth earl, *c.* 1572–1636, married to Frances Walsingham, d. 1633.
5. 'que fue a oir los sermones y una recibió la comunion de los herejes que esto lo hizo acompanando a una mujer madre de uno aquellos a quien sirvio

persuadido della que aquello que alli se predicaba era bueno aunque este biene entendia que no lo era …' (AHN INQ, Lib. 1150, f. 75v).
6. '… como le tratan a este con mas respecto por ser musico no le obligan ni fuercan a que acuda a los dichas ceremonias …' (ibid., f. 78v).
7. Benjamin Hazard, *Faith and patronage: the political career of Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire c.1560–1629* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 76–126.
8. (AHN INQ Lib. 1150, f. 75r). Francis Beahy, cleric, was the interpreter.
9. AGS Estado 1659 (Madrid, June–July 1620).
10. 'Un breve relación de gobierno temporal de los herejes en el reyno de Irlanda' (1619). See Óscar Recio Morales, 'El pensamiento politico irlandés en España en el siglo XVII' in *Chronica Nova*, 29 (2002), pp. 245–75, at p. 258.
11. Michael Questier (ed.), *Stuart dynastic policy and religious politics 1621–1625* (New York, 2009), pp. 18–53.
12. AHN INQ 3715 (Madrid, 12 Aug. 1622).
13. Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: the cultural politics of the Spanish Match* (Yale, 2003), p. 51.
14. Ibid., p. 52, citing AGS, Estado 8341, 64.
15. Ibid., pp. 100ff.
16. AHN INQ 3715, exp. 39. 'Borador de la informacion dicho delo que contiene la informacion que se hico como un page del principe de Gales abia muerto catolico Cristiano et debajo de la obediencia de la santa iglesia catolica romana.'
17. Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, first count of Gondomar was named Spanish ambassador to London in 1612 and again in 1620.
18. Patrick Comerford to Luke Wadding, Waterford, 22 Nov. 1629 in Brendan Jennings, *Wadding papers 1614–1638* (Dublin, 1953), p. 321.
19. R.A. Stradling, *The Spanish monarchy and Irish mercenaries: The Wild Geese in Spain 1618–68* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 21–30; Eduardo de Mesa, *The Irish in the Spanish armies in the seventeenth century* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 111–36.
20. Karin Schüller, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Spanien und Irland: Diplomatie, Handel und die soziale Integration katholischer Exulanten* (Münster, 1999), pp. 75–106.
21. See Alexis D. Brito Conzález, 'Visitas de navío en el Tribunal de la Inquisición de Canarias en el siglo XVI' in *Vegueta*, 3 (1997–8), pp. 89–100. For later periods, see Elisa Torres Santana, 'Visitas de navíos extranjeros en Canarias durante el siglo XVII' in *V coloquio de Historia Canario–Americana 1982* (Las Palmas, 1985), pp. 424–44; Jésus González Chavez Mendenez, 'Las visitas de navío en el siglo XVIII' in *VII coloquio de Historia Canario–Americana 1986* (Las Palmas, 1990), pp. 713–32.
22. Richard Comerford acted in this capacity in La Coruña. See *Archivicum Hibernicum*, lvi (2002), pp. 80, 90.
23. AMC INQ 217.011 (Santa Cruz de la Palma, 23 Feb. 1600).
24. AMC INQ 217.029 (La Palma, 1602).
25. AMC INQ 219.013 (Santa Cruz, 1628). Theirs was a varied cargo consisting of sardines, salmon, timber, candles, stockings and canvas.
26. AMC INQ 227.003 (La Oratava, 1695). It carried a cargo of flour, beef, sails, butter, wax, cloth and barrel staves.
27. de Mesa, *Irish in the Spanish armies*, pp. 111–36.
28. Ibid., p. 214.
29. AHN INQ 2042, exp. 89, ff. 2v–3v (Santiago, 1648).

30. Antonio José Rodríguez Hernández, 'La presencia military irlandesa en el ejército de Extremadura (1640–68)' in Igor Pérez Tostado and Enrique García Hernán (eds), *Irlanda y el Atlántico Ibérico* (Valencia, 2010), pp. 127–53.
31. See the case of Juanna Bared, a Scot (AHN INQ Lib 837, ff. 369r–370r (San Sebastián, 1647)).
32. AHN INQ Lib. 837, f. 371v (San Sebastián, 1648). Barry had previously been resident in the friary at Alcalá.
33. AHN INQ Lib. 837, ff. 188v–190r (San Sebastián, 1640–1).
34. AHN INQ Lib. 838, f. 81r (San Sebastián, 1649).
35. AHN INQ Lib. 837, ff. 208r–209r (Bilbao, 1642).
36. AHN INQ Lib. 837, ff. 373r–374r (Bilbao, 1647).
37. AHN INQ Lib. 838, f. 257r (Bilbao, 1652).
38. Ciaran O'Scea, 'Privileges for the Irish in the kingdom of Castile' in David Worthington (ed.), *British and Irish emigrants and exiles in Europe, 1603–1688* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 121–2.
39. See Chapter 7.
40. AHN INQ 1416, exp. 19.
41. They were interred in the cemetery of the church of San Nicolas. See testimony of Denis O'Crowley (ibid.).
42. Described as 'hija de Francisco Martinez, hijo de Gaspar Moreno y de Juana Martinez'.
43. AHN INQ 1416, exp. 19 (1637).
44. Testimony of Dermot Conrrio, mayordomo to the 'conde de Binave' (ibid.).
45. Testimony of Aidan Roche of Kinsale (Quinçar). The 60-year-old was living in the calle San Juan and was married to Maria Masquera. They kept a number of Irish lodgers (ibid.).
46. Testimony of Eugene MacCarthy, abbot of Fermoy and Dominic Conry (ibid.).
47. Testimony of Dominico Conrreo. He was living in the calle de Toledo, beside the Irish college. He is described as 'coronista' (chronicler) (ibid.).
48. Testimony of Dermot McCarthy, 40-year-old member of the Spanish Navy and a native of 'Quilivertan'. He was staying in the calle San Juan with Maria Mosquera and her husband, Aidan Roche (ibid.).
49. Testimony of Robert Power, Waterford. The 50-year-old had his own house in the calle San Juan and had been in Madrid for about fifteen years (ibid.).
50. AHN INQ 1784, exp. 10 (Valencia, 1637).
51. Falvey's niece and heir, Catalina Conaldo y Falveo, in 1638, petitioned. the royal treasury for payment of his outstanding salary of 200 ducats (AGS CJH 790 (1638)).
52. Ciaran O'Scea, 'The devotional world of the Irish Catholic exile in early modern Galicia, 1558–1666' in Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe 1580–1815* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 27–48.
53. AHN INQ 129, exp. 6 (Madrid, 1652).
54. He deserted at Bajadoz with a Hugh Ronan and both crossed into Portugal. On this campaign, see Hernández, 'La presencia militar irlandesa en el ejército de Extremadura (1640–1668)', pp. 127–53.
55. See Hugh Fenning, 'Irishmen ordained in Lisbon 1587–1625, 1641–60' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 31–2 (1989–90), pp. 113–14.
56. 'o por tristeza o por costumbre'.

57. He was Diego Mesía Felípez de Guzmán y Dávila (1580–1655). His mother, Leonor de Guzmán, was an aunt of the count-duke Olivares.
58. AHN INQ Lib. 1150, ff. 105r–111r.
59. AHN INQ 4432, exp. 14, Madrid, 1663.
60. Three students with this family name were in Santiago in the mid-seventeenth century. See Patricia O Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela 1605–1769* (Dublin, 2007), p. 99.
61. AHN INQ 1829, exp. 1 (Canaries, 1643).
62. Emilio González López, *Los Politicos Gallegos en la corte de España* (Vigo, 1969), p. 292.
63. This was one of the three chairs of grammar in the faculty of Arts. See Salvador Cabeza de León, *Historia de la Universidad de Santiago* (3 vols, Santiago, 1945–7).
64. Ibid., i, pp. 327–8.
65. Xesús Alonso Montero, 'Palabras lidas polo profesor Alonso Montero no acto oficial de entrega dunha parte do seu arquivo filolóxico á Universidade de Santiago de Compostela' in *Madrygal*, 14 (2012), pp. 125–9, at pp. 128–9.
66. Cabeza de León, *Historia*, ii, p. 448.
67. Ibid.
68. See Patricia O Connell, 'The Irish College, Santiago de Compostela: 1605–1767' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 50 (1996), pp. 19–28.
69. 'Informacion de Patricio Cisnote, maestro de Gramatica en la universidad de Santiago acerca del seminario irlandes de la dicha ciudad de Santiago', Santiago, 28 Dec. 1612 (RLM, Sal. Arch., Leg 35/4).
70. AHN INQ 2042, exp. 60 (7), ff. 10v–15r (1622) Tribunal de Santiago, relaciones de causas.
71. Ibid., ff. 11v–12v.
72. Ibid., ff. 12v–13r. See Gonzalez López, *Los politicos gallegos*, p. 296.
73. Nabil Matar, 'English accounts of captivity in North Africa and the Middle East, 1577–1625' in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54, 2 (2001), pp. 553–72.
74. Bartolomé Bennassar, *Les chrétiens d'Allah. L'histoire extraordinarie des renégats XVI–XVII siècles* (Paris, 1989).
75. Ellen G. Friedman, 'North African piracy on the coast of Spain in the seventeenth century: a new perspective on the expulsion of the Moriscos' in *International History Review*, 1, 1 (1979), pp. 1–16.
76. Theresa Denise Murray, 'From Baltimore to Barbary: the 1631 sack of Baltimore' in *History Ireland*, 14, 4 (July 2006), pp. 14–18.
77. AGS GA Leg. 883, Council of War, 12 Jan. 1622. The author is indebted to Dr Eduardo de Mesa for generously sharing with him references regarding the *Imperial* and *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*.
78. AGS GA Leg. 833, Council of War, 9 Dec. 1622.
79. Records of 10,000 redemptions, carried out by these two religious orders between 1575 and 1769, exist. On the extension of their mission to the Irish, see AGS GA Leg. 954, memorial of count of Berehaven, Madrid, 18 Aug. 1627. See also Friedman, 'North African piracy', p. 5.
80. Irish petitioners in Spain argued that because of their common Milesian ancestry with the Spanish, the Irish ought to be treated equally. See AGS GA Leg. 954, Council of War, 18 Aug. 1627.
81. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 5626, 26 June 1626.
82. AHN INQ Lib. 734, ff. 37v–38v.

83. Papal collector to Propaganda, APF SOCG 104, ff. 131–2, cited in Hugh Fenning, 'Irish Dominicans at Lisbon before 1700: a biographical register' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 42 (2000), pp. 27–65 at p. 27.
84. APF SOCG 103, ff. 122–39; 104, ff. 141–4; 135, f. 529, cited in Fenning, 'Irish Dominicans at Lisbon', p. 51.
85. Hugh Fenning, 'Irish material in the registers of the Dominican masters general, 1390–1649' in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 49 (1969), pp. 249–336 at p. 281.
86. AGS Estado Leg. 2752.
87. Thomas S. Flynn, *The Irish Dominicans 1536–1641* (Dublin, 1993), p. 115.
88. See Daniel Panzac, *Les Corsaires barbaresques: la fin d'une épopée, 1800–1820* (Paris, 1999); R.C. Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters* (Basingstoke, 2003).

5 The Irish in Spanish America

1. Joyce Lormier, *English and Irish settlement on the River Amazon, 1550–1646*, Haklyut Society, 2nd ser., 171 (London, 1989).
2. León G. Campbell, 'Foreigners in Peruvian society during the eighteenth century' in *Revista de Historia de América*, 73/74 (1972), pp. 153–63.
3. Elenora Poggio, 'La migracion de Europeos sepetentrionales a la Nueva España a través de los documentos inquisitoriales a finales del siglo xvi y principios de siglo xviii' in Fernando Navarro Antolín (ed.), *Orbis incognitus: avisos y legajos del Nuevo Mundo* (2 vols, Madrid, 2007), ii, pp. 469–77. She cites the cases of John Murphy (1674) and Denis Collins (1694). See also David Beers Quinn, *Ireland and America: their early associations, 1500–1640* (Liverpool, 1991).
4. See Chapter 2.
5. It is only for the last quarter of the seventeenth century that official evidence exists of Irish exemption from the *composición*. See Elenora Poggio, 'Las composiciones de extranjeros en la Nueva España 1595–1700' in *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 10 (2007), pp. 177–93, at p. 188.
6. On the conversos in Mexico, see Fabio Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce: Guillén Lombardo e l'Inquisizione in Messico* (Rome, 1999), pp. 74ff.
7. Richard E. Greenleaf, *The Mexican Inquisition of the sixteenth century* (Albuquerque, 1969); 'The great visitas of the Mexican Holy Office, 1645–1669' in *The Americas*, 44, 4 (Apr. 1988), pp. 399–420.
8. Fermina Alvarez Alonso, 'Herejes ante la inquisicón de Cartagena de Indias' in *Revista de la Inquisición*, 6 (1997), pp. 239–69; A.M. Splendiani, 'Los Protestantes y la Inquisición' in *Anurario Colombiano de Historia social y de la cultura*, 23 (1996), pp. 1–14.
9. Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce*, pp. 53–4.
10. Cayetana Álvarez de Toledo, *Juan de Palafox, obispo y virrey* (Madrid, 2011), pp. 215–349.
11. For Martin, see Chapter 2; for Lamport, see Chapter 6.
12. José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisitión en Cartagena de Indias* (Santiago de Chile, 1899), p. 28; *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima (1569–1820)* (Santiago de Chile, 1887), i, p. 296.
13. Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de Lima*, i, 260, 307.

