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SPAIN AND THE IRISH MISSION, 1609–1707

Cristina Bravo Lozano



Spain and the Irish Mission, 1609–1707

Spain and the Irish Mission, 1609–1707 examines Spanish confessional policy in 17th-century Ireland. Cristina Bravo Lozano provides an innovative perspective on Spanish-Irish relations during a crucial period for Early Modern European history. Key historical actors and events are brought to the fore in her account of the missionary networks created around the Irish Catholic exile in the Iberian Peninsula. She presents a comprehensive study of this form of royal patronage, the changes and challenges Irish Catholicism had to face after the peace of London (1604), and the role that Irish missionaries played in preserving its place within the framework of Anglo-Spanish relations.

Cristina Bravo Lozano is a postdoctoral researcher in Early Modern confessional history at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

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To my parents, my models for life

For Roberto, my inspiration ... everything

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Abbreviations

AGP	Archivo General de Palacio, Madrid
AGRB	Archives Générales du Royaume de Belgique, Brussels
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas, Simancas
AHFAM	Archivo Histórico Fundación Antonio Maura, Madrid
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AHNOB	Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, Toledo
AHPM	Archivo Histórico de Protocolos Notariales, Madrid
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome
ASPF	Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide, Rome
ASR	Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City
AUSA	Archivo de la Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca
BA	Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
BFZ	Biblioteca Francisco de Zabálburu, Madrid
BL	The British Library, London
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
HHStA	Haus-, Hof-und Staatsarchiv, Vienna
IJA	Irish Jesuit Archives, Dublin
NLI	National Library of Ireland, Dublin
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid
RB	Real Biblioteca, Madrid
SP	Salamanca Papers. Russell Library, Maynooth
TCD	Trinity College Dublin, Dublin

TNA: PRO	The National Archives: Public Record Office, Kew
UCD-OFM	University College of Dublin, Wadding Papers, Dublin
<i>BDMI</i>	<i>Base de Datos Misión de Irlanda</i>
doc.	Document
exp.	Expediente
f(f).	Folio(s)
Inv.	Inventario
L.	Libro
leg.	Legajo
Ms(s).	Manuscript(s)
p(p).	Page(s)
r	Recto
Tom(s).	Tome(s)
v	Vuelto
Vol(s).	Volume(s)

Note for the Reader

The term ‘Spain’, as in the title of the book, is used to refer to the Spanish monarchy, not to a geographical entity. The Spanish monarchy was a complex composite entity formed by the aggregation (by conquest or other means) of various kingdoms and jurisdictions during the Early Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age.

In order to avoid confusion between Charles II of Habsburg and Charles II Stuart, whose reigns overlapped (1665–1685), the text refers to the former as Charles II of Spain and to the latter as Charles II of England.

The Spanish authorities tended to change Irish names to make them sound more Castilian or adopted the cleric’s names in religion, which often makes them hard to track in the record. In the text, the names are reproduced as they appear in the memoranda, letters, and consultations issued by the various royal institutions.

Spelling and capitalisation have been normalised to current uses. In order to avoid confusion, Old Style dates have been translated into Gregorian calendar dates.

Foreword

‘Totiam Hispaniam spirabant—They breathe [think and speak] of nothing but Spain’, wrote Oliver Plunkett of the Irish clergy whom he encountered after his return to Ireland in 1670.¹ He was the first Counter-Reformation archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland who had been educated in Rome, where he had lived between 1647 and 1669. His observations reflected the reality that most of the first three generations of seminary-educated Irish Counter-Reformation clergy had received their intellectual, cultural, and spiritual formation in Habsburg Spain, Portugal, and Flanders.

Between 1590 and 1629, the first twelve Irish colleges for the education of clergy in continental Europe were established under Habsburg dynastic patronage in Lisbon, Evora, Salamanca, Santiago de Compostela, Alcalá de Henares, Seville, Madrid, Douai, Antwerp, Leuven, Lille, and Nieuwpoort. It was only in 1623 that King Louis XIII permitted a small community of Irish priests and students to receive and possess property in France, and in the following year the University of Paris incorporated their house as a college of the university. It would not be until 1625 that the papacy, under Urban VIII, permitted the foundation of the first Irish college in Rome—St Isidore’s—for the Irish Franciscan Province. Within three years, the Irish College for Secular Clergy was established under the patronage of Ludovico Cardinal Ludovisi. Thus it is clear that at such an early stage during the last decade of the 16th century, it was none other than the Spanish Habsburg dynasty that took the initiative in providing serious material and moral support for the education of their coreligionists, and for the provision of an educated clergy to sustain them spiritually. Indeed, the Irish colleges in their territories also served to preserve and maintain Gaelic and Hiberno-Norman cultural identity. Between 1590 and 1615, it is estimated that 300 priests (diocesan and regular), had been educated and ordained in the Spanish Habsburg *Monarquía*, and they had returned to Ireland, where they ministered (at great personal risk) among the people.

Such was the effectiveness of these colleges in sustaining Catholicism among the majority of the Irish population that the ardently Protestant regime of James I & VI, partly in response to the returning clergy's success in Ireland, and partly in reaction to the infamous Gunpowder Plot of 1605, saw the revival and extension of earlier Elizabethan legislation in the Popish Recusants Act of 1606 against 'all seminary priests and Jesuits', and the prohibition on the king's subjects going abroad for education.²

It is within this context that one of the key figures in this book, Archbishop David Kearney of Cashel (d.1624), went to the Spanish and papal courts in 1610 on a quest to obtain regular financial assistance for Catholic clergy ministering in Ireland who were prevented by the Protestant state authorities and its 'church by Law established' from holding benefices or receiving tithes or dues. The Roman Curia's sympathy for the Irish Catholic Church's difficulties or Kearney's plight did not match the munificent generosity of the Spanish Crown as the second chapter of this original study clearly demonstrates.

Over the past twenty years, the historiography of Spanish-Irish relations has witnessed vibrant engagement, the opening of new avenues of research, and analytical approaches being developed by Spanish and Irish scholars on various aspects of the centuries-old connections between Ireland and the Iberian Atlantic world. In terms of the cultural, educational, and spiritual heritage, the late and much-admired Patricia O'Connell produced excellent studies of the Irish colleges in Iberia, with particular focus on their foundational circumstances, rectors, alumni, and finances, as well as fascinating glimpses into various aspects of collegial life.³ My studies on the subject have endeavoured to draw attention to the Castilian-Regalist character of these colleges, their close relations with the Habsburg dynasty that reflected its image of *Pietas Austriaca*, and how they promoted Habsburg cultural influence both within and beyond the Monarchy.⁴ However, Enrique García Hernán's database project for CSIC *Misión de Irlanda* is probably the most significant and positively consequential research development in this field. It provides all the primary sources concerning the Spanish Crown's special financial support structure for the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland—*Misión de Irlanda*. This archival treasury provides fascinating, detailed insights into the intellectual and spiritual formation of every individual Irish priest who was educated in the Spanish monarchy and who received financial support in the form of a

viaticum and/or a pension from the Crown with which they purchased disguises and essential vestments and equipage for celebrating mass. The monetary grants also helped sustain them on their return journey home.⁵

In this book, Cristina Bravo Lozano has made excellent use of this database in addition to other archival sources and authoritative studies in the field. She has made a new, much-needed, and very impressive contribution to the historiography of the Irish colleges in continental Europe, and particularly in the Spanish monarchy, through her forensically researched and carefully analysed exposition of the circumstances and motivations in which the Spanish Crown established the *Misión de Irlanda* as a state institution to financially support Irish clergy on their return home and in their pastoral ministry in Ireland. It also provides interesting insights into Irish Jesuit attempts to control this financial resource, the administration of its disbursements or *viatica*, and the *Misión de Irlanda*'s usefulness in the Crown's wider diplomatic, political, and cultural strategies and responses not only to changes in Britain's and Ireland's political circumstances, but also to changes brought about the dynastical transition from the House of Habsburg to the House of Bourbon. This book is a most welcome and valuable contribution to the canon of Irish-Spanish historical studies.

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Notes

- 1 J. Silke, 'The Irish Abroad, 1534–1691,' in *A New History of Ireland*, T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne, eds. (Dublin-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), vol. 3, p. 628. My translation.
- 2 D.M. Downey, 'Augustinians and Scotists: The Irish Contribution to Counter-Reformation Theology in Continental Europe,' in *Christianity in Ireland: Revisiting the Story*, B. Bradshaw and D. Keogh, eds. (Dublin: Columba Press, 2002), p. 103.
- 3 P. O'Connell, *The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares, 1649–1785* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997); Ead., *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590–1834* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001); Ead., *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela, 1605–1769* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007); Ead., 'The Early-Modern Irish College Network in Iberia, 1590–1800,' in *The Irish in Europe, 1580–1825*, T. O'Connor, ed. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), pp. 49–64.

- 4 D.M. Downey, 'A Castilian-Regalist Cradling: Spanish-Habsburg Formation of the Early Irish Counter Reformation,' in *Ireland, England and the Continent in the Middle Ages and Beyond: Essays in Memory of a Turbulent Friar*, F.X. Martin, OSA, H.B. Clarke and J.R.S. Phillips, eds. (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2006), pp. 296–306; Id., 'The Irish Dimension in Spanish and Austrian Habsburg Strategies in Northern Europe during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' in *From Ireland to Poland: Northern Europe, Spain and the Early Modern World*, E. García Hernán and R. Skowron, eds. (Valencia: Albatros Ediciones, 2016), pp. 227–234.
- 5 E. García Hernán, CSIC *Misión de Irlanda*, <http://digital.csic.es/handle/1026/64240> and www.irishinspain.es/irlandeses/presentacion.php.

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1

Hibernia, the *Iberia of the North*

In a letter addressed to Emperor Charles V in 1534, the Prince of Ireland, Connor O'Brien, stated that the Irish 'possessed and governed this country in manner royal'. Using ancient chronicles, he legitimised his lineage, which 'governed all Ireland happily, until it was conquered by the English', on the basis of its Spanish long roots.¹ This remark referred to the hypothetical common origin of Spaniards and the Irish, as told in the legend of King Milesius. According to this ancient tradition, these shared origins rested on a royal lineage that could be traced from the north of the Iberian Peninsula: the heirs of King Breoghan—Brigo—were the forebears of Irish nobility.² O'Brien supported this statement using several texts, including *The Book of Invasions* or *Leabhar Gabhála*, one of the earliest legendary accounts of Irish history. It was written in the second half of the 11th century by an anonymous author, and it describes the successive invasions suffered by Ireland until the arrival of King Milesius—Míl Espáine—and his children from Spain.³

This mythical account was recovered and reproduced in the 13th century by Giraldus Cambrensis, author of *Topographia Hibernica*. This religious realised that the demonym 'Hibernian' could come from Heber, one of the children of the Spanish king, or from the Ebro River—called Hiberus in Latin.⁴ These ideas were recalled centuries later by the aristocrat Philip O'Sullivan Beare, author of *Historiæ catholicæ Ibernæ compendium* (1621). Based on old documents in Gaelic, O'Sullivan Beare claimed that the Irish were the descendants of King Breoghan and his children Milesius and Itio. Breoghan's eldest son, Ibero or Ibero Candido, gave the name of 'Hybernian' to the inhabitants of Ireland. These mythical origins had

already been mentioned by Gildas and Bede, but it was Cambrensis who settled the genealogy of 181 kings with Spanish blood.⁵

The impact of these Irish chorographies was not limited to the island; it penetrated Castilian historiography, which also reproduced these popular histories on the Irish-Spanish brotherhood. The chronicler Florián de Ocampo was among the earliest authors to mention that, during Breoghan's reign, settlers had been sent to the island of Ybernia or Yerna, later to be known as Ireland, and they were referred to as 'brigantes', in honour of the king. Ocampo also claimed that one of the rivers in the island had been renamed Brigo on the occasion. In *Hispania vincit. Los cinco libros primeros de la Crónica General de España* (1553), the author also relates the name of Hibernia to the Spanish Hierno o Ibero. As the story goes, Hierno's ship was blown by and beached in Ireland, which was uninhabited. He then decided to settle it with his crew and the women that came with them.⁶ The traditional relationship between Ireland and Spain often featured in Irish discourses and reveals the importance of oral traditions and the recitation of bards in the preservation of memory. Following their lead, Esteban de Garibay's *Compendio Historial* (1571) also claimed that King Breoghan had sent people from Northern Spain to colonise Ireland, and the Irish people were, therefore, of Spanish origin.⁷ In 1611, Sebastián de Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* reproduced Ocampo's and Garibay's theories about the etymology and multiple spellings of his entries 'Hibernia', 'Ibernia', and 'Irlanda'.⁸

This narrative on the common identity was expressed by other chroniclers of the period, such as Juan Sedeño, Gregorio López-Madera, Lope Martínez de Isasti, Antonio Terrones de Robles, or Luis Alfonso de Carvallo, who claimed that the Spanish settlers of Ireland had come from Asturias.⁹ The Italian writer Tommaso Campanella also pointed out that the Irish leaned more towards the Spaniards than towards the English, because of geographical, climatological, and social affinity.¹⁰

This myth of the Irish being the 'brothers of the north' was known among Philip III's ministers.¹¹ Around 1618, the Archbishop of Tuam, Florence Conry, presented the Spanish king with the Spanish translation of the *Brief Relation of Ireland*, attributed to Philip O'Sullivan Beare.¹² This account examined the ethnic composition of polarised Irish society, and three ethnic groups were distinguished: the 'Ancient Irish', the 'English-Irish', and the

‘Myxt Irish’. The first group was descended from the Spanish, who had defended the kingdom. Their ways were so admirable that thereafter the Irish wanted ‘to be governed by kings of Spain and her successors’, with whom such close ties of affection existed. These accounts emphasise the political affinity between the Spanish and the Irish and the constant search for ways to promote it, with the exiled community using this identity as a lever to push forward their agenda.¹³ O’Sullivan Beare was to reproduce the idea of the *defensorio*—purity of blood and the ancient Irish-Spanish relationship—in his *Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniciæ Compendium*. He used this historical link to legitimise mutual assistance and union under a common banner, as the counts of Tyrone and Tyrconnell had done after their continental *flight*.¹⁴ These commonplaces were to be reinforced in following decades by two key works. On the one hand, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (c. 1634) was written in Gaelic by the Irish priest Geoffrey Keating—Old English—who based his interpretation of the myth in traditional accounts and the *Generall historie of Spain*, published by Edward Grimston in 1612.¹⁵ On the other hand, *Annals of the Four Masters* was a chronicle penned by the Franciscan community in Louvain. This general account of Irish history from its origins until 1616 included the supposed arrival of the Spanish to the island, in what was to become the canonical account of these historical links.¹⁶

This was to be a recurrent theme in all *memorials* issued by Irish soldiers and clerics throughout the 17th century. Whenever they petitioned the Spanish king, they invariably supported their applications by arguing that this shared Irish-Spanish identity guaranteed that the royal interests would be served and that union would be strengthened. Literary works were not excluded from this historical construction, which was reproduced in apologetic works such the different dramatic adaptations of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory by Félix Lope de Vega (1627), Juan Pérez de Montalbán (1627), and Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1628), and Tomás Dávila’s hagiographical *Historia y vida del admirable y estático San Furseo* (1699). In the opening pages, this work compiles all the existing versions of the legend. According to his sources, the name ‘Hibernia’ also derives from the name that Prince Ibero or Ibero gave to the island, and not from ‘Iberia or Ibernica, as some people claim’.¹⁷ The etymological connection was not arbitrary, but rather

aimed to reinforce the shared *national* identity through the adoption of a common toponym.

This idea was revamped and renewed over time, with the introduction of new historical arguments. Rhetorical devices deployed in order to legitimise and explain royal patronage policies had to adapt to the political lexicon of the period. As such, the alleged relationship between Ireland and Spain crystallised into a real connection. The legendary links between the Spanish monarchy and Ireland were thus maintained in identity discourses. Especially in bad times, when the Irish most needed the Catholic King, the notion of mutual dependency was repeatedly, and disingenuously, invoked.

In recent decades, the study of the Irish question has undergone a process of historiographical renewal. A number of recent works approach Irish-Spanish relations from different perspectives—political, economic, military, religious, and cultural—and they present new interpretive models from which to understand Irish history in a new European and Atlantic context. Regarding the Irish connection with the Spanish monarchy, the links between mutual service and loyalty deriving from the existing historical and religious affinity are stressed. The colleges that emerged in Spanish territory, the presence of Irish soldiers in the Spanish military, the fluid commercial contacts between Ireland and Spain, and the frictionless insertion of the Irish in Castilian society all contributed to further cement this relationship.

In this context of mutual assistance, the Irish Mission became another factor in the Spanish-Irish relationships from 1610 onwards. It played a crucial role in the implementation of a religious programme directed from Madrid and aimed to preserve Catholicism in Ireland. This royal patronage was viewed as a support structure for Irish priests and friars, but few doubted its markedly political implications. Its actions thus transcended the mere dispatch of missionaries and preachers in defence of orthodoxy and the survival and consolidation of the Catholic faith in Ireland.¹⁸ The political projection of the royal patronage was emphasised by the humanistic and theological training of the king's servants. The role played by well-trained Irish agents in this relation between Spain and Ireland reflected a diplomatic strategy which, making use of shared cultural traits, proved more effective than armed intervention. As pointed out in 1617 by

the nuncio to Spain Antonio Caetani, the work carried out by these missionaries, in addition to preserving and disseminating Catholicism in Ireland, kept that nation close to the 'religion of Spain'.¹⁹ Pastoral work and the dissemination of Spanish propaganda went hand in hand and promoted the pious image of the Spanish king within those regions which were susceptible to such religious arguments.

This mode of direct intervention and the articulation of the confessional discourse of the monarchy are well within the parameters of the notion of mission. Applying this concept to the British Isles implies making a previous analysis of its validity as interpretative framework. As well as other meanings, the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (published in 1734) defines 'mission' as 'the act of sending', and it was indeed the Spanish king's practice to send missionaries for a very specific purpose: the conservation of the Catholic faith.²⁰

In the mid-16th century, while the Reformation was in full swing, different authorities such as San Ignacio de Loyola exhorted the earliest Jesuits to recognise the Indies in Europe as a trench from which to disseminate the Catholic religion.²¹ In this situation marked by the interaction of religious and political processes, the Spanish monarchy appointed itself as its leaders. After the Council of Trent, Philip II was identified as the maximum representative of Catholicism, as pointed out by Geoffrey Parker.²² From that moment onwards, the preservation and dissemination of Catholicism became the key tenets of the Spanish political theology. In the construction of identities, the Habsburgs assumed a nearly messianic, God-appointed role. Once the confessional and political contents became hard to separate, the active defence of the faith was regarded as a moral obligation by Philip II's successors.²³ The figure of the *Rex Catholicus* was prone to become the subject of proselytism, articulated through Royal-sponsored missions not only in America, the East, and Africa, but also in Europe.

For the Iberian Crowns, missionary efforts overseas were complemented with interior missions aligned with Counter-Reformist postulates.²⁴ Although both organisation frameworks could be taken as examples, they could not be applied wholesale to the Irish case. The island was not part of the body politic, or a vassal of the Spanish monarchy, but was certainly within its sphere of influence. In the 17th century, Spanish kings nursed no

territorial ambitions over Ireland, although various ministers pointed out that, owing to its strategic location, it had the potential of becoming the 'English Flanders'.²⁵ As argued by Hiram Morgan, Ireland was an ideally placed area of political and religious influence with which to undermine England and interfere with the English support of the rebel cause in the United Provinces since the beginning of the century.²⁶ The count of Tyrone even suggested Philip III being acclaimed as the new king of Ireland by the people and not through conquest, which would turn the island into a frontier with England.²⁷

The missionaries tried to fit within the monarchic apparatus as religious expatriates. Its specific circumstances resulted in an *ad hoc* missionary system. Indeed, the Irish Mission lacked the institutional and constitutional foundations that were to be expected from this sort of undertaking, and fully depended for its operation on the experience of its members and their ability to adapt to changing demands. This has already been pointed out by Enrique García Hernán, one of the pioneers in the new wave of Irish-Spanish studies.²⁸ The corpus of documents referring to *viatica*, compiled in the *Base de Datos Misión de Irlanda*, was a starting point for a detailed analysis of this historical question, which had been briefly touched upon by Karin Schüller, who focused her work in the first half of the 17th century.²⁹ It is also worth pointing out that the evidence is not always easy to access, as the record is dispersed and fragmented. The identification of missionaries can be particularly problematic, as Irish names and surnames were often changed to sound more Spanish, and confirming the identity of these individuals with 17th-century Irish documents is not always possible. The impact that these difficulties have on the results of this research cannot be overstated.

The study of the Irish Mission presents a new angle of the historical relationship between Spain and Ireland. By focusing on a series of hitherto unexplored actors, events, processes, decisions, and debates, this book sheds new light upon the confessional strategy of the Spanish monarchy in English-ruled territories after the peace of London (1604). It provides a new insight into the missionary networks created around the Catholic diaspora to the Iberian Peninsula and their political significance. The role played by the Spanish monarchy in forming the ideology of the Irish exile, and the direct influence of the Spanish king's decisions, needed to be explored from this

new angle. This examination will also allow us to trace changes in Irish Catholicism which, far from following a homogeneous pattern, changed and adapted to different contexts and circumstances. Indeed the missionary networks established by the Irish clergy were the result of a combination of different cultural, political, and religious factors. This study has explored the internal dynamics of the exiled community in Madrid, the epicentre of the Spanish monarchy, as well as their relationship with the Irish colleges, which were sponsored by the Crown, and the Spanish socio-political apparatus. Attention is also paid to a combination of political, religious, and cultural elements which show the significance of the Irish Mission.

The research carried out for this book can be placed within the renewal of the historiographical framework undergone by Irish studies in recent decades. Until the last third of the 20th century, Irish nationalism had imposed a patriotic, Manichean, and local-centric tone in Early Modern Irish History. The ‘Irish question’ was reduced to the contrast between the *oppressed* Catholic community and the political and religious impositions of the Protestant English Crown. This self-imposed victimisation was the direct heir of the propagandistic narratives of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, and was also reproduced by Spanish historians, who were happy to emphasise the historical singularity of the Irish—largely for political reasons.³⁰

Religion played a prominent causal role in these historical narratives, at both the insular and the continental levels. Traditional historiographical schools, most of whose members were churchmen, began using, cataloguing, and collecting original sources, for instance those in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, compiled by Cathaldus Giblin, or those in the Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide, catalogued by Benignus Millet.³¹ In addition to these documents, most later works have heavily relied on the biographical works written by members of various orders and the editions of early 17th-century documents, for instance the *Wadding papers*, the *Louvain papers*, and the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, for the examination of network dynamics within the exiled Irish community, the appointment of Irish Church officials, and missionary practices in the Holy See and its dicastery for missionary matters, the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*.³²

Traditionally, Ireland had been considered a minor factor in the geopolitical events of the Early Modern Age, but this changed in the late 20th century, with the emergence of new avenues of historical enquiry.

Some historians continued emphasising the internal dynamics of the island, and the process of Anglicisation imposed by the London and Dublin parliaments.³³ Other scholars, however, began looking elsewhere and started focusing on the Irish Catholic diaspora and its continental links. Declan M. Downey's pioneering work about the Spanish-Irish connection within the framework of the Reformation was followed by the project *Irish in Europe*, led by Thomas O'Connor, and its counterpart in Spain, *Irish in Spain*, directed by Enrique García Hernán.³⁴ The publications which resulted from these related projects have laid down a new interpretive paradigm which examines Ireland's historical evolution from a continental and Atlantic perspective. The forced migration of Irish Catholics led these projects to place their focus on the interaction between exiles and the power apparatuses in Spain and France.³⁵ The analysis of the Kinsale fiasco was a decisive turning point in this regard. The celebration of the 400th anniversary of the Spanish-Irish defeat in 2001 catalysed the crystallisation of a new perspective, one which finally analysed Irish history within its European-wide historical context.

The surge in the number of exiles in the aftermath of the military debacle of 1601 is no longer regarded as a merely religious phenomenon. The numbers involved were highly significant, and its internal characteristics are well defined. Recent historiography has paid much attention to the presence of foreign communities within the Spanish monarchy, and the Irish is among the best known of these communities, along with the Flemish, the Italian, and the Dutch.³⁶ The main options open to Irish exiles in Spain were the army, banking, and tax-farming, especially in the 18th century, and education by means of an extensive network of royal-sponsored Irish colleges. It is beyond doubt that royal patronage played a key role in the notoriety of the Irish community in Spain during the 17th and 18th centuries.

The mass arrival of Irish exiles in Spain, especially Castile, forced the Spanish Monarchy to adopt well-defined policies to channel this influx, as pointed out by Ciaran O'Sceá for La Coruña and Galicia.³⁷ One of the most effective ways to absorb these exiles was their incorporation to the army, an issue that has attracted substantial historiographical attention, as illustrated by Óscar Recio.³⁸ For his part, Eduardo de Mesa focuses on the recruitment system and the composition of the tercios in the royal army during the reign

of Philip III and the *valimiento* of Count-Duke of Olivares.³⁹ The Irish were regarded as good soldiers, and many of them fought under the flags of the Catholic king. Many of these recruits were rewarded for their service with prebends and pensions, as well as with their inclusion in the Castilian military orders, as analysed by Micheline Kerney Walsh in her *calendar* of records from the Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid).⁴⁰

Like the army was for the military, the Irish Mission was an instrument to exploit the religious and political potential of exiled Irish churchmen. According to Early Modern understandings of the term, the *missio* can be regarded as *excursio sacra* for evangelic preaching during the ‘travels or peregrinations undertaken by religious men and apostles’.⁴¹ As it shall be seen throughout the book, however, the Spanish-sponsored Irish Mission became a mechanism to intervene directly in Ireland and undermine English policies. Within this framework of political pragmatism, the defence of the Catholic faith prompted the Spanish Crown to act in favour of Irish Catholics without having to resort to war and its uncertainties. The priests and friars sent to the British Isles acted as undercover agents for Spanish foreign policy, a complement to the open diplomacy of the king’s ministers in London. The political activity of Irish missionaries has been analysed by Spanish historians such as Porfirio Sanz, for whom the Spanish-English relations were entirely driven by religious differences, which also explain the Irish predisposition towards the Spanish monarchy.⁴²

The missionaries were chiefly recruited among the members of regular orders and the Irish colleges in Spain and Portugal. The foundation of these colleges, as a royal strategy to integrate exiled Irish churchmen within an institutionalised framework, has been paid much historiographical attention. As argued by Thomas O’Connor, the historiographical tradition associated with Irish Catholic nationalism saw these colleges as a conciliar space for the preservation of Irish Catholicism, while Protestant historians emphasised their role in galvanising Irish resistance against the reformist policies implemented by English kings.⁴³ Starting in the late 20th century, historians such as Patricia O’Connell, Óscar Recio, and Enrique García Hernán have analysed these colleges individually, considering their composition, internal dynamics, and historical evolution over time.⁴⁴ This new historiographical trend has also focused on the colleges’ educational role and has insisted on the need to explore their role within a broader

context and to continue researching their cultural projection. The Irish colleges cannot be studied in isolation, but as part of a network related, albeit indirectly, to a much wider reality, such as the Irish Mission.⁴⁵

The student rolls of these national colleges provide important information for the geographical and chronological contextualisation of some of the members of the Irish patronage, before they were ordained.⁴⁶ The rest of the missionaries came from regular orders, in which the Irish presence was substantial. This group has been paid less historiographical attention. To a large extent, this is due to the fact that, instead of forming a single group, they were dispersed in different convents and communities all over the Iberian Peninsula. This contrasts with the homogeneity that characterised the colleges, the corporate activity of which has tended to obscure everything else.

