Torre de Hércules, La Coruña, Galicia.
According to the *Leabhar Gabhála*, King Breogán constructed
a high tower from where his sons could see the distant green island of Ireland.

**Editor: Edmundo Murray**
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# Ireland and Iberia: An Introduction

By Igor Pérez Tostado

Relations between Ireland and the Iberian Peninsula have their roots deep in the mists of myth and history. According to the Irish *Leabhar Gabhála* (book of invasions), the last wave of settlers to arrive in Ireland came from the Iberian Peninsula. During the middle ages, trade and fishing created strong links between Ireland and the Peninsula. Foreign fishing vessels working in the fishing grounds of Grand Sol docked in Spanish ports for some months every year. For example, in 1571 around eighteen *chalupas* (fishing boats) from Gijón, Ribadesella and Llanos worked in Irish fishing grounds (Gomez-Centurión 1988).

During the sixteenth century, Irish-Iberian connections took on a religious and political dimension. The first diplomatic contacts and treaties between the Irish nobility and the empire of Charles V date back to 1529. Iberian political involvement in Ireland increased progressively from the 1520s to the 1640s. The myth of the Iberian origin of the inhabitants of Ireland (the 'Milesian myth'), a sense of solidarity based on Catholicism and the services rendered by the Irish in the armies of Spain, together with a strong campaign of cultural reinvention and projection carried on by the Irish with the Spanish Monarchy, convinced the kings of their duty to protect and defend the Irish.

Parallel to the profound transformation that the English state wrought in Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a strong Irish community flourished in the territories of the Spanish Monarchy, mainly Castile, Portugal and the so-called Spanish Netherlands. On the other hand, as Declan Downey has demonstrated, the nature of the Irish Counter-Reformation movement was much more related to the Castilian monarchist model than to that to the Roman one (Downey 1994).

These sixteenth and seventeenth century migrations are best remembered in relation to the military commanders that served in the Spanish Army of Flanders (some of whom returned to Ireland in the 1640s) and the almost thirty Irish colleges scattered around Europe. Less known is the political role played by a small Irish lobby at the courts of Lisbon, Madrid and Brussels, in defence of the rights of the dispossessed nobility and Catholic Church.

On the other hand, the experience of the tens of thousands of migrants who served in the army as foot soldiers, and their dependent families, studied here by Moises Enrique Rodríguez, was full of hardship and need, as happened with many that took the *mestiere delle arme*. Many of them ended up dissolving in the marginal groups of society, as can be seen in the number of Irish making their last will at the paupers' hospitals of Madrid, or in the satiric works of Francisco de Quevedo. De Quevedo tellingly used the word *irlandesa* interchangeably with prostitute. However, there were also merchant settlers who opened up Iberian and American commerce to European networks of trade and acted as backdrop to the Irish commercial success of the eighteenth century.

Although the Spanish political role in Ireland was overshadowed by France's influence and the stronger English and Scottish authority on the island from the 1650s onwards, the eighteenth century might be considered the golden age of the Irish presence on the Iberian Peninsula. Starting with Daniel O'Daly (1592-1662) as one of the diplomatic cornerstones of the Portuguese Crown during its war of independence from Spain (1640-1668) until the era of Leopoldo O'Donnell (1809-1867), military commander, political leader and prime minister, both Portugal and Spain boasted high-ranking diplomats, military men and politicians of Irish origin at their service.

On the other hand, Irish merchants benefited from the full rights of Spanish citizenship, confirmed by the new Bourbon dynasty in 1701, in order to boost their trade. The most famous son of this trading aristocracy was the writer, poet and theologian José Blanco White (1775-1841) who in his writings refers to Lower Andalusia, the hub of Spanish intercontinental trade where he grew up. On this issue, Manuel Fernández Chaves and Mercedes Gamero present the unknown business and social context of the Irish community in eighteenth-century Seville.

Recent works to be published by the end of this year by Oscar Recio Molina and Enrique García Hernán show the success of Irish girls of marrying age at the Spanish Court among military officers, thanks to their social and cultural capital. On the other hand, Oscar Recio himself argues that in the same eighteenth century, some financial capital was always welcomed in order to have Irish claims to nobility swiftly recognised by Iberian administrations. However, high statesmen and military commanders such as Richard Wall (1694-1777), studied here by Diego Tellez Alarcia, and Alexander O'Reilly (1722-1794), endured severe criticism on the grounds of their being considered foreigners.

In a sense, the transition from the *ancien régime* to the nation-building of the nineteenth century was a period of cultural introspection in both Ireland and on the Iberian Peninsula, and signified the end of some types of mobility and migration of the *ancien régime*. All Irish colleges in Spain, except in Salamanca, were closed down in the wake of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767.

Catholic emancipation in Ireland (1829) favoured the return of Irish Catholic institutions to Ireland from the continent in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but at the cost of diminishing hundred-years-old cultural connections. It also paved the way for the birth of nationalism. During the nineteenth century, Spanish culture and history served in Ireland as a mirror in which to reflect the themes and problems that preoccupied the Irish writers of the time, as seen in Asier Altuna's article in this journal. However, the great Irish migration of the nineteenth century was not directed towards Spain and Portugal, countries struggling with political turmoil and the need for economic modernisation, but did follow former Iberian links to Latin America.

Irish people were also involved in the most dramatic event of Spanish history of the twentieth century, namely, the Civil War (1936-39). Again, Spain served as a mirror in which the fears and hopes of Irish society were reflected. Most of the population, headed by the Catholic Church and its conservative political allies, strongly supported the military rebels. However, the Irish Free State advocated a policy of non-intervention in the League of Nations but did nothing to prevent the departure of volunteers to Spain.

General Eoin O'Duffy (1892-1944), former head of the Blueshirt movement in Ireland, brought a group of volunteers to fight for Franco. These were welcomed and integrated into the Spanish Legion (the elite troops of the Spanish army) in which they formed their own regiment, the *Bandera XIV* (Fourteenth Flag). Their poor military performance, combined with the high cost involved, convinced Franco's camp to reship them back to Ireland as soon as possible.

Support for the Spanish Republic was an unpopular subject in 1930s Ireland. It was not uncommon for meetings in favour of the Republican government to bear the brunt of aggression. However, the Irish Republican Army leader Frank Ryan (1902-1944) brought members of the Republican Congress Party to Spain to fight for the Spanish Republic. They formed the James Connolly Column in the International Brigades. In contrast with the experience of their fellow countrymen on the opposite side, they participated in the major battles of the war, suffering heavy losses, up to the retreat of the foreign volunteers.

The second half of the twentieth century was characterised, both in Ireland and on the Iberian Peninsula, by progressive European integration. Although the two regions joined the European club at an interval of thirteen years (Ireland in 1973 and Spain and Portugal in 1986), they seem to have followed quite a similar path. On joining, all three countries were members of the so-called 'poverty crescent' of the community, comprising Greece, Southern Italy, Spain, Portugal and Ireland.

In recent decades, Ireland and Spain have followed quite similar paths inside the European Union (EU), of sustained economic growth. It is a clear sign of prosperity that both countries have rapidly made the transition from being countries of a profound tradition of emigration to having the highest immigration rates in the EU. In this journal, Oscar Molina studies the contributory factors that have led Ireland and Spain to their present situations, and Claire Healy analyses the similar immigration experiences of Ireland and Portugal.

Another issue, and a most sensitive one, which has linked Ireland and the Iberian Peninsula from the last quarter of the twentieth century onwards, has been the nationalist conflicts in Northern Ireland and the Basque Country. The Irish Catholic priest Alec Reid, who played a prominent role as facilitator in the negotiations leading to the Good Friday Agreement of 1998, has attempted to bring his experience to bear in the Basque conflict. In recognition of his labours, he received the 'World Mirror' prize in 2002, awarded by the Sabino Arana Foundation. In a society in which political conflict invades every aspect of life, even a sportsman such as John Aldridge, as studied here by Matthew Brown, had to be extremely careful in his role as goal-scorer to avoid getting embroiled in nationalist politics.

Academic collaboration between Ireland and Spain, especially in the field of early modern history, has greatly increased in the last decade. Formerly, Irish scholars such as Micheline Kerney Walsh had gone to Spain in order to research sources relating to Irish people in Spanish archives. They were often amazed with the results, particularly compared with the scarcity of sources from the same period remaining in Ireland. This led Irish scholars to believe that, in order to understand the early modern experience in Ireland, sources had to be sought and analysed on the European continent. This idea was the origin of the *Irish in Europe* project, coordinated by Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons in Maynooth, [1] and the Irish on the Continent database, directed by Ciarán Brady and Declan Downey.

The commemoration of the Battle of Kinsale (1602-2002) was the inspiration for many scholarly events in both Spain and Ireland, which have continued and gained momentum with the formation of a research group in Spain 'La comunidad irlandesa en la Monarquía Hispánica (siglos XVI-XVIII): identidad e integración social' ('The Irish community in the Hispanic Monarchy (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries): identity and social integration', HUM2005-05763/Hist). [2] This scholarly effort has been generously supported by both Spanish and Irish public authorities.

Research on the Irish in Portugal has followed a more discreet path, not quite befitting of the high quality of early modern studies in the country and the energy of its research community. In the 1960s, a thesis was presented at University College Dublin on the Dominican diplomat Daniel O'Daly by Margaret Curtin, which has not been published. An article by Benvenuta Mac Curtain was however published in *Irish Historical Studies*. In 1981 Manuel Gonçalves da Costa published a Portuguese sources collection for Irish history (Gonçalves da Costa, 1981). From then on, and excepting Patricia O'Connell who wrote a monograph on the Irish college in Lisbon ten years ago, no major research on Ireland and Portugal has been carried out, at least as far as this editor is aware (O'Connell, 1997). However, signs at present are positive and hopefully this situation is due to improve in the next few years: exciting times ahead in Portugal and Ireland.

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## Notes

[1] *The Irish in Europe Project*, Department of Modern History, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, County Kildare, Ireland. Website (http://www.irishineurope.com/), cited 6 September 2007.

[2] *La Comunidad Irlandesa en la Monarquía Hispánica (siglos XVI-XVIII): Identidad e Integración Social*, Instituto de Historia, CSIC. Duque de Medinaceli, 6. 28014 Madrid. Website (http://www.irishinspain.org/), cited 6 September 2007.

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## Spain in Irish Literature 1789-1850
## An Approach to a Minor Representation [1]

By Asier Altuna-García de Salazar

### Introduction

This brief approach aims at analysing and extracting some general guidelines on the much-neglected discourse which arose from the representation of Spain and Spanish references in Irish literature between 1789 and 1850. It focuses on the ways in which a number of canonical and non-canonical Irish and Anglo-Irish writers use Spain, her history, traditions and culture to construct the contemporary Irish discourse. The history of Spain, Spanish tradition and literature were topics much referred to by a number of Irish writers at the turn of the eighteenth century. These authors and their discourse deserve a new approach; for, though they have been the focus of some research, many of these poets, novelists and playwrights have been considered minor in importance by traditional literary criticism on the grounds of their lack of aesthetic quality and politically partisan bias, among many other issues. Our aim is to propose some guidelines for further study.

As for the selection of the chronological period 1789-1850, many factors have been taken into account. Indeed, on the one hand, Spain between 1789 and 1850 provided Irish authors with instances of national turmoil, which were open to interpretation and representation. After the French Revolution, Spain declared war against France, which resulted in the passing of power to Napoleon, who, in turn, gave the Spanish Crown to his nephew, Joseph Bonaparte. The French invasion of Spain inspired patriotic and independent movements in England and Ireland. The figure of the Anglo-Irish Duke of Wellington assisted in the resolution of the Peninsular War, restoring Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne.

A number of internal conflicts in Spain after this period, such as the Carlist wars, found ample resonance in Ireland. On the other hand, a number of historical events in Ireland conditioned much of the writing of the period. The Union with Great Britain (1801), Catholic Emancipation (1829) and the Great Famine (1845-1849) found extensive expression in the Anglo-Irish literature of the period. The final year of 1850 has been chosen not only because it was the year of publication of Edward Maturin's significant *Lyrics of Spain and Erin*, but also because much of the writing after this date was stigmatised by the representation of the Irish Famine. After this, the late Irish Romantic Period was conditioned by preoccupations that prepared the way for a new resurgence of Irish literature in the English language.

Through Spain as the connecting 'anecdote', which within the new historicist critical context is a move 'outside of canonical works', an 'effect of surprise' which pulls away or swamps 'the explication of the work of art', (Gallagher & Greenblatt 2000: 36), we propose that it is possible to conceive a way of constructing a cultural dissection in which to explain this recourse to Spain between 1789-1850 in Ireland. Our main concern is to identify the importance of the anecdote, the event, that is Spain and Spanish references, in a twofold way. Firstly, as an event *per se*; and secondly, as an event that is literally significant within the period under study in this brief introductory approach.

### Most important works and authors: a brief list

So, after fixing the period of our analysis, we propose a list of the major writings which present references to Spain in general. [2] Some absences are telling. Among them any future researcher should not overlook the enormous bulk of data contained in the myriad of pamphlets, broadsheets and periodical material which constantly referred to Spain and her plight. Nevertheless, and bearing the latter issue in mind, we include below an alphabetical list of some minor and major authors who produced writings in which the references to Spain are reflected on Anglo-Irish and Irish issues. Our intention is not to delve into all these works in detail, [3] but due to the unknown character of these authors' productions we decided to include a few comments on their works.

Lady Sophia Raymond Burrell produced two works with Spanish theme: a poem, 'Epistle from Elvira (a Spanish Lady) to her Lover (a native of Portugal)' (1793) and her play *Theodora; or, The Spanish Daughter, a Tragedy* (1800) in which a female point of view is introduced about the 'gendered' Revolutionary aftermath. Andrew Cherry dedicated his life to acting and writing musical sketches and songs of importance. His *Spanish Dollars* (1806) included the famous song 'The Bay of Biscay', about coastal life in Ireland.

For Henry Brereton Code, his writing activities were accompanied by his political presence in the Anglo-Irish unionist discourse. His play *Spanish Patriots a Thousand Years Ago* (1812) is a good example of this. The same applies to the critic and politician John Wilson Croker and his praise of Wellington in his famous poem *The Battles of Talavera*

(1810) which advocated, through the representation of Spain, the defence of the Union between Ireland and Britain as a model for many other European nations. Rev. George Croly produced his poem *Sebastian; A Spanish Tale* (1820) deeply imbued with religious controversy and Oriental difference.

Although intermittent in his contributions on Spain, the translator and poet Samuel Ferguson wrote the short poem 'Don Gomez and the Cid' (1833) during the first year of the influential *Dublin University Magazine*. Not much is known about Preston Fitzgerald, who penned *The Spaniard and Siorlamh* (1810) and his long poem *Spain Delivered. A Poem and Two Cantos* (1813), denouncing Napoleonic intervention in Spain. The Anglo-Irish playwright Robert Jephson produced his *Two Strings to Your Bow* (1791) through the portrayal of stock-characterisation. The later James Sheridan Knowles was one of the most popular dramatists of the period and would produce patriotic and heroic compositions in blank verse principally. Of importance we find his early 'Fragment of a Spanish Play' (about 1806), his short story *The Guerrilla* (1837) and his play *The Rose of Arragon* (1842).

The other female writer to be considered is Miss Alicia Le Fanu, who produced her romantic novel *Don Juan de las Sierras, or, el Empecinado. A Romance* (1823), establishing connections with Spain, Ossian and Irish romantic national-ism. James Clarence Mangan, regarded as the national poet of Ireland, produced various translations from the Spanish and German, but with Spanish themes, as well as a short introductory essay on the interconnections between the Spanish romances and national character, which Mangan then connected with the Irish situation he was experiencing at the time.

The Maturin family, represented by the Gothic Charles Robert Maturin and his son Edward Maturin, deserves closer attention. C. R. Maturin's play *Manuel* (1817) is set in Spain. His Gothic masterpiece *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820) has recourse to Spain and Spanish religious conflicts constantly. His son Edward, a member of the Irish Diaspora, although publishing in the United States, followed the religious preoccupation of his father in writing his short story *Benjamin, the Jew of Grenada* (1847). His most interesting instance of Spanish influence is, however, his poetical piece *Lyrics of Spain and Erin* (1850), which closes our brief analysis, chronologically speaking.

The final group of Irish and Anglo-Irish authors on this alphabetical list are playwrights. The most famous author is Richard Brinsley Sheridan because he has also been included in the English canon. His *Pizarro* (1799) portrays England's colonial attitude towards India and Ireland through the approach to the figure of the Spanish conquista-dor by the same name. Minor in fame is Charles Stuart, about whom not much is known; his *The Irishman in Spain* (1792) approaches the Irish picaresque stock-character in Spain. Our last author on this brief list is Reverend Matthew West, whose work on a Spanish topic is a sequel to Sheridan's *Pizarro*, also produced in 1799.

### Aspects of a minor representation: main features

Many of the authors above, some of them considered minor, express the need to not only invent but also impose a new tradition to some extent and, hence, an ideology of class or group. Their writings portrayed and followed the interests of the newly formed Anglo-Irish 'Protestant Nation', during a period extending from 1782 to 1800. This temporary and brief flash of 'nationhood' in Irish history resulted from Henry Grattan's achievement in securing the independence of the Irish parliament in 1782. It was also related to a period of turmoil and rebellion exemplified by the United Irishmen and the events of 1798 lasting until the complete collapse of the very same parliament that 'Grattan had emancipated.' The parliament eventually 'voted for its own discontinuance' (Rafroidi 1980: 70) and union with Great Britain in 1800. The 'self-enforcement' of the Union between Britain and Ireland brought about once again a general perception that only through the Union of the Irish and British peoples could progress be made. [4]

However, this unification brought with it the dependency of Ireland, and along with that the Anglo-Irish ascen-dancy, for the British government. It is therefore not merely coincidental that elements in the works that are dubbed Spanish and within the Spanish tradition are adapted to reflect on Anglo-Irish and Irish issues at large.

In approaching this minor discourse, some distinctive paradigms and preconceptions are evident. Firstly, any student or researcher should delineate the main controversies that the terms 'Anglo-Irish' and 'Irish' entail, especially in the field of literary criticism and literature, which is of great importance to our approach. The term Anglo-Irish presents specific connotations with regard to key issues, such as race, place, religion and polity. These have also conditioned the character of Irish literature over time. In this light, the appropriateness of the term Anglo-Irish for a greater part of the bulk of writing proposed here is adequate. Secondly, any paradigmatic classification of the period proposed for study should take into account issues such as colonialism, patriotism and nationalism, which informed the Irish case at the time. In the intersection of these three paradigms we would also advance three main aspects - place, religion and characterisation - which are seminal in the representation of Spain and Spanish references within the Irish literary discourse.

In what could be termed the 'politics of place' in those writings for which the Spanish locale is significant for the development of the work, some aspects are worth considering. The settings of the plays and poems of this introduc-tory approach seek a place outside physical Ireland and have recourse to cities of importance in Spain. Indeed, there are references to cities such as Madrid, Salamanca, as places of learning and faith with closer links to the Irish religious diaspora at the turn of the fifteenth century, Barcelona, Granada, Burgos, Saragossa and Seville. We have

also found interesting references to the image of Oriental Spain - which coincides with a general current of Irish orientalism prevalent during that period [5] - and the accompanying estrangement of land and religion. Of interest also are the allusions to the issue of imperial locality through the approach to Spanish colonial territories and a final consideration of the differentiation between land, territory and soil as national entities. The authors chose these particular settings with an underlying purpose: the exposition of their approach to Ireland and even Britain within the contemporary social and political context in Europe. It should be remembered that most writers never visited Spain. What they knew about Spain was largely from accounts by former travellers and periodical publications. Much first-hand information was gleaned from soldiers or men of importance in the Dublin Pale or at the British Court. This latter issue has not been researched sufficiently and a thorough analysis of these varied sources is still pending.

Another paradigmatic section could be termed the 'politics of religion'. As we have stated above, religion was part and parcel of the Anglo-Irish and Irish discourses at the time and the representation of religion through Spanish references merits investigation. Many of these works make closer reference to the duality of Spanish religious history epitomised in conflicts between two creeds, mainly the Moorish and Christian religions. This representation, in turn, contextualises many of the features that also characterised the Irish religious conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism during the period. For a better understanding of the development of the issue of religion as it is depicted in these works, three distinct time periods should be specified: the period before the Act of Union in 1800, that between the Union and Catholic Emancipation in 1829, in which we have located most Anglo-Irish and Irish writings on the politics of religion, and the period from Catholic Emancipation to 1850.

Thirdly, the central focus of the analysis is that of the 'politics of characterisation'. Indeed, the Spanish representations constructed by Anglo-Irish and Irish writers reflect the contemporary preoccupation with issues such as the character of the nation, at a time when national identities were being re-addressed. Furthermore, the variety of Spanish characters provided these authors with a continuous history and tradition that helped in the 'invention' of their own narrative in Ireland. Any approach to the use of characterisation of the period under study should consider aspects like the study of colonial Ireland through the approach to the Spanish conquistador Pizarro, the substantiation of the unionist discourse through recurring references to the Anglo-Irish Duke of Wellington in the Peninsular War, an overview of the romantic nationalist novel, characters in translation by James Clarence Mangan, and historical and legendary Spanish characters, such as the Cid, King Pelagio and Don Roderick, among many others. The representation of the Spanish hero is evident, as a hero who withstands different conflicts with Moors, French and even amongst Spaniards themselves in an idealised glorification of the concept of race and national character.

In *The Ballad Poetry of Ireland* (1845) Charles Gavan Duffy refers to Spain and the historical character of the Cid as a beacon for the recovery of ancient ballads and heroes of the Gaelic past. He states that 'in Arragon and Castile the chronicles of the Cid, and the ballads of their long and heroic struggles against the Moor, still feed that noble pride of race which lifts the Spanish people above the meaner vices, and makes them in spirit and conduct a nation of gentlemen.'(Duffy 1845: 37) Attention should also be paid to the study of stock characterisation, which somehow finds inspiration in the Spanish picaresque tradition, particularly in plays, short comedies and sketches, followed by an introduction to the presence of female characters and their connections with Spain in Irish literature between 1789 and 1850.

In sum, the object of any approach to this period and its works should be the examination of history, literature, textuality and ideology as the main tenets in the constitution of the Anglo-Irish and Irish socio-historical subjectivities at the turn of the eighteenth century with the reference to Spain, the 'anecdote' in Irish literary discourse between 1789 and 1850. To take historical events and record them is an exercise in ideological inscription. All these events are ultimately transformed into history and canonised when they are inscribed in the narrative. Catherine Gallagher provides a definition in which our purpose of a collective approach through contextual and textual practices is best described:

…it [new historicism] entails reading literary and nonliterary texts as constituents of historical discourses that are both inside and outside of texts and that its practitioners generally posit no fixed hierarchy of cause and effect as they trace the connections among texts, discourses, power, and the constitution of subjectivity (Gallagher 1989: 37).