14. 'Se denunció por consejos de su confesor, de que sirviendo de grumete en un barco, en su país, no se quitó el sombrero al pasar unos italianos, diciendo que no lo hacía porque eran papistas' (1587). Ibid. For similar charges, see Issac Martin, *The Tryal and suffering of Mr Issac Martin …* (London, 1724), p. 34.
15. 'porque habia nacido en tiempos en que eran católicos en Inglaterra, sufrió penas de cárcel' (Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de Lima*, ibid.).
16. 'En España no fué aprobado el procedimiento de la Inquisición del Perú en lo que respecta a estos reos, pues se mandó fuesen absueltos ad cautelam i que la abjuración que habían hecho no los constituyese en relapsos, en caso de reincidencia, debiendo alzárseles la reclusion i quitárseles el hábito i restituírseles sus bienes'. Ibid.
17. Another Irish member of this group was Christopher Palar (Pollard?) who was taken at Yaguana and sent to Santo Domingo. See Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de Lima*, i, 307.
18. AGN INQ Tomo 167 (1598).
19. This was the case during the trial of John Martin, for instance. See Chapter 2.
20. See J.G. Johnson, 'The Spanish southeast in the seventeenth century' in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 16, 1 (1932), pp. 17–26; Jack P. Greene, 'Early modern Southeastern North America and the broader Atlantic and American Worlds' in *Journal of Southern History*, 73, 3 (2007), pp. 525–38.
21. AHN INQ Lib. 164, ff. 398r–401r (Mexico, 1604).
22. Igor Pérez Tostado, 'La llegada de irlandeses a la frontera caribeña hispana en el siglo XVIII' in Enrique García Hernán and Óscar Recio Morales (eds), *Extranjeros en el ejército: militares irlandeses en la sociedad española, 1580–1818* (Madrid, 2007), pp. 301–14.
23. Nicholas P. Canny, 'English migration into and across the Atlantic during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in Nicholas P. Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the move: studies on European migration, 1500–1800* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 39–75. On the opportunities and challenges for Irish trade in the zone, see R.C. Nash, 'Irish Atlantic trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 42, 3 (1985), pp. 329–56.
24. Thomas Dandelet, 'Spanish conquest and colonization at the centre of the Old World: The Spanish nation in Rome, 1555–1625' in *Journal of Modern History*, 69, 3 (1999), pp. 479–511.
25. Aubrey Gwynn, 'Early Irish emigration to the West Indies (1612–1643)' in *Studies*, xviii (1929), pp. 651–3.
26. AHN INQ 1023, ff. 223r, 382r–383r.
27. AHN INQ Lib. 1021, f. 92rv (Cartagena, 1646).
28. Aubery Gwynn, 'Indentured servants and negro slaves in Barbados 1642–1650' in *Studies*, xix (1930), pp. 279–94; Carl Bridenbaugh and Roberta Bridenbaugh, *No peace beyond the line: the English in the Caribbean 1624–1690* (Oxford, 1972); Louis Cullen, *A New History of Ireland* (1989), iii, pp. 600ff.
29. Louis Cullen, 'The Irish diaspora of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *European on the move: studies on European migration 1500–1800* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 126–8.
30. Tostado, 'La llegada de irlandeses', p. 313.
31. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 4300, ff. 1–8 (1631). See Pablo Antônio Iglesias Magalhães and Cassiana Maria Mingotti Gabrielli, 'Católico, de coração!: um wild

geese [sic] no Santo Oficio de Lisbon' in *Historia* (São Paulo), 30, 2 (2011), pp. 293–311.
32. The Ottomans did likewise. See Nabil Matar, 'English accounts of captivity in North Africa and the Middle East, 1577–1625' in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54, 2 (2001), pp. 553–72, at p. 557.
33. AHN INQ Lib. 1021, ff. 271r–281r (Cartagena, 1647).
34. See, for instance, the 1583 case of the Londoner John Sherwin (AHN INQ 108, exp. 11) and that of the Bristol-born Edward Francis (AHN INQ 1829).
35. AHN INQ Lib. 1021, f. 271r.
36. Ibid., ff. 437v–439r (Bogota, 1655).
37. AHN INQ 1023, ff. 223r, 382r–383r (Cartagena, 1685).
38. On migration to Jamaica, see Trevor Burnard, 'European migration to Jamaica, 1665 to 1780' in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 53, 4 (1996), pp. 769–96.
39. An analogous case occurred in 1811 on the Canary Islands, when two North American sailors, one called Augustus Meyers Savage, condemned to death for the onboard murder of a priest, were reconciled by the Canaries Inquisition, the last such act it performed. See Francisco Fajardo Spínola, *Las conversions de protestantes en Canarias. Siglos XVII y XVIII* (Las Palmas, 1996), pp. 75–6.
40. On the international dimension, see Werner Thomas, 'Misioneros flamencos en America Latina' in *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 4 (Historia Moderna), t. 7 (1994), pp. 451–78; *Memorial que Fray Juan de Santander de la Orden de San Francisco, Commissario General de Indias …* (Madrid, 1630).
41. Jim Norris, 'The Franciscans in New Mexico, 1692–1754: towards a new assessment' in *The Americas*, 51, 2 (Oct. 1994), pp. 151–71, at p. 160.
42. Antonio Rubial García, 'Religiosos viajeros en el mundo hispánico en la época de los Austrias (el caso de Nueva España)' in *Historia Mexicana*, 61, 3 [243] (2012), pp. 813–48.
43. Charles F. Nunn, *Foreign immigrants in early Bourbon Mexico 1700–1760* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 42–6.
44. AGI Indiferente 428, Leg. 35, ff. 157–60 (Madrid, 19 Dec. 1620).
45. Natalia Silva Prada, 'Orígines de una leyenda en el siglo XVII: redes irlandeses de communicación y propaganda politico …' in *Signos históricos*, 22 (2009), p. 27; Norman Newton, *Thomas Gage in Spanish America* (London, 1969), pp. 19, 26, 75–6.
46. AHN INQ Lib. 1021, f. 96v; A.M. Splendiani et al. (eds), *Cinquenta años de la inquisición en el Tribunal de Cartagena de Indias 1610–1660* (4 vols, Santafé de Bogotá, 1997), i, p. 202.
47. Thomas, 'Misioneros flamencos', p. 475.
48. Guillermo Furlong, *Misiones y sus pueblos de Guaranies, 1610–1813* (Buenos Aires, 1962); *Tomas Fields SJ y su 'Carta al preposito general 1601'* (Buenos Aires, 1971).
49. Dermot O'Brien and Michael Kehoe in 1644 explained to the Madrid Inquisition that 'en todo el reyno de Irlanda llaman a los naturales de Waterfordia los papistas por que como son catolicos y obedientes a su santidad y mas opuestos a los herejes' (AHN INQ 1319, exp. 2).
50. See Thomas Worcester (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits* (Cambridge, 2008); Joseph A. Gagliano et al. (eds), *Jesuit encounters in the New World: Jesuit chroniclers, geographers, educators and missionaries in the Americas 1549–1767* (Rome, 1997).

51. Paul O'Dea SJ, 'Father Peter Wadding SJ: chancellor of the university of Prague, 1629–1641' in *Studies*, 30, 119 (Sept. 1941), pp. 337–48.
52. Deposition of William Casey, Madrid, 1 Feb. 1644 (AHN INQ 1319, (2)).
53. Deposition of John Convey Beare, Madrid, 6 Mar. 1644 (AHN INQ 1319 (2)).
54. See John Francis Bannon, 'The mission frontier in Sonora, 1620–1687' in Charles W. Polzer et al. (eds), *The Jesuit missions of Northern Mexico* (London, 1991), pp. 35–202; Charles W. Polzer, *Rules and precepts of the Jesuit mission of Northwestern New Spain* (Tucson, 1976); Delfina E. López Sarrelangue, 'Las misiones Jesuitas de Sonora y Sinaloa, base de la colonización de baja California' in *Estudios de Historia Novohispana*, ii (1967), pp. 140–201.
55. Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce*, p. 80.
56. Ascunción Lavrin and Rosalva Loreto López (eds), *La escritura feminina en la espiritualidad barroca novohispana. Siglos xvii y xviii*. (Puebla, 2002); Rosalva Loreto López, 'Oir, ver y escribir: los textos hagio-biograficos y espirituales del Padre Miguel Godinez, c. 1630' in Lavrin and López (eds), *Dialogos espirituales: manuscritos femininos hispanoamericanos siglos xvi–xix* (Puebla, 2006), pp. 154–83.
57. Sr Francisca herself used earlier texts composed by the prioress, Melchora de la Asunción (d. 1631), and Sr Francisca.
58. This is held in the Archivo del convento de Santa Teresa de Puebla. See Rosalva Loreto López, 'Los manuscritos confesionales, un acercamiento a la mística novohispanica' in *Estudios Humanísticos. Historia*, 5 (2006), pp. 93–119; Manuel Ramos Medina, 'Isabel de la Encarnación, monja posesa del siglo xvii' in *Manifestaciones religiosas en el mundo colonial Americano* (Mexico City, 1994), pp. 41–51.
59. The text was modified between 1646 and 1653 by Br Augustín de la Madre de Dios. It was published by Pedro de Salmerón, a Carmelite chaplain, in 1675, with no mention of Wadding, as *Vida de la venerable madre Isabel de la Encarnación, Carmelita descalza natural de la ciudad de los Angeles compúsola el licenciado Pedro de Salmerón, presbítero natural de esta ciudad* (Mexico, 1675).
60. Rosalva Loreto López, 'The devil, women and the body in seventeenth-century Puebla convents' in *The Americas*, 59, 2 (Oct. 2002), pp. 181–99.
61. For instance, he followed the Church Fathers, and especially Saint Bonaventure, in repeating that the revelations made to the nuns were not essential to the spiritual life, nor acts of personal virtue nor meritorious but rather 'an accidental ornament of the spiritual life'. See Michael Wadding, 'Escrito del Padre Miguel Godínez', *c*. 1630, unfoliated.
62. Charles E.P. Simmons, 'Palafox and his critics: reappraising a controversy' in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 46 (1966), pp. 394–408; Jonathan I. Israel, *Race, class and politics in colonial Mexico 1610–1670* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 199–247.
63. In 1647 Palafox's relations with certain nuns were investigated by the Mexican inquisition. See 'Información contra Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, por relaciones ilícitas con religiosas' (AHN INQ 1740, exp. 15, ff. 1r–5v).
64. Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce*, pp. 99–102.
65. Antonio Rubial García, 'La obediencia ciega. Hagiografía jesuítica femenina en la Nueva España del siglo XVIII' in Perla Chinchilla et al. (eds), *Escrituras de la Modernidad: los jesuitas entre cultura retórica y cultura científica* (Santa Fé, 2008), pp. 161–76, at p. 170; Doris Bieñko de Peralta, 'Juan de Jesús Maria y

Miguel Godínez: dos propuestas del discernimiento de los espíritus' in Alicia Mayer and Ernesto de la Torre Villar (eds), *Religión, poder y autoridad en la nueva España* (Mexico, 2004), pp. 125–42.
66. Virve Piho, *La secularización de las parroquias en la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1981).
67. See Chapter 4.
68. AHN INQ 1319, exp. 2.
69. Eduardo de Mesa, *The Irish in the Spanish armies in the seventeenth century* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 132–3.