After undergoing rigorous training and proving their pastoral aptitudes, would-be missionaries had to apply for the *viaticum*, a royal grant of 100 ducats which aimed to help the missionaries cover the expenses of their return trip to Ireland and purchase the material equipment that was considered necessary for their apostolic work. Applications are full of stereotypical ordeal-filled accounts, which reproduce the rhetoric of the Irish exile. As argued by Igor Pérez Tostado, these discourses were fully embraced by the Irish lobby in Madrid, which was integrated in the political and public structures of the Crown.⁴⁷ The leadership of this lobby was exercised by such characters as Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam, whose biography, recently published by Benjamin Hazard, lays special stress on his role as political-religious middleman. The ideological foundations of the lobby emphasised the common origins of Spaniards and Irishmen, the anti-Catholic persecutions, and the political conditions in Ireland at the time.⁴⁸ In order to give some force to their petitions, the missionaries reminded the Spanish king of his moral duty to preserve Catholic orthodoxy in Ireland and, therefore, to extend his protection to Irish churchmen. These links became so strong that, in 1676, the illustrious archbishop Oliver Plunkett claimed that the Irish Catholic clergy was more loyal to the Spanish monarchy than to the Holy See.⁴⁹

Aimed at moving the royal will, such petitions were examined by different royal bodies. The Mission in itself was not formally constituted, but its different constituent elements, the patronage system it embodied,

were connected with different governmental and relational circles in the Catholic king's court, as recently analysed by Feliciano Barrios.⁵⁰ In the Mission's structure, the system was regulated by the institutions in the royal court. All decisions were made and negotiations carried out in Madrid within the court's institutional structure and through well-defined proceedings. However, the grants, the disbursement of which was the responsibility of the king's financial council, were only made effective in the harbour prior to departure, in an attempt to quell certain recurrent irregularities which forced the royal officials to introduce constant changes to the system. The key official in this informal structure was the Patriarch of the Indies, who was made responsible for managing a pension attached to the Bishopric of Cádiz which was the main source of *viatica*, and of evaluating the worth of would-be missionaries. Similar mechanisms were used to reward other royal officials and servants beyond those employed by the royal household, as recently analysed in the volumes edited by Juan Francisco Pardo Molero and Manuel Lomas, and Alicia Esteban Estríngana.⁵¹ Occasionally, the Mission recruited its members among the staff of the royal household, who could thus continue serving the king far away from the palace. This court practice reflects the theoretical political notions on which the organisation and management of the Mission were based. Attention must be paid to the manoeuvres of different actors who, under the umbrella of royal protection and *excursiones sacrae*, forwarded their own political agendas through preaching and the use of images and books.

Another entry in the *Diccionario de Autoridades* defines *missio* as 'a fervour-filled sermon pronounced by missionaries' in different regions and devotional contexts. In this form of proselytism, the activity of priests and friars is closely linked with the 'land or provinces in which the preaching takes place'.⁵² The pragmatic nature of the Irish Mission is fully in line with this notion, showing how 'smart power' could be far more effective than coercion. This is demonstrated by the pastoral work undertaken by the over one thousand missionaries sponsored (virtually with no interruption) by the Spanish kings between 1610 and 1707 in the British Isles, which were thus regarded as 'lands of mission' ([Table BM1.1](#)). The political dimension of the Mission drove the Spanish monarchy to exercise its own religious authority in Ireland. With the assent of the Holy See, often reflected in

papal bulls, the monarch used patronage to advance its own version of Catholicism in Ireland.

In the turn of the 17th century, the Spanish strategy in Ireland was driven by theoretical notions about power and a new geopolitical approach to northern Europe. As pointed out by José Alcalá-Zamora, after the Spanish Habsburgs 'rediscovered' the importance of this region, Ireland became a key pawn in the Spanish strategy towards England, chiefly because of its geographical position and its pro-Spanish leanings.⁵³ The *quæstio hibernica* was a constant throughout the 17th century, although different stages may be identified, according to the ever-evolving bilateral relationships between Spain and England. For that reason, Ireland was always regarded as an asset by the Spanish monarchy, either as a source of troops or as a board on which to play the religious card, although the way this asset was managed largely depended on specific political conditions and the availability of resources.⁵⁴ The defence of Catholic orthodoxy proved the flexibility of the Spanish political praxis towards Ireland by putting forward both regular policies, such as the Mission, and more sporadic but also more prominent actions. Religious policies were, therefore, largely subordinate to reason of state.

The political interplay between Ireland, England, and Spain and internal developments in the Spanish and the English crowns had a direct effect on the Mission, which can thus be regarded as a sensitive barometer of the political factors at play in both shores of the Irish Sea.⁵⁵ As such, the impact, scope, and range of the royal patronage of the Mission can only be effectively understood from a global perspective, in terms of geopolitics and suzerainty. Despite the Mission being but a little cog in the political machinery of the Spanish monarchy, this form of patronage reflected the political transformations undergone by the Spanish and English crowns throughout the 17th century and their mutual diplomatic interests.⁵⁶ The period under consideration also witnessed radical transformations in the way government was exercised in London, and these were mirrored in Ireland, as was the impact of the anti-Catholic legislation dictated from the English court. These changes and the shifting religious conditions had a direct effect upon the flow of missionaries; while the number of *viatica* increased in periods characterised by stability and relative tolerance, they dropped when new restrictive measures were undertaken. The arrival of the Stuarts to the throne created a new confessional scenario, which was to

change owing to a series of well-known events during the reigns of James I and Charles I. The English Civil War and the Commonwealth marked the beginning of a new period of repression for Catholics, especially in Ireland, although some attempts to redress the situation were made after the Restoration. After James II's attempt to return to Catholicism, the 1688 Revolution demonstrated that Popery was seen with strong political and religious reservations. As such, the relative tolerance pushed forward by William led to an increasingly harsh penal legislation, which was to set the tone for the status of Catholicism in Ireland during the 18th century.

In the Madrid court, the emergence and development of the Mission, as well as the patronage policies adopted in its favour, must be analysed within the framework of the government system created around the *valimiento*.⁵⁷ Thus the financial difficulties undergone by the Spanish monarchy throughout the century had an immediate effect on the economic resources that were available to the Mission and the maintenance of the Irish exiles in Spain, as well as on the Mission's administrative structure.⁵⁸ Court tensions and the implications of the wars with France were to have an influence on the formation and consolidation of the Mission and the related patronage policies, against the background of diplomatic attempts to bring England and Spain closer together.⁵⁹ The last dynastic crisis suffered by the Spanish monarchy happened with the arrival of the Bourbons to the Spanish throne, after two centuries of Habsburg rule, and this was to have a decisive impact on the Mission for the rest of the 18th century.⁶⁰

This book is divided into eight sections, according to thematic and chronological criteria. The introduction presents Irish-Spanish relationships, and the historical and mythological evidence relating to their common origin is discussed. Madrid was always a beacon for the Irish. Indeed, after the disaster of Kinsale, the Spanish kings aided and protected Irish Catholic exiles in different ways, for instance, supporting the Irish Mission. Despite the Treaty of London and its religious clauses, English measures against the Catholics prompted David Kearney, Archbishop of Cashel, to journey from Ireland to Rome and Madrid in 1609–1610. The second chapter examines the prelate's trip, the establishment and evolution of the pension of Cádiz as the Mission's core financial resource, the pontifical assent (1613), and the disputes over the pension's control that pitched the Society of Jesus against certain individuals. Thereafter, the Irish Mission progressively undertook the supervision of missionary activity, and this resulted in a new form of

Spanish royal patronage. The Spanish monarchy assumed control over the Irish clergy whilst also increasing its support for Irish convents and national corporations both in Spain and in the rest of the Crown's lands. The third chapter describes the idiosyncrasy of the structure of the Mission, focusing on its ethereal structure and internal operational mechanisms (learning, ordination, and *viatica*), as well as on the consequences of the Cromwellian period. The fourth chapter deals with the period after the Stuart Restoration and analyses the crisis and revival of the Mission during the reigns of Charles II of Spain and Charles II of England. It focuses mainly on the impact of political events on the confessional structure (the regency of Mariana of Austria, Walsh's Remonstrance, liberty of conscience, and the coming of age of Charles II). The fifth chapter considers the impact of the death of Charles II of England on the Irish Mission. The new stage set by Catholic King James II offered new opportunities to the Spanish missionaries, but it was after the 1688 revolution that their activity increased significantly. The sixth chapter examines whether, in the context of the Habsburg strategy, the Williamite War and the Treaties of Limerick led to the definition of a new missionary North. Also, this chapter analyses how the first half of the reign of William III, the Calvinist king, and his policy of religious tolerance affected the Catholic community; in 1697, a bill passed by the Dublin parliament against priests and friars changed this situation dramatically. The seventh chapter stresses the consequences of the new banishment policies instituted by the act and examines the return of Spanish-sponsored missionaries at the turn of the 18th century. The last chapter reviews how the arrival of the Bourbon dynasty to the Spanish throne affected the Irish Mission, and whether it led to changes or continuity in the institution.

The Irish Mission was, therefore, an instrument with which the Spanish Monarchy complemented its military and diplomatic policies in the North Sea. In the 17th century, the Spanish kings lacked the resources to effectively deal with the multiple problems that beset their global *imperium*. The need to preserve Spain's reputation and its very political fabric, however, turned direct foreign intervention in favour of Catholicism into a legitimate *raison of State*. Assisting and sponsoring Irish exiles was a clear example of *maiestas* and royal piety, one that went well beyond previous instances, in which other nations had put their future in the king's hands. The Mission preserved Catholicism in Ireland while providing the Spanish

King with indirect agents with whom to pile on pressure on the English monarchy. The Mission was not part of the courtesan discourse framed by the political theology and the confessional paradigm advocated by the Madrid court. Much to the contrary, it was determined by the interests of the Irish exile community, which was heavily dependent on the Spanish monarchy. The continued policy of patronage in the *longue durée* demonstrates the Mission's ability to adapt to internal changes and to continue engaging the king's interest; this in itself is enough proof of how effectively the Mission met its original aim.

Notes

1. Connor O'Brien, 'Prince of Ireland,' to Charles V. Clare Castle, 21 July 1534. Cfr. W. Thomas, *The Pilgrim: A Dialogue on the Life and Actions of King Henry the Eighth*, J.A. Froude, ed. (London: Parker, Son and Bourn, 1861), p. 176.
2. D.M. Downey, *Culture and Diplomacy: The Spanish-Habsburg Dimension in the Irish Counter Reformation Movement, c. 1529–1629* (Unpublished PhD thesis. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1994).
3. N. Canny, 'The Formation of the Gaelic Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature, 1580–1750,' *Past and Present*, 95 (1982), pp. 91–116 and 100–101.
4. T. Wright (ed.), *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1894), pp. 118–119.
5. P. O'Sullivan Beare, *Historiæ catholicæ Ibernæ compendium* (Lisbon: Petro Crasbeekio, 1621), pp. 31–32. As pointed out by Bernardette Cunningham, the aim of this aristocratic Irish author—who wrote in Latin—was to disseminate a catastrophist account of the situation of the Irish under Protestant rule among the Spanish public. B. Cunningham, 'Catholic Intellectual Culture in Early Modern Ireland,' in *Christianities in Early Modern Celtic World*, T. O'hAnnracháin and R. Armstrong, eds. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 156. On mythic identities and political aims, see J. Álvarez Junco, *Dioses útiles. Naciones y nacionalismo* (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2017).
6. F. de Ocampo, *Hispania vincit. Los cinco primeros libros del a Crónica general de España* (Medina del Campo: Guillermo de Millis, 1553), ff. 18rv.
7. E. de Garibay, *Los quarenta libros del Compendio Historial de las crónicas y universal Historia de todos los Reyes de España* (Barcelona: Sebastián de Comellas, 1628), L. 4, p. 83.
8. S. de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), pp. 468v–469r, 496r and 507.
9. J. Sedeño, *Summa de varones ilustres* (Toledo: Oficina de Juan Rodríguez, 1590), p. 258; G. López-Madera, *Excelencias de la Monarchia y Reyno de España* (Valladolid: Diego Fernández de Córdoba, 1597); L. Martínez de Isasti, *Compendio historial de la M.N. y M.L. provincia de Guipúzcoa* (San Sebastián: Ignacio Ramón Baroja, 1850), p. 157; A. Terrones de Robles, *Vida,*

- martirio, translación y milagros de San Euphrasio obispo y patrón de Andújar* (Granada: Imprenta Real, 1657); and L.A. de Carvallo, *Antigüedades y cosas memoriales del principio de Asturias* (Madrid: Julián Paredes, 1695), p. 12.
10. T. Campanella, *De Monarchia Hispanica Discursus* (Amsterdam: apud Ludovicum Elevirium, 1640), p. 316.
 11. Cfr. D.M. Downey, 'Irish-European Integration: The Legacy of Charles V,' in *European Encounters: Essays in Memory of Albert Lovett*, J. Devlin and H.B. Clarke, eds. (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2003), p. 101.
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 13. UCD-OFM, D. 01, vol. 1, pp. 15–26. The original manuscript in Spanish could be found in RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/1016, ff. 163–166. 'Breve relación de Irlanda y de las diferencias de irlandeses que en ella hay'. S. l., n. d., c. 1618. C. Carroll, 'Irish and Spanish Cultural and Political Relations in the Work of O'Sullivan Beare,' in *Political Ideology in Ireland, 1541–1641*, H. Morgan, ed. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), pp. 229–253.
 14. O'Sullivan Beare, *Historiæ catholicæ Ibernix compendium*; Ó. Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire, 1600–1825* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), p. 11.
 15. B. Cunningham, *The World of Geoffrey Keating: History, Myth and Religion in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), p. 90.
 16. B. Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish History, Kingship and Society in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010).
 17. T. Dávila, *Historia y vida del admirable y extático San Furseo* (Madrid: impressor de los Reynos, 1699), pp. 12–13.
 18. Canny, 'The Formation of the Gaelic Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature, 1580–1750,' pp. 95–96.
 19. SP/S/35/9. Memorial by Antonio Caetani. Madrid, 21 April 1617.
 20. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia Española, 1734), Tom. 4.
 21. A. Cabré, M. Mir and J.J. de la Torre (eds.), *Cartas de San Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda e hijos de F. Aguado, 1877), Tom. 3, p. 160.
 22. G. Parker, *El rey imprudente* (Barcelona: Planeta, 2015).
 23. C. Bravo Lozano, 'La Concepción Inmaculada de María en el contexto de la "Pietas Hispanica",' in *Inmaculada. La construcción barroca del misterio de la Concepción de María*, P. González Tornel, ed. (Valencia: Generalitat de València, 2017), pp. 109–119.
 24. F. Palomo del Barrio, 'Malos panes para buenas hambres. Comunicación e identidad religiosa de los misioneros de interior en la península Ibérica (siglos XVI–XVIII),' *Penélope*, 28 (2003), pp. 7–30; Id., 'De algunas cosas que sucedieron estando en Misión. Espiritualidad jesuita y escritura misionera en la península Ibérica (siglos XVI–XVII),' in *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII. Espiritualidade e cultura. Actas do colóquio internacional—Maio 2004* (Porto: CIUHE-Faculdade de Letras, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 119–150; Id., 'La doctrine mise-en-scène. Catéchèse et missions intérieures dans la Péninsule Ibérique à l'époque moderne,' *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 74 (2005), pp. 23–55; Id., 'Limosnas impresas. Escritos e

- imágenes en las prácticas misioneras de interior en la península Ibérica (siglos XVI-XVIII),’ *Manuscripts*, 25 (2007), pp. 239–265; and Id., ‘Misioneros, libros y cultura escrita en Portugal y España durante el siglo XVII,’ in *Missions d’évangélisation et circulation des savoirs (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle)*, C. Castelnau-L’Estoile, M.-L. Copete, A. Maldavsky and I.G. Županov, eds. (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2011), pp. 131–150.
25. AGS, Estado, leg. 840, doc. 288. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 8 June 1600. J.J. Silke, *Kinsale: The Spanish Intervention in Ireland at the End of the Elizabethan Wars* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970), pp. 4–5; and M. Herrero Sánchez, ‘La perduración de la cuestión irlandesa: un obstáculo en las relaciones anglo-españolas durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVII,’ in *Irlanda y la Monarquía Hispánica: Kinsale, 1601–2001. Guerra, política, exilio y religión*, E. García Hernán et al., eds. (Madrid: Universidad de Alcalá-CSIC, 2002), pp. 401–402.
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2

Ireland, Rome, Spain

The Origins of a Mission

The Echoes of Kinsale

Until the last third of the 16th century, Ireland was not a strategic priority for the Spanish monarchy. However, the importance of the island in European geopolitics increased progressively as the Spanish monarchy realised that Ireland could be used as a valuable pawn in its pursuit of its English policy.¹ For this reason, Spanish policies towards Ireland were always driven by strategic needs, and were most intense whenever Spain and England were undergoing a period of political and religious tension.²

Ireland was, for the Spanish kings, a lever of political pressure that could be used against England, and a crucial enclave for maintaining the status quo in the North Sea.³ When in 1601 Philip III charged Juan del Águila with a military operation for supporting the Irish nobles Hugh O'Neill (Count of Tyrone) and Hugh O'Donnell (Count of Tyrconnell), he was keeping his father's promise to help them and preserve Catholicism in Ireland.⁴ This offensive did not have the expected result, and this expedition to Kinsale was the last Spanish intervention to be undertaken on the island. The defeat also emphasised the financial and military exhaustion of the monarchy; it was being bled white by the constant wars with England and the United Provinces. These conditions prompted a U-turn in Philip III's foreign policy, in what became known in historiography as *Pax Hispanica*. This project, implemented by the king's favourite, the Duke of Lerma, aimed to maintain Spanish hegemony in order to reorganise the domestic

policies and reinforce the cohesion of the system.⁵ However, the pacification of the continent was to have detrimental consequences for Irish Catholics, both in Ireland and abroad.

The Treaty of London, which brought the bitter Spanish-English conflict to an end, was signed in 1604.⁶ The declarations of lasting peace and friendship illustrate the change in political direction and the new diplomatic understanding that developed between the two Crowns.⁷ Enormous efforts were made in an attempt to rebuild past ties, based on the mutual understanding and the balance between Philip III and James I. While Spain initiated a new policy aimed at 'preserving' the monarchy, England progressively abandoned Elizabeth I's policies and sought greater integration into the continent whilst also counteracting Spanish and French power.⁸ The following years were dominated by a state of tense calm, as both courts tried to leave the hostility of the past behind them.

Previous conflicts were seen as a burden, as a stage that was finally coming to an end. The religious issue, however, was still lurking. Misunderstandings had been the source of strife between the English and the Spanish: during the negotiations for the Treaty of London, at Somerset House, religion was one of the main points of contention. Despite the endorsement of the Pope, the Peace of London was criticised by several theologians. They questioned how a Catholic king could come to an understanding with the head leader of the Anglican Church and agree for the negotiations to take place in the English court, even if the outcome of said negotiations was to ensure English neutrality in Europe.⁹ In the final meetings, it became clear that the religious matter was a source of trouble. The order issued by Philip III to his representatives was to demand tolerance and freedom of worship for the Catholic subjects of the English king, especially in Ireland.¹⁰ These petitions were translated in the final text of the treaty in somewhat ambiguous terms.¹¹ This thorn in the side of the relationship between England and Spain would be addressed at a later date.

The effects of Kinsale were to have grave consequences for the Irish for years to come. Religion was central to the Spanish reason of state and was one of the main sources of legitimacy for the monarchy. This forced Philip III to intervene on behalf of Catholics everywhere. In the early 17th century, the Irish cause was perceived as one of the most urgent. The dominant political and theological doctrines in Madrid, which were to some extent

influenced by the ideology and rhetoric of the Irish exiles, pointed to the Spanish king as the natural defender of Catholicism, and underlined his moral and political obligation to assist them in his dominion.¹²

Spanish involvement in the 'Irish cause' included the protection of exiles, thus keeping Ireland within Spanish areas of influence but without changing the royal position towards England. The patronage extended to exiles did not interfere with the renewed military-political policy of the Habsburgs in the north of Europe. Assistance was provided to the Irish in Spain and its European dominions for pragmatic reasons, and in the interests of the Crown. This community began integrating into Spanish society and serving the monarchy; they were soon to be found in the army, the palace administration (in the case of aristocrats), commercial networks, and the Irish colleges' network (which had royal support) in the Iberian Peninsula and Flanders.¹³

This situation created new obligations for the Spanish Crown, as illustrated by the plan to coordinate the Irish policy with the papacy. In 1608, the Spanish ambassador to Rome, the Marquis of Aitona, stressed the suffering of the Irish Catholics, and this prompted Pope Paul V to stand in their defence.¹⁴ The diplomat failed to secure any financial commitment from the Pope, who was also reluctant to establish a coordinated policy with Philip III in support of Irish rebels. Aitona's report after his papal audience was eloquent: Paul V was acting with extreme caution, largely owing to the tensions that prevailed between the Holy See and the Republic of Venice. Owing to the economic difficulties of the Apostolic Camera, the Pope delegated to the Catholic king the duty of supporting the Irish because 'they can expect it from nobody else'.¹⁵

Paul V's response seemed passive and unconcerned, but the fact is that, in general, all his relations with Philip III were similarly cold.¹⁶ The Treaty of London limited the options available to the Spanish king, who could no longer intervene openly in Ireland. In the Crown's opinion, therefore, it was the papacy's duty to succour the Irish Catholics. The only thing that the king could do, given the circumstances, was to encourage the Irish with vague promises of help and to use diplomacy to convince James I to loosen his grip on Catholics. Also, Philip III ordered his representative in Rome to reiterate before the Pope the obstacles that prevented the monarchy from

tackling head-on this problem. It was necessary for Paul V to mobilise other Catholic princes to come to the aid of the faithful in Ireland.¹⁷

David Kearney: From Rome to Philip III's Court

In winter 1610, Rome received a visit from the Archbishop of Cashel, David Kearney, and his nephew and secretary, the Jesuit Walter Wall, who appeared as representatives of the Irish clergy.¹⁸ They reached the pontifical court, where they had been expected since the previous November, after a trip of over one year's duration.¹⁹ Their late arrival was caused by a storm which blew their ship off course. For fear of being discovered, they left all their luggage on the ship and traversed England in disguise. Owing to the indirect aid of Pedro de Zúñiga, the Spanish ambassador in London, they were able to leave for the *Urbs* via Bordeaux.²⁰

The purpose of the trip was to discuss with the Pope issues concerning the spiritual governance of Ireland. Archbishop Kearney had been chosen by the Irish bishops who were not in exile on the continent.²¹ However, some voices had begun questioning his suitability; they feared that the English would suspect Kearney was in Rome to deal with issues that were, instead, related to the private affairs of the Irish aristocracy.²² These were hard times for Catholicism, and the political situation caused by the Flight of the Earls and, above all, by the Plantations—a key issue in Ireland throughout the 17th century—made this even more apparent.²³ Father David knew the religious situation well. His diocese had many preachers, but lacked rents and properties after the English confiscations.²⁴ Those conditions seriously impaired the exercise of Catholicism, and this needed to be shared with the Pope.

In a *memorial* addressed to Philip III, an informer reported that Kearney's purpose in Rome was not only to discuss matters of spiritual governance. According to this report, the archbishop intended the Pope to agree to the appointment of native prelates, which favoured Old English.²⁵ This report, which tried to prevent the 'Anglicisation' of the Irish clergy and preserve the role of the Spanish in the selection thereof, was received with caution in Madrid.²⁶ The Spanish ambassador to the papacy, Francisco

de Castro, Duke of Taurisano, was ordered to make enquiries concerning Kearney's intentions, and to warn Paul V of the content of the *memorial* received in Madrid. It was agreed that the Pope should discourage Irish prelates from visiting the Spanish court, because of the danger that such visits posed to Spanish-English relations and to the position of Irish Catholics.²⁷

The impact of the report was, therefore, negligible. It was interpreted as anti-English libel that stemmed from the social polarisation of Ireland; it was little more than slander aimed at smearing the archbishop's Roman journey. In their encounter, Kearney received moral and spiritual encouragement from the Pope, but little more. Paul V persisted in this adamant attitude with which he had faced the Marquis of Aitona two years earlier. Forced by the pressing need for funds to maintain the Irish dioceses, the archbishop and his nephew decided to travel to Spain. They arrived with two recommendation letters. One of them was sent by the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva, and Cardinal Giovanni Garsia Mellini, former nuncio in Madrid.²⁸ In his letter of introduction the cardinal praised Kearney's virtues and learning, and appealed to Philip III's goodness and implored him to listen to his demands.²⁹

Kearney and the Jesuit Wall reached the court, which in July and August 1610 was in Aranda de Duero (Burgos), far from the heat of Madrid.³⁰ They were received by the Duke of Lerma, the king's favourite. The Irish handed him Cardinal Mellini's letter, which provided a brief account of the situation of Irish Catholics, one letter on their own trip, and two *memoriales* with petitions—one for Philip III and the other for Lerma. Their demands amounted to no more than a monthly pension of 150 ducats for the bishop's own maintenance, as his possessions had been confiscated by the English. According to the *memorial*, which did not explicitly describe setting up a mission *ex novo*, Kearney's intention was to use the funds to aid faithful Catholics who had no access to a priest to administer the sacraments. His plan was to assign seventy or eighty priests and friars for this purpose.³¹ The proposal, in any case, had to be endorsed by the king.

In the *Verdadera relación de los motivos que tuvieron los católicos reyes don Felipe III y doña Margarita de Austria, de feliz memoria, para hacer merced de dos mil ducados de pensión a don David Ocarneo, arzobispo de Caselia, y al clero de Irlanda*, written sometime after the events, an

anonymous author described the royal audience with the Irish prelate and his nephew.³² According to this ‘foundational’ narrative, David Kearney and a Jesuit—Walter Wall—presented themselves before the king dressed as laypeople (cloaked and armed) in order not to be recognised and to prevent James I’s agents from getting wind of their presence in Spain. The account omits to mention the archbishop’s petition, but it says that the king sent the Irish priests to see the queen. Margaret of Austria, concerned for the health of Prince Philip (the future Philip IV)—he had been prostrated by a fever for weeks—asked the archbishop to read a biblical passage for the heir’s recovery. A ‘miraculous’ and instantaneous recovery ensued. The purpose of the text is clearly to justify what happened afterwards, and Kearney’s prayers provided the necessary religious legitimacy.³³ In thanksgiving, the queen conceded Kearney 2,000 ducats and, through his confessor, the Jesuit Richard Haller, she asked Philip III to support him and other Irish priests; obligingly, the king assigned the requested amount as a pension.³⁴

At this point, the account veers away from the administrative process that led to the granting of the pension. David Kearney presented his reasons for leaving Ireland, the calamitous conditions of the Catholics there and also their main demands in the course of a royal audience. After this presentation, the *memorial* that Kearney had handed the Duke of Lerma on arrival was submitted to the *Junta de Dos*, a consultative body composed of the royal confessor Father Luis de Aliaga and the minister Juan de Idiáquez, *Comendador mayor* of León. After consulting the documents, both stressed the trials and tribulations that the archbishop had undergone to set Paul V’s spiritual support. In this instance, however, he was requesting economic help for himself and his coreligionists, as many others had done before him. Given the king’s religious zeal and his Irish sympathies, the *Junta* thought it appropriate for the king to grant the requested 150 ducats per month, and another 1,000 for the trip and for everyday maintenance while the matter of the pension was being resolved.³⁵

The grant was, however, in no way unconditional. The Crown’s financial difficulties, which were particularly severe after the 1607 bankruptcy, and the *Medio General* the following year made it impossible to extract the money for the pension from an existing fund.³⁶ Thus, Aliaga and Idiáquez proposed, as alternative, raising the 2,000 ducats from the first ecclesiastical

pension to be left vacant, or from church alms. The 1,000 ducats for Kearney's trip back to Ireland were to be paid by the Archbishop of Toledo, Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, who was uncle of the Duke of Lerma.³⁷

The king endorsed the recommendations of the *Junta de Dos* and, after the payment of the agreed amount had been effected by the royal treasury, David Kearney and Walter Wall were ready to return to Cashel. They had achieved their objectives in Rome and Madrid: they had received the Pope's religious support and an ecclesiastical pension, albeit a pension which was still being processed, from the Spanish king for the sustenance of David Kearney and the priests and friars who came back with him to preserve Catholicism in Ireland.³⁸ In early 1611, before leaving Madrid to return to his homeland via Flanders, the archbishop submitted a *memorial* to the Duke of Lerma, through his confessor Father Luis de Aliaga, with a list of requests for the king.³⁹ Firstly, to order the Spanish ambassador in England to intercede with James I and ensure freedom of conscience for the Catholics or, at least, to entreat the English king to be a little more lenient after the new oath of loyalty; secondly, to entrust the Society of Jesus with the direction of the Irish college of Santiago, as they had previously done in Lisbon and Salamanca, in order to put an end to the ongoing irregularities reported there; and finally, to order the full payment of the grant and the prompt resolution of the pension.⁴⁰ In response to the petitions issued to Father Aliaga, the archbishop only managed for the king to send a letter to Alonso de Velasco, the Spanish ambassador in London, but no mention is made of the travel grant or the pension.⁴¹ Concerning the controversial matter of the Irish college of Santiago, the institution was ultimately secularised under the direction of a Jesuit.⁴²

In December 1610, the Duke of Taurisano informed Paul V of the king's decision to assign an ecclesiastical pension for the maintenance of the Irish Catholics. The Pope, as on previous similar occasions, made his satisfaction known but expressed some doubts concerning the legality of the bulls. The only thing left to do was to find a diocese from which to channel the funds.⁴³ In 1612, upon the death of the Bishop of Cádiz, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, all the rents of his diocese reverted temporarily to the Crown.⁴⁴ It meant that setting up Kearney's pension of 2,000 ducats was now possible. As noted, for the pension to be considered permanent, it had to be endorsed by Paul V.⁴⁵ The letters addressed to Taurisano insisted on the need to have

some bulls issued in order to raise the rent from the diocese of Cádiz, which was already occupied by Juan de Cuenca.⁴⁶ The mediation of the ambassador, in addition to the fact that both Kearney and the pension were well known in Rome, facilitated the transaction, and the bull that assigned the pension to that bishopric was issued in Rome on 21 September 1613. The papal resolution clarified that the final amount was 1,000 ducats, to be allocated at will by the king. The other 1,000 ducats would be allocated at some other time. The pension was to be administered by the Patriarch of the Indies, Diego de Guzmán, in his capacity as first chaplain and first almoner, and administrator of the king's privileges.⁴⁷ The Pope's assent did not grant Spain jurisdiction over missionary activity in Ireland, but it certainly set a precedent for the royal patronage of Irish Catholicism.