In the Ireland, or rather Anglo-Ireland, between 1789 and 1850, state power, be it from London or the Pale in Dublin, extensively merged with cultural forms in an attempt to impose a sense of tradition and identity, so as to furnish the Anglo-Irish discourse and assert the Anglo-Irish position of influence at the time. We have found that many of our writers' works with Spanish representations were produced with clear propagandistic purposes, mixing or 'fashioning' to use Greenblatt's terminology, literary aesthetics with effective 'material practices'.

Most of the Irish writings proposed in this brief approach had as their aim the *re*-creation and *re*-enactment of the historical, social and, principally, political contests of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish predicament. It is therefore not a coincidence that the depiction and analysis of historical and cultural stages such as the Volunteer movement of 1798, the development of events on the European continent, especially in Spain, and the later Union between Ireland and Great Britain in 1800, with the attendant self-extinction of the Anglo-Irish

parliament, were relegated to 'silence' in the formation of the Irish literary canon, because they were regarded as instances of the Ascendancy and as such 'too English' in their postulates. This brief approach seeks to support and assist in the analysis of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Irish literature, so as to supply a 'small grain' for the discontinuous subject of the Irish literary tradition.

Any approach to the minor representation of Spain in Irish literature between 1789 and 1850 should be concerned with the study of the nature of the *re*-inscription of literature in history, in this case Irish history, and the consequent formation of the Irish canon of literature. In Ireland the production of a so called 'national' literature in English sprang from a series of direct historical events which were highly charged with ideology and power, and as Said proclaimed 'these realities [power and ideology] are what should be taken into account by criticism and the critical consciousness'; mainly because these are the realities 'that make texts possible' (Said 1983: 5).

## Considerations for further study and concluding remarks

In analysing the much-neglected discourse on the representation of Spain in Irish literature between 1789 and 1850, the use of New Historicism as a critical current and its concepts, tools and tenets as a methodological framework could be valid. This is relevant for the use of time and the dichotomy between the synchronic and diachronic axis of time; the introduction of the concept of 'thick description' in the critical study of a 'cultural cut', the joint analysis of literary works and other forms of expression manifesting an underlying causal principle, as a means of offering a more comprehensive view on Anglo-Irish discourse; the application of the concept of the 'circulation' of textual energy, that is, the interrelatedness of all kinds of texts; and the importance given to the anecdote, in our case Spain and Spanish references, as an 'effect of surprise', which does not try to exemplify the eternal truths of a literary period, but perforates narration in order to provide points of interaction. Indeed, our proposal is to put in contact those texts, literary and non-literary, that shed light on any analysis of the period with the intention of tracing the connections between them. The new-historicist-style critical subjection of every poetic text to a discursively historicised brand of interpretation will eventually enable us to see these writings in a new light, as all kinds of texts were 'fashioned' in the Irish discourse of the period. As a result, any approach should be concerned with the analysis of the creative power that shapes, or 'fashions' Irish literary works *outside* and *inside* those borders and boundaries in which they found expression.

Our division into three main paradigmatic guidelines for further study could lead us to some conclusions. There is more to the choice of Spain rather than Ireland than 'just a setting'. In the crucial relationship between place and people lie the controversial issues of Anglo-Irish and Irish continuities and identities. Moreover, most of the Irish writings proposed here account for an economic and political categorisation of place, due to the colonial and imperial position of Britain with respect to Ireland at the turn of the eighteenth century. Identity, in the Anglo-Irish case, is conditioned by a territorial boundary. This territorial boundary distinguishes the Anglo-Irish 'collective self' from the native Irish 'Other', when the Anglo-Irish cannot depend on other objective criteria such as race, common history, tradition and language. The Anglo-Irish failure in the conceptualisation of place is reflected in their maintenance of the dissociation between Ireland, conceived as a place of colonial penetration and exploitation, and Ireland as a mythical or aesthetic place.

The Anglo-Irish authors proposed here do not refer to Ireland directly, except for Charles Robert Maturin's Gothic description of the Anglo-Irish betrayal of land. Their references to Spain as a setting fill a gap. The Anglo-Irish have emptied the mythical and aesthetic component of Ireland, and therefore they cannot refer to or claim the land and the soil as participants of the Anglo-Irish 'collective self'. Their conceptualisation of land, of Irish land, does not fit with a tradition they could claim as their own.

All representations of the Spanish 'locale', such as stereotypical references to cities that had been theatres of war - especially Talavera de la Reina, where Britain and Ireland fought against Napoleon -; the depiction of Oriental Spain, which accounts for much Oriental and Ossianic enthusiasm in literature in the English language at the time; the use of Spanish colonial territories as an indirect allusion to British imperialist politics in Ireland and elsewhere; and the references to the trinity of territory, land and soil in the 1820s, have addressed the issue of place in a different location, Spain. In the case of Anglo-Irish writings rather than Irish ones, the lack of representation of an Anglo-Irish Ireland in the works proposed above could lead us to understand their relegation from the Irish canon. The Anglo-Irish 'politics of place', though an expression of social and political colonial power, fails in the conceptualisation of land as a category within Anglo-Irish 'cultural hegemony'. Hence, it decreased in importance in comparison with, on the one hand, the nationalist conceptualisation of place, as the soil to which Irish people attach themselves, and, on the other hand, the Anglo-Irish ascendancy's betrayal of a land which is increasingly distant from them.

Like place, the issue of religion in Ireland experienced rapid changes, which included the relaxation of the Penal Laws, the annexation of the Church of Ireland to the Church of England and the passing of Catholic Emancipation in 1829. Through the representation of Spain and Spanish references, some of the Irish writings proposed here approach the conflicting discourse of religion in Ireland. The structure of our analysis of the 'politics of religion' into three periods: before the Union (1800), after the Union and before Catholic Emancipation (1829) and the period after Emancipation, could facilitate the study of this corpus of Irish writing with Spanish references.

The maintenance of the distinction Protestant-Catholic, represented through Spain by Christian/Catholic-Muslim, accounts for the construction of an exclusive definition of the Anglo-Irish, especially the Protestant Ascendancy, versus the Catholic majority in Ireland. We can perceive this religious exclusivity in the representations of colonial superiority through stock characterisation. With the advent of the Union, the Churches of Ireland and Great Britain united. The fear of a French invasion and the introduction of a secular state in France made Christianity the central principle of confluence both in Britain and in Ireland. Accordingly, Spanish references in which Christianity, and not an exclusive Catholic creed, is alluded to, facilitates the inclusion of both Protestant and Catholic creeds. The reference to Catholic Irish forces in the British army and the allusion to the pre-Anglican saints and heroes in many of the works with Spanish references evince attempts to include all different religious creeds in the discourse of the period.

Much pamphlet and literary writing has addressed the threat of Republican thinking, exemplified in the revolutionary ethos that the United Irishmen wanted to infuse in Irish people. What seemed a moment of religious equality and encounter was engulfed by the advance of unionist writing. The unionist literary discourse favoured the reality after the Union in Ireland, but enhanced the presence of an exclusive unified Anglican Church in Ireland.

Thus, the era of the Act of Union sheds light on the circulation of historical, political and literary texts with the issue of religion as a backdrop. R.B. Sheridan's and Matthew West's versions of *Pizarro* show that even the religious discourse partook of the representation of the mechanisation of power. The communion between land, people, king and God - mainly the Anglican God - represented in some of these works, refers to the relegation of the Catholic majority in Ireland. The circulation of Anglo-Irish and Irish literary and non-literary texts tended to praise the figure of the King - and a contemporary loyalty to kings is a central feature of Irish Catholic people. This despite the fact that the British monarchy kept postponing the passing of Catholic Emancipation, as it contradicted the very essence of the British, and therefore Anglo-Irish, character.

The representation of Spain and Spanish references between the Act of Union and Catholic Emancipation in 1829 is suggestive of the thirty-year delay in granting Emancipation. Tom Garvin equated this delay with the failure of the Union to be accepted by the Catholic population in Ireland. Much Anglo-Irish unionist writing adhered to the Irish reality after the Union. If the social and political - not to mention religious - acceptance of the Union by the Catholic majority in Ireland failed, the literary discourse which was essentially Anglo-Irish also failed to be accepted and maintained. The canonical silence, that is, the absence of a traditional literary periodisation of the writings dealt with here, was also a result of the politics of religion through the representations of Spain and Spanish references between 1789 and 1850.

The fight for Catholic Emancipation was tantamount to the affirmation of a national identity. This started to gain ground around the 1820s when Daniel O'Connell campaigned for Catholic rights. Most writings with Spanish references do not portray Catholic Emancipation in a favourable light. Instead, they allude to the religious discourse in terms of differentiation and Protestant superiority. Besides, when advances for emancipation are made, the literary discourse these works display attacks Catholicism and Popish influences, best exemplified by the Anglo-Irish Gothic genre.

Traditionally, Spanish Catholicism has helped to produce examples of fierce British Anglican responses, which intertwine issues of politics, society and religion. Hence, the references to the Spanish religious discourse corroborate a particularly Anglo-Irish fear of a future expansion of Catholicism both in Britain and in Ireland, which influenced institutions such as the monarchy, parliamentarian structure, the composition of the army and the Church. The decrease of Anglican influence, due to the extension of Catholic rights, diluted the Anglo-Irish national identity, which finds no solid representation in the literary discourse. The 'abnormality' of this particular issue of religion in Anglo-Irish politics can therefore extend to Irish literary discourse between 1789 and 1850. The impact of emancipation on Irish literary discourse aided in the transformation of Irish cultural nationalism into a more noticeably Catholic and even sectarian issue. This could account for the telling reduction in the number of Spanish references on the issue of religion between 1829 and 1850.

The 'politics of representation' of Spanish characters - historical, stock and female - is a key element in the study of the Irish literary discourse between 1789 and 1850. The authors approached here refer to and 'imagine' an Anglo-Irish community, which could claim a continuity constituted by history-makers, heroes and personae. Through this *re*-creation of the literary discourse they try to establish the basis of a continuity, a proper tradition, which conceptualises their historical, political and religious discourses.

This need for an Irish 'narrative of identity' is at the centre of the politics of characterisation of most of the authors proposed here; and any narrative of identity aims at constructing memory. The *re*-creation of memory is a key element in the structuring process of an 'imagined community', to use Benedict Anderson's term; memory is part of the constitution of an Anglo-Irish subjectivity that negotiated between an ever-growing Irish tradition, principally Catholic, and the powerful influence of the British Anglican tradition.

In the case of the Anglo-Irish writing proper, the lack of heroes whom they could claim as their own highlights the need for a *re*-awakening of the Irish, English or Spanish pasts striving to create an Anglo-Irish present, deprived of

all these former figures. The constant search by Anglo-Irish authors for Spanish characters reflects the discontinuity in much Anglo-Irish writing, which contrasts with the Spanish literary and historical discourse.

Through the 'anecdotal' analysis of Spain and Spanish references in Irish literature between 1789 and 1850, the need to question the literary canon is also addressed. The use of the new historicist 'anecdote' and the 'thick description' would enable the future researcher and student of the period to study those 'cracks' within the institution of the literary canon. We suggest that, through this proposed approach to new historicist synchronic 'cultural cuts', we also refer to the diachronic character of the Irish canon. It is through the study of Spain and Spanish references in Irish literature between 1789 and 1850 that we would be able to rescue these works from 'canonical silence' and critical relegation.

During the period between 1789 and 1850, the approach to Spain and Spanish references in Irish literature should be broad and multi-faceted. The use of Spain and Spanish culture has as its aim the establishment of a mirror in which the Irish discourse is reflected and 'furnished'. W. J. McCormack contends that 'Anglo-Irish literature [and I would add the Catholic Irish literature of the period] is given an excessive stability by the acceptance of tradition as accumulated and accumulating succession' (McCormack 1994: 12). This new historicist approach to the representation of Spain and Spanish references in Irish literature between 1789 and 1850 proposed here, and how this representation is used to reflect the Irish discourse of the period, is our contribution to the Irish literary critical tradition, which is also an 'accumulated and accumulating succession'.

Asier Altuna-García de Salazar

## Notes

[1] I owe great thanks to the Department of Education Eusko Jaurlaritza-Gobierno Vasco for postdoctoral fellowship support, BFI05.R2.40, which made this research possible.

[2] For details of publication and circulation of some of the works proposed here see *A Guide to Irish Fiction, 1650-1900*, Rolf Loeber and Magda Loeber (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006).

[3] See Asier Altuna-García de Salazar, *Spain in Anglo-Irish Literature 1789-1850* (Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, 2001), PhD Thesis UMI publication AAT3056702.

[4] Charles Townshend contends that 'the bloody mayhem of the 1798 United Irish rebellion, and the ferocious Protestant mobilization to suppress it, convinced Prime Minister William Pitt that political reform in Ireland - essentially, the granting of civil rights to Catholics - was vital, and that the Protestants who controlled the Irish parliament would never carry it out. Only unification, merging the Irish into the British parliament, could open up the possibility of 'Catholic Emancipation'. Charles Townshend, *Ireland. The 20th Century* (London: Arnold, 1998), p. 3.

[5] See Lennon's seminal and illuminating study, Joseph Lennon, *Irish Orientalism: a Literary and Intellectual History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press: 2004).

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# John Aldridge
## A *Real* Irishman

### By Matthew Brown [1]

*This article is a case study of an Irishman in Spain. It is not a conventional story - there are no Wild Geese and religion plays no part in the protagonist's travels. Instead, a Liverpudlian spends two years in San Sebastián, learns very little Spanish, scores a lot of goals, gets spat on, and goes home to play for Tranmere Rovers. It concludes by concurring with Eduardo Galeano's observation that football, travel and national identity are bound together in surprising ways, that 'el fútbol y la patria están siempre atados'* (Galeano 1995: 38).

## Who was John William Aldridge?

He was born in Liverpool on 18 September 1958. He played football for Newport County and Oxford United, before moving to Liverpool. He won the League Championship in 1988 at the end of his first full season, though he famously became the first person to miss a penalty kick in the British F.A. Cup final, seeing his kick saved by Wimbledon goalkeeper Dave Beasant. The following season Aldridge was on the pitch during the tragic Hillsborough stadium disaster, in which ninety-six football supporters were killed. This event affected Aldridge profoundly. Within six months Aldridge had left Liverpool and signed for Real Sociedad in the Basque Country.

During this same period Aldridge established himself in the Irish national team managed by Jack Charlton. It is not the intention of this article to explore just how Irish Aldridge 'really was' in the face of his birth, accent and home. He played plenty of times for the Irish national team during its most successful period. As Galeano observes, '*somos porque ganamos. Si perdemos, dejamos de ser. La camiseta de la selección nacional se ha convertido en el más industrial símbolo de la identidad colectiva*' (Galeano 1995: 230). [2] Aldridge himself wrote in 1999 that '*having spent the last twelve years defending my right to represent Ireland at football, I have become immune to criticism. My family and closest friends know how much Ireland and the Irish people are in my affections. That is the real truth*' (Aldridge 1999: 145). [3]

## Why did John Aldridge go to Spain?

The immediate catalyst was the return from Italy of his Liverpool Football Club colleague Ian Rush, who had spent a year at Juventus in Italy before returning home. (Rush has since denied that he ever uttered the phrase most famously associated with him, '*I couldn't settle in Italy; it was like living in a foreign country.*') After Rush rejoined Liverpool he gradually re-established himself at the top of the Liverpool pecking order, and Aldridge saw no alternative but to leave when he was told that the club had accepted an offer from Real Sociedad.

At the same time, events in San Sebastían were making the signing of the club's first foreigner in thirty years - meaning any non-Basque, including Spaniards - a reality rather than a possibility. The need to compete with local rivals Athletic Bilbao (who were aggressively promoting themselves at the time as '*el club de Euskadi*'), the acceptance that a team of only locally-born players would struggle to compete against its cosmopolitan rivals, and the injection of considerable new funds by investors, meant that the signing of a foreign centre-forward was at last countenanced. This was a '*traumatic*' decision which 'opened an important debate amongst all sections of the club - fans, media, players and directors were divided between staying loyal to the sporting policy which had served them well for so many years [recruiting only Basque players] or opening the door in exceptional fashion to foreign players to fill gaps in the side' (Iturria Martín 2001: 204-7). According to El Diario Vasco this was '*one of the most difficult decisions in the modern history of Real Sociedad*' (El Diario Vasco). In the end, the club chose to maintain its position near the pinnacle of Spanish football, and to compromise on the ideals it had held dear.

What was the official reaction at the time? Spending 200 million pesetas was a lot of money, but Aldridge was perceived as a safe investment as he was a proven goal-scorer at the highest level - 'toda una garantía' according to Marca (Marca: 200). [4]

Aldridge stuck out like a sore thumb on the Real Sociedad team sheet, which read for most of the 1989-1990 season as follows:

González / Gorriz / Gajate / Fuentes / Larrañaga / Bengoatxea / Aldridge / Mentxaka / Billabona / Lasa / Goikoetxea (Iturria Martín 2001: 207).

Aldridge is still remembered fondly in San Sebastián. He 'paid back the club's investment' by scoring twenty-two goals in his first season (Iturria Martín 2001: 206). He was so popular that a pena was established bearing his name in Andoain, the Pena Aldridge. He overturned the long-standing perception that British and Irish players could not perform to the best of their abilities in Spain, something that luminaries such as Gary Lineker and Mark Hughes were not able to do during their periods at Barcelona in the 1980s. Aldridge was spectacularly successful against Barcelona, coming to be famed as the bête noire of the Barcelona goalkeeper Zubizarreta (Marca: 201).

In many ways Aldridge became the personification of Real Sociedad's 'change of philosophy', and of the policy of signing foreigners itself (El Diario). He opened the door to others who were rather less successful, such as Kevin Richardson and Dalian Atkinson.

John Aldridge faced four particular obstacles if he were to become a success in San Sebastián. These were culture (footballing and social), distance from home, politics and language. Aldridge was aware that he would be faced with potential cultural and personal problems from the moment he stepped off the plane after the journey from Liverpool to San Sebastián that took 'the best part of a day' (Aldridge 1999: 116). 'My Spanish mission was more than just a career move. This was a whole new life' (Aldridge 1999: 115). He was to be compensated for these difficulties in terms of money and lifestyle. In his own words, 'football for me was more about glory than money, but if you can get both at the same time, so much the better' (Aldridge 1999: 115). The pay was good, the hotels were 'luxurious', the sun set over the beach and, in Aldridge's own words, 'the glorious sand provided the perfect setting for the myriad people relaxing after work. As if that wasn't enough, the promenade near the beach was magnificent. I turned to Joan [his wife] and said "I didn't expect it to be this good". Her smile made me realise there were many good times ahead of us' (Aldridge 1999: 117).

Later he commented that 'I had to pinch myself sometimes to realise this was work, not play. There were times when I felt as though I was on holiday' (Aldridge 1999: 126). It was soon apparent that Aldridge did not envisage living in San Sebastián forever - the three-year contract was long enough for a family with two young children.

Footballing culture was the easiest to deal with. The style of play took some getting used to. 'I remember coming off after some games wondering if I had been playing football or chess'. Aldridge's comments on the 'selfishness' of Spanish players make good reading: 'players tended to perform for themselves, a selfish attitude which meant opportunities for me to shine were rare' (Aldridge 1999: 125). His autobiography contains several similar comments on how Spanish players were 'braver with their mouths than their fists', and alleges that his team were offered bribes to throw an end of season game (Aldridge 1999: 141). Alcohol provided another arena where cultural differences arose. El Diario Vasco remarked that 'Aldridge's capacity to ingest beer was quite startling' (El Diario Vasco). For his part, Aldridge lamented that the opportunities for 'serious lager' were few and far between (Aldridge 1999: 130).

Politics was a much bigger problem than where to buy a pint. Aldridge was warned in advance that politics could overshadow his signing. At his first press conference he was told to repeat the mantra that 'I am not a politician, I am a footballer. I am here to score goals and pay back the money Real Sociedad have spent on me. If anyone holds anything political against me, there is nothing I can do about it. Goals are the same in any language' (Aldridge 1999: 118). Even so, he was met by graffiti, hostile comments by supporters, and jokes from his team-mates. Once he was spat on in the street, although Aldridge was left to infer the spitter's motivation as no political message was left (Aldridge 1999: 122). In general however it seems that Aldridge's simple philosophy served him well. Goals were the same in any language, and fans did not hold his foreign birth against him once the ball started hitting the net with regularity.

The language barriers to Aldridge's integration into society were high. He spoke no Spanish on arrival and learned little. One of Real Sociedad's midfielders at the time, Mentxaka, recalled his relationship with Aldridge:

'He was key to our success. He scored lots of goals and he pushed us all on with his winning character. It was very good for us to have a forward like him. For the critics who never wanted Real Sociedad to sign a foreigner, well, he made them shut up straight away. As I was one of the few who spoke any English, I could get to know him, and we got on well' (Mentxaka, cited in El Diario Vasco). Throughout his stay, language and cultural barriers kept Aldridge separated from his neighbours and team-mates, unless they spoke some English. In the words of the cultural historian of Spanish football, Phil Ball, 'in purely linguistic terms, John's stay in San Sebastian was not exactly triumphal'. [5]

Language was no doubt the principal reason that Aldridge's time in Spain was characterised by 'loneliness' (Aldridge 1999: 122). There were few players who spoke English. One of them, Iñaki Alaba, who was on the fringes of the first team at the time, would chat to Aldridge and go on trips with him where they spoke in Spanish. Nevertheless, he soon picked up enough to get by (Aldridge 1999: 122).

Aldridge told a Guardian journalist that the only Spanish he had learned was the phrase 'hijo de puta', because it had such universal application (Ball 2003). Later he told the BBC that he was 'fluent' in Spanish, suggesting that he improved markedly during his last few months in San Sebastián. [6] Nevertheless for important conversations, such as contract negotiations, he retained an interpreter 'to make sure' (Aldridge 1999: 138). Learning Basque - the first

language of most of his colleagues - was another question. Phil Ball once asked Aldridge how he was getting on with Basque, but he shrugged and said 'Next time I come'. [7]

In no real sense could it be said that Aldridge integrated into Spanish or Basque life. The straw that broke the camel's back and made him return to England was when his children began to be bullied at school in spring 1991: 'if they could not be successfully integrated into Spanish society, the move was doomed' (Aldridge 1999: 120). He wrote that 'I *was* anxious to make sure my family were happy and if something had to give, it would have to be Sociedad' (Aldridge 1999: 132). His family was still 'too unsettled' in 1991, and so they decided to leave Spain (Aldridge 1999: 140).