6 Inquisitorial Intrigue and the Mexican Irish

1. Jim Norris, 'The Franciscans in New Mexico, 1692–1754: towards a new assessment' in *The Americas*, 51, 2 (Oct. 1994), pp. 151–71.
2. Possibly the Fra Miguel de Santa Maria OFM, who testified against William Lamport before the Mexican Inquisition in 1642 (AHN, INQ Lib. 1065, f. 376r).
3. His name in religion was Diego de la Cruz. For his 1662 process before the Mexican Inquisition, see AHN INQ 1732, exp. 33. See Natalia Silva Prada, 'Orígines de una leyenda en el siglo XVII: redes irlandeses de communicación y propaganda politico …' in *Signos históricos*, 22 (2009), pp. 8–43.
4. He was known to Michael Wadding. See Silva Prada, 'Orígines', p. 20.
5. AHN INQ 1732, exp. 33, f. 26r.
6. AHN INQ 1732, exp. 33, ff. 2v and 26v; see Silva Prada, 'Orígines', pp. 22–4.
7. Ibid., f. 45.
8. Ibid., ff. 39 and 49. See Silva Prada, 'Orígines', p. 31.
9. AHN INQ 416 exp. 30 and 35.
10. (London, 1648, 2nd ed., 1655). See AHN INQ 1732, exp. 33, f. 38r. See Silva Prada, 'Orígines', p. 38.
11. For what is most probably Lynch's will, see AGI Contratación, 461 N 1 R2 (1679). He left monies to the Irish college in Seville and to his brother Dominic Lynch OP, dean of studies in the Dominican college of St Paul in the same city.
12. See Chapter 4.
13. Lamport later spoke of his services to the London Jesuits (AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 23, f. 24v). On the London Jesuits, see Martin J. Havran, *The Catholics in Caroline England* (Stanford, 1962), p. 55.
14. RLM, Salamanca Archives, S.33/1/15. This is the record of disciplinary measures taken against two students. Lamport was called as a witness (1631).
15. Jaime Conteras, *El Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Galicia* (Madrid, 1982).
16. For Lamport's 1642 account of his role in the incident, see AHN INQ 1731 exp. 53, 20, ff. 1r–12r, at f. 4r. This is the record of his first audience with the Mexican Inquisition.
17. This incident could be that related in AHN INQ 2012, exp. 72, ff. 2r–3r, undated.
18. Gerard Ronan, *The Irish Zorro: the extraordinary adventures of William Lamport 1615–1659* (Dingle, 2004), p. 54.
19. On royal interests, particularly with regard to *conversos* in Mexico, see Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *A nation upon the ocean sea: Portugal's Atlantic*

diaspora and the crisis of the Spanish Empire 1492–1640 (Oxford, 2007), chapter five.

20. Natalia Muchnik, 'Being against, being with: Marrano self-identification in inquisitorial Spain (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries). An essay' in *Jewish History*, 25 (2011), pp. 153–74.
21. Their crypto-Judaism tended to be based on social practice, influenced by mobility, secrecy and fear of betrayal, a classic marker of a secret society. They were seen by some, including Palafox and the local Inquisition, as a potential fifth column, with Dutch or Portuguese invaders. For a general survey, see Jonathan Israel, *Diasporas within a diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the world maritime empires, 1540–1740* (Leiden, 2002).
22. Miguel León-Portila, 'Presencia Portuguesa en México colonial' in *Estudios de Historia Novohispana*, 32 (2005), pp. 13–27.
23. Lamport to Philip IV, Mexico, 28 Nov. 1641 See ITESM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Colección Conway, Papeles de Guillén de Lampart, ff. 157r–158v. This document was among those requisitioned by the Inquisition on Lamport's arrest in October 1642.
24. In the colonial pecking order, criollos were of Spanish descent but local birth.
25. He also seems to have been in contact with African slaves. See ITMBC, Colección Conway, Papeles de Guiléen de Lampart, f. 135r.
26. See Chapter 4.
27. Ronan, *Irish Zorro*, p. 144.
28. Lamport insisted, throughout his case, that his papers, which the Inquisition had deemed subversive, were in fact elaborated in the king's service. (AHN INQ Lib. 1065, ff. 377v–378r).
29. 'Por quanto Dios nuestro señor' *c*. 1642 (ITESM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Colección Conway, Papeles de Guillén de Lampart, ff. 40r–47v).
30. See Stefania Tutino, *Empire of souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth* (Oxford, 2010).
31. See Michael A. Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558–1829* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 122–3.
32. See Ryan Dominic Crewe, 'Brave New Spain: an Irishman's independence plot in seventeenth-century Mexico' in *Past and Present* 207 (May 2010), pp. 53–87, at p. 68.
33. This was the gist of the intelligence Lamport claimed to have supplied to the king in his 1650 confession to the Inquisition (AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 23, f. 31v).
34. Fabio Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce: Guillen Lombardo e l'Inquisizione in Messico* (Roma, 1999) p. 121.
35. AHN INQ Lib. 1065, f. 375r (relación de causas).
36. Ibid., f. 379rv ('Memoria de las relaciones de causas, 1658'). Don Diego García Sarmiento de Sotomayor, marquis of Sobroso and 2nd count of Salvatierra (*c*. 1595–1659), arrived in Mexico in late 1642.
37. 'Tocan a la causa de Dn Guillen Lombardo de Guzman preso por supersticioso y sospechoso pacto con el demonio …' 30 Oct. 1642 (AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, copy).
38. Lamport to the Inquisitors (AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 23, f. 32r).
39. 'Audiencia que se tuvo con Don Guillen Lombardo de Guzman, Mexico', 30 Oct. 1642 (AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 20, ff. 1r–102r).

40. The king to the Mexican Inquisitors, Madrid, 12 May 1643 (AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 2, f. 1rv, copy).
41. See Mexican Inquisitors to *Suprema*, Mexico, 15 Oct. 1643 (AHN, INQ, 1731, exp. 53, 5, f. 1rv, copy).
42. On 11 Oct. 1645, a list of seventy-one charges were read against him, including the charge of treason. See AHN INQ Lib. 1065, f. 378v and AGN INQ 1497, exp. 2, ff. 1r–258r, the latter cited by Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce*, p. 355, fn 4.
43. Troncarelli, *La spade e la croce*, p. 235.
44. For Juan Francisco León Jarmaillo's declaration concerning Lamport's alleged conspiracy with Palafox in 1646–7, see AHN INQ 1740, exp. 10, ff. 1r–6v; Lib 1065, f. 380v. The other inmate testifying against Lamport on this score was Gaspar Váez Sevilla (AHN INQ, Lib. 1065, f. 380v). See Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce*, p. 249.
45. Cayetana Álvarez de Toledo, *Juan de Palafox, obispo y virrey* (Madrid, 2011), pp. 351–82.
46. AHN INQ Lib. 1065, f. 380r.
47. Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce*, p. 252.
48. 'Votos en la causa de D Guillen Lombardo (alias) Guillermo Lamparte' (AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 1, f. 3rv, copy).
49. As they put it 'lo que se puede justamente temer del, en qualquera manera que sea desphacado'. Ibid.
50. Mexican Inquisitors to *Suprema*, Mexico, 21 July 1650 (AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 10, f. 1rv).
51. Lamport to Philip IV, Mexico, 28 Nov. 1641 (ITESM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Colección Conway, Papeles de Guillén de Lampart, f. 157v).
52. On Botello, see 'Cuentas de los bienes secuestrados a Francisco Botello' (AHN INQ 4813, exp. 28, ff. 1–12). He abjured at the *auto de fe* of 11 Apr. 1649 but was subsequently relaxed for recidivism, 19 Nov. 1652. See AHN INQ 5347, exp. 3.
53. On Treviño, see 'Cuentas tomadas por el contador …' (AHN INQ 4812, exp. 4 (1655–7). He and his wife, María Gomez, were executed.
54. On Rafaela Enríquez and her family, see 'Cuentas de los bienes secuestrados …' (AHN INQ 4813, exp. 22) and 'Visita del inquisidor Pedro de Medina Rico …' (AHN INQ 1737, exp. 113).
55. On Simón Váez de Silva, see 'Pleitos fiscales …' (AHN INQ 4807, exp. 6 (1647–63)).
56. Ronan, *Irish Zorro*, p. 197.
57. Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce*, p. 206, citing AGN INQ Tom 393, 17, f. 28r, for her deposition against Lamport, 1642.
58. AHN INQ Lib. 1065, ff. 376v–377r (relación de causas).
59. For a summary of his case, see Mexican Inquisitors to *Suprema*, 24 May 1649 (AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 9, ff. 1r–2r). For Lamport's version, see AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 23, ff. 65r–66r.
60. Ronan, *Irish Zorro*, p. 221.
61. This is reproduced in Lewin Boleslao, *Singular proceso de Salomón Machorro (Juan de León) Israelita liornés condenado por la Inquisición* (Buenos Aires, 1908), pp. 410–11.
62. Studnicki-Gizbert, *A nation upon the ocean sea*, pp. 123–50.
63. According to the Inquisitors themselves, several witnesses against Lamport commented on his expressed contempt for the Holy Office and its officers (AHN INQ Lib. 1065, f. 377r).

64. '… assi mesmo sean los inquisidores de España y de todas las demas partes pressos como estos [Mexicanos] pues todos estan por un mismo estilo convencidos de los mismos delitos que constan por fee catolica …' (Lamport to Philip IV, 26 Dec. 1650 (AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 24, f. 120v, copy)).
65. On his ingenious manufacture of ink, see AHN INQ Lib. 1065, f. 382r.
66. For his extraordinarily detailed testimony, see 'Confesion de Diego Pinto complice en la fuga de Don Guillen Lombardo', Mexico, 12 Jan. 1651 (AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 21, ff. 1r–62r).
67. Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce*, pp. 256 and 168.
68. AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 1, ff. 34r–41v (Copy of Mexican Inquisition report to *Suprema* regarding Lamport's escape, 26 Dec. 1650, Mexico, 24 Apr. 1651, received in Madrid 8 Aug. 1651).
69. He took refuge in the house of a tailor. See 'Confesion de Francisco de Garnica' (AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 22, ff. 1r–12r).
70. Included among the papers delivered to Alba was a copy of Lamport's 'Declaracion de los justos jucios de Dios'. For a version of this, see AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 1, ff. 21r–23v.
71. AGN INQ 1497, exp. 1, f. 8.
72. Some witnesses interpreted Lamport as having said that the Jew Trebiño was in heaven while Archbishop Mañozca was in hell (AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 23, ff. 1r–119v). See Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce*, pp. 269–71.
73. For a version of this, see AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 1, ff. 21r–23v.
74. AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 24, ff. 121r–122v (copy).
75. L.M.E. Shaw, *The Anglo-Portuguese alliance and the English merchants in Portugal, 1654–1810* (London, 1998), pp. 24–5.
76. He had also included a letter to the visitor, AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 24, ff. 43v–44v (copy).
77. AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 1, f. 39v (Mexican Inquisitors' report on Lamport's 1650 escape).
78. Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce*, p. 283. .
79. AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 23, f. 116r, 'en esto que dice de Platon muestra el odio que tiene a los tribunals del Santo Oficio deseando extiparlos de la Christianiad'; ibid., f. 119v, 'brota de neuvo la abercion y odio que tiene a las inquisitones todas y sus ministros'; ibid., f.120r, 'insiste en que se quiten los tribunals de el Santo Oficio de los reinos de su Majestad'.
80. 'Audiencia de su voluntad de D. Guillen Lombardo', 29 Dec. 1651 et seq (AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 23, ff. 1r–119r).
81. Mexican Inquisitors to *Suprema*, Mexico, 24 Apr. 1651, recd. Madrid, 8 Aug. 1651 (AHN INQ 1731, exp. 53, 1, ff. 34r–41v).
82. See Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce*, p. 285. On Rico, see also John F. Chuchiak IV, *The Inquisition in New Spain, 1536–1820* (Baltimore, 2012), p. 388, fn 61.
83. AHN INQ 1739, exp. 2, 'Testimonio de la primera visita a las cárceles … (1654)'.
84. AHN INQ Lib. 1065, f. 383v. See also Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce*, pp. 292–301.
85. There has been some literary study of Lamport's verse. See Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, *Don Guillén de Lámport y su 'Regio Salterio': Ms Latino inédito de 1655* (Mexico, 1948); Olivia Isidro Vazquez, 'Himnos novohispanos del siglo XVII: regium Psalterium Guillielmi Lombardi' (PhD, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico, 2011).