The reason David Kearney was not designated as direct beneficiary of the pension was Castilian law, which established that no foreigner could be endowed with ecclesiastical pensions.⁴⁸ This limitation is mentioned in the tendentious *Verdadera relación*, but it is claimed Kearney's name was not mentioned in the bull on his own request. In this way, the archbishop was trying to prevent the English knowing that he was a pensionary of the Spanish king, as this would have had grave consequences and led to the confiscation of the lands of his relatives.

Father David was not particularly satisfied with the Pope's decision, because of his own financial problems. In early 1614, he made different moves to try to get the pension moving along, and Philip III even made the Duke of Taurisano enquire about the bulls.⁴⁹ However, Paul V, who was trying to ensure the pension was not attached to a specific individual, delegated to the monarch the appointment of the person who was to be in charge of the pension's management and delivery. In 1617, the king changed his resolution and asked Cardinal Gaspar de Borja to prompt the Pope to appoint the patriarch and his successors for this charge.⁵⁰ With this decision, the pension was left in the hands of the person in charge of the royal prebend, since it became a rent allocated at the king's discretion.

The Crown was so invested in this project that it even considered increasing the pension and making it permanent if the diocese of Cádiz was still vacant when all the steps were resolved.⁵¹ In 1622, with the death of Bishop Juan de Cuenca, this hypothetical situation became a reality, and the new scenario necessitated the expedition of new bulls which gave the

patriarch the powers to delegate the administration of the 1,000 ducats to whomever he decided was most suited.⁵² This pontifical privilege, which constituted the legal basis of the patronage of Irish prelates, priests, and friars, was valid for as long as conditions in Ireland did not improve substantially. A year earlier, this new royal patronage had been referred to for the first time in official documents as the ‘Irish Mission’.⁵³

Five Years in Transition

The establishment of the Mission was not totally frictionless. The network of Irish colleges was still developing and the number of priests who were ready for preaching was limited.⁵⁴ Although the finances of the Spanish monarchy had become healthier, the effects of the recent bankruptcy were still noticeable, as is illustrated by the small number of *viatica* granted at this time.⁵⁵ On the other hand, negotiations for the marriage of the Infanta of Spain, María of Austria, and the Prince of Wales, Charles Stuart, continued. These conversations—the ‘Spanish match’—initiated shortly after the Peace of London, could have had a direct impact on Irish Catholics, whose tribulations were a constant cause of concern in both Madrid and Rome.⁵⁶ The reports of Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar and ambassador in London, were less alarmist than those of the exiles, who were wont to emphasise their victimisation and religious suffering in order to garner support.⁵⁷ However, the ambassador agreed that the policy of ‘persecution’ did away with all possibility of ‘toleration’, at least in the terms expected by the Irish Catholic hierarchy.⁵⁸

In 1619, the Dominican Richard Bermingham addressed a *memorial* to Philip III, explaining his trip to Spain, the ‘promised land’, where he expected to find shelter. This preacher, who had been educated in Castile and ordained at the Convent of Our Lady of Peña de Francia (Salamanca), had returned from Ireland after being released from a Dublin prison thanks to Gondomar’s mediation.⁵⁹ Exiled along with his cellmates (both priests and friars) by order of James I, he came to Spain, where he felt bound to inform the king of recent events and about the situation of the Irish Catholics.⁶⁰

That same year, different Irish bishops and priests returned to Philip III. The financial assistance provided by the Spanish monarch to the Archbishop of Cashel nine years earlier had established a clear precedent. Their political and moral rhetoric appealed to his obligations as a Catholic king, and they tried to divert the royal attention from the imminent visit to Portugal by stressing the suffering of their compatriots. At the same time, they declared themselves the royal's faithful subjects, and expressed their conviction that only the Spanish king was capable of preserving Catholicism in Ireland.⁶¹

One of these prelates was David Kearney, who in early 1619 disembarked on the continent once more.⁶² Given his previous experience, the Archbishop of Cashel stood out as the ideal candidate to go to Rome to represent the Irish prelature. In this instance, he travelled in the company of Richard O'Connell—Ricardo Conaldo.⁶³ As on the previous occasion, his stopover in Madrid was motivated by a lack of resources to continue his journey.⁶⁴ The visit aimed to inform the Pope and Philip III of the situation of Catholics in Ireland, which was even worse than in England.⁶⁵ The solutions that he proposed, which were shared by 'the Catholics of Ireland', included the terms of the marriage between Infanta María and the Prince of Wales.⁶⁶ The archbishop's desire was to reach a position of mutual understanding with the English Crown, and he considered that religious agreement and tolerance were preliminary steps to full agreement, and that they had to be brought about by diplomatic means. This opinion he put forward, with the support of solid arguments, to the theological committee which, in 1621, debated the viability of a Spanish-English dynastic union despite the religious differences between both Crowns.⁶⁷ His positive standpoint was opposed by Florence Conry, who, from his privileged position in the court, argued that the marriage would be detrimental to Catholics. In addition to the religious differences, the Archbishop of Tuam had misgivings about the English king's commitment to religious tolerance, especially after the marriage was celebrated.⁶⁸

Under these premises *ad futuram rei memoriam*, Kearney asked for a grant and for recommendation letters to bring to the pontifical court.⁶⁹ However, Rome ordered Nuncio Francesco Cennini to dissuade the Irish archbishop from his plan to ask the Pope for financial help because the Apostolic Camera was undergoing certain financial difficulties. The issue

was once more delegated to Philip III, in the belief that an appeal to any other prince would be 'a wasted effort'.⁷⁰ These recommendations had no effect, and Father David pressed on with his plan. Following the recommendation of the council of State, he secretly received 300 ducats for the trip.⁷¹ Despite this, the order must have been misplaced, as the payment was never made effective, and in March he complained about the court's unresponsiveness. He then decided to petition the Count of Gondomar, a known friend of the Irish and their cause. In his letter, Kearney explained the purpose of his commission, without mentioning anything to do with the marriage.⁷² Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, who had a good knowledge of the Irish context, became the main middleman between the archbishop and the king.⁷³ Unfortunately, there is a gap in the record, and it cannot be certain whether the count eventually interceded for the archbishop or whether he received the money and the recommendation letters.

Before travelling to Rome, Kearney paid a visit to the Irish colleges in Salamanca, Santiago de Compostela, and Lisbon. Given the disagreements that were taking place there, he wanted to check on the Jesuit management of these institutions.⁷⁴ At this time, he also began pulling strings in Madrid in order to obtain a personal rent for life. The Pope may not have made him administrator of the Cádiz pension, but nothing could stop him from distributing the money to pay for his personal needs and court obligations. In 1619, the archbishop put aside 600 of the 1,000 ducats from Cádiz, on the basis that because he had not received any Episcopal rents from Cashel he had obtained the pension at great expense and labour, without receiving any help (except for that from the Society of Jesus). His links with the Jesuits, however, did not mean that Kearney forgot the rest of the religious orders in Ireland, which were crucial to the preservation of Catholicism there and which, along with the network of colleges, would act as the main support for the Irish Mission. The remaining 400 ducats were to be allocated to the Society of Jesus, which had no properties, colleges, or foundations in Ireland. The 1,000 ducats still to be assigned were to be divided into four: 400 were to go to the 'most honourable' priests, and 200 each to the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Jesuits.⁷⁵ This generosity to the Jesuits was justified on the basis of the order's intense missionary activity in Ireland, and by the bishop's personal links with them (his brother

Barnaby Kearney and his nephew Walter Wall were both Jesuits); this generosity would be the cause of litigation at a later date.⁷⁶

This distribution of money disguised a practice that had been endorsed by Paul V himself. Upon his return to Madrid in 1623, after a little-known visit to Rome, Kearney admitted that he had been administering the 1,000 ducats in full for some time.⁷⁷ However, the money did not always arrive on time, and the king was in arrears to the archbishop, to the sum of over 3,000 ducats. Diego de Guzmán, who knew of the expenses incurred by Kearney in Rome and Madrid, appealed to the diocese of Cádiz to seize the sums of money owed by the late bishop, Juan de Cuenca, and hand them over to Father David as soon as possible.⁷⁸

Meanwhile, Kearney had made his own arrangements and negotiated with the patriarch to receive the money, which was to be channelled through Bishop Cuenca even before his death. The agreement was to reimburse 1,000 ducats on top of the regular pension until all debts were cleared. These sums of money were to go fully and directly to his nephew Robert Kearney—the son of his brother William—as payment for the services provided to the archbishop during his travels.⁷⁹

In the meantime, Gaspar de Borja's dealings in Rome to get the Pope to confer the management of the Cádiz pension directly on David Kearney did not prosper. Following the new arrangements made by Philip IV on the occasion of the latest vacancy in the diocese, on 6 August 1623, Pope Urban VIII issued a new bull which also followed Paul V's cue and the precedent set by Gregory XV, allocating the 1,000 ducats to the Irish Mission through Patriarch Diego de Guzmán.⁸⁰ This new grant was insufficient to cover all debts, and nothing was done to prevent the tardiness of the payments; Kearney's court life was very expensive, and debts were piling up.⁸¹ Even the 200 ducats granted by the king for his return trip were insufficient.⁸² Thus, Philip IV decided to award the archbishop the full use of the pension granted by his father in 1610.⁸³ Although the Pope's bulls made Diego de Guzmán a necessary administrator, David Kearney was *de facto* the beneficiary, and this did not contravene the directives of Paul V and Urban VIII.

With this financial help, the Irish had at least the means to return to Cashel and resume his pastoral work, and the negotiations for the Spanish-English marriage continued.⁸⁴ Trying to take advantage of the so-called

‘Spanish Match’, Kearney expressed his desire to go with Infanta María to London as her almoner, a central position from which he could advance the cause of Catholicism.⁸⁵ The final collapse of the negotiations, however, precipitated Kearney’s departure from Madrid in June 1624. He died on 14 August in a Jesuit house near Bordeaux.⁸⁶ By then, the fragile support structure that he had created around his person had begun to consolidate: the Irish Mission had taken its first steps.

Were the Jesuits the Main Players in the Irish Mission?

In the letter in which he informed Rome of the death of his uncle the Archbishop of Cashel, Walter Wall also summarised his uncle’s legacy. His possessions included books, liturgical objects, a house in Cork, and the Cádiz pension. In his will, David Kearney bequeathed these properties, and 300 of the 1,000 ducats granted by the Spanish king.⁸⁷ The distribution proposed in 1619 had never been formalised, and the Jesuits were not able to get their share. Thus, Kearney, who was aware of the Jesuits’ financial hardships, transferred them the money directly to allow them to continue their pastoral mission in Ireland.⁸⁸ This concession is illustrative: in Father David’s life, one constant was his inclination towards the Society of Jesus. His generosity was recognised by the Superior General Muzio Vitelleschi in his letter of condolence to Wall.⁸⁹

The first third of the 17th century was a period of growth and consolidation for the *Societas Iesu*, some of whose members had acquired prominent political positions in the Spanish court.⁹⁰ Queen Margaret of Austria’s confessor was the German Jesuit Richard Haller, which broke the tradition of the Habsburgs.⁹¹ For his part, the Duke of Lerma also acted favourably towards the Society, thus resuming the work of his grandfather, San Francis of Borja.⁹²

The pro-Jesuit tendency of a group of courtesans with great power over the king also played a part in the appointment of Jesuit managers for the Irish colleges in Lisbon, Salamanca, Santiago, and Seville.⁹³ The teaching reputation that the *Ratio Studiorum* lent the Society guaranteed the training of future missionaries.⁹⁴ Originally, the direction of these institutions was assumed by Irish Jesuits who knew the language and customs of both

kingdoms. However, their managerial style soon became controversial, and they were accused of trying to turn the colleges into their own recruitment grounds. The intention to appoint a Portuguese Jesuit to preside over the Lisbon college,⁹⁵ and the warning of the Archbishop of Tuam, Florence Conry, about the selection process for students in Salamanca, which aimed to exclude so-called ‘Gaelic’ students—Old Irish from the provinces of Connaught and Ulster, who were regarded as pro-Franciscan—triggered a wave of protest. This question divided the exiles and generated an intense debate about who should direct the college network.⁹⁶

This seriously undermined the reputation of the Irish Jesuits, who, in order to restore it, published a panegyric singing the praises of their missionary action in the British Isles since 1580, despite all the difficulties. This panegyric emphasised their limited means, for instance their lack of seminaries in which to teach the Irish not only in Ireland but on the continent as well—a problem which no other religious order had to suffer.⁹⁷ This led the young Philip IV to charge them with directing one of those colleges, which would also give them the opportunity to train their missionaries.⁹⁸ The Jesuit account conveniently omitted to mention that they were already in control of teaching in the Irish colleges in Spain and Portugal.⁹⁹

The apostolic work in Ireland began in the Irish colleges in the Iberian Peninsula, and deviation from the norm there was having detrimental effects on the Irish Mission. Some students left the seminary before their training was complete, others parted for Rome in search of ecclesiastical prebends and Episcopal dignities, and others simply stayed in Spain to pursue their own projects (thus breaking their oath to return to Ireland to preach). It was the rectors’ obligation to put an end to this lack of discipline and enforce the collegial norms. That is, it was the duty of the Jesuits, who were, after all, running the colleges, to solve these internal irregularities. Be that as it may, they took advantage of the chaos in order to claim that the difficulties could only be appropriately tackled if they were granted their own institution. Furthermore, their discourse did not shy away from criticising the behaviour of Irish friars from other orders. Unlike them, they claimed, Jesuits would go to Ireland immediately after finishing their studies, as they could not aspire to the privileges sought by everyone else

and they would not be allowed to live a leisurely life in Spain given the duties that awaited them in their own land.^{[100](#)}

The apostolic vocation of the Society of Jesus was in full agreement with the Irish Mission. Their structural and functional affinity is clearly reflected in the process that led to the organisation and the formulae implemented for its financial support. Kearney's undertakings to obtain the Cádiz pension and to enable its subsequent distribution considerably reinforced the position of the Jesuits. Upon the archbishop's death, the Jesuits doubled their efforts to ensure their ascendancy in the Mission. The first step in this process of appropriation involved the 1,000 ducats which still remained to be allocated from the original grant by Philip III; these they claimed on the basis of their active pastoral work and their ability to train and supply the much-needed missionaries on the ground. They did not hesitate to, entirely spuriously, claim a leading role in the original negotiations that ended with the awarding of the grant.^{[101](#)}

According to their particular interpretation, the assistance lent by the Irish members during David Kearney's audience in Aranda de Duero had been instrumental in convincing Philip III to grant the 1,000 ducats which, in the opinion of the institute, was their due. In support of this, they also mentioned that Haller, Margaret of Austria's confessor, had tried to intercede with the queen in favour of the Irish Archbishop at the request of Superior General Acquaviva. However, and in contrast to the account put forward by the *Verdadera relación*, this mediation did not affect the royal's final decision, and the king followed the advice of the Dominican Aliaga and the *comendador* Idiáquez. A year later, Margaret of Austria addressed Paul V and suggested the foundation of an Irish college in Rome, which would be under pontifical patronage. Despite her Jesuit leanings, the queen did not press the Pope for the establishment of a Jesuit noviciate, but rather for a seminary that followed the model of the colleges recently instituted by Philip III in Spain and Portugal.^{[102](#)} On the other hand, the influence exercised by the Jesuit Wall on Kearney, which the Society considered another point in favour of their request, should be reassessed; although Wall had his uncle's full confidence, he was only the archbishop's secretary, and to a royal audience this would have been a very minor role.

In addition to shaping the identity of the Spanish-Irish Mission to their liking, during the final months of Kearney's Madrid visit new moves were being made to ensure that the Jesuits were in control of the finances of the

Mission. By 1622 the Irishman Michael Cantwell—*alias* Miguel de Morales—had submitted a *memorial* to request no less than one-third of the Cádiz pension for the exclusive use of the Jesuit Mission in Ireland.¹⁰³ Cantwell was born to a noble family in 1589, and he attended the universities of Seville and Coimbra.¹⁰⁴ He joined the Society of Jesus in 1605 and was ordained as a priest three years later.¹⁰⁵ After finishing his studies, he took up the position of Chair of Philosophy in the college of Santiago, where he met his fellow Jesuit Richard Conway. In 1619 they both moved to Seville when the Jesuits assumed control of the rectory of the Irish college in the city.¹⁰⁶ In his new position, Michael Cantwell was responsible for inventorying the college's properties and administering the student lists.¹⁰⁷ Two years later he entered the royal missionary structure, but he did not immediately depart for Ireland.¹⁰⁸ Before leaving, he had a service left to pay his coreligionists.

Like the anonymous author of the *Verdadera relación*, Cantwell had no qualms about subverting the original identity of the Mission in order to control the pension. In this way, he stressed that the Jesuits had not seen to date the 400 ducats assigned by Kearney, returning once more to the *sui generis* Jesuit interpretation of the meeting in Aranda in 1610. Cantwell's new foundational account emphasised the role played by Margaret of Austria in the royal decision being made in favour of Kearney, as well as the decisive role played by the Jesuits Walter Wall, Haller the confessor, and Richard Conway, the procurator of the Jesuit Mission.¹⁰⁹ In his zeal to underline the role played by the Society in the granting of the pension, Cantwell even changed the itinerary of Kearney's first voyage and the order of events.

His demand was also based on the key lines of Jesuit discourse during the first third of the 17th century. Firstly, he underlined how much support the Irish colleges could provide the Mission, while insisting on the unfortunate absence of a Jesuit seminary in Ireland and elsewhere.¹¹⁰ This point overlooked the effective control that the *Societas* exercised over the seminaries founded by the Irish in the Iberian Peninsula. Secondly, Cantwell stressed the continued exile and martyrdom suffered by Jesuit missionaries. Finally, he pointed out that the Society was crucial for maintaining the Irish nobles loyal to the Spanish Crown.¹¹¹ This ideological

construction incurred certain contradictions, but was an effective way of showcasing the progress made by Jesuit missionaries in Ireland.

Cantwell's main purpose was to capture one-third of the pension for the Society, which was a good deal more than the 400 ducats assigned to them by Kearney in 1619. In the context of the debates over the amounts that the patriarch owed Kearney from that same year onwards, other Jesuits aside from Cantwell also began making the re-allocation of the pension a central issue for the Jesuits in the Irish Mission. Against the wishes of the Society, the royal secretaries Jorge de Tovar and Juan de Ciriza referred to the original concession and the papal bulls, advising Philip IV that his father's will had been to assist Archbishop Kearney and all the other priests and friars who went to Ireland.^{[112](#)}

Seeing the way things were going, Diego de Guzmán tried to solve this problem directly with the help of the archbishop, while taking into consideration Cantwell's petition, which was, however, soon rejected.^{[113](#)} De Guzmán pondered the possibility of a three-way partition: 300 ducats for the Mission, and two lots of 700 ducats each for the sustenance of the archbishop and his household, respectively. In order to pay the debt incurred between 1619 and the current 1622, Kearney was to receive 2,500 ducats, while the Mission was to be given the remaining 1,500.^{[114](#)} These transactions were recorded in the patriarch's alms books, where the accounts of the royal stipends were kept. The entries for those years include two payments of 9,900 reales to the Jesuit Richard Conway by order and power of attorney granted by David Kearney. This was not a direct donation to the *Societas Iesu*, but a substantial allowance for the Mission that the Jesuits had in Ireland, which was to be administered by the procurator of the institute.^{[115](#)}

In 1624, after Kearney's death, the Jesuits once more demanded a larger share of the pension. By then, the pre-eminence of the Count-Duke of Olivares seemed unquestionable, which created an entirely new scenario for the Jesuits. Initially, the Society gave the royal favourite its support, while plotting to increase its influence at court. Jerónimo de Florencia, confessor to the king's siblings and member of the Reformation Committee, and Hernando Salazar, Olivares's spiritual guide, became the middlemen between Muzio Vitelleschi and the new strong man in Madrid.^{[116](#)}

In previous years, the marriage between Infanta María and Prince Charles had been a priority for the Crown, and the complexity of the negotiations and the various issues at stake had entirely determined Spanish policy towards England. As previously noted, a committee of six experts had been convened to examine the union of a Catholic Infanta to a Protestant prince. In addition to Archbishop Kearney, the Society was amply represented on this committee; Florencia, Salazar, Pedro González de Mendoza, and Juan Federico supported the Superior General's view that the alliance was a chance to convert England back to Catholicism.¹¹⁷ This chimera, however, had disappeared from the political strategy of the Spanish monarchy after the Treaty of London, and the collapse of the marriage negotiations frustrated the theologians' project and forced them to look for other ways to directly intervene in events. The Jesuits decided to keep alive the debate surrounding the Cádiz pension as a way of keeping the finances of their mission healthy. Kearney's death in August 1624 only triggered new demands.

The Jesuit procurator, Richard Conway, was asked for his opinion and that of the Society about the pension. His proposal revolved around one essential principle: the pension had been granted to clergymen in Ireland, and it was to them that it should go in full. He suggested handing 100 ducats to each of the six bishops who were in Ireland already. Although he was unsure about the presence of any of the four archbishops in Ireland, he allocated 150 ducats to each of them.¹¹⁸ For the orders of Saint Francis, Saint Dominic, and the Society of Jesus, Conway reserved 100 ducats, to be handed over to the head of each order. This was not a large amount of money, but it would help to alleviate the Society's lack of resources. He also proposed giving 100 ducats to the provincial appointed by Rome, whose work was not always recognised. The rest of the pension was to be used to compensate the procurator who organised the distribution of the funds.¹¹⁹ To justify this distribution, Conway reflected on the discontent that the distribution of the pension to other ecclesiastical bodies would cause, regardless of fairness. His distribution would quash possible internal strife and, by handing the money to the highest representatives of the Church, would make royal grace more visible.

In the following lines of his *memorial*, without contradicting the previous statements, Richard Conway expressed his true will, which was to find a means to maintain the Irish Jesuits in Spain. His arguments reproduced

Cantwell's on how the Society had earned a right to the pension, but without going into too much detail. He also insisted on the lack of a Jesuit seminary, once more glossing over Jesuit control of the Irish colleges in Spain and Portugal. Conway associated this with the abundance of other religious orders, which worked to the detriment of the mission of the Society.^{[120](#)}

Finally, in accordance with David Kearney's last will, the procurator compelled the patriarch to pay the debts accumulated by the archbishop between 1619 and 1624. As a means of proof, he presented a donation letter which Kearney had left the Jesuits. This document superseded a petition issued some months earlier, in which Philip IV was asked to provide the *Societas* with the 400 ducats the archbishop had earmarked in his distribution.^{[121](#)} Although Walter Wall had informed the Superior General Vitelleschi that his uncle had bequeathed him over 300 ducats, pending royal assent, Conway was demanding around 6,000 ducats.^{[122](#)}

Unlike other (unsuccessful) applications, for example the partition proposed by Michael Cantwell, Conway's *memorial* did not receive an immediate response,^{[123](#)} and it was not finally debated by the council of State until February 1625. The reason for this was not the petition, but rather the submission of another *memorial* by Thomas Walsh, the agent of the Irish clergy.

Cashel, a Vacant See: Thomas Walsh and the Inheritance of Archbishop Kearney

Soon after opening, the Irish college in Salamanca (1592) admitted Thomas Walsh, who had been born in Waterford in the mid-1570s to a family committed to the cause of Catholicism in Ireland.^{[124](#)} During his formative years, he shared his religious convictions with the theology student Florence Conry, who later became Archbishop of Tuam.^{[125](#)} His vocation led him to adopt the habit of Saint Francis, but later he abandoned the Franciscans and joined the military order of Saint John of Jerusalem.^{[126](#)} In 1611, he returned to Ireland to fulfil his missionary vows and begin an

apostolic life; he was appointed prior in Kilkenny and vicar in the see of Waterford. Thirteen years later, Walsh returned to Spain by way of the papal court where, as an agent of the Irish clergy, he discussed different matters with Pope Urban VIII.¹²⁷ In order to facilitate the negotiations, he asked Philip IV to instruct his ambassador, the Duke of Pastrana, to introduce him and recommend him in Rome.¹²⁸

While in Madrid making the final preparations for his trip, Thomas Walsh was informed of the death of David Kearney. Like many other Irish people, the agent was aware of the links between the archbishop and the Spanish monarchy. The first missionaries supported by Philip IV were beginning to arrive in Ireland, and the benefits of the Cádiz pension were starting to transcend the Spanish frontiers. With Kearney's death, the struggle for the control of his legacy began. The Jesuits were the first to claim their *rights* over the 1,000 ducats, but they were not the last.

On 4 February 1625, the council of State discussed a *memorial* presented by Walsh on the distribution of the pension among the Irish clergy. According to him, it was necessary to appoint another Irishman to administer the money and decide who was most deserving of support. Arguing that his long experience—twenty years of undertaking different tasks for the Pope and the bishops—made him an ideal appointee, he volunteered to Philip IV to take on this position.

Before deciding on this, the councillors of State went back to Richard Conway's report and suggested that the Jesuit recommended Walsh, as an agent of the Irish clergy, for the task, whilst also giving his own opinion on how to distribute the money. Each of the five bishops who remained in their dioceses were to be given 1,500 reales, and another unspecified amount was to go to the person in charge of the distribution. The remaining 2,000 reales would be allocated to cover subsidies and other expenses. The interpretation of Conway's *memorial* was to a large extent marked by another *memorial*, also by Conway, which was submitted to the patriarch in late 1624 or early 1625. It is also possible that the content of the *memorial* to the council was filtered by the councillors, which decided to obviate certain clauses that referred to the Society of Jesus, or even that they were different *memoriales* altogether. Concerning his previous petition, Richard Conway omitted mention of any Jesuit claim to the Cádiz pension and proposed Walsh as the manager of the funds because of his good relationship with the Irish

bishops, even if his links with other possible beneficiaries were somewhat more diffuse.

The councillors of State recommended that the pension, as a political and religious instrument against England (which was again a hostile neighbour after the fiasco of the 'Spanish Match'), should continue. Similarly, they asked the king to leave the distribution of the funds to the Irish under the supervision of the patriarch. Also, the councillors pointed out that the Irish bishops should be given a role to ensure that nobody was left unattended. With this proposal, the council of State aimed to project the pious image of Philip IV in Ireland and to make the royal patronage of these people, who were not in fact his vassals, as conspicuous as possible. Despite these recommendations, however, Philip IV stuck to his former policy and delegated the economic management of the Mission to Diego de Guzmán.