Writing in 1991, Aldridge commented that 'If I was upset with the club, the opposite was the case where the people of San Sebastián were concerned. They were great to me. I didn't meet many bad people there. I made a host of friends, some of whom I still see. I miss the players too, which is a testimony to how well things went for me. I was particularly sad when I said goodbye to Alaba, who had done much to make life easier for me. Without him, I might have left San Sebastián earlier than I did' (Aldridge 1999: 143).

He has never been back. 'But I will go back' he wrote in 1999 'to meet up with my old Spanish friends, shake their hands, buy them all a drink and talk about the good old days. I am reliably told that, after eight years away, football fans in San Sebastián still remember me. Compliments don't come much higher than that' (Aldridge 1999: 144).

In conclusion, Aldridge was successful with his goal-scoring for Real Sociedad, and for this reason was accepted as the 'first foreigner' within the team despite his lack of cultural integration into either the team or society. As in other periods of the history of the Hispanic world, Irish adventurers who performed exactly what was asked of them were welcomed with open arms into the very heart of local communities. [8] For Aldridge, this was not enough.

### What changed as a result of the trip?

'After putting Joan and the kids through too much domestic insecurity in Spain, I now decided that professional ambition and financial considerations were minor issues compared with the happiness of my family. … [M]oney had ceased to matter. Contentment was far more important. … After two years in a foreign country I was going back to Merseyside, hopefully forever. I found going back to my roots an exciting prospect. We felt it when we packed our belongings and left San Sebastián for the final time. Liverpool isn't exactly the centre of the universe but to us it is home. Always has been' (Aldridge 1999: 178).

For John Aldridge, Irishman abroad, his success at work could not compensate for the linguistic, cultural and political barriers that separated him from Basque and Spanish society. Though not quite making him a Wild Goose who longed to return to an idealised Ireland, John Aldridge's spell at Real Sociedad was characterised by professional success but private unease.

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### Notes

[1] Many thanks to Phil Ball, Andy Brassell, Iñaki Mendoza and Igor Pérez Tostado for their help in compiling this article.

[2] 'We are because we win. If we lose, we stop being. The jersey of the national team has become the most industrial symbol of collective identity.'

[3] On the same page Aldridge records that his great-grandmother, Mary Mills, was born in the nineteenth century in Athlone, County Westmeath.

[4] 'A complete guarantee'.

[5] Email communication with the author, October 2006.

[6] Citation provided by Phil Ball in email communication with the author, October 2006, although exact provenance of the quote is uncertain.

[7] Email communication with the author, October 2006.

[8] As I show in three articles which share some themes with this one. Matthew Brown, 'Not forging nations, but foraging for them: uncertain collective identities in the Independence of Gran Colombia', *Nations and Nationalism*, 12:2 (2006), pp.223-40; Matthew Brown, 'Rebellion at Riohacha, 1820: Local and International Networks of Revolution, Cowardice and Masculinity', in *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas*, 42 (2005), pp. 77-98; and Matthew Brown, 'Crusaders for Liberty or Vile Mercenaries? The Irish Legion in Colombia' in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* 4:2 (March 2006, pp. 37-44), available online at http://www.irlandeses.org/brownm01.htm.

# A Description of the Irish in Seville
# Merchants of the Eighteenth Century

By Manuel Fernández Chaves and Mercedes Gamero Rojas
Translated by David Barnwell and Carmen Rodríguez Alonso

*The authors offer a survey of the presence of the Irish on the Atlantic Coast of the south of Spain, focusing on their commercial activities during the eighteenth century, specifically the case of Patricio O'Conry and Juana Keating.*

This work is based on a wider study that the authors are carrying out on the role played by foreign merchants in eighteenth-century Spain. The first phase covered a number of the families of Flemish merchants; in this study we seek to deal with some of the defining characteristics of Irish merchants.

Information on the Irish presence in the city of Seville is fairly sketchy compared to that on other colonies formed by British subjects on the Iberian Peninsula, among which Cádiz, Málaga and Bilbao are most prominent. Sources used up till now do not allow for a comprehensive understanding of the volume of trade between Seville and other places; caution is therefore advised when judging the importance of this trade. The gradual silting of the (Guadalquivir) river made it navigable only to vessels of shallow draught, usually Dutch or Swedish. Even these vessels in dry years found it difficult to travel beyond Puebla del Río, and for that very reason the moorings there came to be used frequently. Water-borne traffic used the following route: a Spanish vessel - often a kind of sloop known as a 'balandra' - would bring cargo from Seville to either Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Cádiz or Puerto de Santa María. The load would then be transferred at one of these three ports to a ship with greater draught - usually a foreign vessel - destined for a port outside Spain. The entire process was overseen by a merchant based at the port and by the ship's mate.

This practice is what restricts our information about merchandise sent from Seville, or imported through that city, if we only follow vessels' point of origin and destination. For this reason we have turned to the slow and often haphazard study of paperwork and legal documentation. The twenty-four surviving official documents we have traced - promissory notes, reports of losses of ships or damage, demand notes, sales of products, powers of attorney, bankruptcies, wills, inventories of goods, dowries, sales and rentals of furniture, together with other written material, permit us to draw as accurate a profile as possible of the situation of Irish people in the city of Seville. In general, however, this documentation does not permit us to state the volume of trade or the category of merchandise involved. This problem was highlighted in García-Baquero's now classic study, and the difficulty has been recognised in other work (García-Baquero 1988: 479, Lario de Oñate 2000: 123). At any rate, using indirect evidence it is indeed possible to offer a preliminary outline of commercial activity.

From this it is clear that Irishmen, together with their English coreligionists, formed part of Seville's trade with the rest of Europe. This trade was of a lesser extent than the trade with America, but was nevertheless of consequence in supplying those primary materials that were needed for industry and food consumption in the countries to the north. The Irish colony in Seville was of lesser size than the very powerful Flemish community or the extensive French community. Its presence dates at least from the sixteenth century (Martín Murphy 2002: 487-489), although it was during the eighteenth century that it reached its zenith, in spite of Seville's then declining importance as a trading city.

The tradition of commercial interchanges with England in fact can be traced to the Anglo-Castilian treaty of 1254, very shortly after the *reconquista* of Seville from the Moors. We have no information on Irishmen settled in the city until towards the end of the fifteenth century. The nature of the trade was to remain unchanged for centuries: wool, wine, oil, soap, cereals, leathers and furs exchanged for goods such as textiles, wheat and fish. There is evidence of trade with Ireland at this time - wine for fish (Ladero Quesada 1980: 98-99. Childs 1978).

The growth of the volume of English manufactures is closely linked to the corresponding increase in the export of high-quality Castilian wool. As is known, England was able to increase its production of wool, though of inferior quality, by feeding its sheep on the abundant grass yielded by its well-watered pastures. While the production of high-quality wool in England decreased, there was an increase in demand for high quality fabrics. This obliged English manufacturers to look elsewhere for their supply and to come to Spain in search of what was then the finest wool available in Europe. More than half the wool exported by Castile left through the port of Bilbao in the eighteenth century, and wool exports increased even more to satisfy the demand of countries such as Holland and France (Bilbao, Fernández de Pinedo 1986: 343-359).

The great success story of Castilian wool, it appears, is above all something that evolved in the eighteenth century. In 1795 Castilian wool sent to England represented 60% of the total volume exported, a large increase compared to the previous period. More interesting still is England's loss of interest in importing Irish wool. At the beginning of the century this represented 90%, while by the 1740s it amounted to only half the wool imported. Demand in England switched decisively towards raw material of higher quality (Bilbao 1998). This circumstance, together with difficulties occasioned by the heavy tax on the export abroad of articles of Irish wool that was imposed by the Anglo-Irish parliament in 1698, and the further tax the English parliament imposed in the same year on the import of Irish goods to England and Wales, caused many Irish merchant families to emigrate for economic reasons. These joined the Wild Geese, who a generation earlier had gone into exile following the military defeats at the Boyne in 1690 and Aughrim in 1691 and the repression that followed these defeats (O'Beirne Ranelagh 1999: 74-76).

### The role of the Irish in Spanish trade with Europe: A survey of the Eighteenth Century

If there is one city in which the Anglo-Irish colony was important it is Cádiz, headquarters of the monopoly trade with the Americas and Spain's main port in the eighteenth century. There they formed one of the most influential commercial colonies of the eighteenth century, after the French and the Spaniards, although with a much larger volume of earnings on an individual basis (García Fernández 2005: 32-34). The Irish were the dominant section of the Anglo-Irish community, probably because they enjoyed preferential treatment as compared to their English coreligionists, even though they too were subjects of His Britannic Majesty. For example, they did not have to participate in the registration of foreigners, such as was carried out in 1791 and 1794. This was because 'the Irish settled in these Kingdoms must be allowed hold and maintain the privileges awarded them which give them parity with natural-born Spaniards... in which regard once settled in these kingdoms they are accepted as Spaniards and do enjoy the same rights according to the decrees that have been issued' (Lario de Oñate, 2000: 100, 124-130, 132-133, 137). The Irish benefited from their situation by being able to avoid restrictions, and the conflicts between the two kingdoms of Spain and England, and to carry on business with fewer impediments than the English.

In the town of Huelva, a small foreign merchant colony also settled. It became the only customs point for the coast of Huelva Province, the county of Niebla and the greater part of the Andévalo region, and thus constituted a distribution centre for the towns in these areas (Lara Ródenas, Peña Guerrero 1991). Foreign trade was dominated by the Irish, who exported cereal, cork and wine (González Cruz 1991), and maintained close relations with Cádiz. The first Irish to settle in Huelva were Thomas and Pablo White or Blanco, brothers of Guillermo Blanco, who had settled in Seville, and also related to other Blancos resident in Cádiz. Coupled with these was the Archdekin or Arcediano family (Gozálvez Escobar 1991: 271-292), from Waterford, and the Waddings from Carrick. These families engaged primarily in the wholesale and retail trade and in shipping.

In Málaga there was also an Irish colony - among other foreign communities - involved in wholesale trading. This was much more important in the second half of the eighteenth century than in the post-Napoleonic period, when Spaniards - many of them from outside the region - took over the trade. Aurora Gámez and Begoña Villar have studied the careers of these merchants. They were frequently grouped into 'mixed' companies, that is to say formed of foreigners and native Spaniards, even though the same foreigners had lived a long time in the country and had children who could be considered fully Spanish.

One Irishman stands out from the others. Juan Murphy, a native of Waterford, formed part of Málaga's wealthy merchant class from at least 1776. The family established branches of his company in Veracruz (Mexico), Cádiz and London, trading actively with cities both in Europe and in the Americas. He was also a ship-owner, a landowner, and of course an *hidalgo* (nobleman). Juan Galvey, from Carrick-on-Suir in County Tipperary, is an example of those who used marriage to open up paths for advancement in business. His first marriage was to Andrea de Gand y Vittermont, member of a Flemish family settled between Cádiz and Seville. The O´Briens, who married into the French Arboré family that had settled in those cities, continued in the same line of business as the others, while the Quilty family established sporadic relationships with merchants from Seville.

The beginning of commercial relations between the Canary Islands and Great Britain dates from the sixteenth century, with the export of sweet malmsey wine for the English court. The Irish colonies that grew from this maintained close links with those based in the Andalusian ports already mentioned; families such as White, Walsh, Colgan, and Fitzgerald had a long history in the Canaries (Guimerá Ravina 1985: 49-48, 58).

**Irish merchants in Seville: An initial sketch**

In spite of a slowdown in its commercial activity, it could be said that Seville continued to enjoy significant traffic, as its strategic position some ninety kilometres from the sea provided merchants with the opportunity to trade deep inland and supply the demand both of the former metropolis and of many locations in the interior. In addition, the fertile flatlands of the Guadalquivir River plain and surrounding areas continued to supply abundant oil and citrus fruit; these, together with wool, were exported by river. Spanish trade with England in the eighteenth century had a bipolar character, the two poles being the Cantabrian region and Andalusia. The southern region was prominent in the export of citrus fruit and products derived from grapes. Within this framework, and bearing in mind the freight registries of the different Andalusian ports, Seville had a clear edge in exports, both at regional and national levels.

As regards citrus fruit exports, García Fernández believes that part of the produce of the Guadalquivir river plain region was probably exported from the port of Sanlúcar, or from Cádiz itself, to avail of the superior harbour facilities that these ports offered. Nevertheless, she argues for the growth of the hinterland of Cádiz as a base for the mass export of citrus fruit. This supplanted the traditional export centres - Seville and Málaga - and came to supply 40% of the citrus to be sold (García Fernández 2006: 291-294). However, although we have no comprehensive data, we consider – in line with Álvarez Pantoja (2000: 25) - that a large part of these exports came from the region around Seville, since, as García Fernández herself points out, it is a complicated undertaking to ascertain the initial point of origin of the goods sent out through the ports. This leads us to believe that, if in 1786 Seville reached the highest production figures for the entire century (550,750 units - García Fernández: 294), it could hardly have been secondary to other ports, at least when it came to goods produced.

Around the middle of the eighteenth century the largest group of foreign merchants in Seville were the French, although the Flemish were better represented in the city's trade, where they were more prominent than in other cities such as Cádiz.

The establishment in Seville of these trading colonies that traded from the maritime ports had its rationale in the specific kind of activities they were involved in. They were nearer to the products they exported - citrus, wool, oil - and from Seville it was easy to distribute what was imported - manufactured products, iron, fish - towards the interior of Andalusia and Extremadura. This pattern can be confirmed by studying promissory notes in favour of these merchants, which yield information about advances of merchandise that were being offered in exchange for a delayed payment date. As the market was extremely fragile, since capacity for consumption in rural society depended on good harvests, indebtedness frequently tied the retailer to his supplier. The latter could not demand payment without bringing his debtor to bankruptcy, not just because it would make it even more difficult to recover the full debt owed, but also because in the future he would be left without any customer in the town in question. Their behaviour with suppliers was bound by similar parameters.

We have already mentioned the interest in wool which traditionally impelled relations between Castile and England. 'My father's business was fairly prosperous. It consisted of exporting agricultural produce such as fruit and wool to England,' wrote José Blanco White in his autobiography. The wool was essentially bought in Extremadura, though wool nearer at hand in the province of Seville was not overlooked.

Oil was another product which they dealt in, since it was used in the process of washing raw wool. The Macores (Macorish) family, during the second half of the eighteenth century, is most noteworthy in this respect. By the end of the century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Diego and Patricio Wiseman, relatives of Cardinal Wiseman, were the biggest buyers among the Irish. On 5 January 1803, for example, they ordered the purchase 'from whomever can supply 15,000 arrobas of oil, to be stored in parts of the city or its surroundings or in any other place until such time as we order that by paid carriage and at our expense and with the corresponding documents it be delivered out of town to the warehouses we have in the Carreteria or to any other places suitable to us'. Soap is derived from oil, and Seville's soap factories were the most important in Europe. They formed part of the monopoly of the Dukes of Alcalá. As Alonso Morgado wrote in the sixteenth century, 'Seville also supplies many parts of Spain, the Americas, Flanders and England with this white soap'.

Even more than wool and oil, the export of citrus fruit was probably the most typical activity of Irishmen in the region of Seville. The export of bitter oranges to England dates from the thirteenth century, and is better documented from the fifteenth century onwards. These were used both for making marmalade as well as in medicine and perfumes. The trade was so extensive that the fruit became known as the 'Seville orange' or *bigarade.* There were already some attempts to cultivate the fruit in England, anticipating the *orangeries* of the eighteenth century. In 1595 some orange trees were introduced into Surrey by the Carews of Beddington. These were destroyed in the big freezes of 1739-40. There are many references to this trade in the eighteenth century. Although some Flemish and Frenchmen were involved, since the entire trade was orientated towards the North Atlantic and the Baltic, there is no doubt that it was the British - Irish or English - who dominated the market. This covered not just oranges, but also lemons, the juice of both fruits as well as their dried rinds. Sweet oranges, or *chinas*, as they were then known in Seville, had been brought from India by the Portuguese at the start of the sixteenth century. They quickly reached Seville, although it is difficult to establish at what stage they began to be exported. The first references we find are to

those exported in 1757 by Patricio Harper and Company. This advances by some forty years the earliest reports of this that we have had up to now, which referred to Majorca.

This trade left a great effect on the Seville landscape, since citrus cultivation required orchards of trees where previously pomegranates had dominated. At the same time, orange groves were added in places where olive trees were in cultivation, sometimes surpassing the olives in economic value. Citrus plantations were laid out not only in the capital and surrounding district, but also all along the banks of the Guadalquivir, from whence the fruit could be easily marketed. Cultivation spread well out into the countryside (there is documentation available about sales of citrus in Marchena) and the mountains around Cádiz (Villamartín).

There were many variations - not mutually exclusive - on how the trade was undertaken:

a) The merchant purchased one or two crops of oranges and lemons produced by the small farmer. This latter person was usually a tenant farmer who received an advance payment for his crop as a way of guaranteeing the sale. The buyer undertook to pick and box the fruit, the price per box varying according to the variety and the conditions of trade. It is interesting that from the middle of the century, specifically from the time of the Seven Years War, a clause was introduced that the contract was void if a ban on trade with Spain were to be imposed. Families such as Butler, White (Álvarez Pantoja 2000: 31), Macores, Keating, Cahill, Beck, and the English families Rice, Carpinter, Summerhayes and Darwin are good examples. Doña Ana Marsellaque, wife of Don Guillermo Darwin, had at her death in 1735 some 74,577 *reales* 'given to various farmers on account for the oranges and lemons of the coming harvest as costed in the agreement...' (AHPSe, leg. 8.742 f. 218). Darwin himself bought the produce of ten small farms in Alcalá de Guadaíra in the 1770s. But the best example is the company which Don Miguel Coleman formed with Don Diego de Guardo in 1752. The Irishman invested 500 pesos escudos (75,000 *reales*), the equivalent of the capital he had advanced for oranges and sour lemons to several farmers and owners of 18 groves on the outskirts of the city and elsewhere. For his part, De Guardo contributed 3,500 pesos, in which was included the value of 70 kegs of Flanders butter (AHPSe, leg. 3790, f. 610).

b) The merchant offered himself as guarantor for the farmer, both in the rental and in any possible sale, the latter having to undertake to sell to him alone the produce of oranges and lemons; this happened in the case of Don Guillermo Darwin in 1752 in a farm in Sombrerero, in Puebla del Río.

c) Sometimes the merchant himself leased the farm. As well as bestowing on him the role of producer, the farm offered him a place of recreation as well as refuge from harsh weather or frequent epidemics. There was often an agreement with the farmer that he could have the vegetable produce grown on the farm, while the leaseholder would keep the fruit yielded by the trees. Thus Don Guillermo Carpinter declared in his will of 1738 that he held the lease on a farm in Tablada where the farmer had to give him, without Carpinter incurring any costs whatsoever, all fruit produced until he paid off a debt of 16,000 *reales*.

d) The purchase of orchards. In general it has been considered that investment in real estate by the Andalusian bourgeoisie – a class which as we have seen was of differing origins and, it might be supposed, diverse mentalities - was symptomatic of the deflection of capital from more lucrative 'bourgeois' activities. In other words it could be taken as a clear case of 'the betrayal of the bourgeoisie', even though these very Andalusians were of quite recent origins, be they natives, Irish, English, French, Flemish, Italians, Germans and so on. It is advisable to take other factors into account, such as the need to own real estate, precisely because of their origins as foreigners, in order to gain access to trade with America (we will not get further into this aspect here). This was especially relevant since trade with England became financially risky because of the continual wars of the time. In addition to all of these, of course, there was the simple drive to expand businesses.

These investments focused on highly valued products, at a time and in a century when citrus fruits were beginning to be used by the British Navy to combat scurvy. The first attempt was carried out by Lind in 1747, and Cook applied the lesson in his expeditions, but it was not till 1795 that the British navy adopted citrus for general use. The Flemish and the French, who were above all exporters of oil, invested in olive plantations, while the Irish for the same reason turned their attention to the fruit groves, although they did make some minor investments in other crops. They invested much capital in their fruit groves. They planted trees, dug wells, and built houses. In other words the effect of their activities was not only economically beneficial to themselves, but it left a rich legacy to the society where the Irishmen had chosen to live.

## A difficult alliance: Patricio O'Conry and Juana Keating

A case in point permits us to illustrate what has been said hitherto. Patricio O'Conry, a well-known member of the British colony in Seville, came from the town of Dungarvan, County Waterford. His businesses included the import of butter and textiles, including silk. He also bought citrus fruit for export, as well as corn to be supplied to the army. Apart from this, we know that he sent large numbers of books to the region around what is now Northern Colombia and Panamá, as well as to Buenos Aires (five and fifteen crates of books respectively, to the value of 8,024

and 52,154 silver *reales*). He invested in the publishing business, ordering the printing of 1,500 copies of Antonio de Nebrija's *Vocabulario* (AHPSe, leg. 5197, f.467).

His strong social position had led him to marry Doña Juana Keating, a native of Waterford and member of an Irish family that was prominent in France (Jahan 2003: 149-163). He was a friend of the Irish merchant Miguel Coleman, also a native of Dungarvan, and was Coleman's executor as well as owing him a significant amount. His daughter Doña Elena O'Conry had married perhaps the most prominent member of the British community in the 1740s and 1750s, a man who was one of the most sought after widowers in Seville society, Don Guillermo Darwin, a native of London. This was in keeping with a strategy practised by merchant families, who employed marriage to their advantage for the development of their businesses and to ensure family stability. These marriages suited both sides - an enterprising son-in-law who had some commercial experience benefited from relationships within his wife's family, while he made his own contribution to expanding and/or consolidating the business. This is the so-called *rule by son-in-law* of which we find examples throughout the century.

This practice offered a certain 'preference for unions between families that were settled in the same territory (...) because as a strategy it permitted the survival of the merchant house as well as social reproduction...' (Fernández Pérez 1997: 166). Darwin was never actually made a business partner, undoubtedly on account of the hard times experienced by O'Conry after the marriage of his daughter Elena. Thanks to these relationships, Elena's brother, Juan, took charge of the finances of the Englishman Guillermo Carpinter, whose executor was the same Guillermo Darwin. A relative of his wife, Diego Keating, was at the same time Darwin's factor or business manager in Lisbon, from whence Darwin exported the larger part of the merchandise he sent to England.

However, in 1743, illness prevented Patricio from continuing with his enterprises and obliged his wife to take charge of them. Until his death in 1745 it appears that things went reasonably well, although he began to experience ever greater shortfalls. O'Conry's main debts consisted of 1,000 pesos escudos for the value of different types of silk that a number of people in the locality of Yecla (Murcia) had failed to pay him, together with various accounts, to the value of 70,334 *reales*, for corn he had sold to the army in the years 1739 and 1740. The payment of this was to be so slow that his son-in-law Don Guillermo Darwin inherited the balance of the debt, 12,374 *reales*. As late as 1772, this had not been fully discharged (AHPSe, leg. 8.807). In 1742, his son Juan O'Conry married Doña Micaela de Tapia, neither of whom brought anything of material value to the marriage. The very fact that Juan was his compatriot's accountant while at the same time being his competitor gives us an idea of the difficult times that the family experienced in the 1740s.