86. De Irala would be involved in the qualification of Lamport's submissions to the tribunal during the following years. For a summary of his report, see AHN INQ Lib. 1065, ff. 394ff. For instance, 'en dicho numero añade que es dotrina errónea..., y que parece defensor de judios …'.
87. According to Troncarelli, Rico acted cynically in Lamport's case to minimize reputational damage to the Inquisition. See Troncarelli, *La spada e la croce*, p. 312.
88. Rodrigo Ruiz de Zepeda Martínez, *Relación del auto general de la fe* (Mexico, 1659), pp. 43–4.
89. AHN INQ 1731, exp. 2, ff. 1–182.
90. AHN INQ 1732, f. 76v.
91. AHN INQ Lib. 1032, ff. 484v–488r.
92. Charles F. Nunn, *Foreign immigrants in early Bourbon Mexico 1700–1760* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 47–69.
93. Ibid., pp. 88–91.
94. AGN INQ Tomo 803, exp. 41, ff. 358–361; AGN INQ Tomo 1169, exp. 8, ff. 98–102.
95. AGN INQ Tomo 861, exp. 31, ff. 577–626; Conway Transcripts, CUL Add. 7277.
96. AGN INQ Tomo 824, exp.7, ff. 41–47 (Mexico, 1742).
97. AGN, INQ Tomo 1197 (Vera Cruz, 1780).
98. AGN INQ Tomo 961, exp. 5, ff. 1–116 (Mexico, 1756).

7 Irish Soldiers and the Inquisition, 1700–1750

1. For a contemporary literary account of English engagement in the war, see Daniel Defoe, *The military memoirs of Capt George Carleton* (London, 1727).
2. Earl of Nottingham to earl of Limerick, 24 Aug. and 14 Sept. 1703 (*Calendar of state papers domestic*; *Anne, 1703–1704* (London, 1924), pp. 99, 116, cited in John Bergin, 'Irish Catholics and their networks in eighteenth-century London' in *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 39, 1 (2015), p. 70.
3. Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition* (London, 1965), pp. 232–46.
4. Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: a global history, 1478–1834* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 446.
5. Maria del Pilar Dominguez Salgado, 'Inquisición y guerra de sucesión, 1700–1714' in *Espacio, tempo y forma [Serie iv, historia moderna]*, 8 (1995), pp. 175–89.
6. David Murphy, *The Irish Brigades 1685–2006* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 41–51.
7. Ambrose O'Connor OP to unknown, 1 May 1707 (AHN INQ 2508, exp. 4).
8. AHN INQ 2847 (Murcia, 1707).
9. AHN INQ 2508 (1), exp. 2 (Madrid, 1708).
10. 2 and 3 Anne, c. 13 (1703).
11. AHN INQ 2847 (Murcia, 1707).
12. AHN INQ 2847 (Murcia, 1707). '… estando medio borracho le avian ofrecido dinero por que sentase plaza de soldado en su compañía Inglessa'.
13. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 176r–180v (Madrid, 1707).
14. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 32r–37r (Madrid, 1705).
15. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 298r–306r and Leg. 2508 (1), exp. 2 (Madrid, 1708).

16. This is not a well-researched phenomenon, at least not for this period. See S.H.F. Johnson, 'The Irish establishment' in *The Irish Sword*, 1 (1949), pp. 34–5; Arthur Gilbert, 'Recruitment and reform in the East India Company army, 1760–1800' in *Journal of British Studies*, 15 (1975), pp. 93, 99, 100.
17. Ear cutting was specifically mentioned. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 176r–180v (Madrid, 1707).
18. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 170r–175v (Madrid, 1707).
19. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 82r–87r (Madrid, 1706).
20. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 88r–91v (Madrid, 1706).
21. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 55v–58v (Madrid, 1706).
22. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 77r–81r (Madrid, 1706).
23. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 264r–269r (Madrid, 1707). Patrick O'Lean, a deserter from the eastern front, made a similar claim (AHN INQ 2847 (Murcia, 1707)).
24. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 253r–257r (Madrid, 1707).
25. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 298r–306r and Leg. 2508 (1), exp. 2 (Madrid, 1708).
26. AHN INQ 2847 (Murcia, 1707).
27. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 264r–269r (Madrid, 1707).
28. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 429r–433r (Madrid, 1713).
29. Harte was literate and did not need an interpreter: 'aunque tardo en el ydioma, se explica bastantemente' (AHN INQ Lib. 1153, f. 431r).
30. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 290r–294r (Madrid, 1708).
31. 'sin que su padre lo supiese' (AHN INQ 2847 (Murcia, 1707)).
32. Evaristo Carlos Martínez-Radío Garrido, 'Prisioneros de guerra en el siglo XVIII: formas, usos, derechos y deberes del cautivo' in Pedro Oliver Olmo and Jesús Carlos Urda Lozano (eds), *La prisión y las instituciones punitivas en la investigación histórica* (Madrid, 2014), pp. 133–48.
33. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 5r–10r (Madrid, 1704).
34. Founded in 1704, based in Mahón in Menorca under Crofton and Daniel Mahony. See Óscar Recio Morales, 'Una nación inclinada al ruido de las armas: la presencia irlandesa en los ejércitos españoles 1580–1818' in *Tiempos Modernos. Revista electrónica de Historia Moderna*, iv, 10 (2004), pp. 1–15.
35. AHN INQ Lib.1153, ff. 209r–213r (Madrid, 1707).
36. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 170r–175v (Madrid, 1707).
37. 'el tiempo que tiene confesado ha seguido los errores de la secta de Lutero ha sido con la violencia y fuerza …'. (ibid., f. 175r).

38 AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 19r–22r (Madrid, 1704).

39. Madrid also had a number of specialized institutions catering for their fellow nationals. See Bernardo J. García García and Óscar Recio Morales (eds), *Las corporaciones de nación en la monarquía hispánica: identidad, patronazgo y redes de sociabilidad (1580–1750)* (Madrid, 2014).
40. It was run by the *Siervos de los pobres*. See Teresa Huguet Termes, 'Madrid hospitals and welfare in the context of the Habsburg empire' in *Medical History Supplement*, 29 (2009), pp. 64–85.
41. In 1719, O'Brennan was chaplain in the hospital of San Miguel in Estremera, in the Madrid region (AHN INQ 5186 (2), f. 35r (Madrid, 1719)).
42. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 382r–386v (Madrid, 1708).
43. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, f. 386r (Madrid, 1708).
44. AHN INQ Lib. 1154, ff. 91r–94v (Madrid, 1715).

45. Comyn had previously ministered to Irish soldiers like James Harte in Burgos (AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 429r–433r (Madrid, 1713)).
46. Jean O. McLachlan, *Trade and peace with Old Spain 1667–1760* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 68ff.
47. Regarding allegations concerning the treatment of Catholics in Gibraltar, see AHN INQ 3026 (Seville, 1712).
48. See Chapter 8.
49. Victoria Henshaw, 'A case study of Spanish archival research: the forgotten Jacobite invasion of 1719' in Enrique Hernán and M. Carmen Lario de Oñate (eds), *La presencia irlandesa durante las Cortes de Cádiz en España y América, 1812* (Madrid, 2013), pp. 383–90.
50. Louis Cullen, 'The Irish diaspora of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the move: studies on European migration 1500–1800* (Oxford, 1994), p. 125.
51. See Chapter 8.
52. See Chapter 9.
53. AHN INQ Lib. 1154, ff. 21r–26v (Madrid, 1714).
54. Despite his external renunciation, '… en su interior y secretamente quando podia y se hallava solo recava y se encomendava a Dios como catholico y apostolico romano' (ibid., f. 24v).
55. AHN INQ Lib. 1154, ff. 17r–20r (Madrid, 1714).
56. AHN INQ 3733, 269, ff. 1r–v (Oran, 1741).
57. AHN INQ Lib. 1156, ff. 39r–41r (Madrid, 1741). Magrane was rector from 1737 to 1747.
58. AHN INQ Lib. 1154, ff. 112r–116r (Madrid, 1716).
59. AHN INQ 3733, exp. 268, ff. 1–3 (Murcia, 1717).
60. In Britain, naval recruiters were generally unconcerned with religion, and from 1758 Irish Catholics were recruited into the British marines. In the army, on the contrary, Catholic recruitment was not generally possible until the lifting of the penal prohibition on Catholics bearing arms in 1793. See Cullen, 'The Irish diaspora', p. 129.
61. 'no se admita en mis tropas persona alguna que no sea catolico, y que si hubiere algunos, sean expelidos de ellas, y de estos reinos'.
62. Oscar Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish empire 1600–1825* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 191–2.
63. For the situation in the Canaries, see Francisco Fajardo Spínola, *Las Conversiones de protestantes en Canarias* (Las Palmas, 1996), pp. 84–9.
64. Benjamin Keene [British minister to Spain] to Newcastle [British secretary of state for foreign affairs], 6 Apr. 1736 (TNA, SPF, Sp., 125), cited in McLachlan, *Trade and peace with Old Spain 1667–1750*, pp. 99, 195.
65. AHN INQ Lib. 1154, ff. 211r–215r (Madrid, Mar. 1721).
66. He was chaplain in both the Hospital General and the Hospital de la Pasión, and also ministered to foreigners. See 'Testamento de don Therenzio MacKiernan' (AHPM, Protocol 14.748, f. 477 [Luis Bernardo del Valle] (Aug. 1725). The author owes this reference to Jose Luis and Óscar Hernanz Elvira.
67. For details on his family background, see his *Testimonio* (Madrid, 1745), p. 1 (AHN INQ 3679, exp. 12 (1745) and 'Alegación', ibid., ff. 23r–24r).
68. His uncle, Terence MacMahon, bishop of Killaloe, ordained him in 1727 (Lacy, *Testimonio*, p. 1).

69. He became bishop Limerick in 1737. See Patrick Fagan (ed.), *Ireland in the Stuart Papers* (2 vols, Dublin, 1995), i, 278.
70. The David Lacy, captain in the Ultonia regiment, may have been one of these (AHN INQ 3679, exp. 12, f. 104r). Also William Lacy, native of Bruree, Limerick, who was colonel of an infantry regiment in the Spanish service and a knight of St James. See Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart Papers*, i, 26.
71. See Testimony of John Lacy, Madrid, 30 Mar. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679, exp. 12, f. 89v).
72. (Mallorca, 1737). It was also called *Theologiae polemicae opusculum*.
73. Clarke was rector of the Scots College in Madrid and confessor to Philip V from 1726. See Leandro Martínez Peña, *El confessor del rey en el antiguo regimen* (Madrid, 2007), pp. 587, 590, 593, 768.
74. Lacy, *Opusculum*, p. ii.
75. In his own words, 'comio y vivio con herejes con alegria con el fin de catequisarlos por le bien de sus almas' (AHN INQ 3733, exp. 46, f. 24v).
76. Lacy to Inquisition, Madrid, 30 Jan. 1753 (ibid., f. 25v). The sentence against him in Tortosa was lifted on 26 Feb. 1741 (Lacy to Lorilla, 15 July 1745 (AHN INQ 3679, exp. 12, f. 107r).
77. Juan Manuel Diego López de Zúñiga Sotomayor y Castro, conde de Belalcázar (1686–1747).
78. José Carillo de Albarnoz y Montiel, first duke of Montemor (1735–47), was minister of war 1737–41.
79. Lacy, *Testimonio*, p. 6.
80. Postulation on behalf of John Lacy, Madrid, 22 May 1741 (Stuart Papers, 232/119, MFR 824 (cited in Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart Papers*, i, p. 326).
81. AHN Alcántara, 206, exp. 1080 (1744).
82. AHN Calatrava, exp. 1822; AHN Santiago, exp. 2344 and exp. 5794.
83. In 1744 he verbosely approved Luis de Flandes's *El antiguo academic contra el modern sceptico …*, (Madrid).
84. Juan de Lacy (ed.), *Edicto publicado en Irlanda de orden del Virrey y Consejo …* (Seville, 1744). This was the edict of 24 Feb. 1744.
85. Juan de Lacy (ed.), *Discursos exortatorios, que hizo a su exercito su Alteza Real Carlos Stuardo …* (Madrid, 1745).
86. AGS, Secretaría de Hacienda, 966/2 (Concesión de ayuda de costa a Don Juan de Lacy, presbitero irlandés, para pasar a predicar a su tierra, 8 Jan. 1750).
87. Cullen, 'The Irish diaspora', pp. 121–8.
88. Ibid., p. 134.
89. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, 'La Inquisición ante la pérdida de Gibraltar' in *Espacio, tiempo y forma [serie IV: historia moderna]*, 7 (1994), pp. 185–94.
90. AHN INQ 3059, exp. 14 (Cádiz, Dec. 1786).
91. AHN INQ 3059, exp. 16 (Cádiz, 1785).
92. AHN INQ 3059, exp. 23 (Cádiz, Dec. 1786).
93. AHN INQ 3059, exp. 13 (Cádiz, Aug. 1788).
94. AHN INQ 3059, exp. 10 (Cádiz, Mar. 1789).
95. AHN INQ 3059, exp. 28 (Cádiz, Mar. 1789).
96. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, pp. 264–5.
97. AHN INQ 3721, exp. 103 (Seville, 1778).
98. AHN INQ 3721, exp. 45, ff. 1r–2v.
99. AHN INQ Lib. 1157, ff. 199r–222r (Madrid, Aug. 1754).