This decision brought about the first debate on the redistribution of the Cádiz funds to an end. Conway's distribution effectively thwarted the Jesuits' attempts to control the pension, and their arguments and rhetoric were not sufficient to change the situation. Thomas Walsh also failed to make his experience and procurator's alleged recommendation sufficiently weighty to incline the monarch towards his model.

Philip IV's decree may be considered the confirmation of an *ex novo* model for the Irish Mission. Following the pattern set by the Jesuits in the British Isles, with the same missionary zeal, the Spanish monarchy set up a support structure aimed to provide religious aid to all Irish Catholics. The most characteristic feature of this mission was the heterogeneity of its members, which was promoted by both the Society of Jesus, from the different colleges, and the rest of the conventual orders. The Mission was, therefore, not to be under the control of any given order, but to remain under the direct auspices of the Catholic king through the Patriarch of the Indies. It would incorporate Irish priests and friars educated and ordained in Spain. In this way, the influence of the Jesuits would be limited to the direction of the Irish colleges. The Society had been thwarted in their attempts to reinforce their own Irish Mission, which had been in operation for nearly half a century, by creating their own Spain-based noviciate, as revealed by Cantwell and Conway's *memoriales*. This apparent policy of keeping the Jesuits from growing too powerful seems also to have been the cause of the continuous delays in founding a Jesuit novitiate in Spain; this

was in defiance of a favour issued by Philip III, supposedly in thanksgiving for having begotten a male heir.¹²⁹

The first step in this new stage in the history of the Irish Mission was to gain papal approval.¹³⁰ Philip IV instructed his ambassador, the Count of Oñate, to begin the process of adding new clauses to the missionary bulls ‘by way of grace’.¹³¹ The goal of the new setting that the monarchy was trying to introduce in 1625 was to reinforce the support structure. According to the royal design, the Pope would have to issue an extraordinary command, making the annuity permanent, uninheritable, and independent from the diocese of Cádiz, which could hardly afford it.

While Urban VIII conceded this privilege to the Mission, the Pope was creating a new counterweight to Spanish religious power in Europe and overseas with the foundation of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (1622). This new institution, established by the bull *Incrustabili Divinae*, was conceived as a papal instrument with which to coordinate post-conciliar indoctrination and control apostolic issues within the Catholic world and elsewhere. In Ireland, this reinforced the position of the bishops, but added yet another contender to the ongoing struggle over Catholic education on the island—something which was already the subject of a tug-of-war between the Spanish monarchy and various religious institutions.¹³²

The creation of the *Congregatio*, which openly overlapped with the Jesuits’ mission and Spanish patronage, aimed to reinforce the spiritual and secular power of Rome by introducing an alternative to the Spanish king and the Superior General, in the shape of the Capuchin order.¹³³ In this way, the Pope tried to stop the missionaries sent by Philip IV or the *Societas Iesu* from taking total control of the indoctrination of the island. Through the Capuchins, Urban VIII intended to attend to the needs of the Irish-born Catholics, who were given an active role in the preservation of their own faith. Similarly, the pontifical dicastery became a filter in the appointment of bishops.¹³⁴ Thenceforth, candidates were presented before this institution, which prevented any chance of negotiation or mediation between the Spanish king and the curia.

Despite the delivery of this Roman missionary counterstroke, the Spanish strategy followed a different political and confessional route, which was oriented towards the promotion of an Irish candidate for the vacant see in Cashel. Although his petition had been rejected, Thomas Walsh’s arguments

and personality were admired by the members of the council of State. He had been educated in Spain, he knew the internal workings of the Mission, and his position as representative of the clergy made him an experienced administrator. He was, therefore, the best candidate, not only to succeed Kearney as the head of the diocese but also to assume, at a later date, the management of a pension in which he had already shown interest.

In 1626, Philip IV resumed a tradition that his grandfather and father had practised before him: presenting candidates to Irish dioceses.¹³⁵ The Spanish kings made use of this prerogative, which was never officially recognised, nor was a constant in its policies. In Ireland, this *non scripto* privilege was used to promote pro-Spanish candidates who could advance royals' interests on the island. In 1621, the counts of Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and Berehaven addressed Philip IV to remind him of the importance of bishops being *devoted* to the Spanish monarchy, and declared that exiled aristocrats were the best-placed informants to report on the suitability of candidates. From a pragmatic perspective, they emphasised the leadership role undertaken by prelates at a local level, as well as their political potential.¹³⁶

With the nomination of Thomas Walsh for the archbishopric of Cashel, the Spanish king exercised once more this form of indirect patronage in Ireland, whilst also ensuring the loyalty of a prestigious man of the Church. At the beginning of 1626, Father Walsh was the favourite candidate to become archbishop among a group of candidates which included several priests who had trained in the Irish colleges in the Iberian Peninsula.¹³⁷ The ambassador Pastrana took advantage of Walsh's presence in Rome to ensure a favourable resolution for the Irish clergy's agent's mission while also advancing his candidacy for this episcopate. The diplomat convinced Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who at the time was *protector* of the Irish nation, to support the candidate before his uncle the Pope and the College of Cardinals.¹³⁸ On 27 April, Urban VIII appointed Thomas Walsh Archbishop of Cashel, and exempted on him the title of Doctor.¹³⁹ His recognition was not made effective immediately: he had to wait until 8 June, when Cardinal Gabriel de Trejo y Paniagua invested him with his new position in the Irish Franciscan college of Saint Isidore.¹⁴⁰ The ceremony, over which a Spanish cardinal officiated, confirmed the success of Spanish diplomacy in influencing the Irish bishoprics.

In 1627, before taking possession of his Episcopal see, Thomas Walsh travelled through Madrid as part of the entourage of Cardinal Trejo, who had just been appointed a member of the council of Castile. Walsh's new goal was to take control of the 1,000-ducat benefit from Cádiz, as his predecessor had done. His recent appointment lent force to the new application; he declared himself heir of David Kearney in both his obligations towards the eleven suffragan bishops in Munster's two provinces and the distribution of the pension.^{[141](#)}

The petition was, once more, evaluated by the Patriarch of the Indies, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, who judged it to be convenient from a political perspective; the mutually beneficial relationship between Walsh and the Crown had become even closer after Philip IV's support for his promotion, and the prestige of the Spanish king had soared accordingly.^{[142](#)} Father Thomas was experienced and his authority was widely respected. Now he was also the official point of reference for the local Catholic community; also, his decisions were to be highly influential and, if he were to gain control of the pension, this could spawn a feeling of gratitude towards the royal munificence.

The possibility of gaining support in Ireland was positively regarded also by the council of State, as the new war with England forced Spain to look for new ways to pile the pressure on the Stuarts on their home turf. The protection of Archbishop Walsh facilitated the weaving of patronage networks of solidarity with the Spanish cause. However, the range of action of the Spanish Crown in the north could be extended with the foundation of new missionary or college institutions. For this reason, the king was presented with a joint project, concocted between Madrid and Rome in 1623, to create an official Scottish college in the Iberian Peninsula. Following the steps which had been taken to create the Irish Mission, Philip IV resolved to divide the Cádiz pension in half (500 ducats would go to Walsh and the other 500 to the Scots) and to make up for this financial loss for the Irish Mission later. Thus the Irish Mission emerged.^{[143](#)}

Caledonia *Tamquam* Hibernia

On 10 May 1627, Philip IV ordered the foundation of a royal college for the Scottish in Madrid. The institution was to be located in the centre of the *Villa y Corte*, in some houses owned by the Scot William Semple and his wife María de Ledesma, in Jacometrezo Street. This royal order complied with the constant petitions which this Scottish military officer had been issuing for many years.

Colonel Semple was born in Lochwinnoch in 1546, the illegitimate son of Lord Robert de Semphil. Over the course of his long career in the Scottish army, he had served Mary Stuart before going to Flanders to serve under the Prince of Orange. The secret communication that he maintained with the General Governor of the Spanish Low Countries, Alessandro Farnese, and the decision of Queen Mary to change sides and support Philip II, marked his future. He surrendered the city of Lier to the Spanish troops in 1582, which earned him his colonelcy. His services were highly appreciated in Brussels and Madrid, and his tactical ideas on naval warfare were to be of enormous use to the Spanish monarchy, especially in the preparation of the Great Armada.

Without abandoning his colonelcy, Semple accepted Farnesse's proposal to become the Scottish representative in Madrid. From that point on, he was committed to the Catholic cause in his homeland, whilst also ascending the social ladder (he was named *gentilhombre de boca* by Philip III).¹⁴⁴ Concerning religious policies, he was very critical of the way the Irish colleges in the Iberian Peninsula had been founded, and questioned the Crown's policy concerning Ireland, which he thought was detrimental to the Scottish nation. In a *memorial* dated to 1621, he reminded the royal order to keep twelve missionaries in Scotland and also demanded that the Irish and the English be excluded from this ministry. He even calculated the financial demands made by the English and, especially, the Irish on the Spanish treasury, with independence from the benefits that the Spanish monarchy was reaping for its efforts. He thus claimed further petitions should be deflected, in the same way that he had fenced off his own countrymen, in order to prevent the problem from getting even bigger.¹⁴⁵

In 1623, the Jesuit Hugh Semple, nephew of the colonel, argued before Philip IV that it would be useful to found a college for preparing Scottish priests for their own mission.¹⁴⁶ However, the negotiations for the Anglo-Spanish royal marriage had delayed the project. This time was well used by William Semple, who wrote a letter to Urban VIII to explain his plan to

found a college for his fellow nationals. Two years later, on the eve of the war with England, the Duke of Pastrana communicated to the Pope the king's wish to bring this idea to fruition, in the same way that had already been done with the English and Irish colleges.¹⁴⁷ Urban VIII was asked about the possibility of earmarking some of the ecclesiastical benefits in Spain that would become available for sustaining this foundation. Pope Barberini rejected this and expressed the opinion that the Scots would be better off being educated in Rome, rather than in a newly created college in the Iberian Peninsula. This rebuke did not stop Philip IV from using his royal *potestas* in March 1627. In the bulls that referred to the Cádiz pension it was specified that the money could be freely disposed by the king in whichever other pious works he deemed fit, allowing him to divide the pension equally between the Scots and the Irish.¹⁴⁸

This decree ensured the survival of the Scottish college with 500 ducats at the cost of halving the resources available for the Irish Mission.¹⁴⁹ In order to prevent disagreements with the Irish clergy—it was expected that the original pension would be eventually restored—the council of State appealed to the Patriarch of the Indies, the channel through which the pension was paid, to decide how to better distribute the amount promised the Archbishop of Cashel.¹⁵⁰ In response, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán reminded the king that behind the pension lay his father's wish not to see Catholicism uprooted from Ireland, especially after Thomas Walsh's commitment to use the money to support the clergy while gaining support for the Spanish monarchy. Semple's (and others') encroachment on the pension alarmed the patriarch, who saw no safer option than to entrust Walsh with all the money, or else to allocate it to the Irish colleges.

Furthermore, Pérez de Guzmán also questioned the viability of a Scottish college in Madrid. His arguments included the otiose nature of life in court, which he deemed contrary to the *seclusion* and *perfection* that a good education required. Also, he continued, there was no university in the court, which would have a negative effect on the formation of the students, who would lack the preparation expected of missionaries. For this reason, the patriarch recommended the 500 ducats be allocated elsewhere: the colleges of Salamanca, Santiago, or Sevilla, whose students included several Scots.¹⁵¹

Using his prerogatives and ignoring Pérez de Guzmán's recommendation, on 18 March 1628 Philip IV ratified his decision to give half the pension to the Scottish college in Madrid.¹⁵² The patriarch was charged with issuing Thomas Walsh a certificate confirming the provision of 500 ducats for the Irish missionaries.¹⁵³ This ended negotiations with Walsh, who returned to Cashel to take possession of his diocese.¹⁵⁴

The foundation of the Scottish college and the granting of their private financial resources heralded the beginnings of the Scottish Mission. In the statute of the college, set out in a document issued to Colonel Semple, it was established that the college was created for Scottish students and that the rectory would be entrusted to the Society of Jesus, under the supervision of the provincial of Toledo. Following the model of the Irish colleges, the students were prepared for their theological missionary tasks; after graduating, they would use a *viaticum* to return to Scotland to preach and administer the sacraments.¹⁵⁵

The royal patronage, represented by the Count-Duke of Olivares, who was appointed *patrón* of the Scottish college, and the use of similar mechanisms to run and support both colleges, embodied a dual religious policy. In a period of war with England, the deployment of these missionaries extended the scope of political-religious policies to two strategic regions: Ireland and Scotland.¹⁵⁶

De Beneficiis: Management of the Cádiz Pension

The Cádiz pension was well known to the Irish in Spain, and there were many, both clerics and laymen, who tried to benefit from it. Despite the occasional delay, it was a regular ecclesiastical rent, which granted the Archbishop of Cashel, its beneficiary, 500 ducats for the sustenance of the Irish Mission. The pension thus became a by-word for security and reliability, and many tried to take a part of the royal benefit.¹⁵⁷

Richard Bermingham

Richard Bermingham was a Dominican cleric from Kilkenny, with a degree in theology from the University of Salamanca, and was ordained in the convent of Our Lady of Peña de Francia. He was well acquainted with the missionary structure set out by the king, and took an active part in it. In 1622, Bermingham was appointed Dominican general procurator for the Irish province in Spain, which gave him direct authority over the Mission.¹⁵⁸ He was in charge of identifying the Irish preachers best suited to receive the *viaticum* and be sent to Ireland.¹⁵⁹

Bermingham's trajectory illustrates the difficulties faced by the missionaries on the ground. On arriving in Ireland in 1617, he was targeted by the English authorities, and he was arrested and incarcerated in Dublin.¹⁶⁰ As previously noted, the final manoeuvres of the Spanish ambassador, Count of Gondomar, before leaving his post (for the first time), led to his release and his exile in Spain. Based on this experience, he presented Philip III with two accounts on the secular and religious policy of the English Crown, and the negative effects that these policies were having in Ireland.¹⁶¹

In Madrid, Bermingham continued with his apostolic endeavours, and was granted 100 ducats for his sustenance and the purchase of books.¹⁶² One of his first actions was converting two Protestant servants of the English ambassador, John Digby, in 1622. His controversial activity as 'court missionary', which resulted in his inclusion in the Spanish Inquisition, was considered an insult by the diplomat. As a punishment, the latter confiscated his servants' clothes and expelled them from his household. Bermingham appealed to Philip IV to save Thaddeus Bradagan and Daniel Flanagan from their destitute position, arguing that they had even expressed their desire to serve the king as soldiers in Flanders.¹⁶³ In his opinion, if munificence were shown to them, others would follow their example in a double act of imitation. On the one hand, they would embrace Catholicism, and on the other, they would join the ranks of royal servants. The king accepted this argument, but demanded that the two servants spend one year with the Archbishops of Seville and Burgos, respectively, to make sure that they received the proper religious education before joining the English infantry corps in the Spanish Low Countries.¹⁶⁴

Father Richard Bermingham also tried to facilitate the promotion of Dominicans to high ecclesiastical posts. His arguments claimed that the

members of the order, despite their worthiness, had received no compensation (in the form of honourable position) for the persecution and ill treatment to which they had been subject.¹⁶⁵ In the vacancy in the archdiocese and primate see of Armagh in 1626, Bermingham saw an opportunity to revert the situation with the king's intervention.¹⁶⁶ His petition succeeded in gaining the support of Philip IV, who wrote to Urban VIII and insisted that his ambassador in Rome, Cardinal Gaspar de Borja, press the case for the appointment of a Dominican with the endorsement of the order's general.¹⁶⁷

Bermingham's visibility at court turned him into a referent for the Irish community, in whose catechisation he had played a major role.¹⁶⁸ Lack of resources, however, forced him to file another personal petition for money in 1627. The arguments put forward by Juan Falbeo were similar to those presented by Bermingham. This Irishman proposed that the Dominican procurator Bermingham and the Trinitarian Father Richard Gold, professor of theology in a college associated with the University of Alcalá, should be charged with orienting the Irish exiles arriving in Madrid. This would stop new arrivals from usurping noble titles and military and religious posts already in the possession of other Irish nationals. As a reward for this, Falbeo suggested that Bermingham and Gold receive the Cádiz pension.

In a document in which he expresses his opinion on this matter, the secretary Juan de Ciriza forwarded another option. The distribution proposed by the Jesuit Richard Conway after David Kearney's death had not worked very well, and the duty of allocating the funds had reverted to Patriarch Diego de Guzmán and his successor in office, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, until the appointment of a new archbishop for Cashel. Although the appointment, and immediate control over the 1,000 ducats, had fallen to Thomas Walsh in 1626, the money that accumulated during the intervening two and a half years lay waiting in the archdiocese of Seville while the diocese of Cashel remained vacant. The money was ultimately transferred to the patriarch, despite Walsh's protests.¹⁶⁹ While the king decided how to distribute the rent, after dividing it between the Irish Mission and the Scottish college, Ciriza advised putting it in the hands of the prestigious Bermingham, as procurator of the Irish Dominicans.

The council of State was once more forced to examine the situation and find the best way to serve the Irish missionaries. Some ministers suggested

a direct consultation with Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, but Philip IV was determined that no changes should be made to the distribution of the funds. With this decision, any chance that Richard Bermingham would receive any part of the 1,000 ducats vanished, but, at any rate, this had not even been his idea, but that of his fellow national Juan Falbeo. Bermingham's only goal was to guarantee his livelihood with a Spanish pension, regardless of its source. The complications that surrounded the management of the Cádiz pension, at any rate, made it impossible to put it in Bermingham's care, although Juan de Ciriza was of the opinion that the Dominican deserved another royal grant.^{[170](#)}

In the interim, Philip IV granted him a pension of 100 ducats, the source for which was not to be decided until a consultation with the council of State in 1629. Owing to the financial problems of the Crown, the source of Conway's pension had to be sought outside Spain, in the rents of some Flemish abbey or diocese, or had to be paid as a salary of 10 escudos per month in La Coruña, to which a bonus could be added whenever possible.^{[171](#)} In April of that year, Bermingham was designated rector of the Dominican Irish College of Louvain and proposed to the king moving this wage to Flanders, his new residence.^{[172](#)} However, the friar gained little joy from the pension as he died a few months later, in 1630.^{[173](#)}

Michael Cantwell

In 1631, the argumentative Jesuit Michael Cantwell reappeared in Madrid. He presented himself before Philip IV as the general agent of the Irish Catholic hierarchy, in the hope of being more successful than during his previous visit.^{[174](#)} After the king had rejected his first request, he had left for Ireland in late 1622. In the following years, he worked for the Catholic king as a missionary in the diocese of Cashel, near his family's lands. According to his own testimony, he had built a house there to serve as an oratory for the Catholic community. He furnished this house with all the necessities for worship, creating a space for devotion and liturgy at his own expense and that of his relatives.^{[175](#)}

On 6 April 1631, Michael Cantwell graduated with a doctorate in theology, after attending the Dominican university located in the convent of

St Thomas in Ávila.¹⁷⁶ By then he had been in Spain for several months as a representative of the Irish clergy, after leaving the Society of Jesus in 1629.¹⁷⁷ According to the Franciscan William Lombard, he was excluded from the order on account of 'his virtues or vice' and his bad habits in general.¹⁷⁸

Despite the seriousness of the accusations, the bishops and general vicars of several Irish dioceses elected him to represent them in Rome.¹⁷⁹ The objective of the commission was to conduct negotiations on religious matters with Urban VIII and the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*; the presence of a middleman and informer in the papal court contributed to mitigate the problems and delays caused by the geographical distance.¹⁸⁰ In addition, Cantwell was also instructed by Archbishop Thomas Walsh to convince the Pope to merge the dioceses of Cashel and Emly.¹⁸¹

Cantwell's intention was to present the state of Irish Catholics to Philip IV. After a licence extended by the Lord Deputy, Henry Cary, Viscount of Falkland, in 1629, English pressure had increased. The previous policy of looking the other way when it came to houses where different orders could pray privately had been reverted by Lord Justices Adam Loftus and Richard Boyle.¹⁸² For this reason, the Catholics placed their hopes in the peace negotiations that were taking place in 1630 to bring an end to the war between England and Spain.¹⁸³ The Treaty of Madrid, however, did not dampen the zeal of the new Stuart monarch, Charles I, who issued new edicts and proclamations that did away with the tolerant policies that preceded the conflict.¹⁸⁴ In order to appeal to the Spaniards, Cantwell revisited the traditional discourse of the Irish exile community. This rhetoric stressed Philip IV's political and moral obligation towards the Catholic cause in an island with such close links with the Spanish Crown.¹⁸⁵ The Habsburg monarch, inspired by the diplomatic policy inaugurated by his father, instructed that a letter be written to Juan de Necolalde, ambassador in London, ordering him to console Catholics, but without getting personally invested; the intention of this move was to propagate that the religious issue had not been broached in the treaty negotiations, but that this was to the benefit of the Irish.¹⁸⁶ Progressively, the king delegated the task of supporting Catholicism in the British Isles to his sister-in-law Henrietta Marie, in the expectation that, owing to her blood ties with the Spanish

king, her mediation would be more effective than the potential influence posed by any foreign power.¹⁸⁷

In November 1631, Cantwell started looking for funds to go to Rome. According to his petition, in which he omitted the time that he had spent studying in Ávila, it had been over a year since he left Ireland for England in the summer of 1630 and arrived in France.¹⁸⁸ He stayed for some time at the court of Louis XIII, serving in the house of the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis of Mirabel. During his time in Paris, he became involved in issues that had nothing to do with his commission. Cantwell, acting as procurator for the province of Munster, endorsed eleven petitions made by the Irishman Patrick Cahil in favour of the Irish regular clergy. These petitions had been rejected by the secular theology scholars of the Sorbonne.¹⁸⁹ Cantwell's intervention in this ecclesiastical dispute ran contrary to the instructions of the Irish bishops, but he never recanted, forcing bishops and provincials in Ireland, regardless of the order to which they belonged, to send a number of affidavits concerning the issue.¹⁹⁰

While taking part in these theological controversies, Cantwell continued with the preparations for his trip, but the situation in Italy made travelling difficult, and he was forced to rethink his itinerary. Ambassador Mirabel advised him to travel through Spain.¹⁹¹ His eventual arrival in Madrid was the result of either a series of unfortunate circumstances or a lack of funds, because the trip and especially ships to the Iberian Peninsula were expensive. Neither bishops nor other ecclesiastics could help him, and his family fortune had been depleted by the English depredations before his departure.¹⁹²

His need for money was not the only reason for his visit to the Spanish court. Since leaving Paris in February, Cantwell had not heard from Ireland, and without news he could not continue with his commission.¹⁹³ The lack of information seems to have been caused by his superior's annoyance at his participation in Cahil's controversy. His bad behaviour in Madrid seems not to have gone unnoticed either. After discovering how he had mismanaged the funds with which he had been entrusted, his former advocates, the Bishops of Cork, Limerick, Emly, Ossory, and Ferns, held a meeting in Kilkenny and began considering sending the Bishop of Ferns in his place.¹⁹⁴ Their suspicions concerning Cantwell's immodest behaviour were later confirmed from Madrid by the Franciscan Hugh de Burgo, who

gave a rich account of Cantwell's penchant for gambling and drinking, and of his participation in several altercations and lawsuits, which were affecting the reputation of Irish priests in the Spanish capital. This account matched well with those rumours that suggested Cantwell's bad behaviour was the reason for his exit from the Society of Jesus. Burgo's testimony, however, was biased. The Franciscan suspected that Cantwell sought an ecclesiastical dignity paid for by Rome, in competition with other clerics, for example the Trinitarian Richard Gold, who in the Franciscan's opinion were better qualified.¹⁹⁵

Cantwell's apparent impudence and immorality contrast with the erudite portrait painted in Philip O'Sullivan Beare's *Patritiana Decas* (1629), in which he is described as both well versed in the classics and a recognised practitioner of the theological virtues.¹⁹⁶ He was also positively regarded by the council of State, who supported providing him with a grant of 300 ducats and a letter to recommend him to Cardinal Gaspar de Borja during his Roman stay.¹⁹⁷ After the king conceded this grant, Father Michael travelled to Rome in May 1632 in the company of the Duke of Alcalá, the new Spanish ambassador to the Holy See.¹⁹⁸

He remained in the *Urbs* for nearly three years, during which time, following his superior's instructions, Cantwell presented several *memoriales* to Urban VIII through the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. All of them insisted on the needs of the Irish Catholics and the ecclesiastical abuses committed in Ireland. In addition, they mentioned the appointment of bishops and the maintenance of the dioceses.¹⁹⁹ He appears to have been well regarded in Rome. The Pope appointed him protonotary apostolic and general commissar of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem in Ireland. He was also granted a priory and an abbey in Ireland.²⁰⁰

After leaving Rome, he tried to increase these benefits even further during his stay in Madrid, where he arrived in 1635. He appealed to Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares, using his tested writing abilities to compose the panegyric *Guzmanica oliva, gloriosam Gasparis Guzmanij Olivarensium principis prosapiam gentiliam bonitatem; eximiumque decus adumbrans*. In this genealogical study of this family, Cantwell exalted the figure of Félix de Guzmán, uncle of the king's favourite, archdeacon and canon in Seville's cathedral, and an active supporter of the Irish college in that city.²⁰¹ Another work, unpublished and now lost, *Hesperidum Horti*

(1636), was dedicated to the king and was used to laud the glory and excellence of the Spanish nation, and must also be interpreted as a means of courting favour.²⁰² Both were, therefore, works of propaganda and revered those who, from a position of *potestas* and *consilium regis*, could further the royal interests.

In early 1636, Cantwell revealed his new plan: to obtain a part of the Cádiz pension. This seems to have been in his mind from the 1620s, as it was at this time that he secured one-third of the pension for the formation and maintenance of the Irish Jesuits. This work had, in the end, come to nothing, and his aspirations then became more personal in character. He claimed 200 ducats from the 500 conceded to the Archbishop of Cashel. The council of State supported his request, based on the quality of the applicant and the benefits that this measure would have for the Irish Catholics.²⁰³ Philip IV paid heed and granted Cantwell the 200 ducats requested.²⁰⁴

However, Patriarch Alonso Pérez de Guzmán did not execute the order and expressed his disagreement in a lengthy *memorial*. Although the task of administering the pension was his by order of the Pope, his arguments were full of political pragmatism. The new grace contravened a decision adopted in 1627 and confirmed a year later, according to which Thomas Walsh had seen his pension halved for the benefit of the Scottish college in Madrid. If another 200 ducats were subtracted, the Irish would be left with no resources for their Mission.²⁰⁵ In order not to neglect the applicant, he suggested the granting of 300 ducats as *viaticum*, with which Cantwell could return to Ireland. Moreover, he would not be coming back as a simple missionary but as a minister furnished with a recommendation letter from Archbishop Walsh. These arguments persuaded Philip IV, who changed his instructions and ordered that Cantwell's 200 ducats be a new pension, without affecting previous assignments.²⁰⁶

Eventually, Michael Cantwell accepted the king's decision, and requested the pension be allocated a vacant see and a Spanish nominal recipient, as dictated by the Castilian laws, because of his status as a foreigner.²⁰⁷ In 1637, in his impatience to return and resume his work, he suggested the dioceses of Astorga and Ávila as suitable sees for paying the pension, because Philip IV had ordered the pension to be paid, but had not designated whence the money was going to come.²⁰⁸ This is the last

reference to Michael Cantwell and his businesses at court. It is uncertain whether he returned to Ireland or died in Spain as an erudite churchman and a pensioner of the Spanish king.

The concession of this pension to Cantwell was the last chapter in one of the most complex episodes in the history of the economic management of the Irish Mission. By 1640, the Cádiz pension was being enjoyed by the Irish clergy in its entirety, and both the amount and the person through which it was distributed had not suffered any more changes. Prior to this, the permanent nature of the pension had acted as a beacon for both religious orders, such as the Society of Jesus, and individuals, such as Richard Bermingham and Michael Cantwell. The repeated attempts to gain control over the 500 ducats, the theological discourses, as well as the historical, religious, and political arguments, all failed to change Philip IV's judgement. The king was determined to stand by his earlier decision, and the pension finally became a consolidated reality of the Irish Mission.