Juana Keating's great success occurred in 1744 when she won a law suit against a man who had acted as guarantor for the people in Yecla. She reached an agreement with him in which she would recover half the 1,000 pesos owed to her, to be paid in yearly instalments of 100 pesos. The debt-ridden couple O'Conry and Keating obtained a mortgage on two farms of pomegranate, orange and lemon trees. He would pay in boxes of oranges which Juana undertook to export. The rest of the money was to be collected directly from a guarantor in Yecla, for which purpose the couple in 1744 issued power of attorney to Don Juan Patricio O'Ronan, a resident of Alzira (Valencia) (AHPSe, leg. 3784 f. 268).

But Juana did not seek to persevere with her husband's businesses, and instead began to liquidate the real estate attached to the household. That same year, 1744, she sold to a neighbour in Triana five *aranzadas* (about two hectares) of Mollar vines for 4,000 *reales*. She also sought to get an extension on the rental of a farm of oranges and lemons that the couple had rented out to the monastery of the Holy Spirit Order (AHPSe, leg. 3784 f. 404 y 411).

One year later, in 1745, Patricio O'Conry died. He left an inheritance of 1,000 pesos escudos, several pieces of jewellery and silver plate, domestic utensils and sundry items of furniture. He also left a vegetable farm in Triana (La Viñuela) and miscellaneous livestock, together with the products of four other vegetable gardens he had rented, two in Puebla del Río, one in Triana and one other very near to the monastery of La Cartuja. The remainder consisted of approximately 206,895 *reales* owed to him but whose payment was less than certain (AHPSe, leg. 5203, f.74).

Faced with such a critical situation, and needing to deal with the bills arising out their commercial activity, his widow quickened the process of selling off the family inheritance by getting rid of an African slave and collecting money owed for grape harvests from previous years. She was in severe straits, hounded by debt and unable to maintain the citrus farms. She reached agreements to cancel rentals and pay damages; in 1746 she paid 1,300 *reales* in damages and penalties to a resident of Coria for a pomegranate and orange fruit farm that she had rented (AHPSe, leg. 3785, f. 174).

The death of her husband in practice represented for Juana Keating the break-up of all his businesses. It appears that the widow's health deteriorated around this time. She made a will in 1747, in which she declared that her eldest son had already received during his father's life everything that he was entitled to. She passed the obligation of educating the younger son Felipe O'Conry to Diego Keating, a relative in Lisbon. She stated that she had had to pay her daughter Elena's dowry at the time of her marriage to Don Guillermo Darwin by using 'money and goods' belonging to Patricio O'Conry, adding at his death 'all the oranges and lemons which have been harvested this year on lands I have rented'. The lack of capital was caused by the non-payment of certain 'capital from America' that never arrived - perhaps payment for the books sent to *Tierra Firme* (coastal Colombia) and Buenos Aires to the value

of 46,538 *reales*. She sold her remaining livestock to pay a debt of 900 *reales* to her compatriot Tomás Macores, and she left 40 pesos to her relatives Mateo and Ana O'Conry and to their two grandchildren. What was left, 127 pesos and 1,638 *reales*, was what was to serve for the upkeep of the house. In spite of her miserable situation, Juana Keating kept for herself whatever bits and pieces remained, leaving to Fr David O'Conry, parish priest at Banestram in Waterford, 'a black velvet skirt and a green gown with a gold floral design for him to divide up to make adornments for the church in that parish' while to Fr. Juan Fogerti, an Augustinian who served as her confessor she left jewellery 'for him to distribute according to the dictates of his conscience.'

A study of legal claims and demands for payment shows that the majority of Patricio O'Conry's customers were from Seville and its surroundings, while the remainder were scattered throughout various places in Spain (Madrid, Cádiz, Málaga, Cartagena) and Europe similar to the case of his fellow Irishmen White and Plunkett, who formed a commercial triangle between Seville, America and the cities of northern Europe (Álvarez Pantoja 2000: 34,38).

Where did Patricio O'Conry's commercial network fail? The setback he suffered was so serious that neither his alliance with an enterprising son-in-law nor the support of his compatriots could help him. This is material for future research, although we believe that the poor health of O'Conry and his wife aggravated a situation which might otherwise have been resolved. There were also the unpaid accounts for wheat provided to the army - which of course constituted a permanent weight on the Spanish economy - as well as other international factors which cannot be ignored. Among these were the constant bans on trade with England during the various wars between that country and Spain. The intermediary role of Portugal, be it legal or illegal, explains the fluctuating relations with that country, but it continued to be an obstacle to the smooth development of some businesses. Forming marriage links with other groups - French, Flemish, people from Rioja in Northern Spain - was a strategy which did not completely work for the O'Conry/Keating couple. In any case, the situation at the end of the century was in general difficult for all merchants based in Seville. A detailed study of this issue remains to be carried out.

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## Immigration, Social Dialogue and Economic Growth in
## the Old Periphery of Europe: The Celtic and Latin Tigers?

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In Autumn 1990, I attended a strategy session in St. Paul, Minneapolis on how to defeat the proposed free trade agreement between Canada, the United States and Mexico, known as NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement. There I met a man named Tom Laney who worked at a Ford production plant in St. Paul and was building relations between his UAW local union and the Ford workers at the Cuautitlán plant outside Mexico City, who were organising a union.

The boundaries between the so-called economic core and periphery of Europe have shifted dramatically during the last two decades, as a consequence of a catch-up by some member states, as well as the most recent eastward enlargement of the European Union (EU). Only two decades ago, the European Economic Community was sharply divided between a rich core and a poor periphery comprising all Southern European countries and extending to Ireland. In 1985, the unemployment rate reached record highs of 16.8% in the Emerald Isle and 17.8% in Spain. The same year, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per head in Ireland stood at 68.9% of the EU-15 average, whilst Spain's was at 71.9%. Accordingly, the two countries absorbed a large share of European Community (EC) regional development funds as they strived to converge with the rest of Europe. In spite of the generosity of these funds, official statistics showed little signs of convergence during the 1980s. Instead, there seemed to be increasing divergence between a buoyant core and a sluggish periphery that struggled to catch up. By those years, many commentators and even policymakers had developed the idea of a two-speed Europe as the only way to move forward in the process of economic integration, and, more specifically, in order to make the project of a European Monetary Union viable.
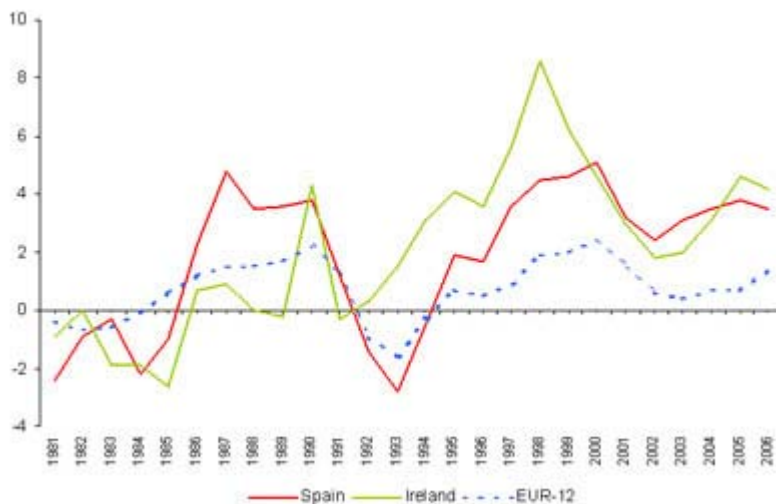


Graph 1: Employment Growth. Annual % change (Source: *Eurostat*)
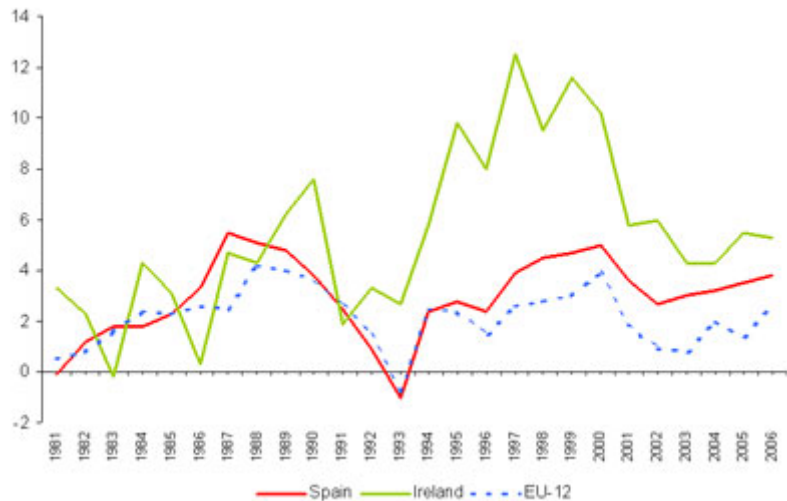
Graph 2: GDP Growth. Annual % change (Source: *Eurostat*)

This picture has changed dramatically during the past fifteen years. The two laggards of Europe have experienced their most prolonged periods of economic expansion in their recent economic history. This has been particularly intense in the case of Ireland, as demonstrated by certain economic indicators. In 2005, the unemployment rate in Ireland had plummeted to around 4.4%, while in Spain it had also decreased to a record low of 7.8%, close to the EU-15 average of 7%. Moreover, per capita GDP in Ireland now stands at around 130% of the EU-15 average, right after Luxembourg with the highest per capita income in Europe. In the case of Spain, this figure has reached 91%, its highest level in the post-World War II period. Graphs 1 and 2 show the performance of these two countries compared to the average of the EU-15 group, regarding the labour market and economic growth. Within the context of what some scholars have portrayed as a sluggish, rigid and sclerotic Europe, the exceptional performance of the Irish economy led some authors to compare it with the growth experiences of some Asian countries, hence acquiring the epithet of 'the Celtic Tiger'. Even though the performance of the Spanish economy has not reached the levels recorded in Ireland, it nonetheless remains exceptional both in historical and comparative terms. As a consequence of these changes, the new economic cleavages within the EU are no longer characterised in terms of north-south, but by a west-east division.

The question that arises immediately on examining this data relates to what explains these experiences and whether one can find any similarities between the two countries. For, given the increase in income levels registered in both countries, there are probably lessons to be learned from these success stories by scholars and policymakers alike. An obvious candidate to explain them would be the impact of the process of European integration in triggering economic convergence among member states. There are good grounds to support this argument if one looks at the positive impact of European funds aimed at creating physical and social capital in these two countries, or the growth-enhancing effects of macroeconomic stability brought about by their participation in the European Monetary Union. However, European integration fails to explain differences in the growth paths between countries. In this article, however, I will explore the role of other three variables whose impact has also been critical in initiating and sustaining processes of economic development: these are the role of migration and the transition from emigration to immigration countries, inward flows of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and national social dialogue. Difficult as it is to provide magic recipes for growth and job creation, I argue in this article that in addition to the beneficial framework provided by EU policies, the three variables just mentioned have been key ingredients contributing to boosting employment growth, achieving above EU-average economic performance and hence reversing the traditional laggard stance of the two countries analysed here.

More importantly, a close look at these two countries serves to dismiss some of the claims of a well-known globalisation thesis, according to which sustained economic growth can only be attained through opening spaces for market competition and removing barriers to the free movement of the factors of production, including protection of employees. Even though I will show how the opening of the two economies to inflows of capital and labour has been critical to achieving higher growth levels, these processes have been managed, albeit in different ways and to different extents, through the mechanism of social dialogue between trade unions, employers, civil society actors and the state. The Spanish and Irish experiences hence show that there are benefits to cooperation and that globalisation cannot necessarily be reduced to a zero-sum game. In the following paragraphs I will explore the three ingredients for growth and will discuss their role in the two countries. Finally, I will discuss some of the problems that lie ahead and will stress the need to search for innovative solutions within the consensual framework of national social dialogue in order to manage the challenges posed by global competition and migration.

**The keys to success:**
**1. Social Pacts and Concertation**

According to some of the more enthusiastic supporters of globalisation, this process is changing the shape of the world as national governments are losing their capacity to manage their economies autonomously. The increasingly interconnected character of economic and social activities as well as the significant role of multinational corporations, the argument follows, are imposing binding constraints upon the set of policies available to national actors. As a consequence, governments are powerless, and are forced to adopt a market logic in the design of their economic policies in order to suit the demands and preferences of mobile capital. The corollary of this trend is the extension of neo-liberal economic policies that according to the so-called Washington Consensus developed in the 1980s, deliver higher economic growth and employment rates, though at the cost of an increase in social and economic inequalities. More specifically, by forcing the de-regulation of labour markets and cuts in social policies, capital will be able to increase profits at the expense of increasingly lower levels of protection for employees.

The success stories of the Irish and Spanish economies in the past fifteen years however show that there are 'third ways' to achieve growth in addition to the neo-liberal one. As a matter of fact, developments in these two countries portray a very different picture to the one suggested by the neo-liberal path and the hyper-globalist thesis. Hence, rather than simply giving in to the pure market demands of transnational capital, both the Spanish and Irish government have engaged during the last twenty years in processes of tripartite social dialogue with trade unions and employer organisations whereby they have – rather successfully judging by their results - managed external pressures through domestic processes of consultation, concertation and social pacts. The first objective of these processes has been to achieve macroeconomic stability through wage moderation and the negotiation of cuts in the welfare state. The second main objective has been to introduce structural reforms in the economy aimed at enhancing their growth and employment potential. Finally, these agreements have also tried to re-distribute the benefits derived from economic growth.

| Year | Ireland | Year | Spain |
|------|---------|------|-------|
| 1987 | Programme for National Recovery | 1980 | Acuerdo Marco Interconfederal (Multi-Industry Framework Agreement) |
| 1991 | Programme for Economic and Social Progress | 1982 | Acuerdo Nacional por el Empleo (National Agreement for Employment) |
| 1994 | Programme for Competitiveness and Work | 1983 | Acuerdo Básico Interconfederal (Basic Multi-Industry Agreement) |
| 1997 | Partnership 2000 | 1984 | Acuerdo Económico y Social (Economic and Social Agreement) |
| 2000 | Programme for Prosperity and Fairness | 1996 | Acuerdo para la Reforma de la Seguridad Social (Agreement for the Reform of Social Security) |
| 2003 | Sustaining Progress | 1997 | Acuerdo para la Reforma de la Negociación Colectiva y el Mercado de Trabajo (Agreement for the Reform of Collective Bargaining and the Labour Market) |
| 2006 | Towards 2016 | 2001-2007 | Acuerdos Interconfederales para la Negociación Colectiva (Multi-Industry Agreements for Collective Bargaining) |

Table 1: Social Pacts and Partnership Agreements in Ireland and Spain

Table 1 shows the most important steps in social dialogue in the last twenty years. The experience of national tripartite social dialogue was initiated in Spain in the late 1970s and early 1980s in the context of the country's transition to democracy. It has been argued that a strategy of consensus with all the relevant social and political actors became the cornerstone for a successful political transition. However, social pacts in these years also had an important economic role, as the Spanish economy only started to suffer from the full effects of first oil crisis in the late 1970s. Accordingly, the social pacts served to find negotiated or consensual solutions to a situation of political, economic and social emergency. From a political perspective, social pacts served to show the strong determination of all social and political forces to consolidate democracy in Spain after more than three decades of dictatorship. The political role of social pacts became particularly clear in 1983 when a new agreement was signed right after a failed *coup d'etat*. However, the most visible contribution of social pacts and tripartite agreements was to economic stability. Even though these pacts covered a large number of issues ranging from social policy to union recognition and the labour market, the central theme to all of them was the reduction of inflation through wage restraint and changes in wage setting mechanisms.

Notwithstanding the success of these pacts in achieving the goals of political and economic stability, culminating in the accession of Spain to the European Economic Community, the last tripartite agreement was signed in 1985. The reasons for the collapse of this period of centralised wage bargaining and social pacts in Spain are manifold. On the one hand, a large section within the union movement, comprising the CCOO (Workers' Commissions), was very critical of the social pacts as they required that trade unions could not fully exploit their bargaining power in order to obtain wage increases. Moreover, the CCOO criticised the neo-liberal economic policy of the government, including the 1984 labour market reform and the fact that workers were being burdened with most of the costs of adjustment. Following some years of conflict between trade unions and the government, social dialogue was restored in the mid

1990s, initially with the employer organisations alone, then also with the government. As a consequence of this move from conflict towards cooperation, several agreements were signed. Some of these agreements were bipartite, that is, between unions and employers - like the agreements on out-of-court dispute resolution, learning and training. Other agreements were tripartite, that is, including the government, trade unions and employer associations. The most significant tripartite agreements during these years were the 1996 pact on the reform of the social security system and the 1997 labour market reform. Finally, since 2001, trade unions and employers have been signing centralised agreements containing guidelines for collective bargaining.

Social pacts, or social partnership agreements as they are known in Ireland, between trade unions, employer associations, third sector organisations and the government, have become the flagship of the Irish Celtic Tiger phenomenon. The story of centralised wage agreements started in Ireland in the 1970s. However, due to the difficulties in implementing the terms of the agreements at company level, the centralised agreements were abandoned and there followed a period of de-centralised wage bargaining. Nonetheless, a new centralised partnership agreement was again signed in 1987. The objective of this agreement was to help the Irish economy to move away from the path of low growth, high inflation and high unemployment that it had been on since the early 1980s. The success of this partnership agreement in achieving the objectives of wage moderation and macroeconomic stability led social partners and the government to renew the agreement in 1991. So far, six partnership agreements have been signed (see table 1), demonstrating a strong resilience compared to other European countries' experiences. Another key feature of these agreements is the importance of the wage component. Even though a trend can be appreciated in the widening of the number of issues dealt with in these agreements, pay remains the glue holding the partnership agreements together. Finally, some authors have also highlighted a trend towards the institutionalisation of these agreements, as shown by the almost automatic renewal of agreements every four years, notwithstanding that some conflicts have emerged in the re-negotiation phases of the last three partnership deals.

## 2. From outward to inward migration

Another key feature of the recent histories of Ireland and Spain has been the role of migration. For most of the twentieth century, these two countries were subject to large outward migration in search of better economic conditions. In the case of Spain, migration had both a domestic and international component. Domestically, there was migration from the southern regions of Andalusia, Extremadura and Castille towards the north. At the same time, there was significant economic migration towards other European countries like France, Germany and Switzerland. In the case of Ireland, migration occurred mostly towards the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada.

This historical pattern has changed dramatically during the last fifteen years, as these two countries have witnessed a spectacular increase in inward migration, transforming themselves into key destination countries in a European context. Statistics show that Ireland and Spain are two of the EU countries where the immigrant proportion of the population has increased to the largest extent. As economic conditions significantly improved in the recent period, the two countries have become attractive destinations. This trend has been further reinforced by the recent eastern enlargement of the EU, resulting in the large Polish and Romanian communities established in Ireland and Spain respectively.

Most of the migrant population in Spain are employed in low-skilled jobs and sectors like construction, agriculture, cleaning and catering. These are low-paid jobs that remain unfilled by the native population. Moreover, it is estimated that a considerable proportion of this migrant population has undertaken some form of activity in the underground economy due to the high level of regulation of economic activity in Spain. The stock of migrant workers available to Spanish employers has guaranteed them a high level of flexibility whilst keeping wage pressures low due to the available pool of people. However, this has come at the cost of low productivity increases and low incentives for companies to innovate due to the availability of cheap labour, thus jeopardising the future growth of the economy.

Inward migration in Ireland has come mostly from Eastern Europe and migrants are employed largely in the service sector due to the boost in demand triggered by the increase in income levels. More recently, a trend has also been observed pointing towards the inward migration of more skilled employees to work in the public sector, or to occupy middle-rank managerial positions in private companies. As Ireland remains the EU country with the lowest unemployment rate and showing evident signs of skill shortages, this trend is very likely to become even more prominent in the next few years.

## 3. Foreign Direct Investment and the Internationalisation of the Economy

Finally, another common trait of the recent Irish and Spanish experiences of economic growth has been the critical contribution of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). The 1980s economic recovery in Spain was to a large extent fuelled by substantial FDI inflows, especially during the second half of the decade. The appeal of Spain as a destination for FDI was based on several factors such as relatively good and developing infrastructure, below-average labour costs, good industrial and technological bases and an expanding services sector. The prospect of accession to the EC in 1986, together with a rapidly expanding national market, provided additional incentives to multinational corporations to choose Spain as a location for investment. Even though Spain started to receive FDI

in the 1970s, it was not until 1985-6 that the size of this flow became truly remarkable compared to other EC countries. Accordingly, by 1991 FDI accounted for around 5% of Spanish GDP and 17% of total investment.

The importance of FDI for the Spanish economy lies not only in its direct contribution to economic growth, but most importantly, in the knock-on effect of internationalisation. After some decades of relative economic isolation, joining the EC together with the reception of large amounts of FDI meant definitive integration into the international economic scene. Spain was becoming an open economy, as demonstrated by the fact that by the turn of the century it had become a net FDI exporter and the single most important investor in South America together with the United States of America.

There is a general consensus among scholars and policymakers regarding the importance of FDI in explaining the Celtic Tiger. A look at the data serves to confirm this perception as Ireland has attracted the lion's share of US investment in Europe since the early 1990s. By 2006, the FDI stock in Ireland amounted to almost €200,000 million. In 2005, inward FDI stock amounted to roughly 125% of Ireland's GDP. According to some commentators, Ireland operates as a conduit for US multinationals' overseas profits to take advantage of a tax exemption on patent income. Moreover, US multinationals find Irish labour market legislation more attractive compared to other European countries, as there is no obligation on companies to recognise trade unions. This allows US multinationals to be able to adopt similar personnel policies to those followed back at the headquarters. Whatever the motivations behind the investment decision, Ireland has made the most of an attractive fiscal regime in order to attract foreign investors from the US, and also from Europe. This has strongly contributed to economic growth, raising income levels and employment creation.

## Concluding Remarks

The Irish and Spanish economies have been the leading runners of the EU in the last fifteen years. Once classified within the poor periphery of Europe, these two countries have undergone what some people would call an economic and employment miracle, or at the very least, a process of accelerated economic convergence. The objective of this short article has not been to provide an interpretation or an explanation for growth in these two economies in the last fifteen years. The complexity of this task goes far beyond what could be accomplished here. The article had a much less ambitious objective, as it simply aimed to highlight the existence of some common traits in these two parallel experiences of economic success: the reception of Foreign Direct Investment, inward migration and social dialogue.