100. A.H. de Oliveira Marques, *Historia da maçonaria em Portugal* (3 vols, Lisbon, 1990–7), i, 148–50.
101. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 14941 (June 1799).
102. Ibid. (Sept. 1799).
103. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 14047 (Sept. 1799).
104. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 13373 (Sept. 1799).
105. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 14997 (May 1799).
106. Bethencourt, *The Inquisition*, pp. 416–39.
107. AHN INQ 4499 (2), exp. 28, Declaración de Manuel Asuero, f. 2v, cited in A. Paz y Mélia, *Papeles de la Inquisición: catalogo y extractos* (2nd edn, Madrid, 1947), p. 193.
108. AHN INQ 4499 (2), exp. 30.

8 Eighteenth-Century Mercantile Diaspora

1. For a general overview, see Francisco Fajardo Spínola, *Extranjeros ante la Inquisición de Canarias en el siglo XVIII* (Las Palmas, 1982).
2. L.M. Cullen, 'Economic trends, 1660–91' in T.W. Moody et al. (eds), *A new history of Ireland: III: early modern Ireland 1543–1691* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 387–407; David Dickson, *New foundations: Ireland: 1660–1800* (Dublin, 2000), chapter 4; idem, *Old World colony: Cork and South Munster 1630–1830* (Cork, 2005); Thomas Truxes, *Irish American trade 1660–1783* (Cambridge, 1989).
3. R.A. Stradling, *The Spanish Monarch and Irish mercenaries: the Wild Geese in Spain, 1618–68* (Dublin, 1994), pp. 113–55.
4. Óscar Recio Morales, 'Conectores de imperios: la figura del comerciante irlandés en España y en el mundo Atlántico del XVIII' in Ana Crespo Solana (ed.), *Comunidades transnacionales: colonias de mercaderes extranjeros en el mundo Atlántico (1500–1800)* (Madrid, 2010), pp. 313–36.
5. TNA SPF Sp., 227, cited in Jean O. McLachlan, *Trade and peace with Old Spain, 1667–1750* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 213.
6. Ibid., p. 141.
7. In a 1718 decree, for instance, Philip V renewed the privileges granted to Irish Catholics domiciled in Spain by his predecessors (AGS Secretaría de Marina, Asuntos de particulares, Leg. 495 (23 Oct. 1718)).
8. For an overview of the earlier period, see Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *Silver, trade and war: Spain and America in the making of early modern Europe* (Baltimore, 2000). For the eighteenth century, see Alan J. Kuethe and Kenneth J. Adrien, *The Spanish Atlantic world in the eighteenth century; war and the Bourbon reforms 1713–1796* (Cambridge, 2014). McLachlan, *Trade and peace with Old Spain, 1667–1750*, remains a reference text.
9. Jimmy McCrohan, 'An Irish merchant in late seventeenth century Málaga' in Igor Pérez Tostado and Enrique García Hernán (eds), *Irlanda y el Atlántico Ibérico* (Madrid, 2010), pp. 23–33.
10. Ibid., pp. 32–3.
11. AHN Santiago, exp. 5793. Later, in 1764, the Irish mercantile community there included James MacNamara, William Terry, Timothy Power, Thomas Quilty, William Shesty and James Malloy (AHN Estado, 629). Others included

John Murphy of Waterford and the wealthy trader and ship owner John Galway, knight of Carlos III in 1789.

12. John Foxe, *Foxe's book of martyrs: being a complete history of the lives, sufferings and deaths of the Christian martyrs* [Henry Wightman (ed.)] (Boston, 1837), pp. 161–5.
13. Issac Martin, *The tryal and suffering of Mr Issac Martin who was put into the Inquisition in Spain for the sake of the Protestant religion* (London, 1723), p. 3.
14. Ibid., p. 35.
15. Ibid., pp. 65–6.
16. See Edward Clarke, *Letters concerning the Spanish nation: written at Madrid during the years 1760 and 1761* (London, 1763), pp. 32–7.
17. Bruce P. Lenman and John S. Gibson, *The Jacobite threat: rebellion and conspiracy 1688–1759* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 152–70.
18. It was published in London, 1723 and reappeared in several English and foreign editions. See Edward Peter, *Inquisition* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 193, 226.
19. His Irish character referees included six businessmen, a surgeon and four religious. See Rosario Barrionuevo Serrano and Carmen Mairal Jiménez, 'Los extranjeros en la colección de originales del archivo municipal de Málaga' in M.B. Villar García et al. (eds), *Los extranjeros en la España moderna* (2 vols, Málaga, 2003), i, pp. 143–53.
20. Amaia Bilbao Acedos, *The Irish community in the Basque country* (Dublin, 2003).
21. In 1644, Galway-based Sisters María de Santo Thomas and Juliana de San Pedro arrived there. In 1700, Sisters Juana María de la Cruz, daughter of Denis Meagher and Margarita Dungan from Galway came to the same convent.
22. José Manuel Cifuentes Pazos, 'El clero de Bilbao en el antiguo régimen: número, procedencia geográfica y extracción social' in *Bidebarrieta*, 12 (2003), pp. 278–302. Later the number dropped to two or three individuals; the institution disappeared in the early nineteenth century.
23. Julio C. Santoyo, 'Un quehacer olvidado: los intérpretes-traductores de navíos' in Brigitte Lépinette et al. (eds), *Historia de la traducción* (Valencia, 2003), pp. 1–22, at p. 12. The annual payment was also for ministering to visiting crew, sick foreigners and vagrants.
24. Samuel Fannin, 'Documents of Irish interest in the archivo de la diputación Foral de Bizkaia' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 64 (2011), pp. 170–93.
25. Lamikiz, *Trade and trust*, p. 35, citing AHN Consejos 30, exp. 2 (1721).
26. Fannin, 'Documents of Irish interest', p. 181.
27. Ibid., p. 172.
28. He was marquis of Castel-Fuerte, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of the royal Spanish guards and at this time exercising the commandancy-general of the province of Guipúzcoa. He was appointed viceroy of Peru in 1724.
29. Armendariz to Castelar, San Sebastián, 27 Sept. 1722 (AHN INQ 2224 (1), exp. 3.
30. Baltasar Patiño, marquis of Castelar (1693–1733). A relation, Lucas Patiño, had been titular colonel of the Irish regiment *Hibernia* in 1709. See David Murphy, *The Irish Brigades, 1685–2006* (Dublin, 2007), p. 48.
31. AHN INQ 3732, exp. 87, f. 1 (undated, eighteenth century).
32. Representations to king and *Suprema* were common. See, inter alia, AHN INQ Lib. 825, ff. 48rv, consejo to Logroño, 4 Apr. 1702 and AHN INQ 2226 (1), exp. 2 (1731).

33. AHDFB, Consulado 0057/022 [9 Apr. 1670 and 6 May 1670].
34. See José Martinez Millan, 'Crisis y decadencia de la Inquisición en el País Vasco' in *Sancho el sabio: revista de cultura et investigación vasca*, 5 (1995), pp. 165–83.
35. AHDFB JCR 0282/024 [2 Aug. 1732 and 27 Nov. 1732].
36. AHN INQ 2225 (1) (Bilbao, 1732). O'Quinn's name appears in the local judicial archives for 1732. See Cifuentes Pazos, 'El clero de Bilbao', p. 282.
37. For an overview, see Antonio Lorenzo Tena, 'Una colonia irlandesa en la isla de La Palma durante el siglo XVIII' in *Boletín Millares Carlo*, 27 (2008), pp. 83–100.
38. Francisco Fajardo Spínola, 'La comunidad británica en Tenerife durante la edad moderna' in M.B. Villar García et al. (eds), *Los extranjeros en la España moderna* (2 vols, Málaga, 2003), i, pp. 337–47.
39. AMC INQ CLVIII–10 (1660), cited in Spínola, *Las conversiones*, p. 206. In the eighteenth century they were followed by George Drummond (1710s), Walter Walsh (1720s), Eduard Tonnery (1730s) and William Ryan (1740s).
40. 'El ser catolico romano no quita ser vasallo del rey de Inglaterra'. See Spínola, *Las conversiones*, pp. 57–8, citing AMC INQ XXXVII–3 (1692). See also ibid., pp. 116–21.
41. See BL, Egerton Ms 512, for an account of Smith's process. Spínola, *Las conversiones*, pp. 116–21.
42. L.M. Cullen, 'The two George Fitzgeralds of London, 1718–1759' in David Dickson et al. (eds), *Irish and Scottish merchant networks in Europe and overseas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Ghent, 2007), pp. 251–65.
43. Juan de Abreu de Galindo and Capt George Glas, *The history of the discovery and conquest of the Canary Islands* (2 vols, Dublin, 1767), ii, p. 173. See Francisco Javier Castillo, 'George Glas y su obra *a description of the Canary Islands* notas al capítulo XI' in *Revista de Estudios Generales de la Isla de La Palma*, 2 (2006), pp. 493–523.
44. AMC INQ CLXIX–29 (1733), cited in Spínola, *Las conversiones*, p. 210.
45. Ibid., pp. 53–4, citing AMC INQ XXXVIII–35 (1810).
46. 'le costaría la carrera y el desonor de su familia si la tripulación de las dos embarcaciones decían por allá su reducción'. See Spínola, *Extranjeros*, p. 53, citing AMC INQ CLXVI–6 (1761).
47. AHN INQ 1827, exp. 15, ff. 1r–10r (Canaries, Santa Cruz, Mar. 1753). Edward Toner, an Irish priest, was involved in the process.
48. AHN INQ 1827, exp. 3, ff. 1r–2v (La Orotava, 14 Mar. 1739).
49. AHN INQ 1827, exp. 18, ff. 1r–74 (Canaries, 1756–7). The Ryans, both in their twenties, were daughters of Denis Ryan and Barbara Ligero Murrieta.
50. 'que los Irlandeses mal criados en los catholicos rudimentos son mas pertinaces que nadie en los rudimentos de la fe'. Ibid., f. 1v.
51. Spínola, *Las conversiones*, p. 211, citing AMC INQ CLV–56.
52. AHN INQ 3735, exp. 33, ff. 1r–4r (Canaries, 1746).
53. He was Joseph Russell. This is probably the Joseph Russell consulted by the Canaries tribunal concerning the conversion of deserters in 1754 (Spínola, *Las conversiones*, pp. 63–6).
54. AMC INQ CXL–11 (1732), cited in Spínola, *Las conversiones*, pp. 60–1.
55. Some deserters from the San Antonio de Padua hid with an Irish tailor in Las Palmas in 1753, including sailors Gaspar Ferry and Alexander MacKenny. AMC INQ LXI–31 and C–8.

56. AHN INQ 1827, exp. 3, f. 57.
57. de Galindo and Glas, *The history of the discovery and conquest of the Canary Islands*, ii, p. 202.
58. Ibid., p. 30.
59. 'muy suelta en abrasos, y osculos a uso de su tierra' (AHN INQ 1827 13, ff. 1–7v (Canaries, 1751)).
60. Tena, 'Una colonia irlandesa en la isla de la Palma durante el siglo XVIII', pp. 83–100, at pp. 87–9.
61. Castillo, 'George Glas y su obra *a description of the Canary Islands*. Notas al capítuolo XI', pp. 493–523, at p. 496.
62. AGN Ramo de reales cédulas originales, 65 exp. 57, ff. 120–21.
63. Óscar Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish empire 1600–1825* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 269–84.
64. Óscar Recio Morales, 'Irish émigré group strategies' in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish Communities in early-modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006), pp. 240–66.
65. AHN INQ Lib. 1291, f. 8rv (1776). 'delatado en este Santo Oficio por asegurar que la fornicacion no es pecado y por tener libros con pinturas indecentes y obscenas que representan hombres, y mujeres desnudos en actos carnales ya consta de su sumario de este ano y esta testificado de Francmason en Valencia segun carta de aquel Santo Oficio de 10 de Agosto de 1747 en que incluye una lista de 29 testificantes de lo mismo'.
66. War between Lisbon and Madrid did not end until the Treaty of Lisbon in 1668.
67. Pedro O'Neill Teixeira, 'The Lisbon Irish in the eighteenth century' in Igor Pérez Tostado and Enrique García Hernán (eds), *Irlanda y el Atlántico ibérico* (Madrid, 2010), pp. 253–66; Isabel M.R. Mendes Drumond Braga, 'Os Irlandeses e a Inquisição Portuguesa (séculos XVI–XVIII)' in *Revista de la Inquisición*, 10 (2001), pp. 165–91.
68. In her denunciation of her Irish father, Anna Cruz described one Irish network in the city composed of merchants and tavern owners. See ANTT TSO IL, proc. 4685, ff. 2r–3r (Lisbon, 22 Mar. 1720).
69. Edward Paice, *Wrath of God: the great Lisbon earthquake of 1755* (London, 2008).
70. A.R. Walford, 'The British community in Lisbon, 1755: the earthquake census' in *Historical Association, Lisbon Branch, tenth annual report and review* (Lisbon, 1945–6), pp. 643–51.
71. Rose MacCauley, *They went to Portugal* (London, 1946), p. 281. Hugh Fenning, 'Irishmen ordained at Lisbon 1660–1739' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 34/35 (1993), pp. 59–76, and 'Irishmen ordained at Lisbon, 1740–1850' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 36/37 (1994/5), pp. 140–58.
72. See, for instance, 8 Geo I, cap XVII.
73. L.M.E. Shaw, *The Anglo-Portuguese alliance and the English merchants in Portugal, 1654–1810* (London, 1998), pp. 66–9.
74. See David Lammey, 'The Irish–Portuguese trade dispute, 1770–90' in *Irish historical studies*, 25, 97 (1986), pp. 29–45; James Kelly, 'The Irish trade dispute with Portugal 1780–87' in *Studia Hibernica*, 25 (1990), pp. 7–49.
75. For a recent overview, see Giuseppe Marcocci, 'Towards a history of the Portuguese Inquisition: trends in modern historiography (1974–2009)' in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 3 (2010), pp. 355–93.