The Impact of the Catholic Confederation and Cromwell's Conquest

In November 1640, Madrid received a new *memorial* by Thomas Walsh. The halving of the pension in 1627 had left the archbishop in a delicate position, and the lack of punctuality in the payment of the 500 ducats was undermining further one of the pillars of the Mission: the assistance lent to the Archbishop of Cashel, who was being beset by David Kearney's creditors. Resigned to the diminished pension, Walsh regretted not having pursued the suit to keep the rent in full and not having insisted the payments be secured with a stable protocol (instead of being subject to the fluctuations of the royal finances).^{[209](#)}

Payment was several years in arrears. The delays seem to have been caused by irregularities incurred by the Irish consul on the Andalusian coast, Balthasar Tobin. This Jerez de la Frontera-based merchant had been commissioned by Walsh to receive the money, but had mismanaged the funds and was running up a debt of 9,000 reales.^{[210](#)} In 1636, the archbishop was informed of Tobin's methods and terminated the relationship at once,

delegating the task of pursuing the embezzled money and of receiving the pension thenceforth to the Irish merchant Stephen England.²¹¹

The obstacles that his new agent had to face moved Thomas Walsh to appeal to Philip IV. Through Patriarch Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, he gave a full account of the general situation in Ireland and of his personal predicament. He wanted to know whether he could use the 500 ducats in full to set his affairs in order or whether he had to allocate half of the money to the missionaries. He stressed his concerns about the pension: the taxes attached to it, the bullion-to-silver conversion rate, and the customs duties and other charges all reduced the effective pension to 300 ducats. He also mentioned Richard Bermingham's and Michael Cantwell's attempted encroachments before suggesting that the best way to prevent other persons from trying was to assign the pension personally to him, while he compelled the king to restore the pension to the original 1,000 ducats, as promised in the 1627 resolution. These arguments aimed to turn the pension into a personal assignation, as had been done with his predecessor, or so Walsh believed.²¹² The religious experts who were consulted to assess Father Thomas' petition, however, pointed out that David Kearney kept half the pension for himself and gave the other half away to the missionaries. Therefore, Walsh's demands were groundless: he was instructed to keep to the same proportions, and give half the pension to the Irish priests and friars.²¹³

The beginning of the 1640s was marked by political turmoil. The war with the German Protestants, France, and the United Provinces, in the context of the Thirty Years' War, and the revolts of Portugal and Catalonia marked the beginning of a period of tribulation for the Spanish monarchy.²¹⁴ In addition, the royal relationship with Ireland was to become tense at least until the Restoration in England.²¹⁵ In October 1641, a group of Old Irish in Ulster took up arms against the English government under the banner *Pro Deo, pro Rege et pro Patria Unanimis*.²¹⁶ This rebellion was the beginning of a conflict which had been brewing since the plantations began in 1609–1611. The goal of the rebels was to protect their land from English and Scottish settlers. The movement was universally supported, and spread all over the island the following year.²¹⁷ In May 1642, several bishops, churchmen, and members of the gentry met in Kilkenny to discuss their political strategy with regard to the English monarchy. This meeting

marked the beginning of the Catholic Confederation, which soon organised itself into an assembly and a supreme council. In order to be able to resist the Stuarts, the confederates needed external help, weapons, and money. Owing to religious affinity, the papacy, Spain, and France seemed the obvious choices.

That same year, the first embassy of the Confederation reached Zaragoza. It included the Jesuit Lucas Wadding; the Augustine James Talbot, prior of Dublin; and the Franciscan Francis Magennis, or McGuinness. Their demands were modest: that those veteran Irish soldiers who fought in the Spanish armies be allowed to return to Ireland to lead the confederate troops, that supplies and weapons be delivered, and that a diplomatic agent with whom to directly negotiate be dispatched.²¹⁸ The new scenario presented by these deputies was certainly advantageous for reinforcing the Spanish monarchy, especially in the light of its struggle with Louis XIII of France. From a purely practical point of view, it was in Philip IV's interest to provide help to the confederates in the form of money to buy arms, so that he could continue recruiting men from Ireland for his armies in Flanders, and to prevent the Irish from looking for another prince with whom to throw in their lot.²¹⁹ However, this would have to be done discreetly, and while the war supplies that the Irish needed would be granted, no royal representative would be sent. The committee of the council of State that dealt with Irish issues determined that sending the Augustine Father José Láinez was tantamount to officially recognising the rebellion and its goals.²²⁰ The cautious aid, therefore, was more symbolic than practical. Spain did not want to compromise its relationship with England, whose parliament could interpret any form of support for the Irish as a *casus belli*.²²¹ At any rate, with the beginning of the Civil War, the threat of an immediate war with Charles I vanished; the intention of the Spanish monarchy was concealed behind sending the weapons from Flanders by means of private merchants.

The Irish also sought the support and recognition of other Catholic nations aside from the Catholic king. Rome soon became their main political and economic supporter. Luke Wadding's mediation with Urban VIII and Innocent X resulted in the papal endorsement of the Confederation.²²² In 1643, Pietro Francesco Scarampi was sent to Ireland as the Pope's agent, and in the following year the Florentine Giovanni Battista

Rinuccini, Bishop of Fermo, was appointed extraordinary nuncio. The Pamphili Pope also sent financial aid, interpreting the rebellion as a 'war of religion' waged for the lives and properties of the Irish Catholics, as well as for their religious freedom.^{[223](#)}

The endorsement of the Holy See gave the Irish a means to persuade Philip IV to adopt a more decisive and less rhetorical policy. Papal diplomats mistrusted the Spanish strategy in Ireland whereas Madrid believed that the king was the only supporter of the confederates.^{[224](#)} The internal struggles of the Crown, however, made it impossible to meet Irish human and material needs, and thus France was the most obvious alternative. In the late 16th century and the first half of the 17th century, the French Crown was another major destination for Irish exiles owing to its geographical position.^{[225](#)} In the 1640s, it became increasingly well located in the European geopolitical scenario, and it had become a recognised counterweight to the power of the Habsburgs. The pro-French tendencies of the Old English also pointed to France as a potential ally, especially given Queen Henrietta Marie's exile in Paris. Cardinal Giulio Mazzarino took advantage of the situation to neutralise the influence of Philip IV in Ireland and increase that of the Bourbons. The opportunity presented itself to recruit Irish troops and reinforce his armies, or at least to prevent them from joining the Spanish.^{[226](#)} The Spanish king, however, trusted that the Irish would stay loyal, but nevertheless sent an agent with the twofold mission of controlling recruitment and of persuading the Irish that the French conditions were not as favourable as they seemed.^{[227](#)}

As the conflict unravelled, differences in the Confederation began to appear. In the first peace treaty with the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant, in March 1646, three parties can be clearly noted: the war faction (Rinuccini and clerics), the moderates or neutrals, and the peace faction (Ormond and his supporters).^{[228](#)} The chasm between these parties was wide, and this would heavily burden the political process. From 1647 onwards, French diplomacy, delivered by Monsieur de la Monnerie and Philippe du Talon, became increasingly important.^{[229](#)} Their diplomatic goal was to obstruct Spanish military recruitment, as the representative of the Confederation in Madrid, the aforementioned Hugh de Burgo, reported.^{[230](#)} Three years prior to this, immediately after his appointment, the Bishop of Down warned Philip IV of Monnerie's persuasive tactics.^{[231](#)} Heeding the

French's calls, resenting the limited help lent by the Catholic king, and knowing of the Spanish defeats in Europe, many Irish defected to the Bourbon side.

In contrast, the Old Irish confederates remained steadfast in their traditional stance and repeatedly made clear their preference for the Spanish monarchy. That same year, they proposed Philip IV become lord of the island once full independence from the English had been achieved and no obstacle existed for the Pope exercising his full authority. Another possibility was to crown Juan José of Austria, bastard son of Philip IV, in order that they could have a king *in situ* without integrating Ireland into the Spanish monarchy. These manoeuvres aimed to neutralise the political moves of French agents and to prevent these agents from gaining authority in Ireland.²³² French advances were made easier, though, by the lack of coordination and also the personal squabbles between Spanish agents Diego de la Torre and François Foissotte, who were more concerned with recruiting soldiers than halting French progress by diplomatic means. This led the supreme council of the Confederacy, most of the members of which were pro-French Old English, to lean towards Paris.²³³

In contrast, 1647 was a turning point for the Spanish monarchy. The revolts in Naples and Sicily opened a new front in a scenario already darkened by the conflicts in the Iberian Peninsula, Northern Europe, and now the Mediterranean. Burdened by war, Philip IV's Crown faced its blackest moment with the bankruptcy which was announced that year. With conflict on so many fronts, the monarchy could not afford the additional effort involved in solving the Irish problem. The Spanish monarchy was forced into a major strategic shift, and diverted the available resources to more urgent needs. The confederate deputy Hugh de Burgo was informed that no help would be forthcoming.²³⁴ According to Francisco de Melo, the most sensible approach was to leave the issue for the Pope to deal with, since Irish Catholics had made the conflict one of religion. This left a door open to support the Irish if more favourable conditions ensued.²³⁵ To be sure, the efforts to guarantee that the Irish preferred the Spanish over the French continued.²³⁶ In 1648, the council of State debated sending some aid to the confederates for weapons and munitions. The simplest way would have been to send this help via Flanders, as the need for military supplies in Spain was too great.²³⁷ Also, Philip IV ordered the delivery of 10,000

ducats to the Irish Catholics, and another 2,000 for the episcopal consecration of Hugh de Burgo. The money would be officially assigned to the Archdeacon of Toledo, despite the bishop's attempts to have the 10,000 ducats sent through his diocese in the event the money was dispatched by the Marquis of Lede from Flanders.²³⁸

Events in the Confederation, internal divisions caused by the truce of the Earl of Inchiquin in 1648, which heralded the creation of a royalist party in Ireland, and the Civil War in England all drove the Spanish to adopt a cautious policy and to maintain some distance from the rebels. The critical situation which the Spanish monarchy faced, even after the signing of the Peace of Westphalia with the United Provinces, meant that revising the overall strategy, at a time when French pressure was growing and the English parliament had the upper hand over Charles I, was wise. In such conditions, decisions had to be ruled by political and military pragmatism, even if this meant stepping aside in Ireland. The integrity of the monarchy and of its territories was paramount, and had total priority over any external conflict.

François Foissotte warned that French negotiators were winning over former supporters of the Spanish to the French cause, but his advice went unheeded. France was quickly becoming Ireland's main protector. Publicly, the French agents supported the restoration of the king, the pacification of the territory, and the general welfare of the nation. Secretly, however, they tried to negotiate 'an open door to set a firm foot in Ireland'. This idea was not well received, and so they played the card of the exiled Queen Henrietta to reach a peaceful solution.²³⁹

The Confederation of Kilkenny brought about a new era in Spanish-French rivalry.²⁴⁰ The Spanish monarchy was in a weak position, with multiple foci of conflict and insufficient resources to deal with them. Progressively, Spain lost its pre-eminent position in favour of France, the continent's new strong power and an increasing influence in Ireland. The conflict between Spain and France did not directly affect the Irish Mission, and indeed it had little effect on its future evolution. During this period, Rome supported the confederates but did not neglect this royal patronage. With the promulgation of a new bull in early 1647, Innocent X confirmed several questions concerning the Cádiz pension.²⁴¹ In addition to endorsing the halving of the pension twenty years earlier, the privilege established a number of clauses relating to the way the pension was managed, essentially

confirming the terms previously set out by Innocent's predecessor Urban VIII. In order to avoid the Irish and Scots losing their rent in the event of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán's death, the Pope authorised the patriarch to designate who would deal with the pension after his demise. The successor had to comply with the same terms, halving the money and distributing it as it was due. In any case, the appointment was subject to the king's endorsement.

Another clause established that the Bishop of Cádiz must hand over the money to the person appointed by the patriarch, a theoretical framework that did not correspond to the practical realities of the pension.²⁴² A few months later, Stephen England, procurator of Thomas Walsh, appealed to Pérez de Guzmán from Jerez de la Frontera because the secretary of the bishop, Francisco Guerra, was withholding payment.²⁴³ The secretary claimed to need a letter from the patriarch, certifying the king's decision to halve the pension and confirming England's authority to collect the money.²⁴⁴

This issue caused Walsh a good deal of trouble, especially given the political situation in Ireland. The second peace treaty between the Duke of Ormond and the Catholic confederates in January 1649 was the end of the Confederation of Kilkenny. The agreement involved important concessions by the English Crown, which not only acted as demonstrations of religious tolerance but also as legal recognition of the ecclesiastical structure of the Irish.²⁴⁵ In addition, the Irish had their property guaranteed and were allowed to take political and military office in exchange for a vow of loyalty.²⁴⁶ However, numerous members of the 'clergy party', who had expressed reservations towards the first treaty, did so again when the second emerged. The treaty had not suddenly transformed the Irish into royalists owing to their support to the prince Charles Stuart; rather, it was a contractual relationship that was agreed upon on pragmatic grounds for mutual benefit. Ormond regarded this attitude as disloyal, but these critical clergy openly disputed the willingness of the Lord Lieutenant to abide by the agreement. The Catholic elite were more willing to join the royalist faction, as they were prompted by the need to remain united in the face of the threat of invasion.²⁴⁷

The following August, however, after the trial and execution of Charles I, Oliver Cromwell's army began taking control of the island. The regicide

and the beginning of the military campaign finally united all Irish factions, regardless of creed, under the leadership of the Duke of Ormond. The unprecedented massacres in Drogheda and Wexford sent a ripple of horror across Europe.²⁴⁸ The goal of this offensive by the parliamentarians was to neutralise the progress that the supporters of the exiled Charles II were making after the synod of Catholic bishops and archbishops in Clonmacnoise.²⁴⁹ In any case, as pointed out by the Spanish ambassador in England, Alonso de Cárdenas, Cromwell also saw the conflict as an opportunity to increase his power and assert his authority.²⁵⁰ After Cromwell appointed himself Lord Lieutenant for three years, he began implementing a programme of land confiscation and plantation.²⁵¹ Although in this early stage no move had been made to harsher Penal Law, the religious attitude of the leader of the parliamentarians did not bode well for Catholics.²⁵²

The situation seriously threatened to undermine the viability of Thomas Walsh's diocese. Despite having sent the documents that were asked of him, in 1653 Walsh had to launch a lawsuit to demand the payment of pension money, some of which was over ten years in arrears, from the Bishop of Cádiz. Before the lawsuit was filed, however, the lawyer Andrés de la Pedrosa carried out different transactions, by letter with Bishop Guerra and in person with his secretary.²⁵³ However, he was unsuccessful and had no other option in the end but to involve the law. The lawyer was awarded the power of attorney which had been given to Stephen England by Thomas Walsh in 1636 and was given by Alonso Pérez de Guzmán in 1646. The lawsuit, which concerned payments due to be paid between 16 June 1642 and late 1652, resulted in the presentation before Francesco Caetani, the nuncio in Spain, of the four papal bulls which named the patriarch as administrator of the royal grace. The lawsuit ended with the rents of the diocese of Cádiz being seized until the 3,902 ducats that were still owed in April 1653 had been paid.²⁵⁴

At the King's Disposal: Walsh's Testament and the Fate of the Pension

Not without some difficulty, Stephen England had been transferring the pension payments, however small, as they were made. He had to face a wide variety of obstacles that made his task a good deal harder, such as changes in the value of money or the occasional collection of rents in cereal, instead of cash. In the meantime, in Ireland, the consequences of Oliver Cromwell's conquest did not become obvious until a year later. Following the Scottish recognition of Charles II as king, the parliamentary troops had to return to England. Ambassador Cárdenas pointed out that this took some of the pressure off the Catholics.²⁵⁵ Their main supporter, France, was immersed in the Fronde and was also at war with Spain. For his part, Philip IV had expressed his concern over the new situation in Ireland, but his own kingdom was facing too many conflicts to be able to do anything about it. Political pragmatism and the need to find allies against Louis XIV came before religious sentiment, and Charles II's rights could not stand in the way of Spain's relationship with England.²⁵⁶ The restoration of Alonso de Cárdenas as ambassador was tantamount to recognising the Commonwealth. Philip IV was the first European monarch to recognise the republican regime, and he adopted a strategy of neutrality and developed a good understanding with the English parliament.²⁵⁷ Any intervention in Ireland, it was understood, would result in conflict with parliament.

These events weakened the position of the Irish, and in 1650 the Irish clergy withdrew their support for the Duke of Ormond.²⁵⁸ Oliver Cromwell's political programme did not include tolerance of Catholicism. Although before invading Ireland he was not planning to suppress it altogether, he soon embarked on the persecution of those Catholic bishops who, according to his point of view, had usurped secular power.²⁵⁹ The Act of Settlement passed in 1652 confiscated all Irish-owned land. This measure involved the reduction of Irish property from 60% to approximately 10% during the Commonwealth, as well as the move of many of the dispossessed landowners to Connacht.²⁶⁰ Matters only worsened in December 1653 with Cromwell's appointment as Lord Protector. This appointment was followed by the foundation of plantations for Protestant settlers, the distribution of estates among Cromwell's soldiers and parliamentary adventurers to guarantee the loyalty of the new landowners, and the enactment of expulsion decrees.²⁶¹ A year later, Cromwell confirmed his government's

religious policies by declaring that Elizabeth I's Penal Law was still valid.^{[262](#)}

This dictatorial regime did not spare the Archbishop of Cashel, Thomas Walsh, who was to spend his last years in and out of jail.^{[263](#)} One of his periods of incarceration, spent in Clonmel Prison, lasted for nine months. Feeling under threat again, he went into hiding in the mountains between Tipperary and Cork, whence he continued preaching in secret. Finally, on 16 July 1653 he was banished and then left Ireland for Spain.

Upon his arrival, Walsh was welcomed to the Irish College in Santiago de Compostela. When the news reached Madrid, Bishop Guerra was instructed to pay all the money that he owed Walsh.^{[264](#)} Stephen England, hearing of the Bishop of Cádiz's plans to pay the debt, increased his pressure on the prelate.^{[265](#)} In a letter addressed to Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, Father Guerra claimed to have ordered the sale of some wheat in Jerez and to be planning on giving the Irish agent 12,000 reales from the proceedings. The rest, he said, would be paid in instalments.^{[266](#)}

Oblivious of England's transactions and having nothing but his college rations to rely upon, Thomas Walsh, whose health was not good because of his age, communicated to the patriarch his wish to go to Madrid. First, he needed the money that he was owed so he could pay his debts in Galicia.^{[267](#)} In the meantime, England was urging the Bishop of Cádiz on in similar terms. In December, the merchant had received three payments: one for 3,736 reales, another one for 2,000 reales in silver, and another for 2,000 reales in bullion. The last 4,000 reales were sent to Ignatius Lombard, Walsh's cousin and agent in Madrid, who was to effect the transfer to the bishop's Galician residence.^{[268](#)}

Thomas Walsh did not live to see all the debt paid: he died on 5 May 1654. Two months earlier he had signed his testament, appointing Fernando de Andrade y Sotomayor, Archbishop of Santiago and Philip IV's first chaplain, as executor. In his will the archbishop left some instructions concerning the royal grant. The debt, once repaid, was to be allocated to the Jesuit residence in Waterford, through the offices of Stephen England. Walsh also mentioned the 9,000 ducats still owed by the consul Balthasar Tobin, which were to be transferred to the Society of Jesus for the construction of a new chapel at the church of the Waterford residence. Should this not be possible, the Jesuits were instructed to use the money to

teach grammar or the catechism.²⁶⁹ Having made this decision, the Jesuits became the indirect beneficiaries of the pension. To be sure, the money was not being given to them in order that they could sustain their apostolic endeavours, as they had wanted in the past, but Walsh's support of their mission was implicit in his instructions. Walsh was buried in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, next to the entrance to the King's Chapel—currently known as the Relic's Chapel.²⁷⁰

The archbishop of Cashel's death closed another chapter in the history of the Irish Mission and prompted new questions concerning the future of the Cádiz pension. The recipient and channel of royal support was no longer, and a decision had to be made concerning how to proceed with the part that corresponded to this patronage. It, understood as a support structure for the Irish clergy, had to continue, but its main means of sustenance had turned into a powerful tool and the cause of endless disputes. Individuals and collectives, including the most illustrious Irish exiles in Spain, sought to control it for their own benefit. The pension, however, did not lose its original purpose: supporting the Catholic flock in Ireland and preserving the faith in the island.

All this was summarised in a *memorial* sent by Alonso Pérez de Guzmán to Philip IV. The patriarch argued for maintaining the pension but changing the way it was paid. In his opinion, the pension would revert to the Crown, while a new Archbishop of Cashel was appointed, and spent on *viatica* for the priests who left for Ireland.²⁷¹

Notes

1. P. O'Connell, 'The Early-Modern Irish College Network in Iberia, 1590–1800,' in *The Irish in Europe: 1580–1815*, T. O'Connor, ed. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), p. 49; and Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire, 1600–1825*, p. 21. For Philip II's policy in Ireland, E. García Hernán, *Ireland and Spain in the Reign of Philip II* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009).
2. Ó. Recio Morales, 'Entre lo divino y lo humano: Irlanda en la estrategia general de los Austrias Madrileños, 1529–1700,' in *Spanish-Irish Relations through the Ages*, p. 18.
3. Alcalá-Zamora y Queipo de Llano, *España, Flandes y el Mar del Norte (1618–1639): la última ofensiva europea de los Austrias madrileños*.
4. In 1596, Philip II had prepared a military expedition to Ireland, in order to use the island as a launch pad to attack England. E. García Hernán, 'Planes militares de Felipe II para conquistar

- Irlanda, 1569–1578,’ in *Irlanda y la Monarquía Hispánica: Kinsale, 1601–2001. Guerra, política, exilio y religión*, pp. 185–204.
5. B.J. García García, ‘La *Pax Hispanica*: una política de conservación,’ in *La monarquía de Felipe III: los reinos*, vol. 4, p. 1218. On *Pax Hispanica*, B.J. García García, *La Pax Hispanica. Política exterior del duque de Lerma* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996); P.C. Allen, *Felipe III y la Pax Hispanica, 1598–1621: el fracaso de la gran estrategia* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2001); B.J. García García (dir.), *Tiempo de Paces. La Pax Hispanica y la Tregua de los Doce Años* (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2009); and B.J. García García, M. Herrero Sánchez and A. Hugon (eds.), *El arte de la prudencia. La Tregua de los Doce Años en la Europa de los Pacificadores* (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2012).
 6. Sanz Camañes, ‘España ante las Paces del Norte a comienzos del siglo XVII. Del tratado de Londres a la Tregua de Amberes,’ pp. 113–134; Id., ‘Las Paces con Inglaterra,’ in *La monarquía de Felipe III: los reinos*, vol. 4, pp. 1316–1349; and G. Redworth, “‘El luterano vino con seiscientos herejes’”. Gran Bretaña y la Pax Hispanica,’ in *Tiempo de Paces. La Pax Hispanica y la Tregua de los Doce Años*, pp. 151–174.
 7. J.A. de Abreu y Bertodano, *Colección de los tratados de paz, alianza, neutralidad, garantía, protección, tregua mediación, accesión, reglamento de límites, comercio, navegación &c. hechos por los pueblos, reyes y príncipes de España* (Madrid: Diego Peralta, Antonio Marín y Juan de Zúñiga, 1740), Part I, pp. 243–286.
 8. Pérez Tostado, ‘Looking for “Powerful Friends”: Irish and English Political Activity in the Spanish Monarchy (1640–1660),’ pp. 5–6.
 9. Sanz Camañes, *Los ecos de la Armada. España, Inglaterra y la estabilidad del Norte (1585–1660)*, pp. 276–286.
 10. P. Sanz Camañes, ‘Irlanda en el archipiélago atlántico, según las instrucciones de los embajadores durante el gobierno de Felipe III,’ in *Extranjeros en el ejército. Militares irlandeses en la sociedad española, 1580–1818*, p. 138.
 11. The 1604 treaty extended the policy of tolerance to the Protestant English merchants living in Spain. A. Domínguez Ortiz, ‘El primer esbozo de tolerancia religiosa en la España de los Austrias,’ *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea*, 2 (1981), pp. 13–19. After all, James I was the son of a Catholic martyr, Mary Stuart. The beginning of his reign was viewed by Catholics with optimism. T. O’hAnnracháin, *Catholic Europe, 1592–1648. Centre and peripheries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 38. However, the Gunpowder Plot, which planned to assassinate the king, discovered in 1605, had grave consequences for the Catholics. They were accused of trying to blow up parliament. A. Fraser, *Faith and Treason: The Story of the Gunpowder Plot* (Nueva York: Anchor, 1996). Among the new measures implemented after the plot was that the oath of supremacy and allegiance to the king were made obligatory. Tax pressure increased and other measures, which were to have a great impact on the life of Catholics, were also enacted. This belied the policy of tolerance declared in the treaty, despite the clauses added to the text upon Philip III’s endorsement of the treaty. AGS, Estado, leg. 2512, S. I., n. d., c. 1606. ‘The new laws enacted by the English Parliament against Catholics in this year of 1606, which are called recusant, translated from the original English printed version’.
 12. Ó. Recio Morales, ‘El pensamiento político irlandés en la España del siglo XVII,’ *Chronica Nova*, 29 (2002), p. 266.
 13. AGS, Estado, leg. 2512. Consulta of the council of State. Valladolid, 24 December 1605.
 14. AGS, Estado, leg. 1860. Philip III to the Marquis of Aitona. Lerma, 29 July 1608.