The above analysis, descriptive and impressionistic as it is, serves nonetheless to extract some interesting insights. First of all, the two countries show how international openness has become a necessary condition for economies to grow and develop. Much to the disappointment of the critics of economic globalisation, the Irish and Spanish experiences show that there are benefits to be taken advantage of in order to boost growth. However, and this is the second important message coming from this piece, globalisation has to be managed. In the same way as it is necessary for any economy and society nowadays to become integrated into the international circuits of globalisation, it is equally important to domestically manage its effects. In this regard, the view supported in this article is that tripartite social dialogue, with the participation of all relevant social partners in the management of the economy, has allowed Ireland and Spain to reap the benefits of internationalisation without generating excessive tensions between social and economic groups.

That said, the risk of a market or neo-liberal bias remains present, requiring the search for innovative solutions within the consensual framework provided by social dialogue. In Ireland, trade unions are becoming increasingly aware of the need to increase labour market regulations in order to guarantee compliance with the terms negotiated in the agreements. The Irish Ferries case showed very clearly the challenges ahead for trade unions and meant a real baptism of fire for partnership. On the other hand, the Spanish economy needs to move beyond a cheap labour model of low wages and labour productivity towards a different competitive strategy. This would ensure higher living standards and better working conditions for migrant workers. In spite of these challenges, both the Irish and Spanish economies have proved capable of internationalising and growing. However, it is important not to forget that part of this success is due to migrant workers leaving their home countries in search of better living and working conditions. As a consequence, it remains an imperative to have recourse to tripartite social dialogue including trade unions, in order to manage the economy and achieve a balance between competitiveness and social protection.

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# A Nation of Emigrants or Immigrants?
## The Challenge of Integration in Ireland and Portugal

By Claire Healy

Portugal and Ireland are often overlooked in the search for international best practice in migration policy. Both situated at the Western Atlantic periphery of the European Union, the two countries have experienced distinct historical trajectories. In the past, Ireland was settled, conquered and governed through various means by its larger neighbour. Portugal, on the other hand, despite its small size, presided over an international trade and colonisation network that spanned the globe, encompassing at various times islands in the Atlantic Ocean, parts of South America, West Africa, India and Southeast Asia (Oliveira e Costa & Lacerda 2007). Today, both Portugal and Ireland are experiencing unprecedented levels of inward migration. While the economic and social reality of immigration is a *fait accompli*, the transition in identity from countries of emigration to countries of immigration is far more fraught.

During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was a significant level of migratory movement between Portugal and Ireland, largely related to trade networks and fishing enterprises. In present times, travel between the two countries is characterised by the settlement of Portuguese migrant workers in Northern Ireland, commencing around 2000 (Holder & Lanao 2005), and by Irish tourists returning year after year to holiday resorts in the Algarve. This article does not seek to examine movements between the two countries, but rather to compare the recent immigration histories of Ireland and Portugal.

The heady days of the mass trans-Atlantic migration of the nineteenth century left their mark on Portugal and Ireland (see, for example, O'Sullivan 1992-97; Garcia *et al.* 1998). There are significant Portuguese and Irish communities in the United States, Canada, Australia, Argentina, Brazil and South Africa, among other destinations, whose origins date back to Europe's 'age of migration' in the nineteenth century (Bade 2000). Portuguese migrants in the nineteenth century often followed the pattern of colonisation, settling in Angola, Mozambique and the Atlantic Islands, as well as in Brazil. Irish migration generally followed in the wake of British colonisation, with Irish migrants showing a preference for Anglophone countries such as Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain itself.

The twentieth century saw a marked shift in migratory flows from Portugal and Ireland, which - particularly from the 1950s onwards - were directed to more prosperous countries within Europe. Portuguese migrant workers moved to Germany, France and Belgium, while Irish emigrants made the short trip to the industrial cities of Great Britain. Regardless of their destination, however, the experience of emigration was associated in the national imagination with heartbreak, exile and *saudade* (roughly translated as homesickness), and was expressed in cultural forms such as *fado* songs in Portugal and *sean-nós* songs in Ireland. The demographic watershed in the 1990s, when the two countries began to experience a sustained period of positive net migration, required therefore a dramatic reinterpretation of national identities and government policies alike.

Mass emigration from Ireland and Portugal continued until the 1980s. In an actual as well as an emotional sense, the experience of emigration has been hugely significant to the histories of Portugal and Ireland, and to contemporary perceptions of identity. Remittances sent back by migrants, as well as skills acquired by returning emigrants, have been hugely significant to the Portuguese and Irish economies. The Portuguese economic recovery has been more gradual than the Irish 'Celtic Tiger' economy of the 1990s and 2000s, yet the salience of inward migration in both cases should not be under-estimated.

In terms of the contemporary immigration experience, the two countries share many similarities, and even the most cursory examination of their immigration and integration policies demonstrates the potential for mutual learning. Portugal and Ireland experienced the transition from net emigration to net immigration in 1993 and 1996 respectively, and were the last of the fifteen pre-2004 European Union member states to do so. The immigration policies - and to a lesser extent, integration policies - of both countries are significantly influenced by those of their larger neighbours, Spain and Great Britain, with which they share land borders.

**Table 1. Foreign-Born Populations in Europe (EU/EEA and Switzerland), 2005**

| Country | Size of foreign-born population, 2005 (thousands) | Foreign-born as share of total population, 2005 (percent) | Share of foreign-born with citizenship of country of residence, 2000-04 (percent)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| EU-25 | | | |
| Austria | 1,234 | 15.1 | 41 |
| Belgium | 719 | 6.9 | 41 |
| Cyprus** | 116 | 13.9 | |
| Czech Republic | 453 | 4.4 | 80 |
| Denmark | 388 | 7.2 | 40 |
| Estonia | 202 | 15.2 | |
| Finland | 156 | 3.0 | 42 |
| France | 6,471 | 10.7 | 53 |
| Germany | 10,144 | 12.3 | 46 |
| Greece | 974 | 8.8 | 42 |
| Hungary | 316 | 3.1 | 71 |
| Ireland | 585 | 14.1 | 45 |
| Italy | 2,519 | 4.3 | |
| Latvia | 449 | 19.5 | |
| Lithuania | 165 | 4.8 | |
| Luxembourg | 177 | 37.4 | 13 |
| Malta | 11 | 2.7 | 65 |
| Netherlands | 1,638 | 10.1 | |
| Poland | 703 | 1.8 | 96 |
| Portugal | 764 | 7.3 | 66 |
| Slovakia | 124 | 2.3 | 84 |
| Slovenia | 167 | 8.5 | |
| Spain | 4,790 | 8.5 | 31 |
| Sweden | 1,117 | 12.4 | 63 |
| UK | 5,408 | 9.1 | |
| Subtotal | 39,790 | 8.6 | |
| Other EEA and Switzerland | | | |
| Iceland | 23 | 7.3 | |
| Liechtenstein | 12 | 33.9 | |
| Norway | 334 | 7.4 | 48 |
| Switzerland | 1,660 | 22.9 | 29 |
| Total | 41,829 | 8.9 | |

**Note**: * Latest available year (2000-2004). ** Greek part of Cyprus only. **Source**: OECD Database, UN Migration Database (2005)

The populations of the two countries are small by Western European standards, though the population of Portugal - 10.6 million - is over twice that of the population of the Republic of Ireland - 4.2 million. Together with emigration, the Roman Catholic religion has played and continues to play an important role in both Portuguese and Irish society, with about 90% of the populations of each country classifying themselves as Roman Catholic - though less than a third attend mass regularly in both cases.

Yet in some significant respects, there is a divergence in the histories and current situations of Portugal and Ireland. Contemporary immigration to Portugal, like historical emigration from Portugal, is to some extent conditioned by the country's colonial past, with a significant proportion of immigrants hailing from Brazil, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde islands. Portugal's immigration history was indelibly marked by the collapse of the European colonial powers in Africa in the mid-1970s, leading to a mass migration phenomenon known in Portugal as 'the Return of the Caravels.' This was fictionalised within the magic realism tradition by the acclaimed writer António Lobo Altunes (Altunes 2000 & 2002).

Ireland's position with the British empire was more ambiguous, and immigration is largely unrelated to a colonial past. This is qualified, however, by the significance of Irish missionary endeavours in parts of the developing world, particularly sub-Saharan Africa, which may evince a migration link that has not been hitherto researched. This is particularly the case in relation to Nigerian migration, where Irish missionary activity in the sub-Saharan African country dates back to the 1860s, and as recently as the 1970s, there were 2,000 Irish missionaries active in the country (Irish Aid 2004).

Ireland's geographical position furthermore positions that country at the margins of south-north movements from Africa to Western Europe and east-west movements from Eastern to Western Europe, while Portugal is at the frontline. Portugal therefore, like Spain, is faced with the daily human tragedy of perilous boat trips from North Africa to the Iberian Peninsula. Immigrants from Lusophone countries in Africa, and from Brazil, benefit from better rights than other immigrants. Nevertheless, the number of Ukrainian immigrants has also increased substantially in recent years, demonstrating the characteristics of a classic chain migration. Due to Ireland's immigration policies (which generally parallel those of the United Kingdom), rather than its geography, migration from Eastern Europe has been dramatic since the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 (Doyle, Hughes & Wadensjö 2006).

Largely due to the remarkable success of the Irish economy, the extent of overall migration to Ireland in proportion to the existing population has been more dramatic than in Portugal. Currently, the proportion of people living in Ireland who are not citizens is over 10 percent, while the proportion of people born outside Ireland is about 15 percent. In Portugal, the foreign proportion of the population is just 4.2 percent, though the country has a higher proportion of naturalised citizens (see www.acidi.gov.pt).

Many academics, journalists and politicians cite the chronology of Irish immigration as a reason for the lack of administrative infrastructure to deal with the phenomenon. Immigration to Ireland, so the apologia goes, has been so sudden that the country simply has had neither the structures nor the funds to deal with it. The Portuguese example belies the usefulness of this explanation, as the Portuguese High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue was established just nine years after Portugal began to experience net immigration. Ireland has been experiencing net immigration for over ten years now, and still no governmental structure is in place to address issues arising from it. This situation has been ameliorated somewhat by the recent appointment of a Minister of State (or Junior Minister) for Integration by the Irish Government in June 2007.

In an era of increasing European political integration and cooperation, it is clear that national policies on trans-national issues such as migration and integration can no longer be made in isolation. Furthermore, European countries do not merely share a common political future, but can also look back to a shared past. Portugal and Ireland experienced large-scale emigration in previous centuries, yet the twenty-first century has seen the two EU Member States become receiving countries for intra- and inter-continental migrants. Increased mobility within the European Union requires that European countries work together on migration. Furthermore, the commonalities and parallels between the experiences of immigration among Western European countries indicate that there is much to be learned through improved communication and exchange of best practice.

Countries such as Ireland and Portugal are accustomed to looking to their larger neighbours for lessons on policy-making. This short article posits that it is in comparing and sharing the experiences of smaller countries currently undergoing the transition from emigration to immigration and from economic failure to economic success - two interrelated phenomena - that real progress can be achieved. As mentioned elsewhere in this edition of *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America,* there is a mine of historical information linking Ireland and Portugal that has yet to be exploited. Perhaps the examination of links and comparisons in the contemporary migration experience of the two countries will also lead scholars back to previous centuries in search of what unites these Atlantic outposts, and what the future holds in store.

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## When merit alone is not enough
## Money as a 'parallel route'
## for Irish military advancement in Spain

By Óscar Recio Morales

Translated by David Barnwell and Carmen Rodríguez Alonso

One of the many clichés about the Irish presence in Spain relates to the quality of the Irish as soldiers. This is taken as explaining the uninterrupted presence of Irishmen in the armies of the Spanish Monarchy from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the start of the nineteenth. Traditional historiography is replete with nineteenth-century-style individual portraits of illustrious Irish military figures (or those with Irish roots). When they are discussed as a group, they are quickly assigned the Romantic poetic categorisation of **Wild Geese**. This literary metaphor has become laden with strong ideological associations, almost all of these military and nationalist. The Irish are seen as victims, antagonists (be it Ireland versus England or Catholic versus Protestant), male and of course always heroic (*Remember Fontenoy!*).

But if the term *Wild Geese* did in its day have some meaning, today it appears completely out of date and reductive, faced as we are with a context so rich and complex as that of Irish emigration during the modern era. For not all Irish emigrants were soldiers, not all were men, and not all achieved the honours and the integration that they sought. In Spain they too were victims of marginalisation and caricature. Even the aristocrats among them underwent a process of integration and subsequent assimilation that was not without its difficulties, or exempt from conflict with the other 'native' elites of Spain. [1]

This is of course not to deny the Irish military tradition upon which Bartlett and Jeffery reflected in the opening chapter of *A Military History of Ireland*. Nor is it my intention to take away one whit from the merits and qualities that Irish soldiers demonstrated. What I propose to show is that neither military tradition nor merits were sufficient to account for the spectacular social ascent of the Irish military in Spain. This article does not propose to address other well-known factors such as religion, the tradition of service to the crown, or a supposed common ethnic origin. There is a need for a new theoretical framework to supersede old models, such as for example the study of the Irish solely in terms of their origin. To put it another way, I believe that it makes sense when studying the Irish to bear in mind the relations they established beyond the confines of the socio-professional and the geographical perspectives.

The Irish provide us with a microcosm of internal machinations at court, social advancement, relationships with other foreign communities, as well as with the host society, and so on. In this sense the Irish did not behave differently to anyone else at the eighteenth-century court - the Basques, for example, formed an extensive and complex network of relationships which went beyond simple common origin. Of course this does not mean that common origin was not an important element in group cohesion, nor that it was not especially marked among the Irish, although it was not the sole element. And, just like other groups, the Irish also used other 'parallel routes' to get to the top, much at odds with what we would today understand under the rubric of 'meritocracy'. Money was just one of these.

The publication of F. Andújar Castillo's work on venality in the eighteenth-century army has justifiably caused a veritable revolution in Spanish historiography. It has forced all of us to think about the world of the military in an unconventional way. [2] When it came to entry into the army and promotion thereafter, money was as important as seniority or any other distinction.

Often hidden within the official documentation, the buying and selling of positions in the military hierarchy was a practice that already existed in the Spanish Army from the time of Carlos V, and reached incredible proportions in the eighteenth century. The various options for buying and selling in the eighteenth-century army ranged from the classic 'supply of soldiers' (in return for a promotion), to the mixed system in which, as well as money, the supplier would receive jobs for himself and his family as well as blank officer commissions signed by the king. Of course there was also the direct purchase of office, and in the second half of the eighteenth Century even the provision of private finance for construction works - either civil or military - was one means of gaining access to the officer ranks.

The Irish entered fully into this market, especially around the middle of the seventeenth century. During the golden age of the Irish levies, war was big business, especially for Irish veterans of the armies of Flanders, Extremadura and

Catalonia. Whether or not these soldiers had been brought to Spain like enslaved Africans was of little consequence once they found themselves surrounded by money and positions in the officer ranks. I will mention just a few cases here. Captain Cristóbal Mayo brought 1,000 men from Ireland and with these he formed a regiment under his command in Catalonia, 'with the privileges of Spaniards and on the same footing'. Mayo was named commander of this regiment, the conditions being set out before the levy arrived in Spain. Mayo received the title of *maestre de campo* (commander of one or several regiments), allowing him to head the regiment. In addition, he was assigned the commissions for sergeant major, adjutant sergeant major, adjutant, eleven captains, eleven ensigns and nine other officer commissions, all 'blank' (AGS, GA, Libro 209, ff. 162-163v. Madrid, 2 April 1650).

The same thing happened in the case of the levy of 600 men raised by Ricardo White in 1650. These were to form six companies of 100 men in each. The six commissions for captain (pay: 40 escudos per month) were given blank to White - or, which amounted to the same thing, at his full discretion. He also received blank commissions for six ensigns and six sergeants. White imposed further conditions: note the king's order to the *Corregidor* (Governor) of Biscay Province to admit White as a resident of Bilbao 'as long as he does not marry a woman from Biscay but rather an Irishwoman and attends to the services he has promised to render'. The service, of course was to raise 600 men for the army (AGS, GA, Libro 209, ff. 198v-200v. In f. 200v. the order of Felipe IV to Juan de Torres y Armendáriz, governor of Vizcaya. Madrid, 29 September 1650).

Blank commissions were again in evidence for the regiment of 1,500 Irishmen raised by *Maestre de Campo* Cristóbal Mayo in 1652. A blank commission was made available for the *maestre de campo* who would take charge of the regiment (pay: 116 escudos per month). There were also blank commissions for sergeant-major (65 escudos per month), adjutant-sergeant (20 escudos per month), adjutant sergeant-major, ten captains (40 escudos per month), eleven ensigns and ten sergeants (AGS, GA, Libro 225, ff. 94-97v. Blank commissions, February 1652). Much the same occurred in the case of 3,000 Irishmen divided into three regiments that were levied by Colonel Thomas Plunket: three blank commissions for the *maestres de campo*, three for sergeant-majors for each regiment, thirty for captains for each company in the three regiments and another six for adjutant sergeant-majors (AGS, GA, Libro 225, ff. 125-127. Blank commissions, February 1652).

This practice of privatising the officer class to the benefit of some recurred in 1652 in the case of the Flanders veteran Dermicio O'Sullivan Moar. He was named *maestre de campo* of an Irish infantry regiment which would be formed by the 1,000 men he undertook to bring from Ireland (AGS, GA, Libro 225, ff. 139v-140. Aranjuez, 29 April 1652. Appointment as *maestre de campo* in ff. 140v-141). Another instance is that of Sergeant-Major Guillermo Butler, named *maestre de campo* of a regiment of 1,000 Irish whom he promised to recruit (AGS, GA, Libro 225, ff. 161-162v. Madrid, 23 November 1652 and ff. 162-163v). Yet another is that of the levy of 3,700 Irishmen in four regiments by *Maestre de Campo* Juan Patricio, a veteran of Catalonia. He was offered the rank of *maestre de campo* of one of the regiments (116 escudos per month), 'over and above your pay as captain of a cavalry company which you will form with 100 of the men you have brought' (AGS, GA, Libro 225, ff. 170-171v. Madrid, 31 December 1652).

During the eighteenth century, contracts signed in 1709 with Demetrio MacAuliff and Reinaldo MacDonnell made possible the formation of two Irish units which would later become the Ultonia and Hibernia Regiments. The parties to the agreement obtained military ranks. MacAuliff was given that of colonel (the first condition in his contract) and MacDonnell was named lieutenant colonel as well being given the chance to sell (yes, sell) blank commissions signed by Felipe V. 'The said Macaulife [*sic*] will nominate all the officers in the regiment and these blank commissions will be acceptable to the court' (second condition). The third condition stated 'they will be paid on the same basis as are Spanish infantry regiments […] All the officers will be Irish and of proven service, and the rank-and-file soldiers must be Irish to the greatest number possible' (AGS, GM, leg. 2716. Demetrio MacAulif's conditions. Monzón, 29 October 1709). The conditions for the Hibernia (formerly Castelar) Regiment were practically identical (AGS, GM, leg. 2716. Reynaldo MacDonnell's conditions for raising the Castelar regiment. Monzón, 29 October 1709).

Other members of prominent Irish families continued to take part in the market for military positions. In 1734 Felipe V rewarded the sergeant major of the Toscana regiment, Luis Francisco O'Mahony, with a colonel's commission and a sergeant major's commission (blank, for him to sell), in exchange for a promise to levy 300 soldiers. José Laules (Lawless), son of the lieutenant-general and diplomat Patricio Lawless, obtained a company of the regiment of Fresian Dragoons for the price of 36,000 *reales*; Ventura FitzJames Stuart, son of the famous Jacobo Francisco FitzJames Stuart, second Duque de Liria, married María Josefa Cagigal, member of a Spanish family that was traditionally associated with the army, the Cagigal de la Vega. For their son, Jacobo Stuart Cagigal, the maternal grandfather 'benefited' (in other words, bought) a lieutenant position in the Prince's regiment when the boy was just two years old. This regiment had been raised by the boy's uncle, Juan Manuel Cagigal (Andújar Castillo 2004: 137-138, 182, 287).

Those Irish businessmen with sufficient money to invest in a good military career for their sons also opted into this system. In 1768 the Butler Clarke family bought a commission as captain in the Foreign Volunteers infantry regiment for their son Juan (born in Seville, 1749). Juan became field-marshal in 1795, military and civil governor of

Puerto de Santa María in 1798 and Governor of Cartagena in 1806. In Cuba, Gonzalo O'Farrill enlisted as a cadet in the Havana Nobles company in 1764. In 1771 his father, the rich merchant Juan José O'Farrill y Arriola, bought him a company in the Princess's regiment. [3] From then on, Gonzalo began a meteoric ascent, holding ranks of lieutenant-general (1795), inspector general of infantry (1798); envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Prussia (1799), honorary privy councillor (1805); director general and colonel general of the artillery (1808), secretary of state and secretary for war (1808).

José Fleming, who reached the rank of brigadier in 1793, found his ascent facilitated by the purchase of ranks. A member of an Irish merchant family in Puerto de Santa María, in 1771 he bought the rank of captain. His father had purchased him a lieutenant's commission in 1762 in the Bourbon cavalry regiment. At the end of the eighteenth century, Nicolás Langton abandoned the family business in Cádiz and bought a company in the Jaén infantry regiment for 135,000 *reales* (Andújar Castillo 2008; Andújar Castillo 2004: 266, 268, 396).

It was to be another soldier of Irish origin, Alejandro O'Reilly, who exhibited serious doubts about the system of venality, to the point of openly rejecting it when he became Inspector General of Infantry in 1769. The place-buying phenomenon had acquired scandalous proportions under Juan Gregorio Muniain's tenure as Secretary of the War Department. It slowed down completely, at least in Spain, between 1774 and 1790. In fact, any future monograph on O'Reilly, one of the great military reformers of eighteenth-century Spain, should deal with the part played by the Irishman in opposing the practice of place-buying, even if the system did resurface once more in the 1790s. [4]

These are just a few issues that need to be teased out. The somewhat controversial goal of this article is to draw attention to the absolute need to question some stereotypes about the presence of the Irish in Spain. These range from the supposedly warm welcome the Spanish extended to their 'brothers from the north' to the belief that the Irish ascent within the political, military and social spheres was based entirely on their merits. The granting of a place in the army or a promotion was in fact based on criteria that were not restricted to competence or professional experience. Some of those practices, such as the venality described in this article, were outside the written military codes and hence are not easily to trace in the sources. However, in doing so, the Irish merchant or soldier can be placed squarely within the milieu of the *ancien régime* of which he formed part.