76. Shaw, *The Anglo-Portuguese alliance*, pp. 170–1.
77. For the later eighteenth century, see Ricardo Pessa de Oliveira, 'Um processo de integração social: as reduções (1770–1782)' in *Revista de la inquisición*, 13 (2009), pp. 195–222. The higher annual figures after 1777 were ascribed by Arthur William Costigan to increased inquisitorial activity in Portugal following the accession of Queen Maria I. Ibid., p. 199, fn. 10.
78. Pessa de Oliveira, 'Um processo', p. 217.
79. ANTT TSO IC, livro 619, f. 504, cited in Pessa de Oliveira, 'Um processo', p. 199.
80. TNA SP 89/51, cited in Shaw, *The Anglo-Portuguese alliance*, p. 169.
81. Shaw, *Anglo-Portuguese alliance*, p. 166.
82. John Coustos, *The sufferings of John Coustos for free-masonry and for his refusing to turn Roman Catholic in the Inquisition at Lisbon* (London, 1746).
83. Coustos, *Sufferings*, p. 49. See Peters, *Inquisition*, pp. 194–6.
84. Coustos, *Sufferings*, p. 54.
85. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 2649, ff. 1–6.
86. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 10081, ff. 1–12.
87. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 2423, ff. 1–143.
88. Cassin to Lisbon Inquisitors, Dublin, 27 Oct. 1727 (ANTT TSO IL, proc. 4685, f. 11).
89. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 6553 (Lisbon, 15 Nov. 1728).
90. 'para nelle poder livremente usar do seu officio, e tratar do remedio da sua alma', ibid., f. 4r.
91. For the situation of the Irish college in Évora, see Arthur William Costigan, *Sketches of society and manners in Portugal …* (2 vols, London, 1787), i, pp. 106–47.
92. Louis Cullen, 'The Irish diaspora in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the move: studies in European migration 1500–1800* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 113–49, at pp. 145–9.
93. S.J. Connolly, *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630–1800* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 358–61.
94. Among those suspected of freemasonry were Henry Joseph Morley, Charles O'Neill, William Porter East and William Sampson. See A.H. de Oliveira Marques, *Historia da maçonaria em Portugal* (3 vols, Lisbon, 1990), i, pp. 148–50.
95. He later recalled that he had been teased about being a mason by the Irish friars. See Testimony of Mauricio Luis Mango (ANTT TSO IL, Caderno do Promotor, no 108, sumário das testemunhas que se tirarão a respeito dos Pedreiros Livres [hereafter 'Caderno'], ff. 415r–417r (18 July 1738)).
96. First testimony of Hugh O'Kelly, 'Caderno', ff. 418–421 (Lisbon, 1 Aug. 1738).
97. Testimony of Denis Hogan, 'Caderno', ff. 422–425v (Lisbon, 1 Aug. 1738).
98. 'Caderno', ff. 460–474v (16 Oct. 1738).
99. Testimony of Thomas French, 'Caderno', ff. 426–49 (Lisbon, 16 Sept. 1738).
100. This may be Dominic of St Thomas Kennedy, ordained in 1724. See Fenning, 'Irishmen ordained at Lisbon 1660–1739', pp. 59–76.
101. In his desposition, Grand Master Hugh O'Kelly identifies him as 'Leynan' ('Caderno', f. 433v). His ship was the *Vasco Lourenço*.
102. '… he incomparavel o fruto, que fazem, sendo conhecidos por todos aquelles ministros e pessoas grandes dos mes / mos estados, porque lhe daõ toda a liberdade' ('Caderno', f. 433v).

103. Testimony of Charles O'Kelly, 'Caderno', f. 414r.
104. In the *patrón* (census) of 1709, of seventeen 'British' merchants in Cádiz, sixteen were Irish. The Irish predominance persisted after the war. In the period 1700–39, of 193 British wills in the local notarial archives, 148 are Irish.
105. Carmen Lario de Oñate, 'Irlandeses y Británicos en Cádiz en el siglo XVIII' in M.B. Villar García et al. (eds), *Los extranjeros en la España moderna* (2 vols, Málaga, 2003), I, pp. 417–25; idem, *La colonia mercantil Británica e Irlandese en Cádiz a finales del siglo XVIII* (Cádiz, 2001).
106. Guadalupe Carrasco González, 'La colonia británica de Cádiz entre 1650 y 1720' in Pablo Fernández Albaladejo (ed.), *Actas de la IV reunion cientifica de la Asociación Española de Historia Moderna Alicante I* (Alicante, 1997), pp. 331–42.
107. Carrasco González, 'La colonia británica', p. 339, citing TNA, SP 94, 213 (Aug. 1721).
108. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, 'La Inquisición ante la pérdida de Gibraltar' in *Espacio, tiempo y forma [Serie IV, Historia Moderna]*, 7 (1994), pp. 185–94.
109. AHN INQ 3026.
110. AHN INQ 3730, exp. 202 (1) (Seville, 1777).
111. Carrasco González, 'La colonia británica', p. 340. Strictly speaking, according to the treaties, the Spanish authorities were supposed to repatriate the crew of British ships sold in Spain.
112. Nadine Boddaert, 'Una presencia tolerada en el Cádiz del siglo XVIII: los protestantes extranjeros' in *Cuadernos de ilustración y romanticismo: revista del grupo de estudios del siglo XVIII*, I, (1991), pp. 37–54.
113. See, for instance, Gallagher to the king, Cádiz, 1787 (AHN INQ 3059, exp. 15).
114. Bernal to Cavallos, Cádiz 13 July 1786 (AHN INQ 3059, exp. 14 (2)) .
115. Arturo Morgado García, *La diócesis de Cádiz: de Trento a la desamortización* (Cádiz, 2008), pp. 436ff. The local bishop, in whose seminary the *Casa* was temporarily accommodated, evicted it in 1787, obliging Bernal to seek refuge for its inmates and staff in the local Franciscan friary.
116. 'Instrucción que de orden de santo oficio deven observar catequista Don Thomas Page y Don Miquel Lopez portero de la casa de Catecúmenos en el convento de R.R.P. Francisco Descalzos vecina ciudad de Cadiz' (AHN INQ 3059, exp. 17) (Cádiz, Sept. 1789).
117. 'daran gracias a Dios se haver les converbado la vida, pedirán que los ilumine para conocer sus errores, y abrazar nuestra santa fee por medio de Maria Santísima …' (ibid.).
118. The basic text of instruction was Richard Challoner's *Abridgement of Christian Doctrine* (1759).
119. See Chapter 6.
120. AHN INQ 3059, exp. 8. (Cádiz, Oct. 1787).
121. AHN INQ 3059, exp. 6 (Cádiz, Aug. 1787)
122. Arnaud Bartolomei, 'La naturalización de los mercaderes franceses de Cádiz a finales del siglo XVIII y principios des XIX' in *Cuadernos de historia moderna*, 10 (2011), pp. 123–44.
123. Archivo municipal de Cádiz, sección de padrones, Legs 4938–41. The distinction between 'avecindados' and 'tanseúntes' is maintained.

9 Irish Money and Industry in Spain

1. Cristina Bravo, 'Las peticionarios en España del siglo XVII' in Óscar Recio Morales (ed.), *Redes y espacios de poder. La comunidad irlandesa en España y America española, 1600–1825* (Valencia, 2012), pp. 73–91.
2. Micheline Kerney Walsh, 'The Irish college of Madrid' in *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 15, 2 (1993), pp. 39–50; idem, 'The rectors and students of the Irish college at Alcalá de Henares, Spain, 1649–1785' in *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 17, 1 (1996–7), pp. 77–88.
3. AHN INQ 1210, exp. 7 (Madrid and Lima, July 1702).
4. The rector, Anthony Garvan, the Galway-born Nicholas Fallon, in the city since the 1690s and Andrew Nugent, a recent arrival.
5. Bernard Kennedy and Alipio Walsh, both from Kilkenny, the latter staying with William Fannin.
6. Nicholas Bodquin was in Madrid since the 1680s; more recent arrivals were Anthony O'Neill and John Nealon.
7. Dominic of Saint Mary, from Connacht, had been in Madrid for two years.
8. Arthur O'Brien [Bruin], knight of Calatrava and two veterans, Captain William Fannin, in Madrid since 1682, Thaddeus Kiernan, a veteran of Catalonia, who was twelve years in Madrid.
9. Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac, *Le Grand Exil: les jacobites en France 1688–1715* (Paris, 2007), pp. 389–90.
10. HMC, Stuart Papers, vi, p. 586. On Francis Arthur's art connections, see Nigel Glendinning and Hirary Macartney et al. (eds), *Spanish art in Britain and Ireland 1750–1920* (Woodbridge, 2010).
11. 'En muchas occasiones perseguidos por los ministros de aquel govierno en que han padecido lo bastante, y siempre asi perseverado, y perseveran en la fee aunque en algunas ocasiones ayan sido privados de sus haciendas y estados' (AHN INQ 5183, f. 11v).
12. William Kirk Dickson (ed.), *The Jacobite attempt of 1719: letters of James Butler, second duke of Ormond relating to Cardinal Alberoni's project for the invasion of Great Britain on behalf of the Stuarts and to the landing of a Spanish expedition in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1895).
13. Augustín Guimerá Ravina, *Burgesía extranjera y comercio atlántico; la empresa commercial irlandesa en Canarias 1703–71* (Madrid, 1985), pp. 124, 136.
14. He prepared *Cálculo general de todos los cambios corrientes en estos reynos de España con Francia, Inglaterra … compuesto en once cuadernos de tablas* (Madrid, 1737). See AHN Consejos 50634, exp. 47, 'licencia de impression d la obra "Cálculo General de todos los cambios corrientes" … solicitada por su autor Eduardo Crean', 11 July 1737. This was also called *Cambios de España con otros reynos*. See Gregori Mayans y Siscar, *Epistolario Mayans y el Barón de Schoenberg* (Valencia, n.d.).
15. Jesus Cruz, *Gentlemen, bourgeois and revolutionaries: political change and cultural persistence among the Spanish dominant groups 1750–1850* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 58–86.
16. *Silogismo legal por Don Eduardo Crean y Don Martin de Zelada …* (Madrid, 1721).
17. See Mónica Bolufer Peruga, *La vida y la escritura en el siglo XVIII: Inés Joyes: apologia de las mujeres* (Valencia, 2011), pp. 29–60.