15. AGS, Estado, leg. 1860. Note on the Marquis of Aitona's letter. Madrid, 23 September 1608. Recio Morales, *España y la pérdida del Ulster. Irlanda en la estrategia política de la Monarquía Hispánica, (1602–1649)*, p. 107.
16. S. Giordano (ed.), *Le istruzioni generali di Paolo V ai diplomatici pontifici: 1605–1621* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2003).
17. AGS, Estado, leg. 1860. Philip III to the Marquis of Aitona. Madrid, 22 November 1608.
18. TNA: PRO, State papers, 63/229, f. 62r. David Kearney was born in 1555, to a noble family of Tipperary. He received his training in Flanders, although Hugh Fenning claims that he was enrolled in the Irish College in Salamanca. Fenning, 'Students of the Irish College at Salamanca, 1592–1638,' p. 29. On 21 May 1603 he was appointed Archbishop of Cashel, succeeding Dermot O'Hurley. L.F. Rénéhan, *Collections of Irish Church History*, D. McCarthy, ed. (Dublin: C. M. Warren & Thomas Richardson and Son, 1861), vol. 1, pp. 258–275; and P. Gauchard, *Hierarchia Catholica Medi et Recentioris Aevi (1592–1667)* (Monasterii: Sumptibus et typis librariae Regensbergianae, 1935), vol. 4, p. 138.
19. TNA: PRO, State papers, 63/228, f. 13r. Dermot Carty to Thomas Edmunds, Thadeo Hwollaghan, and Donato Crapp. Bordeaux, 15 January 1610. ASV, Fondo Borghese, I, 914, ff. 75v–76v. Cardinal Borghese to the internuncio Guido Bentivoglio. Rome, 21 November 1609. Cfr. J. Hagan, 'Miscellanea Vaticano-Hibernica, 1580–1631,' *Archivium Hibernicum*, 3 (1914), pp. 227–365.
20. AGS, Estado, leg. 1493, doc. 375. Report on the Irish issue. Aranda, 21 August 1610.
21. AGS, Estado, leg. 1493, doc. 371. Memorial by David Kearney. Aranda, 21 August 1610.
22. AGS, Estado, leg. 1862. Memorial on Irish issues. S. l., n. d., c. 1610.
23. On 10 July and 6 August 1610 the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Arthur Chichester, enacted several edicts against priests and other religious men. SP/S/1/20 (3). The latest publications about the Flight of the Earls are T. O'Connor and M.A. Lyons (eds.), *The Ulster Earls and Baroque Europe: Refashioning Irish Identities, 1600–1800* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010); and D. Finnegan, M.-C. Harrigan and E. O Ciardha (eds.), *The Flight of the Earls* (Derry: Guildhall Press, 2010). On the Plantations and its impact, see N. Canny, 'Protestants, Planters and Apartheid in Early Modern Ireland,' *Irish Historical Studies*, 25/98 (1986), pp. 105–115; A. Clarke and R.D. Edwards, 'Pacification, Plantation, and the Catholic Question, 1603–23,' in *A New History of Ireland, III: Early Modern Ireland 1534–1691*, T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009²), pp. 187–232; and J. McCavit, 'The Flight of the Earls, 1607,' *Irish Historical Studies*, 29 (1994–1995), pp. 159–173. For the historical importance of Plantations, see T. O'hAnnracháin, 'Plantation, 1580–1641,' in *Oxford handbook of Modern Irish History*, A. Jackson, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 291–314 and 308.
24. The Anglican Archbishop of Cashel to the Count of Salisbury. Cashel, 28 September 1607. *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1965), vol. 19, p. 1607.
25. AGS, Estado, leg. 1862. Memorial on Irish issues. S. l., n. d., c. 1610. The use of the expression 'English race' and its definition as 'Catholics, but veering towards the English, rather than the Irish', reveals the historical dispute between the Old English of Norman origin and supporters of the English government, and the Old Irish, Gaelic, self-styled Spanish descendants. Hazard, *Faith and Patronage: The Political Career of Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, c. 1560–1629*, p. 89. In his *Brief Relation*, published in 1618, Philip O'Sullivan Beare defined David Kearney as Old Irish through his father's line, but with 'some English blood'. However, his conduct was ruled by

- ‘several members of the [Jesuit] order, who are his relatives’, which made him a supporter of the English cause. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/1016, f. 165v. S. l., n. d., c. 1618. The original manuscript in English could be found in UCD-OFM, D. 01, vol. 1, p. 23.
26. AGS, Estado, leg. 1862. Memorial on Irish issues. S. l., n. d., c. 1610.
 27. AGS, Estado, leg. 994. Philip III to the Duke of Taurisano. Lerma, 8 May 1610.
 28. In his letter to the confessor of Margaret of Austria, Richard Haller, Claudio Acquaviva expounded the virtues of the Archbishop of Cashel and his nephew, whom he had received as guests during their Roman trip. He underlined their apostolic work and their prestige in Ireland. Also, Superior General stressed how beneficial it would be for the Jesuit cause if the queen could protect them while in Spain. ARSI, Anglia, 1 I, f. 14r. Rome, 9 May 1610. For the close relationship between Margaret and her confessor, M. Sánchez, ‘Confession and Complicity: Margarita de Austria, Richard Haller SJ, and the Court of Philip III,’ *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 14 (1993), pp. 133–149. In another recommendation letter written on the same day, which was formulated in similar terms, Acquaviva asked Pierre Coton, confessor to the Dauphin—future Louis XIII—to intercede in favour of Kearney and Wall before the French king. ARSI, Anglia, 1 I, f. 14v. Rome, 9 May 1610.
 29. AGS, Estado, leg. 1493, doc. 374. Cardinal Mellini to Philip III. Rome, 19 May 1610.
 30. E. García Hernán, ‘La Misión de Irlanda (1610–1628). Aproximación a una nueva investigación,’ in *Hacer historia desde Simancas. Homenaje a José Luis Rodríguez de Diego*, A. Marcos Martín, ed. (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2011), pp. 354–359.
 31. AGS, Estado, leg. 1493, doc. 371. Memorial by David Kearney. Aranda, 21 August 1610.
 32. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. S. l., n. d. The description of the Spanish Infanta Mary as ‘by then Queen of Hungary’ reveals that the text was written after 1631, when she was crowned. In any case, the text is hardly a reliable chronological indicator, as it is full of mistakes and inaccuracies.
 33. In his periodical accounts, Luis Cabrera de Córdoba describes the evolution of Prince Philip’s illness and attributes his recovery to Saint Crucifix of Burgos. L. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la Corte de España, desde 1599 hasta 1614* (Madrid: J. Martín Alegría, 1857), pp. 409, 411–412 and 414. For his part, in the 19th century, Matías Sangrador Vitores, based on ecclesiastical reports issued for the process of the canonisation of San Pedro Regalado, associated the child’s sanation with the relics of the Castilian saint, which had been brought to Aranda for that purpose. M. Sangrador Vitores, *Vida de San Pedro Regalado, patrón de Valladolid* (Oviedo: Brid, Regadera y Compañía, 1859), p. 204.
 34. In Margaret of Austria’s posthumous panegyric, Diego de Guzmán does not mention these events. D. de Guzmán, *Reyna católica. Vida y muerte de D. Margarita de Austria reyna de Espanna* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1617). The queen’s biography is also silent about it. M.J. Pérez Martín, *Margarita de Austria, Reina de España* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1961).
 35. AGS, Estado, leg. 1493, doc. 375. Report by Junta de Dos. Aranda, 27 August 1610. While David Kearney was granted an ordinary pension, two weeks earlier Cardinal Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, Archbishop of Toledo, had filed a complaint against the ‘lost and otiose’ people at court. His complaint stemmed from the behaviour of some Irish exiles, and he suggested ridding the place of ‘vagabonds’. They are sometimes compared to *Moriscos* and Gypsies. C. O’Scea, ‘Los exiliados de las Islas Británicas (1580–1680),’ in *Los exiliados del rey de España*, pp. 123–124; and Id., *Surviving Kinsale: Irish Emigration and Identity Formation in Early Modern Spain, 1601–40*, pp. 110 and 165–167. This matter was not new for the council of State. The cardinal suggested using 500 ducats to get rid of them, and to send the ‘reformed’ people to the army or the galleys. AGS, Estado, leg. 2640. Memorial by the Cardinal Archbishop

- of Toledo. Madrid, 14 August 1610; AGS, Estado, leg. 2513. Documents and orders of the council of State. Madrid, 20 April–21 June 1610; and memorial by the Irish residing in Madrid. Madrid, 3 July 1610. E. García Hernán and Ó. Recio Morales, 'Extranjeros en la corte: los irlandeses,' in *La Monarquía de Felipe III: los reinos*, vol. 4, pp. 1276–1316, 1279, 1287 and 1297.
36. Feros, *El duque de Lerma. Realeza y privanza en la España de Felipe III*, pp. 337–346; and C. J. de Carlos Morales, 'Entre dos "bancarrotas": Los asentistas genoveses y la Real Hacienda de Castilla, 1607–1627,' in *Centros de Poder Italianos en la Monarquía Hispánica (siglos XV–XVII)*, J. Martínez Millán and M. Rivero Rodríguez, eds. (Madrid: Polifemo, 2010), vol. 2, pp. 1053–1094. On the royal finances during the reigns of Philip II and Philip III, C.J. de Carlos Morales, 'Endeudamiento dinástico y crisis financieras en tiempo de los Austrias: las suspensiones de pagos de 1557–1627,' *Libros de la Corte*, 7 (2013), pp. 59–127.
 37. AGS, Estado, leg. 1493, doc. 375. Report by Junta de Dos. Aranda, 27 August 1610.
 38. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Copy of Philip III's order concerning the Archbishop of Cashel's pension. Lerma, 13 September 1610.
 39. The route followed by David Kearney and Walter Wall after they left Madrid is unknown, although it is known that they visited the Irish college of Douai. TNA: PRO, State papers, 78/57, f.186r. David Kearney to Richard Conway. Douai, 31 March 1611. Several days later, Claudio Acquaviva wrote to the archbishop to wish him a good return trip. ARSI, Anglia, 1 I, f. 23r. Roma, 16 April 1611. In early October, they arrived back in Ireland. BAV, Barberini Latini, 6805, f. 183r. Guido Bentivoglio to Cardinal Borghese. Brussels, 5 October 1611.
 40. AGS, Estado, leg. 840. Memorial by David Kearney. Madrid, 4 February 1611. J. Silke, 'The Irish Abroad, 1534–1691,' p. 619; and Id., 'Irish Scholarship and the Renaissance, 1580–1673,' *Studies in the Renaissance*, 20 (1973), p. 187.
 41. AGS, Estado, leg. 2641. Minute of letter by Alonso de Velasco. Madrid, 2 March 1611.
 42. AGS, Estado, leg. 2634. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 9 March 1613. J. Burrieza, 'Escuela de sacerdotes y mártires: Los colegios en el exilio católico,' in *Irlanda y la Monarquía Hispánica: Kinsale, 1601–2001. Guerra, política, exilio y religión*, pp. 56 and 60–62; O'Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela*, pp. 36 and 56; Ead., 'The Irish College, Santiago de Compostela: 1605–1767,' *Archivium Hibernicum*, 50 (1996), pp. 19–28; and O'Scea, *Surviving Kinsale: Irish Emigration and Identity Formation in Early Modern Spain, 1601–40*, pp. 170–174.
 43. AGS, Estado, leg. 993. The Duke of Taurisano to Philip III. Rome, 8 December 1610.
 44. V. de la Fuente and J.B. Alzog, *Historia eclesiástica de España* (Madrid: Compañía de Impresores y Libreros del Reino, 1875), vol. 5, p. 559.
 45. On his arrival in Ireland, Kearney could see that the need of the Irish Catholics was more and more pressing. New edicts and the martyrdom of the Franciscan Cornelius O'Devany, Bishop of Down, and his chaplain, on 1 February 1612, were key events. In Kearney's own words, 'the heretics intend to vomit out all their poison and infect with it the purity of our holy religion'. Cfr., Hazard, *Faith and Patronage: The Political Career of Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, c. 1560–1629*, p. 100. Except for Kearney, the whole Catholic hierarchy was in exile on the continent. BAV, Barberini Latini, 8928, ff. 27rv and 46r. Thomas White Lombard to Cardinal Maffeo Barberini. Rome, 10 March and 15 October 1612. Peter Lombard, Primate of Ireland and Bishop of Armagh, was in Rome; Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam, was at the service of the Spanish monarchy between Madrid and Flanders; Eugene MacMahon (Matthews), Archbishop of Dublin, was in exile in Flanders; and Cornelius Ryan, Bishop of Killaloe, lived in Lisbon. The remaining

- dioceses were vacant or were being presided over by vicars. BAV, Barberini Latini, 4994, ff. 47r–48v and 49v. ‘Short Account of the present state of Ireland, sent by the Archbishop of Cashel, some fathers of the Society, and other grave persons, this year, 1612, to the superiors of the Irish seminaries in Spain’. Cfr. P.F. Moran (ed.), *Spicilegium Ossoriense* (Dublin: W.B. Kelly, 1874), pp. 119–123; and A. Clarke and R. Dudley Edwards, ‘Pacification, Plantation and the Catholic Question, 1603–1623,’ in *A New History of Ireland, III: Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691*, p. 209.
46. AGS, Patronato Real, leg. 67, doc. 58; and AHN, Consejos, leg. 15211. Paul V’s bull for the provision of Juan de Cuenca in the diocese of Cádiz. Rome, 20 August 1612.
 47. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Copy of the bull concerning the Cádiz pension. Rome, 21 September 1613. By taking responsibility for the pension, Diego de Guzman was temporarily in charge of the Irish Mission, and thus added to his already considerable powers. R. Mayoral López, ‘La Capilla Real,’ in *La monarquía de Felipe III: la Casa del Rey*, vol. 1, pp. 383–375.
 48. J.M. Nieto Soria, *Iglesia y génesis del estado moderno en Castilla (1369–1480)* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1994), pp. 349–356.
 49. AHN, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores-Santa Sede, leg. 93, f. 179r. Philip III to the Duke of Taurisano. Madrid, 28 August 1614.
 50. AHN, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores-Santa Sede, leg. 56, f. 269r. Philip III to Cardinal Gaspar de Borja. Madrid, 11 December 1616.
 51. AHN, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores-Santa Sede, leg. 93, f. 180r. Philip III to Cardinal Gaspar de Borja. San Lorenzo el Real, 26 August 1617.
 52. AHN, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores-Santa Sede, leg. 57, f. 232r. Philip IV to the Duke of Alburquerque. Aranjuez, 17 November 1622.
 53. AHN, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores-Santa Sede, leg. 56, f. 269. Philip III to Cardinal Gaspar de Borja. Madrid, 11 December 1616.
 54. According to Thomas O’Connor, during the early 17th century, the number of students graduating from these colleges was significant: approximately 30 priests per year. O’Connor, ‘The Domestic and International Roles of Irish Overseas Colleges, 1590–1800,’ p. 92.
 55. *Viaticum*, via = road, meaning ‘provision for the road’. The 1739 *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* defines the word as ‘The provision, in kind or coin, of what is necessary for the sustenance of the traveller’. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia Española, 1739), Tom. 6.
 56. On the *Spanish Match*, Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match*; and Samson (ed.), *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles’s Journey to Madrid, 1623*.
 57. Canny, ‘Ireland and Continental Europe, c. 1600-c. 1750,’ p. 343.
 58. In his official correspondence, the Count of Gondomar reported that the religious situation in Ireland remained, as a whole, unchanged. RB, II/2228, docs. 156 and 185. The Count of Gondomar to the Duke of Lerma. London, 28 July and 30 October 1615. For the figure of Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, *Correspondencia del conde de Gondomar* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1999); and J. Durán-Loriga, *El embajador y el rey. El conde de Gondomar y Jacobo I de Inglaterra* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 2006).
 59. RB, II/2134, doc. 13. Richard Bermingham to the Count of Gondomar. Madrid, n. d., c. 1619; and AHN, Estado, L. 741, f. 23r. Memorial by Richard Bermingham. Madrid, 17 February 1619.

60. AHN, Estado, L. 741, f. 23r. Memorial by Richard Bermingham. Madrid, 17 February 1619. Recio Morales, *España y la pérdida del Ulster. Irlanda en la estrategia política de la Monarquía Hispánica, (1602–1649)*, p. 130; and T. O'Connor, *Irish Voices from the Spanish Inquisition: Migrants, Converts and Brokers in Early Modern Iberia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 69.
61. AGS, Estado, leg. 2599, ff. 55–57. Memorial by Irish prelates. Ireland, 9 January 1619.
62. ARSI, Anglia, 1 I, f. 91r. Muzio Vitelleschi to David Kearney. Rome, 18 July 1620; and ARSI, Anglia, 1 I, 91v. Muzio Vitelleschi to David Kearney. Rome, 11 September 1620. In this letter, the Superior General alluded to other precedents (without specifying their dates), sent by the archbishop from Lyon and Madrid. However, Vitelleschi's reply was directed to Ireland in the belief that Kearney had returned to his diocese after a brief visit to Spain, without having travelled to Rome, as had been planned. ARSI, Anglia, 29, doc. 15. David Kearney to Muzio Vitelleschi. Ex provincia Casselen, 30 September 1618. After his return to Cashel in 1611, David Kearney resumed his pastoral work and organised several provincial synods (1612, 1614 and 1616) for the ecclesiastical reorganisation of his diocese. A. Forrestal, *Catholic Synods in Ireland, 1600–1690* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), p. 35. In 1617, David Kearney reminded Muzio Vitelleschi of the importance of his business in Rome, years earlier, and of the deterioration of the situation since the arrival, one year earlier, of Oliver St John, Viscount Grandison, as Lord Deputy of Ireland. ARSI, Anglia, 29, doc. 14. Ex Hibernia, 26 May 1617. However, Rome viewed the situation differently. From 1618 onwards, the number of episcopal promotions to Irish dioceses increased markedly. Ó'hAnnracháin, *Catholic Europe, 1592–1648. Centre and peripheries*, pp. 39 and 52–53.
63. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/86, f. 49. David Kearney to the Count of Gondomar. Madrid, 20 March 1619. Richard O'Connell, general vicar of the Irish diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe, received his *viaticum* to return to Ireland on 1 November 1620. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 72]. Juan de Ciriza to the president of the council of Finances. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 1 November 1620. The following year, he also benefitted from the royal grant awarded his brother Maurice, who was an Augustinian priest trained in St Gabriel's college, in Valladolid. AGS, Estado, leg. 2783. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 24 November 1621.
64. In a letter addressed to Thomas White, dean of the Irish college in Salamanca, Diego de Sosa announced the arrival of an Irish archbishop—David Kearney—to the court. His orders were to facilitate the meeting of the archbishop and the Jesuit Richard Conway in Madrid, for a matter of business that was not explicitly stated. SP/XX/S/1/3. Diego de Sosa to Thomas White. Salamanca, 20 February 1619.
65. Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire, 1600–1825*, p. 75. It is unclear whether, as it was claimed in 1610, Kearney also intended to promote the appointment of Old English bishops in the Irish dioceses. E. García Hernán, 'Clérigos irlandeses en la corte de Madrid,' in *Spanish-Irish Relations through the Ages*, p. 55; and Id., 'La Misión de Irlanda (1610–1628). Aproximación a una nueva investigación,' p. 356.
66. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. S. l., n. d., c. 1631. *Verdadera relación de los motivos ...*; and RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/428, ff. 116v–118v. Memorial by the 'Catholics of Ireland'. S. l., n. d., c. 1622.
67. AGS, Estado, leg. 2518, 52. Opinion of the theologians' committee, 1621. Kearney's position reflected that of a faction within the Irish prelature, which opposed military intervention as a way of reaching the political and religious toleration to which they aspired. G. Redworth, 'Beyond Faith & Fatherland: "The Appeal of the Catholics of Ireland", c. 1623,' *Archivium Hibernicum*, 52/1 (1998), pp. 3–23.

68. Recio Morales, *España y la pérdida del Ulster. Irlanda en la estrategia política de la Monarquía Hispánica, (1602–1649)*, p. 134.
69. AGS, Estado, leg. 2849. Memorial by David Kearney on his personal situation. S. l., n. d. This document is included in a letter to Baltasar de Zúñiga, in which Cardinal Ludovisi alludes to the negotiations concerning the marriage of Prince Charles and Infanta María. The letter is dated in Rome, from 8 July 1622.
70. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Spagna, 341, ff. 120v–121r. Secretary of Papal State to nuncio Francesco Cennini. Mondragone, 20 May 1619.
71. AGS, Estado, leg. 2781. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 14 February 1619.
72. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/86, f. 49. David Kearney to the Count of Gondomar. Madrid, 20 March 1619.
73. Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire, 1600–1825*, p. 67.
74. On 11 September 1620, Muzio Vitelleschi wrote a letter to David Kearney, who was passing through Lisbon, prompting him to pay new visits to the colleges of Salamanca and Santiago. ARSI, Anglia, 1 I, f. 91v. Patricia O’Connell dates the arrival of the archbishop to the peninsula even earlier than previously stated, suggesting that he was there between 1618 and 1621, during which time he applied himself to the ordination of seminarists. O’Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1580–1834*, p. 52.
75. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Distribution of the Archbishop of Cashel’s pension. Madrid, 6 May 1619.
76. In 1622, Barnaby Kearney dedicated the work *Heliotropium* to his brother, emphasising the bishopric of Munster, which he had occupied at his brother’s behest. Concerning the origins of the missionary work carried out by the Jesuits in the British Isles, M.L. Carrafiello, ‘English Catholicism and the Jesuit Mission of 1580–1581,’ *The Historical Journal*, 37/4 (1994), pp. 761–774; T.M. McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland and England, 1541–1588* (Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1996); Id., *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1589–1597: Building the Faith of Saint Peter Upon the King of Spain’s Monarchy* (Burlington-Rome: Ashgate Publishing-Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2012); S. Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570–1625* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 33–51; and A. Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 129–175.
77. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by David Kearney. Madrid, 6 September 1623. The dates of this journey to Rome are uncertain. Between late 1620 and mid-1621, the record is silent on the person of David Kearney. It is likely that he was in the Pope’s court for these months. A consultation of the council of State in 1623 indicates that, after four years in Madrid, he travelled to Rome, but came back after that. AGS, Estado, leg. 2752. Madrid, 5 July 1623. In the *Brief Relation*, Philip O’Sullivan Beare claims that David Kearney was ‘being entertained by His Catholic Majesty with a thousand ducats every year’. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/1016, f. 165v. S. l., n. d., c. 1618. This reveals that the court knew about the royal patronage of the Archbishop of Cashel.
78. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by Diego de Guzmán. El Pardo, 23 January 1623.
79. AHPM, Protocolo 2326 (notary public Diego Ruiz de Tapia), ff. 455r–456v. Donation document in favour of Robert Kearney. Madrid, 7 May 1622.
80. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Urban VIII’s bull. Rome, 6 August 1623. Relations between Urban VIII and the Spanish Crown were not always easy, especially during certain episodes in the

Thirty Years' War. Q. Aldea Vaquero, 'España, el Papado y el Imperio durante la guerra de los treinta años. II. Instrucciones a los nuncios apostólicos en España (1624–1632),' *Miscelánea Comillas*, 16/30 (1958), pp. 249–330; Id., 'La neutralidad de Urbano VIII en los años decisivos de la guerra de los treinta años (1628–1632),' *Hispania Sacra*, 21 (1968), pp. 155–178; A. Domínguez Ortiz, 'Crisis en las relaciones entre España y Roma,' in *Historia de la Iglesia en España. IV. La Iglesia en la España de los siglos XVII y XVIII*, A. Mestre Sanchís, dir. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1974), pp. 77–84; T.J. Dandeleit, *La Roma española, 1500–1700* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2002), pp. 231–246; and S. Giordano, 'Urbano VIII e la Casa d'Austria durante la Guerra dei Trent'anni. La missione di tre nunzi straordinari nel 1632,' in *La Dinastía de los Austria. Las relaciones entre la Monarquía Católica y el Imperio*, J. Martínez Millán and R. González Cuerva, coords. (Madrid: Polifemo, 2011), vol. 1, pp. 227–247.

81. In Madrid, the Archbishop of Cashel lived with his nephew and two domestics, Diego O'Carrel and Dionisio Conveo. AHPM, Protocolo 2326 (notary public Diego Ruiz de Tapia), f. 456v. Donation in favour of Robert Kearney. Madrid, 7 May 1622. He cut a prominent figure in court, as suggested by the petition filed by the Irish knight Morgan Oquenedi—AGS, Estado, leg. 1768. Petition of prebend for Morgan Oquenedi. Madrid, 16 January 1620—and by Kearney's testimony in favour of his compatriot Simon Frens de Font, who wanted to be admitted to the Order of Santiago. AHN, Órdenes Militares, Santiago, exp. 3146. Madrid, 3 June 1622.
82. AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 597, 13, 125 [BDMI, 43]. Awarding of a grant for David Kearney. Madrid, 17 July 1623. Philip IV decided to grant him 200 ducats instead of the council of State's recommended amount of 400. AGS, Estado, leg. 2752. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 5 July 1623.
83. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 207]. Philip IV to Diego de Guzmán. Madrid, 3 December 1623.
84. AGS, Estado, leg. 2752. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 5 July 1623.
85. AGS, Estado, leg. 2849. Memorial by David Kearney on his situation. S. l., n. d.
86. His departure took place after 15 June 1624. This is the date on a letter in which Kearney, who was still in Madrid, addressed Muzio Vitelleschi on certain matters related to the Irish college in Lisbon. ARSI, Anglia, 41, ff. 154rv. The evidence concerning the place and date of David Kearney's death is contradictory. Patrick Gauchard, Patricia O'Connell and Enrique García Hernán claim that the Archbishop of Cashel died in Rome in 1625. Gauchard, *Hierarchia Catholica Medi et Recentioris Aevi (1592–1667)*, p. 138; O'Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1580–1834*, p. 52; and García Hernán, 'La Misión de Irlanda (1610–1628). Aproximación a una nueva investigación,' p. 354. For his part, Father Laurence F. Renehan reinterprets the account of Kearney's death in Malachy Hartry's, *Triumphalia Sanctæ Crucis in Hibernia. De cisterciensium hibernorum viris illustribus*, The Jesuit Denis Murphy, ed. (Dublin: Fallon and Co., 1895). According to this author, Kearney died in early 1625 in the Cistercian monastery of Bonlieu de Carbon-Blanc (near Bordeaux), where he had taken shelter after a trip to Spain because of the presence there of a relative of his, the Abbot of St Mary of Dublin, Ragget. Renehan, *Collections of Irish Church History*, pp. 271–272. This position is shared by Colmcille Ó Conbhuidhe, who also points out that Kearney is not buried in the family pantheon in the Cathedral of the Rock in Cashel, but in said French monastery. C. Ó Conbhuidhe, *Studies in Irish Cistercian History*, F. Donovan, ed. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), p. 143. However, a letter signed by Walter Wall informed Muzio Vitelleschi of his uncle's demise on 14 August 1624, in a Jesuit house near Bordeaux, during his return trip from Spain. IJA/MSSA/63. 'Ex Hibernia', 2 October 1624. The condolences from the Superior General of the Jesuits are in ARSI, Anglia, 4, f. 4r. Muzio Vitelleschi to Walter Wall. Rome, 24 February 1625.

87. IJA/MSSA/63. Walter Wall to Muzio Vitelleschi. "Ex Hibernia", 2 October 1624.
88. Previously, David Kearney had earmarked 400 ducats for the Society of Jesus in his distribution. It is likely that the 300 ducats mentioned in the last will correspond to the 1619 annuity. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Distribution of the Archbishop of Cashel's pension. Madrid, 6 May 1619.
89. ARSI, Anglia, 4, f. 4r. Muzio Vitelleschi to Walter Wall. Rome, 24 February 1625.
90. For the political role played by the Society of Jesus during the reign of Philip III, E. Jiménez Pablo, 'The Evolution of the Society of Jesus during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century: And Order That Favored the Papacy or the Hispanic Monarchy?,' in *Papacy, Religious Orders, and International Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, M.C. Giannini, ed. (Rome: Viella, 2013), pp. 47–66; and Ead., *La forja de una identidad. La Compañía de Jesús (1540–1640)* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2014).
91. J.J. Lozano Navarro, *La Compañía de Jesús y el poder en la España de los Austrias* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2005), pp. 122–135; and E. Jiménez Pablo, 'Los jesuitas en la corte de Margarita de Austria: Ricardo Haller y Fernando de Mendoza,' in *Las relaciones discretas entre las Monarquías Hispana y Portuguesa: Las casas de las Reinas (siglos XV-XIX)*, J. Martínez Millán and M.P. Marçal Lourenço, eds. (Madrid: Polifemo, 2008), vol. 2, pp. 1071–1120 and 1077–1085.
92. Lozano Navarro, *La Compañía de Jesús y el poder en la España de los Austrias*, p. 125.
93. In 1605, the colleges of Lisbon and Salamanca were entrusted to the Society of Jesus. The college in Santiago followed suit in 1613, and that in Seville in 1619. García Hernán and Recio Morales, 'Extranjeros en la corte: los irlandeses,' p. 1279. The Irish college of Alcalá (1649) was the only one not to come under the direction of the Jesuits. O'Connell, *The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares, 1649–1785*, p. 18.
94. M. Hinz, R. Righi and D. Zardin (eds.), *I gesuiti e la ratio studiorum* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2004); and J. Martins Lopes, *Ratio studiorum, un modelo pedagógico* (Alcalá: Imperitura-Alcalá, 2008).
95. Originally, this college was governed by Irish priests and Jesuits 'who were expert linguists and who knew the customs of Spain and Ireland'. However, the substitution of these 'natural' choices for other managers who knew nothing about the kingdom led to certain 'excesses', such as the obstacles posed to the teaching of theology, the non-acceptance of students who did not have the endorsement of the order's Provincial in Ireland, and the exclusion of students who spoke Gaelic. These practices prompted the Lisbon college members, and also the Irish prelates and nobles, to complain before the king. The *memoriales* addressed to the council of State stressed that these appointments were causing the loss of alms received by Irish rectors, in Ireland and elsewhere. AGS, Estado, leg. 2752. Consultas of the council of State. Madrid, 15 June and 16 August 1624. Ó. Recio Morales, 'Not Only Seminaries: The Political Role of the Irish Colleges in Seventeenth-Century Spain,' *History Ireland*, 9/3 (2001), pp. 51–52. The Irish college in Seville, despite being under the jurisdiction of the Jesuits from the Baetic province since 1619, had an Irish rector until 1687. I. Pérez Tostado, "'Mártires de profesión": Estudio de caso de los conflictos de las comunidades inglesa e irlandesa en la Andalucía de finales del XVII,' in *Los extranjeros en la España Moderna. Actas del I Congreso Internacional, celebrado en Málaga del 28 al 30 de noviembre de 2002*, M.B. Villar García and P. Pezzi Cristóbal, eds. (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2003), Tom. 2, p. 647.
96. This controversy highlighted an internal division in the Irish community which went beyond these purely administrative questions: the Old Irish (pro-Franciscans) were opposed to the Old English (pro-Jesuits) in the restricted social environment of the colleges. Philip III was determined to keep the balance between them, and ordered that the Irish college of Salamanca

- admit as many students from the provinces of Connaught and Ulster as from Munster and Leinster. This order was later extended to the college of Santiago. AHN, Estado, L. 257, ff. 237rv. Order by Philip III. Madrid, 1 May 1607. Recio Morales, *Irlanda en Alcalá: la comunidad irlandesa en la Universidad de Alcalá y su proyección europea, 1579–1785*, pp. 82–99.
97. The Irish Franciscans had a seminary in Louvain, which was funded by the Spanish Crown, and another one in Valladolid, as well as a monastery in Paris. The Capuchins had a convent in France, the Dominicans one in Andalusia, and the Cistercians one in Bordeaux. The English Jesuits had four colleges in Flanders. SP/S/40/6 (ii). Memorial by Irish Jesuits. S. l., n. d.
 98. During Philip IV's reign, two more Irish colleges were founded, in Madrid (1629) and Alcalá (1649).
 99. Burrieza, 'Escuela de sacerdotes y mártires: Los colegios en el exilio católico,' pp. 39–73 and 58.
 100. SP/S/40/6 (ii). Memorial by Irish Jesuits. S. l., n. d.
 101. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Distribution of the Archbishop of Cashel's pension. Madrid, 6 May 1619.
 102. SP/S/40/6 (ii). Margaret of Austria to Paul V. Madrid, 27 February 1611.
 103. At first, this double identity went unnoticed in the council of State. Foreign names were 'castilianised' in order to make them more easily recognisable by the Spanish authorities, and Michael Cantwell ingeniously took advantage of this and used them indistinctly and simultaneously, which has greatly contributed to blur his documentary tracks.
 104. O'Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1580–1834*, p. 62.
 105. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, p. 422.
 106. H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Historic Facts Illustrative of the Labour and Sufferings of Its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century* (London: Burns and Oates, 1875), vol. 7, parte 1, p. 517.
 107. ARSI, Anglia, 1 I, 83r. Muzio Vitelleschi to Michael Cantwell. Rome, 6 October 1618; and ARSI, Anglia, 1 I, f. 88v. Muzio Vitelleschi to Michael Cantwell. Rome, 19 June 1619. *The Irish Ecclesiastical Records* (Dublin: William B. Kelly, 1873), vol. 10, p. 529. NLI, Ms. 16,236, f. 5r. P. de Céspedes, 'Breve historia del origen y progresos del colegio de los Irlandeses de Sevilla, 1720–1770'.
 108. Cantwell had already expressed his wish to return to Ireland in 1618. This had nothing to do with his ministry, but, ostensibly, with helping his elderly parents and his siblings, who were destitute. However, the Superior General delegated the decision to the Irish provincial, who rejected Cantwell's application. Two years later, he tried again by a different route, and presented himself in Madrid to begin his petition for a royal *viaticum* with which to return, in spite of his superior's warning that there was no news to report concerning his application. AGS, Estado, leg. 2782. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 20 February 1620; and ARSI, Anglia, 1 I, f. 92v. Muzio Vitelleschi to Michael Cantwell. Rome, 24 December 1620. This warning was also forwarded to Archbishop Kearney, who had initially supported him in his purpose, and Richard Conway. There was no reason for his departure, as his parents had not summoned him, as he claimed. ARSI, Anglia, 1 I, ff. 92rv. Muzio Vitelleschi to David Kearney and Richard Conway. Rome, 24 December 1620; and AGS, Estado, leg. 2783. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 11 September 1621; and AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 576, 2, 76. Concession of the *viaticum* for Cantwell. Madrid, 20 September 1621.