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**Notes**

[1] The processes are described in more detail in Recio Morales 2008.

[2] Andújar Castillo's forthcoming study on venality in the Spanish Army in the Americas promises to be equally interesting.

[3] Juan José O'Farrill y Arriola was the son of Ricardo O'Farrill. This powerful merchant settled in Havana, Cuba, around 1715 and became involved in the sugar business and slave-trading. He was named *factor* (business manager) of the Mar del Sur Company around this time. Money and patronage enabled him to marry the daughter of the Chief Accountant of the Royal Treasury Court, María Josefa Arriola y García de Londoño. From then on, the progress of this Irish dynasty knew no limits. Ricardo O'Farrill had come to Cuba from the island of Montserrat, where the Irish ran the slave trade (D.H. Akenson, *If the Irish ran the world. Montserrat, 1630-1730:* 1997). He appears in some documents as a native of Ireland and in others as a native of Montserrat. He attained Spanish citizenship by royal decree on 17 January 1722 (José Manuel Serrano Álvarez y Allan J. Kuethe, 'La familia O'Farrill y la élite habanera', in L. Navarro García (coord.), *Élites urbanas en Hispanoamérica (De la conquista a la independencia)* (2005), pages 203-212).

[4] For O'Reilly's doubts about the place-buying system see Andújar Castillo 2004: 320-328.

## The Spanish Habsburgs and their Irish Soldiers (1587-1700)

### By Moisés Enrique Rodríguez

In 1516, Ferdinand II of Aragon (better known as Ferdinand 'The Catholic') died, and the Spanish crown passed to his grandson, who ascended to the throne as King Charles I. He is better known as Charles V, since this was the title by which he reigned as Holy Roman Emperor.

Born in Ghent in 1500, the young man was brought up in the Netherlands and only arrived in Spain at the age of 17. As the son of Joanna 'The Mad', the daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, Charles inherited not only the Spanish kingdoms but also their overseas empires. Castile brought with it the colonies of South and Central America, and Aragon the Balearic Islands, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily and Naples. As the son of Philip 'The Handsome' (his Habsburg father who had died in 1506), he was already the ruler of the Burgundian territories: The Netherlands (spanning present-day Holland, Belgium and northern France) and the Franche-Comté (covering areas of present-day France and Switzerland). In 1519, upon the death of his paternal grandfather, Maximilian I, Charles inherited the Holy Roman Empire (present-day Germany and adjacent territories in Central and Eastern Europe).

During the subsequent forty years, the King-Emperor fought wars against the Turks, the French, the Protestant Princes of Germany and other enemies, and turned Spain into the leader of the Counter-Reformation. These policies continued under his successors. Exhausted by his immense responsibilities, Charles abdicated in 1556 and died two years later. The Spanish empire and the Burgundian inheritance went to his son Philip II and the Holy Roman Empire to his brother Ferdinand. The fact that the Netherlands were given to Philip meant that Spain became inextricably involved in the affairs of Northern Europe and was unable to concentrate her energies in her traditional areas of interest: the Mediterranean and the Americas. Madrid became the enemy of the Dutch Protestants and hence of Elizabeth's England. Habsburg (and Catholic) solidarity meant that Spain took part in the Thirty Years War. It also led to a dynastic confrontation with France which resulted in military campaigns in the Low Countries, Central Europe and Italy (where Madrid and Paris had been rivals since the Middle Ages).

During the two centuries of Habsburg rule, Spain fought innumerable wars: against the Dutch, the English and the French on the continent of Europe and on the high seas; and against the Moors and the Turks in North Africa and the Mediterranean. It is remarkable that at the same time her *Conquistadores* conquered much of Latin America for the Crown, putting an end to the powerful Aztec and Inca empires and subjugating the Maya and scores of other indigenous people.

Philip II was succeeded by Philip III and Philip IV, who continued the Eighty Year War against the Dutch. This conflict merged with the Thirty Years War in Germany and only came to an end in 1648, when the Treaty of Westphalia recognised the independence of the seven 'United Provinces'. However, Spain retained the Southern Netherlands (predominantly Catholic and spanning present-day Belgium and northern France) for the best part of a century and this territory witnessed many of the battles of her long war against the French.

In 1700, Charles II, the last Spanish Habsburg, died and left the Crown to the future Philip V, the grandson of Louis XIV of France. Emperor Leopold I supported the rival claim of Arch-Duke Charles and this led to the War of the Spanish Succession. The conflict ended in 1713 and the following year the Treaty of Utrecht confirmed Philip (the first Bourbon) as King of Spain but, as part of the general settlement, gave the Spanish Netherlands and the Kingdom of Naples to the Habsburg emperor.

This meant that under the Bourbons, Spain was still an empire but not a truly multi-national one. She remained a significant player in European and world affairs throughout much of the eighteenth century and fought several wars in Italy and elsewhere against the Austrians and French. The Bourbon kingdom of Naples and Sicily was created largely by Spanish bayonets, a significant achievement for a nation perceived to have been in decline. Madrid only sank into insignificance in the nineteenth century, after the loss of her American empire.

Irish troops fought in virtually all the Spanish wars between 1587 and 1814. During the Habsburg period (1587-1700), their Order of Battle changed frequently and regiments (named after their commanders) were created and disbanded in quick succession according to the number of troops available and the exigencies of the military situation. With the Bourbons, their organisation stabilised into a single Irish Brigade composed of three regiments: the 'Hibernia', the 'Ultonia' (Ulster) and the 'Irlanda'. These units were created in the first two decades of the eighteenth century and were disbanded in 1818.

### Why the Irish?

During the sixteenth century, several areas of Europe had become traditional sources of mercenary troops. The Swiss Cantons provided military contingents for the armies of France, Spain and many Italian princes (including the Pope). The harsh geographical conditions, poverty and overpopulation had combined to turn the Swiss into the paramount source of professional soldiers. Scotland and Ireland experienced similar situations, which were rendered more difficult by the repressive actions of the London government and its local allies. Violence was a constant feature in the lives of the inhabitants of the two Celtic kingdoms. Scotsmen served France but not Spain because of their religion, but Irishmen made their way into the armed forced of both powers.

There was at this time no moral stigma attached to serving in a foreign army and the soldier was regarded as a professional who could sell his services to princes other than his own without shame. All European powers made extensive use of mercenary troops during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The first Irishmen to join the Spanish army did so in 1587 and became an essential (or at least significant) part of Madrid's armed forces for the next two centuries. Habsburg Spain, as we have mentioned, was permanently at war and this coincided with a period in which Spain itself underwent a demographic crisis, caused by the wars themselves but also by other factors such as emigration to America and epidemics. If the Peninsula itself could not supply the men to fight her wars, the troops had to come from elsewhere: the other 'Nations' of the Empire and foreign countries.

The Irish were among the most attractive candidates. First of all, they were Catholic. Secondly, their intermittent state of rebellion against the English had made them proficient in combat. Last but not least, being England's 'natural enemies' they were also perceived as Spain's 'natural allies', since 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend'. The situation was rather more complicated and at various times the English cooperated in the exportation of Irish soldiers to Spain, but this simplification has some validity.

'The dispossessed Gaelic chiefs and their swordsmen (...) fought with tenacious loyalty and fanatical zeal in Flanders. After all, the Dutch enemy were co-religionists of the Ulster planters, easily seen as affiliated to their English oppressors, and were actually in alliance with the latter against Spain in the years 1625-1630' (Stradling 1993: 133). These religious and ideological elements, however, were absent in the later wars against the French, Catalans and Portuguese, in which the Irish behaved for the most part as professional soldiers and gave a good account of themselves.

The English Civil War (1642-1651) and its aftermath forced many Irishmen to leave their native island. It has been estimated that 34,000 Irish soldiers joined the armies of Spain and France during the years 1641-1654. Concerning the former, most Irishmen were transported directly to the Peninsula (18,000-22,500), but a minority (2,000) made their way to Flanders. For obvious reasons, the aristocracy was over-represented in this exodus and by the second half of the seventeenth century, 'some nine-tenths of the dynastic leadership of traditional Ireland were present in the Spanish Netherlands or metropolitan Spain, the men serving as officers, their wives and children as dependents of the crown' (Stradling 1993: 125). This meant that between fifty and one hundred families of the old Irish ruling class became pensioners of Philip IV and his successor Charles II.

### The Netherlands

The story of the Irish units in the armies of Spain commences in 1585 in the Netherlands. The Dutch had rebelled against their Peninsular masters and Elizabeth I sent an army to support them. Among these men were 1,500 Irishmen recruited by Sir John Perrot. They were commanded by the Englishman Sir Edward Stanley who, although a devout Catholic, had fought for Protestant England against both Irish rebels and Spanish troops. However, in 1587 the Spaniards bribed Stanley and he and his men went over to the enemy, to whom they surrendered the town of Deventure, which they were garrisoning. The unit became known as the 'Tercio Irlanda' and remained in existence until 1604 when it was broken down into individual companies. In 1605, Henry O'Neill (second son of the Earl of Tyrone) created the 'Tyrone Regiment' which included many of these men and which remained in existence for the next five years.

Irish troops were a permanent feature of Spain's Army of Flanders throughout the seventeenth century and fought first against the Dutch and then against the French. Between 1587 and 1661, this force included on average 1,000 Irishmen, although the numbers fluctuated over the years. Henry estimates that during this period, 10,000 Irish immigrants reached the Spanish Netherlands, of whom 6,300 joined the army. The organisation of the Irish regiments changed frequently and so did the names of the individual units, which were usually named after their commander. The Army of Flanders was truly multi-national and there were periods during which the Walloons and Flemings recruited among the local population outnumbered the Spanish soldiers. Germans, Italians, Swiss and Irish were also represented.

'Beginning with Stanley's defection to Spain, and progressing in spurts during the late sixteenth century, emigration of Irishmen for this purpose (serving in foreign armies) became virtually continuous. It received a great impetus with the return, by stages, to a state of general warfare on the continent after 1618. Though isolated groups reached the Baltic States, and others found service in France, a large majority of these exiles (at least three quarters of the total)

went to serve in the Army of Flanders after Spain's renewal of war with the rebel United Provinces (1621). As Catholics, who often came to the camp with their own embattled, zealous chaplains, and as men acclimatized by their very nurture to many of the environmental hardships of campaigning in the Low Countries, they were highly valued by the field officers of the Spanish Monarchy. By the beginning of the great war between the two Catholic powers of Spain and France, which broke out openly in 1635, one authority (Jennings) estimates that as many as seven thousand Irishmen were enlisted in the forces commanded by Philip IV's brother, Don Fernando de Austria, governor of the Spanish Netherlands' (Stradling 1993: 17).

'In the middle decades of the seventeenth century, transportation of men from Ireland to fight in Flanders, and later in Spain itself, became a major aspect of international strategy, with significant commercial aspects to set beside its military logic' (Stradling 1993: 25). There was a fairly constant flow of arrivals, but it is likely that 6,000 of the 7,000 men in service in 1635 had come to the Netherlands as recently as 1634, as a result of an agreement between Juan de Necolalde (the Spanish Chargé d'affaires in London) and King Charles I of England. The Irishmen were organised in four 'Tercios', under Colonels Owen Roe O'Neill (a nephew of the Earl of Tyrone), Thomas Preston, Hugh O'Donnell and Patrick Fitzgerald. They suffered extremely high casualties in the battles against the French and only a third were still in service in 1639. It became difficult to recruit replacements and only 150 fresh Irish volunteers arrived in time for the campaign of 1640. 'The bravery of the remaining Irish at the terrible sieges of Arras and Genrep, in 1640-1641, brought them undying fame' (Stradling 1993: 26).

'For some years thereafter, the numbers of Irish in the Army of Flanders were not sufficient to maintain a specific Tercio and the companies were integrated into other units' (Stradling 1993: 26). From a peak of 7'000 men, the Irish contingent was reduced to 200 in the years 1636-1646. Casualties in the battlefield were only one of the reasons for this depletion. Transfers were another: In 1638, Madrid dispatched two Irish regiments from the Netherlands to northern Spain, where a French attack was expected. In 1641, after the siege of Arras, Colonel Patrick Fitzgerald (or Geraldine) and the survivors of his unit were sent to Catalonia, where the population (allied with France) had risen against the King. According to Stradling, the vast majority of the officers and men serving in the Spanish Netherlands in the 1620s were transferred to Spain in the period 1638-1662. Last but not least, the Irish uprising of 1641 further depleted the ranks of the Army of Flanders. In the following months, many veterans returned home to join the insurrection. Owen Roe O'Neill was one of them: He departed in 1642, became the rebellion's commander-in-chief and died of illness in 1649 while the war was still in progress.

The uprisings in Catalonia and Portugal in 1640 meant that the priority of the Spanish war effort in the next decades was the Peninsula itself and not the Low Countries. Madrid continued recruiting Irishmen but most of them were dispatched directly from Ireland to the northern ports of Spain and never served in the Netherlands.

In the winter of 1645-1646, during the English Civil War, the Irish army led by Randal MacDonnell, Earl of Antrim, found itself surrounded by Parliamentary forces in the Kintyre Peninsula (Scotland). Knowing that they would be massacred if they surrendered, Antrim escaped to Brussels where he negotiated the transfer of his force to Spanish service. The final outcome of the operation is not known with certainty, but 'early in 1647 a new force of nearly 700 Irishmen appeared in the musters of the Army of Flanders. This force is consistent with the hypothetical number of survivors from an original 1'600, allowing for the losses of campaigning in Scotland, and a winter under siege in Kintyre, and after the vicissitudes they had suffered since Antrim had left to seek means to their rescue. These twelve companies, commanded by John Murphy, were added to Patrick O'Neill's four to make up a respectable Irish Tercio of 947 effective' (Stradling 1993: 63). O'Neill remained in command but was later succeeded by Murphy.

In 1653, survivors of the rebel army that had fought under Owen Roe O'Neill in Ireland were hired by Spanish agents and made their way to the Peninsula's northern ports. In the following year, Philip IV decided to dispatch 3,000-4,000 of these men to Flanders. It is not known how many were actually transported but at least one regiment (750 men under Colonel O'Reilly) reached its destination.

In 1661, Irish troops were sent to fight in Portugal and this reduced the number of Irishmen in the Army of Flanders to around 400, a level that was maintained until at least 1700. The institution disappeared in 1714, when Spain ceded the Southern Netherlands to Austria.

## The Iberian Peninsula

The first Irish volunteers to reach Spain (several hundred men under Donal O'Sullivan Bere, Earl of Berehaven) arrived in La Coruña in 1605, in the aftermath of the Nine Year War (the failed rebellion against the English which lasted from 1594 to 1603). Madrid did not need their services on the Peninsula and soon afterwards transferred them to the Netherlands, where they joined the Army of Flanders and were placed under the orders of the Earl of Tyrone. Unable to obtain an independent command and unwilling to serve under his countryman, O'Sullivan returned to Spain where he settled.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, the Spanish Hapsburgs faced a dire emergency in the Iberian Peninsula. They were faced with rebellions in both Catalonia and Portugal, and unrest in Andalusia (1647-1652).

The insurrection in Catalonia (1640-1659) represented by far the most serious of these menaces since it endangered the unity of Spain itself and threatened to divide the country again along the lines of Castile and Aragon. France had

a common border and could and did intervene in support of the rebels. Spain answered in kind and launched an invasion of the Guyenne. This war ended in victory for Madrid but it was close-run. Considerable numbers of Irish troops (as well as Germans and Walloons transferred from the Army of Flanders) fought in these operations alongside the Spanish regulars.

Portugal had been part of the dominions of the King of Spain since 1580, when Philip II had obtained the Lusitanian crown after the extinction of the House of Avis. The association between the two countries was intended as a purely personal union, but slowly turned into Spanish domination of Portuguese affairs. Lisbon tolerated this situation for the next sixty years but in 1640, taking advantage of Spain's predicament in Catalonia, finally revolted against Philip IV under the leadership of the Duke of Braganza. The rebellion (known in Portugal as the 'War of the Restoration') lasted until 1668 and ended in Portugal's independence from Spain.

Faced with this emergency, Spain proceeded to transfer many units of the Army of Flanders to the Peninsula, including the bulk of her Irish soldiers. Envoys and contractors (including the Burgundian François Foisotte) were sent to Ireland to recruit more troops, and as a result of their activities several ships made their way to the ports of northern Spain directly from the island. These events coincided with the Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639-1651) on the British Isles, which included the English Civil War and the submission of Ireland by Oliver Cromwell and his generals. Many Irishmen left their country after the victory of the Commonwealth's forces and a large number of them joined the armies of France, Spain and the exiled Charles II Stuart. This meant that on the European battlefields Irishmen often fought against fellow Irishmen.

The first Irish units to see active service in Spain were the regiments known as the Tyrone and Tyrconnell Tercios. They were commanded by John O'Neill (Earl of Tyrone) and Hugh O'Donnell (Earl of Tyrconnell) respectively and arrived in the ports of the Basque country in 1638. Spanish intelligence had learned that France intended to launch an attack across the border and these troops were transferred from the Army of Flanders to help strengthen the northern defences. They took part in the relief of Fuenterrabía in September of that year, where they made a significant contribution to the Spanish victory. With a strength of 1,200 men, the Irish Tercios comprised about 10% of the Peninsular force. Subsequently they took part in other military operations in northern Spain and during the winter of 1639-1640 they distinguished themselves at the siege of Sales.

## Catalonia

The Catalans rebelled against the king in June 1640 and the Irish troops already in Spain were part of the Spanish forces sent to suppress them. France intervened and sent an army across the border in support of the insurrection.

In 1641, the Irishmen fought at the disastrous battle of Montjuïc, near Barcelona, where they suffered heavy casualties including John O'Neill (Earl of Tyrone) who 'was killed at the head of his men, both he and they fighting with their accustomed valour' (Stradling 1993: 115). The Tyrone regiment was annihilated, with most of their members either slain in battle or taken prisoner.

Hugh O'Donnell was able to retreat southwards after the battle and the 450 survivors of his Tercio managed to reach the precarious safety of Tarragona with the main Spanish army, where they were besieged. Along the way, they undertook reprisals against the local population and sacked Reus. Unfortunately, they punished the wrong people. The town had not joined the rebellion and had remained loyal to Philip IV.

The siege of Tarragona lasted 104 days but the Irishmen only took part in its initial stages. A few weeks after their arrival, they were attached to a force that was taken behind enemy lines by the Spanish navy, in an attempt at relieving Perpignan. This might have been a punishment for their excesses at Reus. The operation was a shambles and the town fell to the enemy in 1642. The Peninsular ships were intercepted by the French navy on the return journey and O'Donnell and hundreds of his men died in the fighting. The remainder were captured and the Tyrconnell Tercio disappeared from the Spanish Order of Battle.

Other units were brought to Catalonia from the Army of Flanders, including the survivors of the siege of Arras who were led by Colonel Patrick Fitzgerald (or Geraldine). However, transfers from the Spanish Netherlands would clearly not suffice and Spain dispatched a number of envoys and contractors to Ireland, to raise new regiments. As a result of their activities, in the years 1641-1654, between 18,000 and 22',500 troops reached the Peninsula directly from Irish ports. The conditions of the voyage were often appalling and many died of disease and hunger either during the journey or shortly after their arrival. The men had to be billeted among the local population and their numbers put a considerable strain on the local economy. Deaths and desertions while quartered in northern Spain greatly reduced the number of Irishmen who actually made it to the battlefields of Catalonia and Portugal.

Madrid had been extremely impressed with the Irishmen's performance in the Netherlands. This was not the case after the operations in Spain. Although many Irishmen performed well, the rate of desertions was extremely high and there were instances where whole units went over to the enemy (the French also employed Irish troops). A possible reason for the difference might have been ideological. In Flanders, the original enemy had been the hated Protestants. French, Catalonians and Portuguese were fellow Catholics. During the Dutch war, the Irish in Spanish service were (or became) professional soldiers. In Spain and Portugal, a whole generation of exiles joined the

Habsburg army and this meant many raw recruits, often in poor health because of what they had endured at home, the sea voyage and the winter months in northern Spain.

The first troops from Ireland reached La Coruña in the autumn of 1641: 300 men led by George Porter, an English Catholic. They were part of an ambitious contract signed between Alonso de Cárdenas (the Spanish Ambassador in London) and a group of officer-entrepreneurs. The agreement was to raise a force of 8,000 in ten regiments, but the rest of the troops never departed. They stayed in Ireland and became the might of the rebellion which broke out later in the year and which was only crushed by Cromwell's generals the following decade. Many believed that Spain had never really intended to recruit such a large force and that the operation had been a smokescreen to create an army capable of liberating Ireland from British dominion and thus restoring her to the Catholic faith. It is more likely that Cárdenas was duped by the rebel leaders who might have used his scheme as a deception for preparing the uprising. Men such as Owen Roe O'Neill, then serving in the Army of Flanders, must have known what was really happening.

Catholic Ireland needed her men at home to fight the Parliamentarians but also required financial assistance from Madrid. The Confederation of Kilkenny (as the rebels are remembered) had to trade troops (her only commodity) for gold and, if possible, arms. The Spanish envoy, the Burgundian François Foisotte, was able to negotiate the dispatch of several shipments: 6,500 men in the period 1644-1654. However, the last contract (for 1,800-2,000 soldiers) was signed not with the rebels (who had by then been defeated) but with the victorious Parliamentarians, who agreed to sell their prisoners of war to Foisotte, thus sparing their lives.

Foisotte was not alone. In 1644, 1,200 men recruited in Ireland arrived in northern Spain under the command of James Preston, whose father and brother (Thomas) were serving with distinction in the Army of Flanders. They fought in the war in Catalonia and in autumn 1646 were part of the Spanish force that relieved the town of Lérida, the decisive battle of this conflict. 'The enemy, demoralised by successive failures of assault on the citadel, decimated by disease and debilitated by insufficient supply, disintegrated before the Spanish offensive. In the ranks of the victorious army were the Tercios of Patrick Fitzgerald and James Preston. They shared in the glory and Madrid went wild with triumph and relief' (Stradling 1993: 55).

In the winter of 1646-1647, Preston returned to Ireland with a contract to raise 3,000 soldiers. 'By the middle of May, Preston had collected 500 men, who were loaded into two transports in Waterford. Just as they were sailing out of the bay, a French squadron of five warships appeared as if on signal from behind a promontory. They intercepted the Irish vessels and - with no apparent resistance - carried them off as prizes, with their precious cargo of prisoners (...) Once on French soil, Preston and his men passed smoothly into French service' (Stradling 1993: 59). The Colonel does not seem to have acted independently and the leaders of the Confederation of Kilkenny were most probably in connivance with the French. Preston served his new masters effectively and was later sent to Portugal with a large purse, with orders to bribe the Irishmen in Spanish service into desertion. He had considerable success in this task.