18. Mercedes Águeda, 'La colección de peinturas de Juan Kelly' in *Archivo Español de Arte*, 63, 251 (1990), pp. 487–96. For Kelly's will, see AHPM 14933, ff. 532–1082 and Óscar Recio Morales, 'Conectores de imperios: la figura del comerciante irlandés en España en el mundo Atlántico del xviii' in Ana Crespo Solana (ed.), *Comunidades transnacionales: colonias de mercaderes extranjeros en el Mundo Atlántico (1500–1830)* (Madrid, 2010), p. 323.
19. Will of Thomas Anglin, made before notary Domingo Munilla y Zuazo (AHPM 14222, p. 221 [1718]), and Pedro Paraja (AHPM, 15527, pp. 280–1 [1725]). See http://matthewhovious.blogspot.ie, accessed 11 Feb. 2015.
20. In July 1708, his cousin, the 28-year-old, London-born Maria de Gouer arrived in Madrid (AHN INQ Lib. 1154, ff. 331r–336r (Madrid, 1708)).
21. AHN, Santiago, exp. 1577.
22. AHN INQ 5186 (2) (Cordova, 1719).
23. Anthony Doherty OP, Edward Fitzgerald OP, army chaplain, Dominic Lynch OP, James Moran OP from Elphin and George Plunkett OP.
24. AHN INQ 5183, ff. 12r–14r and 32r–35r (Madrid, 1719).
25. Chancilleria de Granada, exp. 3418 (1724).
26. See Clayburn la Force, 'Technological diffusion in the eighteenth century: the Spanish textile industry' in *Technology and Culture*, v, 3 (1964), pp. 322–43 and 'Royal textile factories in Spain 1700–1800' in *Journal of Economic History*, 24, iii (1964), pp. 337–63.
27. For the French Bourbons, see J.R. Harris, *Industrial espionage and technology transfer: Britain and France in the eighteenth century* (Aldershot, 1998).
28. Juan Helguera Quijada, 'The beginnings of industrial espionage in Spain (1748–1760)' in Ian Inkster (ed.), *History of Technology*, xxx (2010), pp. 1–12.
29. According to Eugenio Larruga y Boneta, *Memorias Politicas y Económicas sobre los Frutos, Comercio, Fabricas y Minas de España* (Madrid, 45 vols, 1787–1800), ix, 329, Irish craftsmen were active in the leather industry in Bilbao from the seventeenth century. See Amaia Bilbao Acedos, *The Irish community in the Basque country c.1700–1800* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 19–57.
30. S.J. Connolly, *Divided kingdom: Ireland 1630–1800* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 354–7.
31. Larruga, *Memorias*, passim.
32. See ibid., xiv, 210–13.
33. AHN INQ Lib. 1155, ff. 171r–176v (Madrid, 1733).
34. AHN INQ Lib. 1155, ff. 224–228v (Madrid, 1738).
35. Zenón de Somodevilla, 1st marqués de la Ensenada (1702–81).
36. José de Carvajal y Lancáster (1698–1754).
37. See Chapter 7.
38. See Chapter 6.
39. Emilio Soler Pascual, *Viajes de Jorge Juan y Santacilia: ciencia y política en el España del siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 2002), pp. 250–86.
40. J.L. Moralez Hernández, 'Jorge Juan en Londres' in *Revista General de Marina*, 184 (1973), pp. 663–70.
41. For the operatives assigned to the naval yards in El Ferrol, see Mónica Amenedo Costa, *La población británica e irlandesa en el Ferrol de la Ilustración* (New York, 2012), passim.
42. Soler Pascual, *Viajes de Jorge Juan*, pp. 278, 282.
43. Costa, *La población británica e irlandesa en el Ferrol de la Ilustración*, pp. 34–5.

44. This text plagiarized the work of the French writers Jean François Melon and Jacques Savary de Bruslons. See M. Delgado Barrado, 'La transmisión de escritos económicos en España: el ejemplo de la *Erudición política* de Teodoro Ventura Argumosa Gándara (1743)' in *Cromohs*, 9 (2004), pp. 1–11.
45. Petition of Santiago Pettel and Cristobal MacKenna [June 1745] (AGS, Secretaria y Superintendencia de Hacienda [SSH], Leg. 763 (I)).
46. AHN INQ Lib. 1154, ff. 158r–164v (Madrid, Dec. 1745).
47. AHN INQ Lib. 1156, ff. 279r–287r (Madrid, Oct. 1749).
48. Larruga, *Memorias*, xvii, 286. He may also have been influenced by evidence of agricultural and industrial innovation in Ireland, as evidenced by the launching of the *Dublin Weekly Journal* in 1725 and the foundation of the Royal Dublin Society in 1731.
49. Argumosa to Caravajal, San Fernando, 25 Apr. 1750 (AGS SSH Leg. 764 (1)).
50. It would be, he wrote, 'un golpe asegurar y perfeccionar la major fabrica deel mundo'. (Ibid.)
51. See 'Suplica Dn Enrique Doil', 3 Apr. 1756 (AGS, SSH, Leg. 766 1).
52. See Javier Echávarri Otero et al., 'Royal manufactures promoted by the Spanish crown during the 18th and 19th centuries: an approach to European industrialisation' in Teun Koetsier and Marco Ceccarelli (eds), *Explorations in the history of machines and mechanisms: Proceedings of HMM2012* (Dordrecht, 2012), pp. 55–68, esp. pp. 60–2.
53. Argumosa to Caravajal, San Fernando, 31 May 1750; Argumosa to Caravajal, San Fernando, 8 June 1750 (AGS SSH Leg. 764 (II)).
54. About eighteen Irish workers were installed in Vilcálvaro, forming the largest single group of foreigners there. See Sanchez Lourdes Sanchez Domínguez, *Un espacio en el tiempo: Vicálvaro: real fábrica de tejidos, cuartel y universidad* (Vicálvaro, 2007)
55. Gerard Plunkett to the king, 1768 (AGP, Personal, Caja 10233, exp. 37).
56. Segunda acusación [contra Lacy], Madrid, 9 May 1753 (AHN, INQ, 3733, exp. 46, f. 30v). In Lacy's own words, 'que aun que es verdad que en dos o tres convites que tuvo en Vicalvaro con personas de distinción con motivo de banquetes y brindis excedio algo, pero no llego a pecado mental ni a privarse'.
57. 'Los Irlandeses fabricantes en las reales fabricas de San Fernando y Vicalbaro p<rostra>tos a l<as> p<ies> de V<uestr>a E<xcelencia>', Vicálvaro, 9 Jan. 1753 (AGS, SSH, Leg. 765 I). The signatories were Thomas Byrne, John Slattery, John Nealon, James Nealon, John Smith, William Fenal, Richard Stackpoll and William Rourke.
58. According to Richard Wall, 'Beaven was the best [textiles] man in Europe'. See Wall to Caravajal, 27 Jan. 1750 (AGS Estado, Ing., Leg. 6917), cited in Jean McLachlan, *Trade and peace with Old Spain 1667–1760* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 216.
59. Argumosa to Caravajal, 28 Apr. 1752 (AGS SSH Leg. 765 I).
60. Argumosa to Caravajal, undated, probably 1747 (AGS SSH Leg. 764 I).
61. Wall to Caravajal, London, 11 Sept. 1749 (AHN Estado 4267).
62. Argumosa to Caravajal, 14 May 1752 (AGS SSH Leg. 765 I).
63. Argumosa to Caravajal, 28 Apr. 1752 (AGS SSH Leg. 765 I).
64. AHN INQ Lib. 1156, ff. 397r–401v (Madrid, July 1751).
65. AHN INQ Lib. 1157, ff. 67r–72v (Madrid, May 1752).

66. 'para complacer a los parientes de la citada su mujer'. Ibid., f. 68v.
67. AHN INQ Lib. 1157, ff. 164r–167r (Madrid, Feb. 1753).
68. 'que no ha puesto ningún cuidado para saber el tenor de dicha secta, mas que seguir sin reflexión la de sus padres Protestantes, y que estuvo tan despuesto para seguir qualquiera otra secta como la referida si sus padres la siguiesen, y si fuessen Catholicos Apostolicos Romanos, también estubiera lo mismo …'. Ibid., f. 165r.
69. 'que solo procuro vivir como hombre de bien, esto es de no engañar a nadie, pero hasta que Dios le abrió los ojos del Corazon … no hizo diligencia especial por saber lo que era o no era por su salvación'. Ibid.
70. AHN INQ, Lib. 1157, ff. 138r–142r (Madrid, 29 Aug. 1752).
71. 'produxieren mucho frutto por todo el Reyno'. Ibid., f. 139v.
72. AHN INQ Lib. 1157, ff. 143r–144v (Madrid, 30 Aug. 1752).
73. 'Estado de la real fabrica establecida en el real sitio de San Fernando … 30 Abril de 1754' (AGS SSH Leg. 765 II).
74. Supplicantes los maestros texedores irlandeses de paño fino en la real fabrica de San Fernando, Vilcálvaro, undated [probably early 1754] (AGS SSH Leg. 765 ii).
75. Suplica de Cathalina Howell, 6 Sept. 1767 (AGS SSH Leg. 768 i).
76. Petition of Juan Dowling, 1756 (AGS SSH Leg. 766, i).
77. See Otero et al., 'Royal manufactures promoted by the Spanish crown during the 18th and 19th centuries', pp. 55–68, esp. pp. 60–2.
78. Petición de Juan Dowling, San Fernando, 29 Jan. 1768 (AGS SSH Leg. 768).
79. Illustration no. xxxxix (Perfil y alzado de la máquina del pulimento de Juan Dowling de 1761). See Pastor Rey de Viñas, *Historia de la real fábrica de cristales de San Ildefonso durante la época de la ilustración 1727–1810* (Fundación Centro nacional del Vidrio, 1994), p. 44.
80. Juan Dowling to D. Miguel de Murquiz, San Ildefonso, 21 Sept. 1775 (AGP, San Ildefenso, Leg. 36 (fábrica de acero)).
81. Augustin González Enciso, *Estado e industria en el siglo XVIII: la fábrica de Guadalajara* (Madrid, 1980), p. 607, fn 230.
82. Paloma Pastor Rey de Viñas, 'Real fábrica de cristales' in Ministro de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, *El entorno de Segovia en la historia de la dinastía de Borbón*, pp. 65–80, at pp. 70–1.
83. On Bolger, see G. Martín García, *La industria textile en Ávila durante la etapa final del Antiguo Régimen. La real fábrica de algodón* (Ávila, 1989), pp. 138, 162–9, 187, 198, 201, 328. See also A. González Enciso, *España y USA en el siglo xviii: crecimiento industrial comparado y relaciones industriales* (Valladolid, 1979), p. 41 and idem, *Estado e industria*, pp. 562–63.
84. See Enciso, *Estado e industria*, p. 546 (AGS SSH Leg. 771, resumen en carpeta del 3 Julio 1775).
85. J. Patricio Sáiz, 'El peluquero de la reina' in *Economic history: working paper series*, I (Madrid, 2005), pp. 1–51, at pp. 21–2.
86. Antonio Meijide Pardo, 'Tentativas para promover la industria del jabón en la Galicia setecentista' in *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*, xxxix, 104 (1991), pp. 113–30.
87. Sáiz, 'El peluquero de la reina', p. 27.
88. Óscar Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish empire 1600–1825* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 260–2.

89. Michael White, 'The role of Irish in eighteenth-century Spanish medicine' in Declan Downey and Julio Crespo MacLennan (eds), *Spanish–Irish relations through the ages* (Dublin, 2008), pp. 149–74.
90. AGN INQ 775, exp. 39, ff. 490–8
91. AGN INQ 861, exp. 31, ff. 577–626; Conway Transcripts, CUL Add. 7277.
92. Alfredo de Micheli-Serra, 'Cirujanos y medicos frente a la Inquisición Novohispanica' in *Gaceta Médica de México*, 139, i (2003), pp. 77–81, at p. 79.
93. AGN INQ 961, exp. 5, ff. 1–116v, cited in Charles F. Nunn, *Foreign immigrants in early Bourbon Mexico 1700–1760* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 122, 197.
94. AHN INQ 1649, exp. 23.
95. Archivo Histórico Nacional de Peru, Real tribunal del Consulado, Leg. 10, cuad. 126 (1995), 'Razón de los extranjeros …', cited in León G. Campbell, 'Foreigners in Peruvian society during the eighteenth century' in *Revista de historia de América*, 73–74 (1972), pp. 153–63.
96. Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition* (London, 1965), pp. 247–70; Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: a global history 1478–1834* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 211–37.
97. This work was published in Valencia in 1750.
98. From 1754 Ward acted as minister of the *Junta de comercio y moneda* and, later, as director of the *Almacén General de Madrid* (1755–63) and manager of certain royal manufacturies.
99. See José Antonio Escudero, *Los orígenes del Consejo de Ministros en España* (2 vols, Madrid, 2001), i, 42.
100. This work appeared in a Dublin edition in 1738.
101. For an overview see Ian McBride, *Eighteenth-century Ireland* (London, 2008), pp. 89–94.
102. Eva Velasco Moreno, 'Pedro Sinnott: la obra intelectual de un clérigo irlandés en España' in Maria Begoña Villar García (ed.), *La emigración irlandesa en el siglo xviii* (Málaga, 2000), pp. 231–43.
103. This work appeared in 5 volumes in Madrid in 1785.
104. AHN INQ 4500, exp. 3.
105. Elisabel Larriba, 'Los periodistas y el derecho a la educación para todos' in *Cuadernos de historia moderna* vi (2007), pp. 119–45.
106. AHN INQ 3733, exp., f. 22r.
107. Borravi to Inquisition, Madrid, 15 Sept.1752 (AHN INQ 3733, exp. 46, f. 13r). Lacy would inform the Inquisitors that Borravi was an 'Ingles espia que era de Monsieur Quein [Benjamin Keene, the English ambassasdor]' (ibid., f. 30r).
108. AGN INQ Tomo 951, exp. 3, ff. 28–60.
109. J. Clayburn La Force, 'Technological diffusion', p. 330.
110. Bethencourt, *Inquisition*, pp. 416–39.