109. Richard Conway was the rector of the Irish colleges of Santiago and Seville. O'Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela*, p. 59. As procurator of the Society of Jesus, his main role was to present the business of the Irish Mission before the council of State. ARSI, Anglia, 1 I, f. 71ar. Rome, 1 July 1617.
110. Recio Morales, 'Not Only Seminaries: The Political Role of the Irish Colleges in Seventeenth-Century Spain,' pp. 48–50.
111. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 210]. Memorial by Michael Cantwell. Madrid, 10 December 1622.
112. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Report by Jorge de Tovar. Madrid, 13 January 1623; and AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Report by Juan de Ciriza. Madrid, 6 September 1623.
113. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by Juan de Ciriza. Madrid, 10 December 1622; and Diego de Guzmán's answer. S. l., n. d., c. 1623.
114. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Opinion of Diego de Guzmán. Madrid, 20 February 1623.
115. These entries in the alms book are undated, but based on the other entries, the two payments of 9,900 reales could refer to the Cádiz pension for 1620 and 1621. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Opinion of Diego de Guzmán. Madrid, 20 February 1623.
116. Lozano Navarro, *La Compañía de Jesús y el poder en la España de los Austrias*, pp. 189–192; and F. Negro del Cerro, 'La Compañía de Jesús y el Consejo de Estado bajo Felipe IV,' in *Los jesuitas. Religión, política y educación (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, J. Martínez Millán, H. Pizarro Llorente and E. Jiménez Pablo, coords. (Madrid: Polifemo, 2012), vol. 1, pp. 155–182.
117. Ibid., p. 197. For the religious debate around the royal marriage negotiations, R. Rodríguez-Moñino Soriano, *Razón de Estado y dogmatismo religioso en la España del XVII. Negociaciones hispano-inglesas de 1623* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1976).
118. Kearney's death had left a vacancy in the see of Cashel, while the metropolitan sees of Armagh, Dublin, and Tuam had been governed by the same (exiled) archbishops since 1612.
119. This distribution also considered the management of unused funds owing to the absence or death of bishops. In these cases, the extant amount would be given to the oldest beneficiary, or left to be freely allocated by Patriarch Guzmán.
120. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by Richard Conway. Madrid, n. d., c. 1624.
121. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by Richard Conway. Madrid, 10 May 1624.
122. This petition would supersede the previous one, dated to 1622, in which Robert Kearney was made sole heir.
123. In late 1624, Richard Conway also asked Philip IV for 100 or 150 ducats for his sustenance and that of a companion of his, whose identity was not specified. The content of the *memorial* of the Jesuit was examined by the king's confessor, who suggested that this grant be taken from the Cádiz pension. However, the king decided that 'Father Richard's pension should not come out of the Cádiz pension'. AGS, Estado, leg. 2752. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 11 December 1624.
124. Thomas Walsh's brothers also went into the Church. One of them was a Theatine and Richard Walsh a Jesuit. Their mother Anastasia Strong sheltered clerics, students and pilgrims. M. O'Dowd, *A History of Women in Ireland, 1500–1800* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), p. 161.
125. Fenning, 'Students of the Irish College at Salamanca, 1592–1638,' p. 35. According to Patricia O'Connell, Thomas Walsh was 22 at the time. O'Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de*

Compostela, p. 142. Before joining the college in Salamanca he attended the Irish college in Lisbon, after working in commerce in this city. O'Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1580–1834*, p. 51.

126. D.M. Downey, 'A Salamancon Who Evaded the Inquisition: Florence Conry, Pro-Habsburg Archbishop, Theologian & Diplomat,' in *Spanish-Irish Relations through the Ages*, p. 89. His inclination towards the order of Saint Francis is clearly manifested in his correspondence with his cousins, the Franciscan Father Thomas Strange and Father Luke Wadding. *Report on Franciscan Manuscripts Preserved at the Convent Merchant's Quay, Dublin* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1906).
127. The appointment of Thomas Walsh as agent of the Irish clergy must have taken place in 1617, although his trip to Rome, via Madrid, took a few more years. ARSI, Tolet. 7 II, f. 265r. Muzio Vitelleschi to Thomas Walsh. Rome, 22 March 1617.
128. AGS, Estado, leg. 3145. Order by Philip IV. Madrid, 17 September 1624.
129. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Means made available for the Irish Mission. S. l., n. d. This grace was not made effective as a consequence of the death of the first almoner, Álvaro de Carvajal, who preceded Diego de Guzmán, and of Philip III himself. Michael Cantwell and Richard Conway's demands in this regard did not bear fruit. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorials by Michael Cantwell and Richard Conway. Madrid, 10 December 1622 and 21 May 1624.
130. Sanz Camañes, *Diplomacia hispano-inglesa en el siglo XVII: razón de estado y relaciones de poder durante la Guerra de los Treinta años, 1618–1648*; and Ó. Recio Morales, 'Florence Conry's Memorandum for a Military Assault on Ulster, 1627,' *Archivium Hibernicum*, 56 (2002), pp. 65–72. For the religious situation in Ireland at this time, M. Empey, 'Ireland, Spain and "the Protection and Defence of the Christian Religion", c. 1622–35,' in *Spanish-Irish Relations through the Ages*, pp. 103–122.
131. AHN, Consejos, leg. 15225, tom. II, exp. 23/6. Instructions for the ambassador in Rome. Madrid, 3 October 1625.
132. S.A. Meigs, *The Reformations in Ireland: Tradition and Confessionalism, 1400–1690* (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 92–93.
133. The existing works on the Irish Mission of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* are mere compilations of documents or calendar-like *registros* on different issues of *Archivium Hibernicum* and *Collectanea Hibernica*. Other orders, such as the Discalced Carmelites and the Trinitarians, also had missions in Ireland, but the impact of these was more limited. P. Browne, M. Glynn and F.X. Martin, 'The "Brevis Relation" of the Irish Discalced Carmelites, 1625–1670,' *Archivium Hibernicum*, 25 (1962), pp. 136–163; and C. Giblin, 'Document on the Irish Trinitarians, 1621–71,' *Collectanea Hibernica*, 27–28 (1986), pp. 11–43.
134. Meigs, *The Reformations in Ireland: Tradition and Confessionalism, 1400–1690*, p. 94.
135. García Hernán, *Ireland and Spain in the Reign of Philip II*, pp. 286–336.
136. AHN, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores-Santa Sede, leg. 57, ff. 230r–231r. Memorial by the Counts of Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and Berehaven. S. l., n. d., c. 1621; and despacho de Felipe IV al duque de Alburquerque. Valsain, 23 October 1621; and AGS, Estado, leg. 2805. Consult of the council of State. Madrid, 13 December 1624. Pérez Tostado, *The Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 309.
137. BAV, Barberini Latini, 2889, ff. 34rv. It is remarkable that five of the six candidates had been educated in Spain. Two of them, the priest Philip Hogan and the Dominican father Dominic of the Rosary—Daniel O'Daly—were also missionaries who had been supported by Philip III and Philip IV in 1621 and 1623, respectively. *Report on Franciscan Manuscripts Preserved at the*

- Convent Merchant's Quay, Dublin*, p. 87. Report by the nuncio in Flanders about the candidates to occupy the dioceses of Armagh and Cashel. Brussels, 21 February 1626. This list does not include the Cistercian abbot of St Mary of Dublin, Paul Ragget, a relative of the late David Kearney. His name was also considered in Rome, but his appointment was halted after the intervention of the Duke of Pastrana in favour of Walsh, as Father Thomas himself was to recognise in a letter sent to the Bishop of Ferns. Ó Conbhuidhe, *Studies in Irish Cistercian History*, p. 143. Report on the candidates to occupy the diocese of. November 1624–March 1625; and Thomas Walsh to John Rocke. Madrid, 14 April 1627. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, pp. 93 and 245.
138. Cardinal Francesco Barberini was protector of the Irish in Rome from 9 June 1625 to 27 April 1626, when Thomas Walsh was appointed archbishop. The promotion was one of the last services that he gave to the nation; it was his duty to represent them. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, p. 647.
 139. BAV, Barberini Latini, 2933, ff. lxxv(r)–lxxvi(r). Appointment of Hugh McCaughwell for the primate diocese of Armagh and Thomas Walsh for the diocese of Cashel. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, p. 177; and W.M. Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland & Ireland, AD 1400 to 1875* (Rome: Tipografia della Pace, 1876), vol. 2, p. 22.
 140. The Irish primate Hugh McCaughwell was appointed on the same day. Renehan, *Collections of Irish Church History*, p. 276; and Hazard, *Faith and Patronage: The Political Career of Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, c. 1560–1629*, p. 129.
 141. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Opinion of Diego de Guzmán, and resolution by Philip IV. Madrid, 3 March 1627. That same year, following Kearney's death, Florence Conry pointed out the need for a trusted churchman to deal with the Irish issue at court. Without specifying any names, the Archbishop of Tuam could have been alluding to Thomas Walsh. Hazard, *Faith and Patronage: The Political Career of Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, c. 1560–1629*, p. 146.
 142. Alonso Pérez de Guzmán was appointed first chaplain in September 1626, although the bull appointing him Patriarch of the Indies was not received until the following June. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/811, f. 186v. Report about the appointment of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 30 September 1626; and RAH, Salazar y Castro, caja única, 17. Urban VIII's bull. Rome, 16 June 1627.
 143. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Opinion of Diego de Guzmán, and resolution by Philip IV. Madrid, 3 March 1627.
 144. AGP, Expedientes de personal, caja 990, exp. 11. Memorial by William Semple to the Bureo. Madrid, 14 August 1584. G. Redworth, 'Between Four Kingdoms: International Catholicism and Colonel William Semple,' in *Irlanda y la Monarquía Hispánica: Kinsale, 1601–2001. Guerra, política, exilio y religión*, pp. 256–264.
 145. AGS, Estado, leg. 2035. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 21 January 1621. Burrieza, 'Escuela de sacerdotes y mártires: Los colegios en el exilio católico,' pp. 48 and 66. For Scottish migration, see Ch. Smout, 'Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century,' in *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500–1800*, N. Canny, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 76–90.
 146. In 1619, the Scottish Jesuit Juan Robeo addressed a *memorial* to Philip III in the name of the Scottish Catholics. He reminded the king of the services undertaken by the Scots to the Crown. Concerning the consultation to the council of State with regard to the pension of 1,500 ducats granted to the Scottish students, the opinion of the Count of Gondomar seems to have been taken into consideration. Based on his diplomatic experience in London, Diego Sarmiento stated that of

the three kingdoms, 'Scotland is the most lost of them all, because all the people are heretics and the bishops and ministers seditious Puritans. The aristocracy is likewise full of heretics and some Catholics, but the true Catholics are so few, and fearful and timid that no more than four or five priests may be found in the whole of Scotland'. The solution was, according to this document, to allocate the pension in the Scottish college of Douai, with the condition to dispatch four missionaries every year. In Sarmiento's opinion, in the case of the English and the Irish 'seminaries are the sustenance, safeguard, and augmentation of religion'. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/1056, ff. 260rv. Memorial by Juan Robeo and Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 23 February 1619.

147. For the foundation of Scots colleges in Europe, see A. Marks, 'The Scots Colleges and International Politics, 1600–1750,' in *College Communities Abroad: Education, Migration and Catholicism in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 115–144.
148. M. Taylor, *The Scots College in Spain* (Valladolid: Gráficas Andrés Martín, 1971), pp. 23–24.
149. *Miscellaneous Papers, Principally Illustrative of Events in the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI* (Glasgow: Edward Hull, 1834), p. 114.
150. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Consulta of the council of the State. Madrid, 10 June 1627; and order by Philip IV. Madrid, 19 June 1627.
151. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Opinion of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 14 June 1627.
152. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Order by Philip IV. Madrid, 18 March 1628.
153. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Alonso Pérez de Guzmán's certificate on behalf of Thomas Walsh. Madrid, 25 April 1628.
154. On 14 January 1628, Thomas Walsh endorsed Thomas Predergast and Dionisio Atti's application for a *viaticum*. These two priests were joining the Irish Mission and accompanying him on his return trip. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 108]. Consulta of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. El Pardo, 14 January 1628. The archbishop paid visits to the colleges of Saint Anthony in Louvain and Lille, and boarded a ship in Rotterdam posing as the servant of a Polish count who was on his way to the English court, and to whom he did not reveal his ecclesiastical rank when they met in Amsterdam. (He told him only that he was a priest). After a short stay in London, Walsh arrived in his diocese in October. Thomas Walsh to Luke Wadding. Antwerp, 1 September 1628; and John Roche to Luke Wadding. Paris, 20 October 1628. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, pp. 269–273 and 275; and Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland & Ireland, AD 1400 to 1875*, p. 22.
155. In 1668, Cardinal Francesco Barberini ordered that Federico Borromeo, nuncio in Spain, visit the Scottish college to learn about its internal structure and operation. The college aimed to send 12 missionaries every year, and enjoyed an annuity of 1,000 ducats. It was managed by the Scottish Jesuits. Hugh Semple's administration was full of irregularities, and the money was often squandered on trifles, mathematical instruments, and gifts for members of the court. The situation became so serious that moving the college to Douai became a real possibility, but the opposition of the Spanish halted this project. ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Madrid, 16, ff. 480r–483v. Instruction of the Cardinal Francesco Barberini to Federico Borromeo. Rome, 10 March 1668. There is evidence that the 500-ducat rent from Cádiz was still coming in 1696, through the Archdeacon of Granada Cathedral. AHN, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores-Santa Sede, leg. 136. Certificate by the Marquis of Mejorada. Madrid, 8 March 1696.
156. The Scottish mission constitutes a separate avenue of research. This digression merely aimed at pointing out a few basic facts.

157. Daniel Conry, relative and secretary of the Archbishop of Tuam, demanded the 1,000 ducats conceded to Florence Conry. He suggested that they could be channelled through the patriarch of some bishopric, as had been done with David Kearney. AGS, Estado, leg. 2801. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 27 May 1631. The Archbishop of Tuam, Malachias Queely, tried to pull a similar trick, and demanded the continuation of the pension of his predecessor, Florence Conry, using Thomas Walsh as a precedent. AGS, Estado, leg. 2796. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 7 June 1633.
158. His access to the Dominican order took place in 1602, when he was 26. He made his vows alongside another Irishman Roche McGeoghean—Bishop of Kilmore (1629)—before Father Gabriel de Ludeña, prior of the convent of Our Lady of Peña de Francia. M.M. de los Hoyos, *Registro documental. Material Histórico Dominicano Español* (Madrid: Selecciones Gráficas, 1961), Tom. 1, pp. 218–219; T. Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana, sive Historia provinciae Hiberniae Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Cologne: Typographia Metternichiana, 1762), p. 144. This convent in Salamanca also witnessed the ordination of other Irish churchmen, for instance Father Juan de Santa María in 1620, whose name is recorded in 1627 at the top of the list, and the procurator of the Irish Dominicans in Spain. H. Fenning, ‘Irish Dominicans at Louvain before 1700: A Biographical Register,’ *Collectanea Hibernica*, 43 (2001), pp. 112–160; and Moran (ed.), *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, p. 160.
159. AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 605, 15, 68 [BDMI, 46]. Office of Juan de Ciriza. Madrid, 23 February 1624. Richard Bermingham was granted the *viaticum* in 1617. AGS, Estado, leg. 2749. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 30 January 1617.
160. The Spanish version of the *Brief relation* differs from the original, as it includes Richard Bermingham in the section of Old Irish. The text, which mentioned his religious affiliation, was written while he was in jail in Ireland. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/1016, f. 164r. S. l., n. d., c. 1618.
161. AHN, Estado, L. 741, ff. 27r–41v. Memorial by Richard Bermingham and two more documents. García Hernán and Recio Morales, ‘Extranjeros en la corte: los irlandeses,’ p. 1306. Cfr. R. Walsh, ‘A Memorial Presented to the King of Spain on Behalf of the Irish Catholics, A.D. 1619,’ *Archivum Hibernicum*, 6 (1917), pp. 27–54.
162. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Philip III’s grant in favour of Richard Bermingham. Madrid, 20 July 1620. Javier Burrieza suggests that he was the confessor of the Count of Gondomar, but this is not mentioned anywhere else. Burrieza, ‘Escuela de sacerdotes y mártires: Los colegios en el exilio católico,’ p. 68.
163. O’Connor, *Irish Voices from the Spanish Inquisition: Migrants, Converts and Brokers in Early Modern Iberia*, pp. 69–70.
164. The recruits to this unit received a bonus of 6 escudos. AGS, Estado, leg. 2751. Memorial by Richard Bermingham. Madrid, 19 August 1622.
165. AGS, Estado, leg. 2788. Memorial by Richard Bermingham. Madrid, 16 December 1626.
166. Ibid. The Irish Dominicans also sent a letter to the Pope asking for a Dominican to be appointed Primate Bishop of Armagh, a position which was vacant after the death of Peter Lombard. S. l., n. d. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, pp. 163–164. At the beginning of the year, Richard Bermingham features in the list of candidates. Report by the nuncio in Flanders about the candidates to occupy the dioceses of Armagh and Cashel. Brussels, 21 February 1626. *Report on Franciscan Manuscripts Preserved at the Convent Merchant’s Quay, Dublin*, p. 87.
167. AHN, Consejos, leg. 15225. Philip IV to Juan de Insausti. Barbastro, 3 February 1626. The letter addressed by Philip IV to Urban VIII from Barbastro is dated one day after Bermingham’s petition. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, p. 164.

168. In 1622 he acted as a witness in the process which examined Captain Simon Frens de Font's application for a habit of Santiago. AHN, Órdenes Militares, Santiago, exp. 3146, s. fol. Madrid, 29 October 1622. Before sailing to Ireland in 1617, he had already acted as witness for Daniel O'Sullivan Beare.
169. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 30 March 1627. This money amounted to 2,500 ducats, which Diego de Guzmán and Alonso Pérez de Guzmán used for extraordinary alms. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Opinion of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 14 July 1627; AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Copy of the transference of the Cádiz pension. Seville, 7 June 1627; and AGS, Estado, leg. 2789. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 11 August 1627.
170. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 30 March 1627.
171. AGS, Estado, leg. 2791. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 21 February 1629.
172. AGS, Estado, leg. 2791. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 3 April 1629.
173. The pension granted to Richard Bermingham in Flanders was claimed by the Irish Dominican Patricio Tadeo. AGS, Estado, leg. 2793. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 11 May 1630.
174. Before 1631, Michael Cantwell signed *memoriales* under the pseudonym Miguel de Morales, and gave no biographical information other than his membership of the Society of Jesus and his Irish nature. However, in the fluid correspondence that he maintained with Muzio Vitelleschi and in the *memoriales* issued during his visit to Spain, he signed 'Miguel de Cantovilla'.
175. AGS, Estado, leg. 2794. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 27 November 1631.
176. J.M. Herráez Hernández, *Universidad y universitarios en Ávila durante el siglo XVII. Análisis y cuantificación* (Ávila: Diputación Provincial de Ávila. Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1994), p. 213, n. 122.
177. Michael Cantwell left Ireland in the summer of 1630. Patrick Comefort to Luke Wadding. Waterford, 24 February 1630. In another letter, he specified more, claiming that he had left the island in early August. Waterford, 26 August 1630. Cfr. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, p. 404.
178. William Lombard to Hugh de Burgo. S. l., 15 February 1629; and the procurator of the regulars to the Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Fleming. Dublin, 4 April 1631. Cfr. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, pp. 342 and 501.
179. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazione Generali, 133, f. 280r. The bishops of Cashel, Ossory, Ferns and Emly to the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. S. l., 10 June 1630. On 24 February 1630, the Bishop of Waterford, Patrick Comefort, informed Luke Wadding of the appointment. Comefort defined the 'old schoolfellow Michael Cantwell, alias Miguel de Morales' as 'ex-Jesuit' and a man of 'good parts'. *Report on Franciscan Manuscripts Preserved at the Convent Merchant's Quay, Dublin*, p. 21. Some months later, the Bishop of Ferns, John Roche—J.R. Turner—told Wadding that he did not know Cantwell, but that he trusted the choice of the dioceses of Cashel and Waterford, given the services that they had provided for the Irish cause. Wexford, 26 May 1630. *Ibid.*, p. 26. Despite not knowing him, a month later, Roche defended the appointment against some critics, pointing out that Cantwell 'never resigned for infamous reasons', and that he 'is a person who tries to live in peace'. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazione Generali, 294, f. 285r. John Roche to Francesco Ingoli. Kilkenny, 10 June 1630.
180. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazione Generali, 294, f. 285r. John Roche to Francesco Ingoli. Kilkenny, 16 June 1630.

181. Thomas Walsh to Luke Wadding. Waterford, 17 November 1631. Cfr. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, p. 613.
182. Before going to Rome to attend the general chapter of his order, Father Nicholas Lynch, provincial of the Order of Saint Dominic, endorsed Viscount Falkland's tolerant policy during his time in Ireland. His return from Rome, however, was problematised by the measures adopted by the Lord Justices. At this time, Lynch appealed to Philip IV to provide some help to 'restore in the best way possible the ruins of his province'. AGS, Estado, leg. 2795. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 6 November 1632.
183. For the treaty of Madrid of 1630, P. Sanz Camañes, 'La diplomacia beligerante. Felipe IV y el Tratado Anglo-Español de 1630,' *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 83 (2009), pp. 225–246.
184. In his text he referred to robberies, profanations, secret enquiries to discover churchmen in hiding, exiles, fines, and taxes. These events generated feelings 'half way between fear and hope'. AGS, Estado, leg. 2794. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 12 August 1631.
185. I. Pérez Tostado, 'Ideología del exilio irlandés,' in *Los irlandeses y la Monarquía Hispánica (1529–1800). Vínculos en espacio y tiempo*, pp. 61–70. From London, the guardian of the Franciscans, Thomas Strange, also wrote to Luke Wadding so that Urban VIII could be convinced to compel Philip IV to include tolerance for Catholics in the negotiations for the peace of 1630. Thomas Strange to Luke Wadding. London, 10 May 1630. Cfr. *Report on Franciscan Manuscripts Preserved at the Convent Merchant's Quay, Dublin*, pp. 22–24.
186. AGS, Estado, leg. 2794. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 12 August 1631; and AHN, Estado, L. 261, ff. 138rv. Philip IV to Juan de Necolalde. Madrid, 12 September 1631.
187. Pérez Tostado, *The Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 92–93.
188. The bishop of Waterford to Luke Wadding. Waterford, 24 February 1630. Cfr. *Report on Franciscan Manuscripts Preserved at the Convent Merchant's Quay, Dublin*, p. 21.
189. Ch. du Plessis d'Argentré, *Collectio judiciourm de novis erroribus, qui ab initio duodecimi seculi post Incarnationem Verbi, usque ad annum 1632, in Ecclesia proscripti sunt & notati* (Paris: apud Andream Cailleau, 1728), Tom. 2, pp. 322–323.
190. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, pp. 583–594. This controversy and its implications mean that Thomas Walsh, one of his main advocates, harboured doubts about Cantwell's appointment. Cfr., *Ibid.*, p. 613.
191. AGS, Estado, leg. 2800. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 26 January 1631. The Bishop of Waterford, Patrick Comeford, also told Luke Wadding that this was the best plan. S. 1., 12 March 1631. Cfr. *Report on Franciscan Manuscripts Preserved at the Convent Merchant's Quay, Dublin*, p. 38.
192. AGS, Estado, leg. 2794. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 27 November 1631.
193. Cfr. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Historic Facts Illustrative of the Labour and Sufferings of Its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century*, p. 41. Michael Cantwell left Paris on 2 February. Michael Cantwell to the Franciscan Father Hieremias Hervet. Madrid, 20 May 1631. *Report on Franciscan Manuscripts Preserved at the Convent Merchant's Quay, Dublin*, p. 41.
194. Thomas Strange to Luke Wadding. Waterford, 10 September 1631. Cfr. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
195. Hugh de Burgo to Luke Wadding. Madrid, 20 June 1632. Cfr. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, p. 621.