Patrick Fitzgerald seems to have returned to Ireland in 1647. His Tercio had the longest service of all the Irish units in the Peninsula (seven years). After his departure, command of the Irish troops in the army of Don Juan José de Austria in Catalonia was given to General George Goring, an English 'Cavalier'.

In addition to Foisotte and Preston, other envoys and contractors were active in the recruitment and transport of Irish soldiers to Spain, such as Don Diego de la Torre (envoy extraordinary of the King to the Kilkenny Confederation in 1646), Dermot O'Sullivan (son of the Donal O'Sullivan mentioned above), the White brothers, Colonels Christopher Mayo and Christopher O'Brien (who commanded the troops they raised), among others.

Stradling mentions that 4,000 men arrived in Spain directly from Ireland in the 1640s and that 2,500 of them were still on duty in 1650, when they made up 5% of the Habsburg army in the Peninsula. 2000 soldiers recruited by Mayo reached Guipúzcoa in 1652 and 500 landed in Cádiz soon afterwards. In the last week of the year, 4,000 additional troops arrived in San Sebastián and Pasajes in a dozen ships. 3,000 of them formed the core of the Bordeaux expedition in 1653.

In June 1653, because of desertions and the fear of the plague (then raging in some areas of Ireland) the King of Spain 'resolved that the persons engaging in making levies should cease forthwith and that the 'asientos' (contracts) most recently concluded should not be proceeded with' (Stradling 1993: 79). At this time there were still five outstanding contracts for 16,000 men. The moratorium could not be implemented and in the years 1653-1654, following the final collapse of the Irish rebellion, 12,000 more Irishmen reached northern Spain. Madrid could do little to stop them and accepted them in her armed forces. More followed and the flow only stopped in 1655. Few Irish soldiers arrived in the Peninsula except as individuals after that date but military emigration to the Army of Flanders continued (albeit in much smaller numbers).

Irish troops, including 1,000 men sent by Foisotte, fought during the siege of Barcelona (1651-1652). In the following year, 2,000-3,000 Irishmen took part in the failed campaign against Guyenne, where 500 lost their lives and a similar number deserted to the enemy. The Spaniards landed at the Gironde Estuary but were unable to

relieve Bordeaux (besieged by the French army). They managed to hold out for six months in spite of severe supply problems and returned to Spain at the end of the year. Half of the 4,000 survivors were Irish.

## Portugal

Irish soldiers were also active in the Portuguese war but in smaller numbers. In 1644, a regiment of 'Naciones' (i.e., non-Spanish troops) including Irishmen fought at the battle of Montijo. 600 Irish troops took part in the offensive of 1653, in the Tercios commanded by William Dongan and Bernard Patrick. The latter was killed at the battle of Olivenza. The Irish were given praise for their heroism in the defence of Badajoz. By 1662 there was no longer an Irish Tercio because of the small numbers of soldiers of that nationality, but a number of Irishmen took part in the last two campaigns of the war which culminated in the defeats of Ameixial (1663) and Villaviciosa (1665).

In 1653, the survivors of the army which Owen Roe O'Neill had led during the Irish rebellion arrived in La Coruña under Colonels O'Reilly, O'Ferral and O'Rourke. Their departure from Ireland had been the result of negotiations between Ambassador Cárdenas and Captain (later Major) George Walters. Madrid intended to employ them against Portugal but nothing came of it. Galicia was not a good route to invade Portugal as the natural path of advance was through Extremadura.

The local authorities of La Coruña only allowed two of the seven vessels to land (1',000 men under O'Reilly) and the following year these troops were transferred to the Army of Flanders. The remaining ships (1,900 soldiers) had to proceed to Pasajes, where they linked up with another Irish contingent of 800 men. In the weeks that followed, many died of hunger or disease and others became beggars. The bulk of the survivors were sent to reinforce the ill-fated expeditionary force in Guyenne, but others remained in precarious billets in northern Spain. Their commander, Thaddeus (Tadhg) O'Rourke, travelled to Madrid in March 1654 to complain about the conditions and was finally given orders to muster his men and move to Zaragoza. 1,100 men had gone into winter quarters in Cantabria in the autumn of 1653. By January, only 540 were still under the colours (the remaining had died or deserted).

So many Irishmen had become scattered in northern Spain that in 1654 Madrid sent two trusted servants to re-assemble them into an army. One of them was Colonel Hugh O'Neill, a leader of the Irish rebellion who had been released from the Tower of London by the intervention of Ambassador Cárdenas. The other was the ubiquitous François Foisotte.

Moisés Enrique Rodríguez

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I am indebted to Dr. Óscar Recio Morales for providing his essays:

- *Incauta Nación, de un Irlandés te has fiado. Nobleza, nación e identidades del grupo militar irlandés en el ejército de los Borbones. El caso O'Reilly.*

- *Los Extranjeros y la Nación Irlandesa en el contexto de la Nueva Historia Militar Europea.*

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# Richard Wall, the Irish-Spanish Minister [1]

## By Diego Téllez Alarcia
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## The Character

Richard (Ricardo) Wall and Devereux (born in Nantes, 5 November 1694, died in Soto de Roma, 26 December 1777) was the son of Jacobite refugees. His father, Mateo Wall, fought in the Fitz-James Infantry Regiment of Lord Grand Prior, in the army of James II. [2] His family lived in Kilmallock, County Limerick, well known in those times as the 'crossroads of Munster,' and belonged to a branch of an *Old English* lineage. In fact, the Walls originally came from Normandy (Wall = Du Val) with William the Conqueror in 1066, and were transferred to Ireland in the following century. [3]

As Ricardo's father supported James II, the family had to escape to France around 1691. Soon after, Ricardo was born, and was baptised at Saint Nicholas's Church in Nantes. They lived then in the 'Pit of the Well of Silver' and were given shelter by a relative, probably Gilbert Wall, who was Ricardo's godfather. [4]

Links between Irish refugees and the French nobility were strong at that time. This was why Ricardo became a page to the Duchess of Vendome, one of the most important French houses. He was transferred to Spain in 1716 on the recommendation of the latter, to Cardinal Alberoni, Prime Minister in Spain. Thanks to this recommendation he was accepted as a midshipman in the Spanish Navy. He entered the Royal Company of Naval Cadets ('Colegio Real de Guardiamarinas') in 1717, where he graduated with the second promotion. Immediately thereafter, he embarked on the *Real San Felipe* (74 guns), under the command of Admiral Gaztañeta. However, the defeat of the Spanish Armada at the battle of Cape Passaro a few months later in 1718, coupled with a series of health-related problems that hindered his adjustment to the rigours of life at sea, prompted Wall to join the infantry. He first joined the Hibernia infantry regiment (1719) and, after that, the Batavia dragoons regiment (1721).

He participated in different engagements and campaigns during his life: the Sicily campaign (1718-19), the raising of the Siege of Ceuta (1720), Prince Charles' expedition to take possession of La Toscana (1731), the War of Naples (1734-35) and the Lombardy campaign (1743-46). [5] The infant D. Felipe served in the latter campaign. [6]

He made a brief incursion into the diplomatic field as well. Ricardo accompanied the Duke of Liria on his ambassadorial post to Moscow in 1727. Liria had also been born in French exile (Saint Germain-en-Laye, 1696) and was the son of the Duke of Berwick, a descendant of James II. Wall was, according to the Duke, 'a man in whom I put all my confidence, with whom undid my heart in all my misfortunes, that were not few'. [7] The sponsorship of the Duke, based on this solidarity of origin, relaunched the military career of Wall. He was entertained by the King of Prussia; he received the Order of Generosity, and he was proposed as ambassador in Berlin, though the project did not prosper. Wall thus had his first contact with the diplomatic world and became familiarised with some of the most representative capitals of the continent: Parma, Vienna, Dresden, Berlin, Saint Petersburg and Moscow.

Finally, he was invested with the habit of Santiago (Saint James) in 1737 and was awarded the 'encomienda' (landlordship) of Peñausende (1741). [8] This *encomienda* included the villages of Peñausende, Peralejos de Abajo, Saucelle, Saldeana and Barrueco Pardo (now in the provinces of Zamora and Salamanca). This was a fitting acknowledgement of his noble origins and allowed him to ascend in the Spanish administration.

After passing up through all the military ranks, thanks to the protection of the Duke of Huéscar (since 1755, Duke of Alba, and Liria's son's brother-in-law), he abandoned the sword for the pen. Ricardo was first posted to Genoa (1747) before moving on to London, where he took part in a secret mission of *rapprochement* between Spain and England (1748). He was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary after a peace accord was signed (1749), and later ambassador (1752). During a brief visit to Spain (1752), Wall was finally promoted to Lieutenant General and made a good impression on the king and queen, who in 1754 appointed him successor to Carvajal, the Secretary of State, following the latter's death. In 1759, he was also appointed Secretary of War. He resigned in 1763, [9] retiring voluntarily to the Royal Residence of Soto de Roma, where he was Governor. Wall led the works on the restoration of the Arab Palace of La Alhambra. [10] He died in 1777. [11]

## The Ministry

As Spanish Prime Minister, Ricardo Wall played a very important role. The core points of his political thought were neutrality and monarchism. Both were divested of negative overtones. In fact, historians use two stereotyped labels to define these principles. So neutrality is conceived as Anglophile and monarchism as anti-Jesuit. However, the supposed anglophilia and the presumed anti-Jesuitism of the minister were no more than political weapons used by his enemies to discredit him and to try to remove him from power. Unfortunately these are weapons that have proved extraordinarily persistent concepts in the later historiography. [12]

With regard to international relationships, Wall's policy was not as unmoving as historians claim. The concept of neutrality evolved during this time. Spain adopted different positions during the critical conjuncture of the Seven Years War. Wall was actually in favour of participating in the conflict, for instance, in 1757, when English insolences became unbearable. The king's illness postponed *sine die* this change of direction. Nevertheless, the minister himself would lead, some years later, - and not against his will, as historians think - , the final change. He signed the Third Family Compact (1761), the failure of which must be put in perspective by analysing the events of the rest of the reign. [13]

In any event, we must not exaggerate the ministerial performance of the Irish secretary. In reality there were some successes such as the signature of a convention with Denmark in 1757, or the 'second neutralisation' of Italy, with the marriage between the Spanish infant Maria Luisa and Archduke Leopold of Austria, and the solution of the question of the Placentino. But there were also failures, such as the attempt to approach England or the cancellations of the border treaty. It was not possible for Wall to resolve American conflicts with both powers: the English settlements in Belize and the Portuguese settlements in Colonia del Sacramento (present-day Uruguay). However, a certain revaluation of the personage is necessary in considering these and other issues related to Wall's ministry.

In fact, during his ministry, important institutional reforms took place such as the connection of the diplomatic career with the offices of the Secretary of State, the preparation of a Consular Regulation, the beginning of the debate on free trade with America, and reforms in the postal service. There were many measures undertaken in the army also: regulations, the creation of the 'Monte Pío' and of the Academy of Artillery in Segovia and the preparation of the new Royal Ordinances of 1768. Notwithstanding, there were other negative measures: the sale of military ranks, the return to the system of fleets and galleons and the intensification of censorship, with the taking over of newspapers such as the *Gaceta de Madrid* and the *Mercurio Histórico-Político* by the State office.

## Wall's Party

Together with the more quotidian anecdotes, one of the most important research topics for historians is the political and courtesan network that supported Wall before his undertaking of the ministry and after his appointment. The dialectics of confrontation between the different political and courtesan groups that dominated the political scene in these decades is an exciting subject. With regard to this, we find Ricardo Wall playing a central role in the Marquis de la Ensenada's exoneration (1754) and leading a new party. [14]

The later attempt at consolidation of the new emergent group was conditioned by political struggles in the Spanish Court. The Duke of Huéscar was a powerful figure until 1757 and he was behind a number of governmental measures. On the other hand, there were other important politicians leading the opposition party: Mr. Eslava y Mr. Campo del Villar. They assumed the leadership of the *Ensenadist* party, supported also by the French ambassador, the Marquis d'Ossun, and other courtesans, after the end of Ensenada's exile. In this context, I have paid more attention to the role of the Vatican conspiracies against Wall, due to the controversies prompted by the approval of the Pragmatic Sanction. Wall's retirement in 1763 must be linked with these intrigues, but not exclusively, as I will explain in detail. There were other factors, such as personality and health problems. In fact, in 1757, he attempted his first resignation.

In spite of this last resignation in 1763, Wall's nine years leading the Spanish administration left an important legacy that has been underrated until the present day. His political and courtesan party was successful after his retirement. Several factions were born from this common root and were influential during the rest of the reign of Charles III. The 'Aragonese Party', led by the Count of Aranda, and the 'Manteísta' group, led by the Counts of Campomanes and Floridablanca, [15] were the most important. In fact, Wall was the 'discoverer' and protector of the most relevant protagonists of the subsequent decades: Roda, Campomanes, Aranda and Grimaldi. The identification of the members of an Irish party, led by Wall, was also a significant development. This group basically agreed with the 'network of Jacobite solidarity' described by Ozanam and whose vitality is fundamental in this period. [16]

Some of the members of this Irish party were ambassadors: Count Mahony was appointed ambassador, first in Switzerland (1757), and in Vienna shortly afterwards (1758). The Count of Lacy was appointed ambassador in Stockholm (1763). Some others were soldiers, such as Alejandro O'Reilly, Eduardo Wall, Agustín Wall and Juan Kelly, or merchants such Carlos McCarthy and Ambrosio O'Higgins. There were Irishmen sponsored by Wall in the administration (Bernardo Ward and Diego Nangle) and in the Royal House (Doctor Diego Purcell). [17]

However the composition of Wall's party is much more complex. Heterogeneity is the key factor. On the one hand, the inheritance of his protectors, Huéscar and Carvajal, was clear: Masones of Lima, the Count of Peralada, Mr.

Clemente de Aróstegui, Count of Valparaíso and Mr. Felix de Abreu. Wall also protected other colleagues (Arriaga), the 'Aragonese Party' of the Count of Aranda, the Count of Ricla and the Count of Fuentes, 'Manteístas' like Campomanes or Roda, the Irish Party, Italian and Flemish people (the Prince of Masserano, the Marquis of Grimaldi, the Count of Bournonville, Sterllinguerf, Craywinckel, Goosens and Winthuyssen), counsellors (Cantos, Ric), officers in the secretariats (Nicholas de Mollinedo, Jose Agustín of Llano and Francisco de Auzmendi), intellectuals (Guillermo Bowles, Jose Clavijo y Fajardo, Celestino Mutis, Benito Bails and Francisco Perez Bayer), and relatives (Eduardo and Agustín Wall).

## Wall's 'Discreet Spain'

From research into Wall's ministry it is possible to distinguish several contributions to the general debate on the Spanish Eighteenth Century. One of them is to answer some questions such as where and how political power was exerted during Wall's ministry and by whom. The Royal Court is the main scene, a place where politicians, courtesans, artists, intellectuals, high-ranking soldiers and clerics were centre-stage. Their purpose was to influence the 'Royal Desire'. The Secretaries of State became key players in the system because of their control over some information channels. They dispatched messages to the sovereign about political concerns, so that they could monopolise the King's influence. For that reason they were regarded as new 'court favourites' or 'ministerial despots' by political rivals. The courtesan intrigues consolidated themselves as a new form of social protest.

In this sense, the biography of the Irish minister confirms the validity of 'absolutism/enlightened despotism' as a historiographic category. Absolutism as a political system was disguised with elements of the Enlightenment. Wall is a perfect example of this. Nevertheless, his motivations were those of the State. Wall was capable, as a politician, of taking recalcitrant measures (Burriel and the Commission of Archives, for example), but he was also able to sponsor people such as D. Francisco Manuel de Mena and José Clavijo y Fajardo, very well-known intellectuals. This does not prevent the existence of a significant qualitative change with respect to previous times, which can be recognised and which justifies the invention of a new historiographic category.

Thanks to Wall's professional experience and versatility, I have been able to study the functions of several Spanish institutions in the eighteenth century: the army, the diplomatic service and the secretaries. For instance, the army is revealed as a far more complex institution, which sometimes serves as an instrument of social integration of foreigners or as a mechanism of social permeability. The same is true of diplomacy, where more important changes throughout the eighteenth century came from Wall's reforms (changes in the social extraction and in the geographic origin of ambassadors, the establishment of a diplomatic *cursus honorum* and new embassies in Russia, the Turkish Empire and Saxony).

Other reflections arise, very much linked to this institutional sphere. On the one hand, the role of the Irishmen and of other foreigners in Spanish society during the Modern Age in general, and in the eighteenth century in particular, is highlighted. On the other hand, the interrelation that exists already at so early a time between the diverse European chancelleries, a sort of initial political globalisation. There are some international political networks between politicians from different countries whose interests were the same. The Duke of Newcastle or Tanucci were the most important international allies of the Irish minister. These links explain the profound consequences that political movements had all over Europe. There are several examples, the main one being the repercussion of Ensenada's fall, a very important factor that contributed to the Reversion of Alliances.

These ideas contribute to modifying our vision of Spain in the eighteenth century. The country had great vitality and was in expansion, because the political elite became conscious of the necessity to change the image of a hegemonic Imperial Spain on the international stage to a 'Discreet Spain' that concentrated its efforts on internal recovery. Colonial administration was also improved in order to recover influence on international relationships. These efforts would be mitigated at the end of the century with the arrival of the French Revolution.

Diego Téllez Alarcia

## Notes

[1] This is a summary of my doctoral thesis: Diego Téllez Alarcia, *Mr. Richard Wall, the forgotten minister*, defended on 20.06.2006. University of La Rioja (Spain). The thesis was awarded with the Pablo de Olavide's Research Essay Prize. See the website: http://www.tiemposmodernos.org/ricardowall.

[2] J. D'Alton, *Illustrations, historical and genealogical, of King James's Irish army list, 1689*, (London, 1861), Vol. II, p. 82.

[3] Hubert Gallwey, *The Wall family in Ireland* (Naas, H. Gallwey, 1970).

[4] Archives Départementales de la Loire-Atlantique, *Registres paroissiaux*, Nantes, Église de Saint Nicolas, BMS, 1691-1697, 7 November 1694: 'Le 7ème jour de novembre 1694 a été baptisé dans l'Eglise de St. Nicolas de Nantes par moi père soussigné, Richard, né le 5ème du courant, fils de Matthieu Duval, gentilhomme absent, et de Cathe-

rine Devreux, sa femme habitants a la foie, rue du puits d'argent.' A Spanish translation can be found in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, *Órdenes, Santiago*, 9.020.

[5] Military services records in Archivo General de Simancas (Valladolid), *Secretaría de Guerra*, 2.465, book II, p. 12, book III, p. 10 and book IV, p. 10

[6] *Gaceta de Madrid*, 13 de enero de 1778.

[7] Duque de Liria, 'Diario del viaje del duque de Liria y Xérica', *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España, por el marqués de la Fuensanta, D. José Sancho Rayón y D. Francisco Zabálburu*, (Madrid, 1889). vol. xciii, pp. 200-201.

[8] Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), *Órdenes, Santiago*, 9.020.

[9] Diego Téllez Alarcia, 'Guerra y regalismo a comienzos del reinado de Carlos III. El final del ministerio Wall', *Hispania*, 209, 2001, pp. 1051-1090.

[10] Diego Téllez Alarcia, 'Documentation concerning the role of Ricardo Wall (1694-1777) in the restoration of the Arab Palace of La Alhambra', *Archivium Hibernicum*, LIX, 2005, pp. 90-105.

[11] More information on Wall's career in: Diego Téllez Alarcia, 'El caballero D. Ricardo Wall y la conspiración antiensenadista', José Miguel Delgado Barrado and José Luis Gómez Urdáñez, *Ministros de Fernando VI*, (Córdoba, Universidad de Córdoba, 2002), pp. 93-138. In English: Diego Téllez Alarcia, 'Richard Wall: light and shade of an Irish minister in Spain (1694-1777)', *Irish Studies Review*, 11.2, August 2003, pp. 123-136.

[12] Diego Téllez Alarcia, 'La supuesta anglofilia de D. Ricardo Wall. Filias y fobias políticas durante el reinado de Fernando VI', *Revista de Historia Moderna. Anales de la Universidad de Alicante*, 21, 2003, pp. 501-536.

[13] Diego Téllez Alarcia, 'La neutralidad española durante el reinado de Fernando VI. ¿'Vigilante y armada' o 'inexplicable y suicida'?', Agustín Guimerá and Víctor Peralta (eds.), *El Equilibrio de los Imperios: de Utrecht a Trafalgar. Actas de la VIII Reunión Científica de la Fundación Española de Historia Moderna (Madrid, 2-4 de junio de 2004)*, (Madrid, C.S.I.C., 2005), pp. 191-206.

[14] José Luis Gómez Urdáñez, *El proyecto reformista del marqués de la Ensenada* (Lérida: Milenio, 1996).

[15] Diego Téllez Alarcia, 'El joven Campomanes y el ministro Wall (1754-63)', Dolores Mateos Dorado (ed.), *Campomanes doscientos años después* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2003), pp. 417-431.

[16] Didier Ozanam, *Les diplomates espagnols du XVIIIe siècle, Introduction et rèpertoire biographique (1700-1808)*, (Madrid: Casa de Velásquez-Burdeos-Maison des Pays Ibériques, 1998).

[17] Diego Téllez Alarcia, 'El grupo irlandés bajo el ministerio Wall (1754-63)', María Begoña Villar García y P. Pezzi Cristóbal (eds.), *Los Extranjeros en la España Moderna Actas del I Coloquio Internacional. Málaga 28-30 de noviembre de 2002* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2003), Vol. II, pp. 737-750.

# Review of Susana Taurozzi's
## *Los Pasionistas en Argentina y Uruguay:*
## *Cien años de historia*

By Edward Walsh

Susana Taurozzi is a well-known Argentine historian and a respected scholar, having spent many years teaching. She has written widely, with books and many articles to her name, specifically in relation to the history of the Catholic Church in Argentina. Taurozzi's primary and secondary education was at the Passionist Fathers' Colegio San Gabriel in Vicente López, Buenos Aires province, and her involvement with the Congregation continues as she teaches at that institution. During the 1980s she was involved with the Passionists' pastoral youth work. She commenced work on this book in 2001 using letters, documents, house chronicles, mission books, chapter acts and confraternity acts - all from the Holy Cross archive. She also conducted sixteen interviews between 2001 and 2005 with members of the Province and seven with parishioners from the parishes of Holy Cross and Santa Gema. The book, published in Spanish, is divided into four parts: 1874-1901 (53 pages), 1901-1934 (93 pages), 1934-1970 (199 pages), and 1970-2002 (164 pages).