10 Gendering the Migrant Experience

1. For the British context, see Marie B. Rowlands, 'Harbourers and housekeepers: Catholic women in England 1570–1720' in Benjamin Kaplan et al. (eds), *Catholic communities in Protestant states: Britain and the Netherlands, 1570–1720* (Manchester, 2009), pp. 200–15.

2. Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender, and disorder in early modern Seville* (Princeton, 1990); Nupur Chaudhuri et al. (eds), *Contesting archives: finding women in the sources* (Urbana-Champaign, 2010).
3. AHN INQ 1827, ff. 1r–74 (Canaries, 1756–7).
4. Margaret Hunt, *Women in eighteenth century Europe* (London, 2010), chapter 1.
5. Barbara Diefendorf, 'Rethinking the Catholic Reformation: the role of women' in Lisa Vollendorf et al. (eds), *Women, religion and the Atlantic world 1600–1800* (Toronto, 2009), pp. 31–59.
6. AHN INQ 2847 (Murcia, 1707).
7. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, f. 226v.
8. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 276r–279v (Madrid, 1707).
9. 'de nacion Irlandeses aunque su origen y descendencia de todos es de Ingleses'. Ibid.
10. 'inspirada de nuestro señor'. Ibid. f. 277r.
11. Ibid.
12. AHN INQ 2847 (Murcia, 1707).
13. 'Aluminada pelo Espírito Santo'. See ANTT, TSO IL, livro 823, ff. 92–3.
14. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 342r–347r (Madrid, 1708).
15. 'la misericordia de Dios haviendola dado luz y conocimiento' (ibid., f. 345v).
16. ANTT TSO IC, livro 619, ff. 54–5, 504–7v.
17. He had come out in Tobias Coldfield's regiment and, on deserting, entered the service of Brigadier Monsieur le Chevalier Connach, an Englishman, and came to Madrid. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 348r–352v (Madrid, 1709).
18. Información genealógica de Claudio Malboan (AHN INQ 1411, exp. 5 (1713)). He was a native of Besançon, Franche Comté.
19. AHN INQ Lib. 1154, ff. 331r–336r (Madrid, 1708).
20. 'por varias disputas y conversations con los referidos interpretes y otros diversos católicos' (ibid., f. 334r).
21. AHN INQ Lib. 1156, ff. 367r–369v (Madrid, Jan. 1751).
22. AHN INQ Lib. 1153, ff. 451r–457r (Madrid, 1713).
23. 'que llevava a mal que su mujer se singularizasse como Cattolica' (ibid.)
24. AHN INQ Lib. 1154, ff. 61r–62v (Madrid, 1715).
25. 'no quiso Dios darla el conocimiento' (ibid., f. 62v).
26. For a fuller account, see Thomas O'Connor, 'Confessional to-ing and fro-ing in the eighteenth-century diaspora: Helena Barry's story (1738)' in Salvador Ryan (ed.), *Treasures of Irish Christianity III: to the end of the earth* (Dublin, 2015), pp. 80–2.
27. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 7757.
28. Probably John Cologan Blanco (1710–71). See Agustín Guimerá Ravina, *Burguesia extranjera y comercio atlantico* (Tenerife, 1986), pp. 83–94.
29. AHN INQ 1827 13, ff. 1–7v (Canaries, 1751).
30. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 12519 (Lisbon, 1663–89).
31. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 10143, ff. 1–89.
32. Cassin to Lisbon Inquisitors, Dublin, 27 Oct. 1727 (ANTT TSO IL, proc. 4685, f. 11).
33. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 11691, ff. 1–26.
34. ANTT TSO IL, proc. 594, ff. 1–10. This may be Anthony of the Rosary OP 'dos Ingrezes', ordained in 1669. See Hugh Fenning, 'Irishmen ordained at Lisbon 1660–1739' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 34/35 (1993), pp. 59–76, at p. 62.

35. Helen Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Malden, 2005), pp. 125–8.
36. AHN INQ 1912, exp. 39 (Madrid, 1782).
37. Deposition of Bartholomew O'Sullivan, 26 Jan. 1745 (AHN INQ 3698, 14, unfoliated).
38. A man called Robert Fourdinier accused Lacy of persuading his wife, Maria Coutin, to disinherit him. See Testimony of Robert Fourdinier, 22 Mar. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679 12, ff. 71r–72r). For Coutin's will, see ibid., ff. 84r–87v. She disinherited her husband on account of the hard life he gave her (f. 85v).
39. Berehaven to Vicar, Madrid, 20 Jan. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679, 14, unfoliated).
40. For his conversion, see AHN INQ Lib. 1156, ff. 39r–41r (Madrid, 1741).
41. The 37-year-old was from Drogheda. See Deposition of John Magrane, 26 Jan. 1745 (AHN INQ 3698, 14, unfoliated).
42. See Deposition of Edmund O'Doran, 26 Jan. 1745 (AHN INQ 3698, 14, unfoliated).
43. Deposition of Patrick Curtis, 21 Jan. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679, 14, unfoliated). Later he changed his testimony, alleging that his original evidence was hearsay. See Testimony of Patrick Curtis, 12 Mar. 1745 (AHN IN 3679 12, ff. 55v–57r).
44. Her sometime guardian was rector of the Irish college in Alcalá, Gerard Plunkett, who was associated with Lacy (AHN INQ 3679 exp. 12, ff. 73r–75r).
45. Some pro-Lacy witnesses said this was part of a plot to displace Lacy as chaplain in San Antonio and to replace him with a Franciscan friar called Richard Kennelly OFM, chaplain of the Ultonia regiment.
46. Testimony of Bonaventura de Burgo, 8 Mar. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679 12, ff. 46r–47r).
47. Testimony of Thaddeus O'Sheil, 11 Mar. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679 12, f. 53rv).
48. Declaration of Catherine Plunkett, Madrid, 6 Feb. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679, 12, unfoliated).
49. Testimony of Bartholomew O'Sullivan, Madrid, 20 Feb. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679, 12, ff. 29r–30v).
50. Testimony of Barbara Murphy, 5 Mar. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679 12, ff. 41v–42v).
51. Testimony of Maria Rogrigo, 15 Mar. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679 12, f. 59rv).
52. Testimony of Daniel O'Sullivan Beare, 18 Mar. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679 12, ff. 61r–62r).
53. Testimony of Patrick Curtis, 12 Mar. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679 12, ff. 55v–57r).
54. Testimony of Hugh Lane, 6 Mar. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679, 12, 43r–44v).
55. Testimony of Denis O'Sullivan, 6 Mar. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679 12, ff. 44v–45v. He had a long association with Lacy and was still on his side in the 1751–3 case. See AHN, INQ 3733, exp 46, f. 31r.
56. Testimony of Bonaventura de Burgo OFM, 8 Mar. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679 12, ff. 46r–47r).
57. Testimony of Daniel O'Leary, 18 Mar. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679 12, ff. 62r–64r).
58. The institution referred to was probably the one popularly known as 'Las Recogidas', located in the house of the order of Santa María Magdalena. See Dolores Pérez Baltasar, *Mujeres marginadas: las casas de recogidas en Madrid* (Madrid, 1984).
59. Testimony of John Lacy, 30 Mar. 1745 (AHN INQ 3679 12, ff. 88r–91r).
60. Margarita Dodat to Inquisition, Madrid, 19 Nov.1748 (AHN, INQ 3733, ff. 2v (barred), 19r.

61. Under charges 58 and 59 'se le [Lacy] acusa de aver abusado de la comisión que le dio el tribunal contra dicha Margurita Boisel [Dodat]', AHN, INQ 3733, f. 29r.
62. AHN, INQ 3733, f. 6r. Lacy was allegedly a drinking companion of the marqués de San Gil. According to his enemies he owed his place in San Antonio to the count of Belalcazar (d. 1747).
63. Delación espontanea de Margarita Ouram [Howell], Madrid, 16 Dec. 1752 (AHN, INQ, Lib 1156, ff. 438r–440v).
64. AHN, INQ 3733, f. 11r.
65. AHN, INQ 3733, f. 24r.
66. Sentence, 9 June 1754 (AHN INQ 1894, exp. 30).
67. Lacy to Inquisitor General, Ballingarry, 27 Aug. 1761 (AHN INQ 1894, exp. 30).
68. Suplica de Catherine Howell, 6 Sept. 1767 (AGS SSH 768 I).
69. Vicálvaro Parish Registers, libro 8º de Difuntos, 1721–1754, cited in Lourdes Sanchez Domínguez, *Un espacio en el tiempo: Vicálvaro: real fábrica de tejidos, cuartel y universidad* (Vicálvaro, 2007).
70. Argumosa to Caravajal, 28 Apr. 1752 (AGS, SSH Leg. 765 I).
71. Michael Brown et al. (eds) *Converts and conversion in Ireland, 1650–1850* (Dublin, 2005), particularly chapters one and two.
72. See testimony of John Skinner, who said in 1716 that Lisbon Protestants would not do business with a Catholic watchmaker. AHN INQ Lib. 1154, ff. 112r–116r.
73. ANTT TSO IC, livro 619, ff. 60–2, 155–9.
74. ACDF SO St St M 3a (16), f. 432r (1737).
75. 'segun la costumbre de su tierra, en que promiscuamente se casan cattolicos, con herejes' (ibid., f. 455r).
76. AGN INQ Tomo 1197 (Vera Cruz, 1780).
77. Francois Stracan to unknown, Madrid, 13 Aug. 1722 (AHN INQ 2224 (1).
78. AGN INQ Tomo 720, exp. 12, ff. 227–37.
79. Mary E. Giles (ed.), *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World* (Baltimore, 1999); Lisa Vollendorf, *The lives of women: a new history of Inquisitorial Spain* (Nashville, 2005).
80. See Mónica Bolufer, 'The works of Enlightened Spanish women: Inés Joyes' in Anke Gilleir, Alicia A. Montoya and Suzanna van Dijk (eds), *Women writing back/writing women back: transnational perspectives from the later Middle Ages to the dawn of the modern era* (Leiden, 2010).
81. J.B.F. Carrere, *Panorama de Lisboa no ano de 1796* (Lisbon, 1797; reprint 1989), p. 47.

Conclusion

1. For their institutional variety, see Bernardo J. García García and Óscar Recio Morales (eds), *Las corporaciones de nación en la monarquía hispánica (1580–1750): identidad, patronazgo y redes de sociabilidad* (Madrid, 2014).
2. For a recent account of their activities in north-western Spain, see Ciaran O'Scea, *Surviving Kinsale: Irish emigration and identity formation in early modern Spain, 1601–40* (Manchester, 2015).

3. For an early seventeenth-century example, see Chester S.L. Dunning and David R.C. Hudson, 'The transportation of Irish swordsmen to Sweden and Russia and the plantation in Ulster (1609–1613)' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 66 (2013), pp. 420–51.
4. For a recent interpretation, see Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious refugees in the early modern world: an alternative history of the Reformation* (Cambridge, 2015).
5. See, inter alia, Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: a global history, 1478–1834* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 3–34; Andrea del Cole, *L'Inquisizione in Italia* (Milan, 2006), pp. 509–698; Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della conscienze: inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Turin, 1996), pp. 213–548.
6. For an overview of the black legend, see Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (Berkeley, 1989).
7. See, for example, Yosef Kaplan, *An alternative path to modernity: the Western Sephardi diaspora in the seventeenth century* (Leiden, 2000).
8. For example, essays in M. Garcia-Arenal and G.A. Wiegers (eds), *Los Moriscos: expulsion y diáspora. Una perspectiva international* (Valencia, 2013).
9. For example, Betrand Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden: the Huguenots and their migration to colonial South Carolina* (Columbia, 2006).

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2847, 2946, 2950, 3026, 3059, 3679, 3698, 3715, 3721, 3730, 3733, 3735, 4432, 4433, 4499, 4500, 4807, 4812, 4813, 5183, 5186, 5347
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