The scene is set with the arrival in Argentina of Fr Pius Devine in 1874, the first Passionist to visit the country. Devine was on what became a worldwide begging jaunt to raise funds for the building of Mount Argus Church in Dublin. Devine was in the country for seventy-four days and his *Adventures and Misadventures of a Jolly Beggar* provides a graphic account of his stay. Devine was followed five years later by Fr Martin Byrne. His efforts to establish the Passionist Congregation in Argentina would bring him into conflict with Bernardo Silvestrelli, his Rome-based Superior General. The Byrne-Silvestrelli and Kent-Silvestrelli correspondence highlights the tension between those who would maintain a close relationship with the Irish community and those in Rome who were not in agreement. In no uncertain terms, Silvestrelli reminded Byrne that what was proposed (the founding of a mission to the 'Irish Colony', implicitly assuming the care of parishes, churches, hospitals, orphanages and so on) "would be a radical exception to the rule of our Institution which I cannot permit" (Silvestrelli to Byrne, 1880). These were strong words. Byrne was suspended *a divinis* by his Superior General. He took his case to Rome and in due course the suspension was lifted. A somewhat tetchy relationship with the Irish community would continue. With the death of the Irish chaplain Fr John B. Leahy in 1882, the Archbishop of Buenos Aires Monsignor Federico Aneiros requested that the Passionists take over the Irish chaplaincies, taking in the locations of Carmen de Areco, Salto, Rojas and other newly-founded towns towards the province of Santa Fe.

Taurozzi highlights the missionary work that the Passionists undertook - missions preached in towns, at gatherings in the *camp*, at *estancias* and twice on the Falkland Islands - in 1910 and 1916. The Province of the Immaculate Conception was canonically erected in 1901. She notes the thirty-two Provincial Chapters held between 1902 and 2002 and how the Congregation set down its organisational framework and evangelisation strategy. Confrontation with the Peronist government was almost unavoidable, and some events are related with not a little humour. There then occurred a challenge of a different nature; the implementation, commencing in 1962, of the reforms of the

Second Vatican Council (Vatican II). It was inevitable that there would be further confrontation following the military coup in March 1976. Families of the 'disappeared' started to meet at Holy Cross from 1977. The religious community was targeted when the church walls were daubed with slogans such as *Curas montoneros, Cueva de comunistas, Santa Cruz,* and *arsenal del E.R.P.* Fr Federico Richards was the editor and director of *The Southern Cross* in 1969-1988, with one year of absence in 1978. His editorials were hard-hitting and caused disquiet among certain sections of the hierarchy. Richards criticised the passivity of the bishops. This was treading on dangerous ground. Cardinal Raúl Primatesta was not amused and made known his displeasure. Richards was unforgiving and by letter of 31 May 1977 penned a memorable reply.

The annexes (pp. 413-423) contain a series of boxes detailing the chronology of principal events in the life of the Province and the houses in Capitán Sarmiento, Santa Cruz, Salto, La Calera, Colonia Caroya, San Gabriel, Montevideo, Vicente Casares, San Miguel, La Teja, and the continuing mission in Formosa that was started in 1971, yet curiously there is no single unified list of the Provincials. There are a few minor spelling and/or typographical errors, such as non-adherence to the convention of denoting membership of a religious order or congregation in the upper case - for example, 'Federico J. Soneira c.p.' instead of 'Federico J. Soneira C.P.' (page 8); *The Standard* newspaper is *The Standart* (427); the title of E. Gellner's book *Nations and Nationalism* is noted as *Nations and Natinalism*, while José María Ghio's work *The Argentine Catholic Church from 1880 to 1945* is referred to as *The Argentin Catholic Church* (430). These are minor *peccadilloes*, but it is unfortunate that the quality of the forty-one photos is poor. There is a plethora of fascinating footnotes, 703 in total, but strangely no person and/or place index.

A book of this kind is often written by somebody as an insider looking out, as per the case of works by Vincent Laffan C.P. and the celebrated Victor Carolan C.P. Susana Taurozzi writes as an outsider looking in and her expose and scrutiny are excellent. This is a genre of work which, although unlikely to top the list of best-sellers and not an easy read, is nonetheless an interesting book. Taurozzi has made a valuable and scholarly contribution with this up-to-date history of the Passionist Congregation in Argentina.

Edward Walsh

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### Author's Reply

I consider Edward Walsh's evaluation very positive and I appreciate his comments. Perhaps it is difficult with such an extensive work to summarise the central points in a few lines. Edward Walsh focuses on aspects linked to the origins of the order and the relationship of the Congregation with the political development of the country. The book presents other possible readings in relation to the construction of a model of the Church and to the connection that developed between the religious and the lay people, which should not be under-estimated. I am immensely grateful for the consideration and kindness which he had towards my book and towards my research work.

Susana Taurozzi

Translated by Claire Healy

# James Rooke (1770-1819), commander of the British Legion in Bolívar's army

By Moisés Enrique Rodríguez

**Rooke, James** (1770-1819), commander of the British Legion and hero of the battle of Pantano de Vargas during the South American wars of independence, was born in Dublin around 1770, to a British father and an Irish mother. Nothing is known about his father, but on the paternal side, he came from a distinguished military family with roots in Gloucestershire, England. Fifteen Rookes had served in the British Army in the previous two centuries and three of them had reached the rank of General, including his father (a Lieutenant General).

Rooke joined the British Army in 1791 as a Second Lieutenant, fought in several campaigns against the French and by the time of the Peace of Amiens in 1802 had reached the rank of Major. In May 1798, he married Mary Rigge, who later bore him a son and a daughter. The years that followed were happy ones, with Rooke moving in high circles and becoming a personal friend of the Prince of Wales, the future King George IV. Unfortunately, such a lifestyle cost money and the Major got used to spending beyond his means. In 1801, probably because of losses incurred at the races, Rooke was forced to sell most of his property and left for France, then temporarily at peace with Britain.

During the breakdown of the Peace of Amiens, the Major was caught in French territory and the local authorities arrested him. He was interned at Verdun in May 1803 and held prisoner for the next ten years, almost the entire duration of the Napoleonic Wars. He escaped early in 1813 and made his way to Wellington's headquarters at Cádiz, Spain, where he commenced a second career in the British Army. He was commissioned as Second Lieutenant on 15 April 1813 and promoted to Lieutenant in August, but with the abdication of Napoleon, hostilities came to an end and Rooke was demobilised in 1814. In November of that year, his wife died.

When Napoleon returned to power (the saga of the 'Hundred Days'), Rooke hurried to Belgium and joined Wellington's staff in Brussels. He was made aide-de-camp to the Dutch Prince of Orange and in this capacity fought at Waterloo, where he was wounded (1815). He was demobilised for the second (and final) time in 1816 and, with no prospects in Europe, decided to visit his sister, who happened to be the wife of Colonel Probyn, the Governor of St. Kitts, a British colony in the Caribbean. It was there that he met and married his second wife, Anne Tucker.

In 1817, Rooke travelled to Angostura and joined the Patriot army as a Lieutenant Colonel on 23 September. He became a full Colonel on the following year. He was initially assigned to the Liberator's staff as an aide-de-camp but soon afterwards was put in command of an Anglo-Venezuelan unit whose creation he had proposed. With the '1st Regiment of Hussars of Venezuela', he took part in the campaign of the Venezuelan Llanos (Plains) in 1818 and fought in the battles of Calabozo, El Sombrero, El Semén, Ortiz, Rincón de los Toros and Calabozo. El Semén (La Puerta) merits mention, because almost all the twenty British or Irish officers present in the field were killed or captured. Rooke himself, fighting at Bolivar's side, was wounded twice.

On 11 March 1819, at Araguaquen, the Liberator integrated most of his foreign volunteers (previously serving in different units) into a single 'brigade' and put Rooke in command. The unit was named the British Legion and comprised 250 men.

After an inconclusive campaign, the rainy season arrived and the Royalist and Patriot armies went to winter quarters. Another year had passed and there was still deadlock in Venezuela. Bolívar then decided to do the unexpected - or, rather, to attempt the impossible -: to break out of the Venezuelan interior, cross the entire length of the Llanos during the rainy season, ascend the formidable Andes mountains and strike at the heart of present-day Central Colombia. The project looked like madness since the Llanos were virtually impassable during the rainy season. That was why armies went into winter quarters, but that was also why Morillo could never expect such a move.

The Liberator kept his plan secret until the last minute. He only revealed it to his officers at a Council of War held at Mantecal, in the middle of the Llanos, on 23 May 1819. Generals Iribairren and Rangel considered that it foolhardy and withdrew from the expedition. Predictably, Rooke assured Bolívar that, 'if necessary he would follow with the British Legion even beyond Cape Horn'. The march was an epic journey, with the men having to walk every day for several hours, in water up to the waist and seldom finding a dry place to rest at night. In spite of the incredible hardships, Colonel Rooke was, according to O'Leary, 'pleased with everyone and with everything, and especially with himself. He seemed to be satisfied with the life he was living and not at all indifferent to it'.

The army finally reached Pore, at the foot of the cordillera, and started ascending the mountains on 22 June. In less than a month, the Patriots had marched 600 km through extremely difficult terrain and had lost more than 300 casualties: men killed or incapacitated by illness or accidents, and deserters.

The crossing of the Andes was a feat as challenging, and as costly, as a battle against a determined enemy. The *Llaneros* (Plainsmen) had been raised in the intense tropical heat of their native plains and had no winter clothing. The extreme cold of the Cordillera caused many casualties. The crossing of the Páramo de Pisba was particularly daunting and several men froze to death in that desolate place. The Britons lost two officers and 60 men (one quarter of their strength) during the crossing of the Andes, and were in such poor condition after the ascent that they had to be sent to rest in Sativa. Rooke is reported to have kept his high spirits throughout the entire operation. This is remarkable on two accounts. First of all, he was no longer a young man. At 49, he was considerably older than the rest of his comrades and yet proved able to withstand the rigours of the campaign much better than men in their prime. His cheerfulness was a source of inspiration to the entire army. Secondly, he suspected that his wife (who had stayed behind in Venezuela) was having an affair with another British officer. He had written to his friend James Hamilton (the merchant) asking him to look into the matter and confirm or deny the rumours. Thus, during the campaign of 1819, the commander of the British Legion may have been going through a period of deep personal anguish. Hamilton was faced with the sad duty of answering in the affirmative, but Rooke was probably already dead when the letter arrived.

After recuperating, the British Legion rejoined Bolívar's army on 22 July 1819 and three days later fought at Vargas, the action which won them fame. At a crucial moment in the battle, Bolivar ordered Rooke to storm the heights in which the Spaniards had taken defensive positions. The Legion charged under a hail of bullets and achieved its objective. This action and a cavalry attack by the Venezuelan Lancers decided the outcome of the battle and turned defeat into victory. Rooke, however, was seriously wounded and Dr. Foley, the Legion's medical officer, was forced to amputate his arm in an attempt to save his life. After the operation, Rooke seized his severed arm with his good hand, raised it in the air and shouted: 'Viva la patria!' ('Long live the Fatherland!'). Dr. Foley enquired: 'Which country, Sir? England or Ireland?'. Rooke replied: *La Patria que me dará sepultura* ('The country that shall give me a burial').

The following day, Bolívar awarded the 'Order of the Liberator' to the British Legion, one of the rare occasions during the war when this decoration was bestowed onto an entire unit. John MackIntosh was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel 'graduado' and replaced the wounded Rooke as its commanding officer. Unable to follow the army because of his state, Rooke was left in a monastery (the Augustinian house in Belén de Chámeza) near Tunja, where he died on 28 July 1819.

The story of Rooke's death at Vargas and the amputation of his arm is perhaps the most vivid of all the war deeds mentioned in Colombia's history books. The Colombian Army still has a unit called *Batallón No. 18 de Infantería Jaime Rooke* based in Ibagué (150 km from Bogotá). There is a bronze statue of Colonel Rooke at Boyacá Bridge (surprisingly, not at Vargas) and another at the monastery where he died of his wounds. In the nearby city of Paipa, there is a *Parque Jaime Rooke* and at the main entrance to the Colombian capital, a sober but moving marble tablet reads: *Colombia, a los Próceres y a la Legión Británica.*

Moisés Enrique Rodríguez

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## Alexandre O'Neill (1924-1986), poet

By Edmundo Murray



Alexandre O'Neill (1924-1986)
(*Vasco Gargalo*)

**O'Neill, Alexandre** [*born* Alexandre Manuel Vahia de Castro O'Neill de Bulhões] (1924-1986), poet, was born on 19 December 1924 in Lisbon, the only child of the aristocratic banker José António Pereira de Eça O'Neill de Bulhões (b. 1890) and his wife, Maria da Glória Vahia de Barros de Castro (1905-1989). The family belonged to a patrician class, and its members have been in the Portuguese government, army and church since the Middle Ages. Alexandre O'Neill's paternal grandmother, Maria da Conceição Infante de Lacerda Pereira de Eça Custance O'Neill (b. 1873) descended from Sean [João] O'Neill (b. ca. 1720), born in Kilmore, county Tyrone, who in 1740 settled in Almada, near Lisbon, being accepted by the Portuguese court as an exiled Catholic nobleman.

After completing secondary school, Alexandre O'Neill studied to be a seaman at the Nautical School of Lisbon but failed due to his marked myopia. Due to family conflicts, in 1946 he went to live with an uncle and started writing poetry. In 1948 O'Neill was among the founders of the Surrealist Movement in Lisbon, and contributed poems to *Ampola Miraculosa*, a book of surrealist collages. His relations with the surrealist group ended in 1950 due to disagreements about aesthetics and style. The following year, O'Neill's collection *Tempo de fantasmas*, was published in Lisbon. Suspected of rebel activities, in 1953 he was arrested by the state security police and remained in prison for forty days.

O'Neill earned his living as a writer of advertising copy. He worked for many agencies, usually as a freelance creative director. Some of his promotional slogans became famous for their double meanings, and were repeated by millions of Portuguese people. Among them were: *Há mar e mar, há ir e voltar* (Instituto de Socorros a Náufragos), *Bosch é Bom* (Bosch), *No Colchão Lusoespuma, Você Dá Duas Que Parecem Uma* (Colchões Lusoespuma), and *Vá de Metro Satanás* (Metropolitano de Lisboa).

Alexandre O'Neill's poetic works include *Tempo de Fantasmas* (1951), *No Reino da Dinamarca* (1958), *Abandono Vigiado* (1960), *Poemas com Endereço* (1962), *Feira Cabisbaixa* (1965), *De Ombro na Ombreira* (1969), *Entre a Cortina e a Vidraça* (1972), *A Saca de Orelhas* (1979), *As Horas Já de Números Vestidas* (1981), *Dezanove Poemas* (1983), and *O Princípio da Utopia* (1986). He also published two books in prose, *As Andorinhas não Têm Restaurante* (1970), and *Uma Coisa em Forma de Assim* (1980), as well as selections of poems by Gomes Leal, Teixeira de Pascoães (with F. Cunha Leão), Carl Sandburg and João Cabral de Melo Neto. In addition, O'Neill recorded *Alexandre O'Neill: diz poemas de sua autoria.*

After engaging in an intermittent relationship with the Bulgarian surrealist poet Nora Mitrani in 1949, Alexandre O'Neill married Noémia Delgado in 1957 and Teresa Patrício Gouveia in 1971.

Edmundo Murray

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## José Santiago Healy (1895-1968), media entrepreneur

By Edmundo Murray



José Santiago Healy (1895-1968)
(*Fundación Educativa y Cultural Healy*)

**Healy, José Santiago** (1895-1968), media entrepreneur, was born on 16 December 1895 in Monterrey, the capital of Nuevo León State in northeast Mexico, the youngest son of James Healy and his wife Mary Brennan. James Healy had been taught mathematics at Queen's College, Dublin and spoke seven languages. In 1882 the couple emigrated from County Kilkenny to Boston, and then settled in Texas, where two children (Elisa and Daniel) were born. Subsequently, the family moved to Monterrey, where Nicolás, Patricio and José Santiago were born, and finally to Mexico City in 1903.

José Santiago Healy received his primary education at his father's school in Monterrey, and later at the Hogar de Niños Trabajadores and Escuela Elemental N° 51, both in Mexico City. In 1909, José Santiago and his brother Patricio began working at *El Combate*, a newspaper of the Maderista Revolt led by Francisco Madero in November 1910. In 1914, Healy joined the rebel forces of Venustiano Carranza, and met with Adolfo de la Huerta, who would be governor of Sonora and Mexican president in 1920. In Veracruz, he fought against Victoriano Huerta's army, and then worked as a journalist during the campaign against the Zapatista forces in Morelos.

In 1916, José Santiago Healy was invited to Sonora by Adolfo de la Huerta to open newspapers in some of the cities of this northwestern state. The objective was to promote the revolutionary ideas that would be included in the Constitution of 1917. In June 1924, owing to the failure of Adolfo de la Huerta's revolution, Santiago Healy was banished to the United States of America together with Huerta, the filmmaker Emilio Fernández Romo and other followers of the rebellion against President Obregón. Healy remained in the US for eight years, where he married Sonora-born Laura Noriega and founded *El Eco de México* newspaper. In 1932 he returned to Sonora on the invitation of Governor Rodolfo Elías Calles.

Back in Mexico, Healy established *El Tiempo* of Sonora, which lasted only three years, and in 1937 founded *El Imparcial*, the leading regional newspaper and the most significant of the titles founded by him and his family in the region. In 1938-1942 he worked on the establishment of the University of Sonora.

José Santiago Healy died on 7 October 1968 during a family visit to Los Angeles, California. He was buried in Panteón Yáñez in Sonora. On 22 January 1982 Nogales Street in Hermosillo was renamed on his honour.

Edmundo Murray

### Acknowledgements

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# Mateo Banks (1872-1949), family murderer

By Edmundo Murray



Mateo Banks (1872-1949)

**Banks, Mateo** (1872-1949), family murderer, was born on 18 November 1872 at Estancia El Trébol (the Shamrock Ranch), Chascomús, Buenos Aires Province, the fourth of eight children of Matthew Banks (1845-1919) and his wife, Mary Anne Keena (1830-1908). Matthew Banks emigrated from Dublin in 1862 and settled in Buenos Aires.

Educated in Buenos Aires and Chascomús, Mateo Banks received the standard instruction provided by Catholic Irish rural families to their boys. He married Martina Gainza in San Luis and joined bourgeois circles in Chascomús and Azul. A member of the Jockey Club of Buenos Aires and British Vice-consul in Azul, Banks was a member of the local landowning elite and a dealer of Studebaker sports cars. He was a frequent participant in Catholic religious gatherings and a prominent member of various charities.

After years of bad management and gambling, by 1921 Mateo Banks had lost his fortune and was in serious debt. That year he sold his last properties to his siblings, and in March 1922 tried to sell cattle belonging to his brother Dionisio. Banks was bankrupt and his plan was kill his family in order to inherit their properties.

On 18 April 1922, between 1.15pm and midnight, Mateo Banks shot his brothers Dionisio (53) and Miguel (51), his sister María Ana (54), his sister-in-law Julia Banks (*née* Dillon), his nieces Sarita (12) and Cecilia (15), and the ranch workers Juan Gaitán and Claudio Loiza, in cold blood. The bodies of the eight victims were arranged so as to provide evidence against Gaitán and Loiza. However, the accusation rightly pointed at Banks as the only suspect, and he pleaded guilty after three weeks of the court case. On 3 April 1923 Mateo Banks was given a life sentence - the death penalty had been abolished in 1921 - which was confirmed by the appeal judges.

In 1924 Banks was sent to the security prison in Ushuaia, Tierra del Fuego, from whence he was freed in 1942. Under a new name - Eduardo Morgan - he settled in Buenos Aires and died in a house at 2178 Ramón Falcón Street. The unpublished manuscript of his 1,200-page memoirs has been lost.

Edmundo Murray

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## Jorge Patricio Dillon (1953-c.1977), student activist and social worker

By Edmundo Murray



Jorge Patricio Dillon (1953-ca.1977)
(*photographer unknown, 1971*)

**Dillon, Jorge Patricio** (*Patricio*) (1953-c.1977), student activist and social worker, was born on 13 October 1953 in General Roca, Río Negro Province, Argentina, the only child of Juan Antonio Guillermo Dillon (1926-1957) and his wife, Sara Gigena (b.1930). The Dillon family descended from David Dillon (1816-1866) of Limerick, who emigrated to Argentina to work in the British railways and settled in Monte, Buenos Aires Province. David Dillon's youngest son, Bernardo José Dillon (1859-1931), born in Monte, studied at the school of medicine in London and practiced in Ireland. He returned to Argentina and worked at the British Hospital of Buenos Aires and the Southern Railway Company. His son, Juan Carlos Dillon - Patricio's grandfather - was one of the first colonists in Chinchinales, near General Roca in the Patagonian province of Río Negro, 1,120 kilometres from Buenos Aires.

Patricio Dillon was sent to study at San Miguel primary school in General Roca, and then to Don Bosco secondary school, both founded and managed by the Roman Catholic Society of St. Francis de Sales (Salesian Fathers). At twelve he was already engaged in political activities, and supported the return of Juan D. Perón from exile in Spain. His engagement would be intensified during the rebellion of the people of General Roca in June 1972 against the *de facto* military governor Roberto Requeijo (a revolt known as 'El Rocazo').

After completing secondary school, Dillon went to Buenos Aires in 1972 to study literature at the University of Buenos Aires. He also worked at the Azcuénaga branch of the Provincial Bank of Buenos Aires. Patricio Dillon joined the Peronist Youth movement and was appointed trade union delegate at his branch of the bank. Additionally, he worked for a programme on Radio Mitre of Buenos Aires, a continuation of his recreational radio show at his school in Río Negro (which he introduced as 'Radio Cachivache'). In 1973 Dillon was one of the thousands of people who went to Ezeiza Airport in the city of Buenos Aires to welcome Perón when he arrived in Argentina. He lived in a house at 1400 Cangallo Street, and was a member of a Montoneros support group.

Dillon was a natural leader, and had an acute understanding of, and sensitivity for, the problems of contemporary Argentine society. He was a self-made idealist and a courageous radical who chose to stay in the country amidst increasing threats to student activists and militant members of political movements.

On 20 January 1977, Patricio Dillon was kidnapped, together with other students, and interned in the secret detention camp 'Club Atlético' at Paseo Colón and Juan de Garay Streets of Buenos Aires. His detention may have been the responsibility of Major Arias Duval, *muy buen tipo a pesar de ser militar* ('a very good chap in spite of being a soldier', Dillon to Dillon, 13 April 1974, p. 2), for whom Patricio worked as secretary during his military service in Junín de los Andes. Patricio became one of the 20-25,000 so-called *desaparecidos* ('disappeared') - political prisoners illegally abducted, tortured and killed by the armed forces in Argentina from 1974 to 1983.

Edmundo Murray

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