196. P. O'Sullivan Beare, *Patritiana Decas* (Madrid: Francisco Martínez, 1629), pp. 178–181. Michael Cantwell demonstrated his erudition in a collective work, *Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernicæ compendium*, which Philip O'Sullivan published with other Irish authors. Earlier, around 1618, when he was still part of the Society of Jesus, he wrote *De antiquo e moderno Ecclesiasticæ hibernæ*. This treatise was followed by other theological works that reflected 'twenty years of constant work ready to be printed'. He did not have the means to publish them, and asked Philip IV for his patronage. AGS, Estado, leg. 2794. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 27 November 1631.
197. AGS, Estado, leg. 2794. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 27 November 1631; and AHN, Estado, L. 281, f. 130r. Philip IV to Cardinal Gaspar de Borja. Madrid, 8 December 1631.
198. The grant did not include 20 escudos per month that he had requested for embassy expenses. AGS, Estado, 2794. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 27 November 1631. The Franciscan Hugh de Burgo described Cantwell departing court 'in a terrible rage and with the purpose of hurting religion as much as possible', as he had already said he would do while in Paris. Hugh de Burgo to Luke Wadding. Madrid, 20 June 1632. Cfr. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, p. 621.
199. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazione Generali, 294, ff. 351rv. Memorial by Michael Cantwell. Rome, n. d.; and ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazione Generali, 294, ff. 370r–373v. Memorial by Michael Cantwell. Rome, n. d.
200. AGS, Estado, leg. 2800. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 26 January 1636.
201. BNE, Ms. 3390, ff. 134r–156v. *Genealogías varias*.
202. AGS, Estado, leg. 2800. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 31 October 1636.
203. AGS, Estado, leg. 2800. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 26 January 1636. He explained that he was not returning to Ireland because he lacked the means and there were no ships available; also, the new English edicts had made entering the country more difficult. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazione Generali, 135, ff. 273rv. Michael Cantwell to Francesco Ingoli. Madrid, 12 November 1635.
204. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Order by Philip IV. Madrid, 27 February 1636.
205. AGS, Estado, leg. 2800. Resolution of the council of State. Madrid, 2 June 1636.
206. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Opinion of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 8 March 1636. The difficulties raised by the patriarch were sent to the council of State for a new round of consultations. In his observations, Carlos Coloma and Lelio Brancaccio agreed with the patriarch's contentions and asked Philip IV to pay heed. AGS, Estado, leg. 2800. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 2 June 1636.
207. AGS, Estado, leg. 2800. Memorial by Michael Cantwell. Madrid, 31 October 1636.
208. AGS, Estado, leg. 2800. Memorial by Michael Cantwell. Madrid, 17 March 1637.
209. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by Thomas Walsh. Cashel, 3 November 1640.
210. SP/S/35/2. Thomas Walsh's will. Santiago, 9 March 1654.
211. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Power of attorney of Thomas Walsh in favour of Stephen England. Waterford, 20 October 1636. This Irish merchant was naturalised as Castilian in 1621. He had arrived in Spain at the age of 12, and lived in Bilbao. His services to the Crown included sheltering and helping Irish priests and friars on their way to the Mission, as well as organising the mail of the exiles, despite English restrictions. C. O'Scea, 'The Rôle of Castilian Royal Bureaucracy,' in *Irish Communities in Early-Modern Europe*, pp. 214 and 230–231.

212. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by Thomas Walsh. Cashel, 3 November 1640.
213. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Report of a religious commission about Thomas Walsh's *memorial*. Convent of Saint Thomas. Madrid, 30 January 1641.
214. R. Valladares, *La rebelión de Portugal, 1640–1680. Guerra, conflicto y poderes en la monarquía hispánica* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1998). The Irish community also took part in the Portuguese revolt. In 1640, the Dominican father Dominic of the Rosary—Daniel O'Daly—abandoned the service of the Spanish king to join the Braganzas. This missionary, who enjoyed Philip IV's patronage, was even on the list of candidates for the diocese of Cashel. During his ministry, he was jailed in England, when he tried to raise troops for Spain. B. Mac Curtain, 'An Irish Agent of the Counter-Reformation, Dominic O'Daly,' *Irish Historical Studies*, 15/60 (1966–1967), pp. 107–126; and Pérez Tostado, *The Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 80.
215. I. Pérez Tostado, 'Irish Political Activity in Spain during the Restoration,' in *Irish Communities in Early-Modern Europe*, p. 294.
216. N. Canny, 'What Really Happened in Ireland in 1641?,' in *Ireland from Independence to Occupation, 1641–1660*, J. Ohlmeyer, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 24–42; Id., *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650*, pp. 461–578; M. Ó Siochrú and J. Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Ireland: 1641: Context and Reactions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); and E. Darcy, *The Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2015).
217. T. Ó'hAnnracháin, 'Conflicting Loyalties, Conflicted Rebels: Political and Religious Allegiance among the Confederate Catholics of Ireland,' *The English Historical Review*, 119/483 (2004), pp. 854–855. English propaganda wanted to represent the rebellion as a sectarian massacre, and disseminated news of atrocities and the indiscriminate murder of innocent Protestants. J. Gibney, 'Protestant Interest? The 1641 Rebellion and the State Formation in Early Modern Ireland,' *Historical Research*, 84/223 (2011), pp. 67–86.
218. Pérez Tostado, *The Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 76.
219. Recio Morales, *España y la pérdida del Ulster. Irlanda en la estrategia política de la Monarquía Hispánica, (1602–1649)*, pp. 165–168.
220. Pérez Tostado, *The Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 86.
221. P. Sanz Camañes, 'England and Spanish Foreign Policy during the 1640s,' *European History Quarterly*, 28/3 (1998), pp. 291–310; R. Valladares, '¿Un reino más para la monarquía? Philip IV, Irlanda y la guerra civil inglesa (1641–1649),' *Studia Historica, Historia Moderna*, 15 (1996), pp. 271–274.
222. T. Ó'hAnnracháin, 'Irish Diplomatic Missions to Rome during the 1640s,' in *Irish Communities in Early-Modern Europe*, pp. 395–408; and T. Ó'hAnnracháin, 'The Strategic Involvement of Continental Powers in Ireland, 1596–1691,' in *Conquest and Resistance: War in Seventeenth-Century Ireland*, P. Lenihan, ed. (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2001), pp. 37–40.
223. T. Ó'hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland: The Mission of Rinuccini, 1645–1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); M.J. Hynes, *The Mission of Rinuccini: Nuncio Extraordinary to Ireland, 1645–1649* (Dublin: Browne and Nola, 1932); and G. Aiazzi (ed.), *The Embassy in Ireland of Monsignor G. B. Rinuccini* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1873).
224. Recio Morales, *España y la pérdida del Ulster. Irlanda en la estrategia política de la Monarquía Hispánica, (1602–1649)*, p. 175.

225. M.A. Lyons, *Franco-Irish Relations, 1500–1610: Politics, Migration and Trade* (Suffolk: Royal Historical Society, 2003); different essays compiled in *Irish communities in Early-Modern Europe*, O'Connor and Lyons, eds.; O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe, 1580–1815*; and P. Gouhier, 'Mercenaires irlandais au service de la France (1635–1644),' *Revue d'histoire moderne e contemporaine*, 15 (1968), pp. 672–690.
226. For the French involvement with the Confederation, see Ó'hAnnracháin, 'The Strategic Involvement of Continental Powers in Ireland, 1596–1691,' pp. 40–44.
227. M. Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland, 1642–1649* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999).
228. Ó'hAnnracháin, 'Conflicting Loyalties, Conflicted Rebels: Political and Religious Allegiance among the Confederate Catholics of Ireland,' pp. 856–860; J. Ohlmeyer, 'Confederation and Union, 1641–60,' in *Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, p. 319; and J. Cunningham, 'Politics, 1641–1660,' in *The Cambridge History of Ireland, Vol. II: 1550–1730*, J. Ohlmeyer, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 79.
229. J. Ohlmeyer, 'Ireland Independent: Confederate Foreign Policy and International Relations during the Mid-Seventeenth Century,' in *Ireland from Independence to Occupation, 1641–1660*, pp. 94–95.
230. AGS, Estado, leg. 2525. Memorial by Hugh de Burgo. Madrid, n. d., c. October 1647.
231. AGS, Estado, leg. 2061. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 19 July 1644.
232. AGS, Estado, leg. 3017. The Count of Oñate to Philip IV. Rome, 3 April 1647.
233. Valladares, '¿Un reino más para la monarquía? Philip IV, Irlanda y la guerra civil inglesa (1641–1649),' p. 267.
234. Sanz Camañes, *Diplomacia hispano-inglesa en el siglo XVII: razón de estado y relaciones de poder durante la Guerra de los Treinta años, 1618–1648*, pp. 170–171.
235. AGS, Estado, leg. 3017. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 16 July 1647.
236. Recio Morales, *España y la pérdida del Ulster. Irlanda en la estrategia política de la Monarquía Hispánica, (1602–1649)*, pp. 197–199.
237. AGS, Estado, leg. 2812. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 26 January 1648.
238. AGS, Estado, leg. 2812. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 5 April 1648.
239. RAH, 9/97, ff. 133rv. François Foissotte to Luis de Haro y Guzmán. Kilkenny, 3 April 1648.
240. Ch. Petrie, 'Ireland in Spanish and French Strategy, 1558–1815,' *Irish Sword*, 6 (1963–1964), pp. 154–165.
241. E. García Hernán, 'El Patronato Regio y la Misión de Irlanda: La Bula de Inocencio X de 1647,' in *Actas de la XI reunión científica de la Fundación Española de Historia Moderna*, A. Jiménez Estrella and J.J. Lozano Navarro, eds. (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2012), vol. 1, pp. 93–99.
242. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Innocent X's bull. Rome, 19 January 1647. The text used is the Spanish translation of the Latin original. The translation is Francisco Gracián Berruete's; he was royal secretary for the translation of foreign languages, and this work is dated to 16 September 1649. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by Thomas Walsh. Cashel, 3 November 1640.
243. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by Thomas Walsh. Cashel, 3 November 1640.

244. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memoriales by Stephen England. Jerez de la Frontera, 27 May and 21 October 1646—reiteration of the petition, owing to the patriarch's continued absence from court.
245. P.J. Corish, 'Ormond, Rinuccini and the Confederates, 1645–9,' in *A New History of Ireland, III: Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691*, p. 334; and Cunningham, 'Politics, 1641–1660,' p. 82.
246. J.S. Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1999), p. 48.
247. N. Greenspan, 'Charles II, Exile and the Problem of Allegiance,' *The Historical Journal*, 54/1 (2011), pp. 81–82.
248. Gibney, 'Protestant Interest? The 1641 Rebellion and the State Formation in Early Modern Ireland,' p. 73. On the Drogheda massacre, see J. Morrill, 'The Drogheda Massacre in Cromwellian Context,' in *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland*, D. Edwards, P. Lenihan and C. Tait, eds. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), pp. 242–265; and M. Ó Siochrú, *God's Executioner: Oliver Cromwell and the Conquest of Ireland* (London: Faber & Faber, 2008), pp. 77–93.
249. Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland*, p. 122.
250. Cárdenas, *La revolución inglesa (1638–1656)*, p. 93. For the impact of the Cromwellian plantation policy, see J. Cunningham, *Conquest and Land in Ireland: The Transplantation to Connacht, 1649–1680* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2011).
251. J. Cunningham, 'Oliver Cromwell and the "Cromwellian" Settlement of Ireland,' *Historical Journal*, 53/4 (2010), pp. 919–937.
252. Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland*, p. 123.
253. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Opinion's and instructions by Andrés de la Pedrosa. Jerez de la Frontera, 11 May 1653.
254. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by Andrés de la Pedrosa. Cádiz, 1 March 1653.
255. Cárdenas, *La revolución inglesa (1638–1656)*, p. 94.
256. According to the Count of Monterrey, kings had little interest in family beyond keeping their dominions and their crowns. M. Herrero Sánchez, 'Introducción: Líneas de análisis y debates conceptuales en torno al estudio de las repúblicas y el republicanismo en la Europa Moderna,' in *Repúblicas y republicanismo en la Europa moderna (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, M. Herrero Sánchez, ed., p. 45.
257. Sanz Camañes, 'Conveniencia política y pragmatismo religioso en las relaciones entre Felipe IV y Cromwell,' pp. 311–340; and A. Alloza Aparicio, 'La Monarquía Católica y la *Commonwealth of England*,' in *Repúblicas y Republicanismo en la Europa Moderna (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, pp. 356–359. This understanding was confirmed with the dispatch of Anthony Ascham as parliamentary ambassador to Madrid. Exiled royalists in the Spanish court disapproved of the appointment, and the ambassador was assassinated in June 1650. His arrival coincided with the presence in Madrid of Edward Hyde and Francis Cottington, delegates of Charles II. The incident threatened the new Spanish-English understanding, and Hyde and Cottington were asked to leave at once. I. Pérez Tostado, 'Murder as a Weapon of Exile: English Politics at the Spanish Court (1649–1652),' in *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603–1688*, D. Worthington, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 141–160.
258. P.J. Corish, 'The Cromwellian Conquest, 1649–1653,' in *A New History of Ireland, III: Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691*, pp. 336–352.

259. C. Ryan, 'Religion and State in Seventeenth-Century Ireland,' *Archivium Hibernicum*, 33 (1975), p. 128.
260. T. Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685* (London: Penguin, 2005), p. 87; Ohlmeyer, 'Confederation and Union, 1641–60,' in *Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, p. 321; D. McCormack, *The Stuart Restoration and the English in Ireland* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016), pp. 5–6; and Cunningham, *Conquest and Land in Ireland: The Transplantation to Connacht, 1649–1680*.
261. Cunningham, 'Oliver Cromwell and the "Cromwellian" Settlement of Ireland,' p. 921; P.J. Corish, 'The Cromwellian Regime, 1650–60,' in *A New History of Ireland, III: Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691*, p. 361; Canny, 'Ireland and Continental Europe, c. 1600–c. 1750,' p. 337; and Cunningham, 'Politics, 1641–1660,' p. 87.
262. A.J. Loomie, 'Oliver Cromwell's Policy towards the English Catholics: The Appraisal by Diplomats, 1654–1658,' *The Catholic Historical Review*, 90/1 (2004), p. 30.
263. Cromwell's policy towards Ireland has been interpreted from numerous perspectives. For its religious implications, see Ch. Hill, *God's Englishman: Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1985); and D.L. Smith, *Oliver Cromwell: Política y religión en la revolución inglesa, 1640–1658* (Madrid: Akal, 1999).
264. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memoriales by Stephen England. Jerez de la Frontera, 6 and 17 July 1653. The order included this quote.
265. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by Stephen England. Jerez de la Frontera, 28 septiembre de 1653.
266. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Francisco Guerra to Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Cádiz, 28 November 1653.
267. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Thomas Walsh to Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Santiago, 7 December 1653.
268. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Stephen England to Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Jerez de la Frontera, 11 January 1654. Lombard had close links with the Irish college of Salamanca. His name featured on the list of candidates for the post of 'procurator of the Mission'. SP/S/40/6 (i). Several petitions concerning the progress of the Mission. Salamanca. Salamanca, n. d., c. 1652.
269. SP/S/35/2. Thomas Walsh's will. Santiago, 9 March 1654.
270. A. López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa A. M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago: Seminario Conciliar Central, 1907), Tom. 9, pp. 118–119. His epitaph reads: 'Here lies the illustrious confessor of the faith, the Most Revered Thomas Valois (Walsh), Archbishop of Cashel, Ireland, who died on 5 May 1654'. *Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (Dublin: The Society, 1872), p. 85. A year after Walsh's death, a panegyric penned by the Jesuit William Salinger, who had met Walsh in the Irish college of Santiago, was published. *De Vita et Morte Illustrissimi Domini Thomæ Valesii Archiepiscopi Casiliensis in Hibernia*. Cfr. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Historic Facts Illustrative of the Labour and Sufferings of Its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century*, p. 680.
271. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Alonso Pérez de Guzmán to Philip IV. Madrid, 31 May 1654. In December of that same year, Stephen England requested to see the will of Thomas Walsh in order that he could carry out his instructions, while Peter White claimed the debt for the Jesuits of Waterford. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by Stephen England. S. l., 29 December 1654. Four years later, the patriarch insisted that the money owed should be handed over to those whose

legitimate bequeath it was. SP/S/35/2. Madrid, 19 December 1658. For a detailed examination of the accounts of the Mission for 1649 and 1658–1660, see AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82.

3

The Changing Nature of Royal Patronage

In 1611, when Archbishop David Kearney left Madrid with Philip III's pension, he was not aware that he had planted the seeds of what came to be known as the Irish Mission. Its initial steps were marked by the administrative confusion that surrounded the Cádiz pension. Without a set programme to follow, the royal grant that was the pension's economic foundation was in a constant state of construction. This confessional project was born with no blueprint, as an instrument to support the Irish Catholic community under the direction of, and subject to the same tremors that shook, the Spanish monarchy. Their natural progress of events and the need to adapt to changing circumstances forced the Mission to permanently reinvent itself.

This lack of constitution may have been a response to the Crown's own indecision concerning the political and religious structure of the Mission. It was not officially linked to the Irish colleges or to the national corporations represented in the monarchy.¹ The Mission was, in fact, defined by a polycentric decision-making structure, including the councils of State and Finances and the Patriarchy of the Indies. Initially, however, the administrative centre of the Mission was with the king's first chaplain and almoner, whose responsibility was to administer the 1,000-ducat grace.

This peculiar model set the Mission apart from other apostolic endeavours. The internal workings and the range of its operations can only be understood if its structure is examined in all its multi-layered detail. The training and dispatch of missionaries to the British Isles was not conceived as a monolithic task, or as one that could be ruled by a set of fixed norms,

but rather as the application and consolidation of consuetudinary guidelines endorsed by praxis. Thus, the Crown created a complex apparatus within which the Irish priests and friars were the key player. These agents and servants of the king are illustrative of the strategic potential of promoting and preserving Catholicism in Ireland.

The identity of these priests was shaped during their training.² The Irish colleges were created for the humanistic and religious teaching of the exiled students, but they also had other functions: assisting its members, strengthening the links between members of the community, and creating social networks that were instrumental for their political projection.³ The Orthodox Catholic zeal of the Spanish monarchy turned the Stuarts into a central target. Education was the chosen instrument for fighting the cause of the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics.⁴ The Count of Gondomar, before abandoning his embassy in London, defined the colleges as the ‘artillery’ that had concerned James I the most.⁵

The patronage over the colleges reinforced the royal position as the champion of Catholicism.⁶ These institutions were not isolated entities. They operated like a coordinated network and were the social, ideological, and political point of reference for the exiled community.⁷ Irish seminaries were the vital organs of the political-religious body of the Irish Mission, complemented with the contribution of regular orders. This is, however, a somewhat idealised image. Reality was a lot more complex than this. Though useful, the network of colleges was costly, as was the actual Mission, and the royal coffers were being emptied by war and bankruptcy.⁸

The strategy of the Spanish monarchy—reinforced after certain events, such as the disaster of Kinsale—was to create the base for a practical religiosity that could preserve Catholicism in the north. The convents and the Irish colleges in the Iberian Peninsula were the vehicles with which the king would fulfil his duties. The Pope, for his part, adopted a similar strategy, assisting the missionaries of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* by founding papal colleges.⁹ The qualities expected from the missionaries were well defined: inclination towards priesthood, virtue, education, behaviour, and a model lifestyle were considered commonplace.

Irish colleges attached to Castilian universities, as well as regular monasteries, endeavoured to improve the training of priests and friars. This education was guided by the *Ratio Studiorum* and the Jesuit pedagogic

systems.¹⁰ This teaching approach tried to accommodate those who joined religious life through different routes. Discipline and oratory were paid special attention in order that the pastoral qualities of priests were strengthened. The ultimate objective was to remedy the doctrinal shortcomings detected in the territories to which missionaries were being sent.¹¹

A comprehensive seven-year educational programme was designed, with particular emphasis on humanistic and theological teachings. The students, who had to be well versed in Latin, spent the first three years learning the arts, which included some subjects from the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*: logic, rhetoric, grammar, philosophy, politics, canon law, physics, metaphysics, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. During the three years that followed they learned moral, dogmatic, and positive theology by way of example.¹² These subjects were essential to the Mission's goals and revealed the influence of the ideas of the Jesuit Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, Francisco Suárez, and Domingo de Soto. Oratory was believed to be a key virtue for preaching from both the pulpit and the confessional. Rhetorical and dialectical abilities were given priority over metaphysical questions. They were trained to present a discourse, refute arguments, and react with wit to theological and humanistic challenges. The goal of these humanistic exercises was to promote the students' sociability and to make them more attractive as preachers. This made learning a collective task, and the trainees learned in constant interaction with their classmates and mentors.¹³

In 1639, a *memorial* by the Irishman William Cahessy brought the training of future missionaries to the attention of the council of State. Despite being ready to join the Mission, the priest was encouraged to study canon law in the University of Alcalá by several Irish bishops and other prominent churchmen. Canon law was key to dealing with issues such as marriage and divorce and also with dispensations of affinity and consanguinity. The councillors determined it unwise to allow the Irish to become canonists, lest they be tempted to exercise that profession in Spain instead of returning to Ireland as missionaries, as was their duty. For this reason, theological knowledge was to be limited to talking among and debating with reformists, as well as preaching and administering the sacraments.¹⁴

The ordination of priests was left until the last year, when the students had finished their training and were believed to be ready. Following their secular vows, they were ordained by the Mission's rector *ab titulo missionis*.¹⁵ This privilege, endorsed by Urban VIII in 1623, extended Paul V's licence, which had been conceded eleven years earlier, to all colleges situated in the Habsburg dominions and in France, and was later extended to the pontifical colleges as well.¹⁶ These concessions gave the Mission new substance and a more precise outline. It was the last step in the process begun by all students upon taking their admission oath.¹⁷

The ordination and this oath put the candidates at the service of the Mission and the king.¹⁸ However, those who decided to join an order instead of returning to Ireland were allowed to do so.¹⁹ In 1624, it was even suggested that graduates could be sent to serve as chaplains in the royal armies, in order that they could be of service to the king for one or two years before undertaking their missionary duties.²⁰

The incorporation of Irish priests and friars into the Mission began with their application for a *viaticum*. As the Latin etymology of the term indicates, this was a monetary grant of 100 ducats. This sum was to be used to cover their travelling expenses back to Ireland.²¹ It was a one-off grant, and as such it was not deducted from the Cádiz pension. That is, it was understood as prebends which had been conceded by the council of Finances and not by the patriarch.²² The money, therefore, was not to be arbitrarily spent on ostentatious clothing or other superfluous matters.²³ It was to be used to cover the sea passage and also books for predication and liturgy and the civilian clothing with which to cover up the missionary's ecclesiastical condition.²⁴ The punitive English laws forced priests and friars to conceal anything that could identify them upon arrival. This license to dress in secular clothes and carry a weapon was, in any case, considered unnecessary before the trip, and was limited to a period of ten to twelve days prior to their departure, in order to ensure that nothing untoward came of it.²⁵

Gaining a *viaticum* became a requisite for Irish clerics. The royal grant, however, coexisted with other forms of economic assistance for that community. Throughout the 17th century the Spanish monarchy adopted a generous policy towards the Irish, including pensions for injured soldiers and military widows and orphans. One of the most direct sources of aid, for

it was administered by the patriarch, was the pension given to Irish Franciscan and Dominican nuns to cover their living expenses in Castilian convents.²⁶ Finally, the Irish college in Seville also conceded a kind of *viatica*, although these could not be received in combination with the royal grant. This created some confusion in the record, especially after Philip IV decided that other royal grants were awarded to this seminary and to the Irish college of Salamanca in 1639. This *juro* college grant amounted to 400 reales to cover the expenses incurred by the outbound missionary until he was on board. These missionaries did not travel through Madrid, but boarded their ships in Seville, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Cádiz, or Málaga.²⁷

The analysis of the process involved in the concession of the royal grant shows its theoretical framework and evolution over time. Travelling to court to apply for the grant became one of the most conflictive aspects of the process. Many applicants, lured away from the Mission by the possibility of climbing the social ladder, broke their oath and decided to stay in Spain. Personal interest often turned their visit to Madrid into a final stop.²⁸

The problem was that the would-be missionaries were often awed by royal generosity. Sometimes, the 100 ducats promised as *viaticum* drove candidates to abandon the seminary before they had graduated and wander Madrid with no resources.²⁹ From the start, the high number of defections came to the attention of the authorities and measures were put in place to change the situation.³⁰ Despite these measures, which aimed to rid Madrid of vagrants and people of ‘little use’, the situation progressively deteriorated. In 1624, the council of State engaged in a debate about what to do with those who, after receiving the *viaticum*, remained in Madrid. The decision was taken to make the missionary’s trip to Ireland as easy and expeditious as possible, and Archbishop David Kearney, who had not left for Cashel yet, and the Jesuit procurator Richard Conway were consulted on problematic cases.³¹ These decisions (and others that followed) helped to clarify the normative framework of the Mission. These were not transitory measures inspired by expediency and aimed to dispatch beneficiaries in a rush or blacken the reputation of new applicants. Their goal was to end the irregularities detected.

Inspired by the Count-Duke of Olivares’s reformist spirit, in 1624 Richard Conway submitted an arbitration in which he proposed several

measures to put an end to these ‘vices’. For example, priests would not be allowed to leave the college until they had been granted the *viaticum*, and thus the court would be bypassed.³² In contrast, he proposed to limit the number of presbyters sent as missionaries by each college to three per year.³³ It is clear that this number was not randomly chosen. In 1622 the king had also limited to three the number of missionaries sent every year by the regular orders (outside the college system). Thus, this proposal of the councillors placed priests and friars on the same level.³⁴

Conway’s arbitration also concerned the *viatica* and the uses of the 100 ducats. The distractions of the court were the cause of some of this sum being used for untoward purposes.³⁵ In order to put an end to this, changes for the way the money was delivered were proposed, once more bypassing Madrid. Conway’s proposal was to hand the money to the missionary in the harbour. The royal confessor, the Dominican Antonio de Sotomayor, suggested that the missionary provide a receipt after his departure, to ensure that the royal will was being obeyed.³⁶ A year later, this issue was again broached, and it was decreed that priests would not leave the college until the *viaticum* had been granted. This would be handed over to the missionaries in the harbour.³⁷

This anti-fraud policy was perfected with the designation of the patriarch as administrator of the *viatica*. Besides, this job involved evaluating the worthiness of future missionaries. Alonso Pérez de Guzmán adopted the same criteria used to appoint officials and chaplains for the Royal Chapel.³⁸ This additional task implied the distribution of the royal pre-bend, as first almoner, before examining and endorsing candidates.³⁹

The main reason for this step was the poor use Richard Conway was making of the funds given to the Society of Jesus.⁴⁰ The council of State did not trust his ability in this regard, and decided to delegate the distribution of this royal grant to the patriarch. The first doubts can be traced back to June 1624, when a *memorial* signed by Juan de la Rocha was consulted. According to his testimony, de la Rocha had tried to sail from Cádiz on several occasions, but the weather prevented him. He eventually died in the city without having been paid the *viaticum* and without having left a letter of attorney stating what should be done in the event of his demise. However, procurator Conway, who had borrowed money from a third party to expedite de la Rocha’s trip, claimed the money back.⁴¹ In

another similar example, Theobald Burke, an Irish priest who had delayed his incorporation into the Mission in order to solve some ‘business’ issues, decided in the end to stay in Spain to complete his training in the humanities in the College of Santiago. The problem in this case was that Conway was reluctant to hand over the money to Burke, even though he was entitled to it for his studies.⁴² The council of State also decided that those who had been endorsed by the patriarch could receive part of the money in Madrid and the other part at the harbour.⁴³ As Conway has suggested, this ensured that part of the money was used for its proper purpose, which was to cover the journey. This reduced the need for middlemen and the associated delays.

The sea voyage took approximately fifteen days, but a large number of external variables made it uncertain and difficult.⁴⁴ The conditions of the Cantabrian Sea and the Atlantic Ocean often forced ships to remain in port until conditions improved. Ships were not necessarily available, and not all ships bound for Ireland were commanded by a captain who was willing to hide priests and friars among the crew and risk his being discovered upon arrival.⁴⁵ Merchants living in Bilbao or the Andalusian ports, for instance Stephen England, offered themselves as middlemen with sea-skippers.⁴⁶ Commercial networks in Spain and the constant exchange of goods between both coasts made it easier for the travelling missionaries.⁴⁷

The measures implemented to prevent abuses in the system also involved an increasingly rigorous selection process, and candidates with good training and spiritual qualities were given priority. In 1625, Patriarch Alonso Pérez de Guzmán communicated the selection criteria to the rectors of the colleges in Lisbon, Seville, Santiago, and Salamanca, and the provincials of Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians. From his new coordinating position he asked them to recommend the most suitable candidates from the ordained graduates. The prospective missionaries had to be virtuous and lead an exemplary life, as well as being good preachers and fully committed to the royal service in Ireland.⁴⁸

Examinations assessed the three annual candidates’ personal features and their theological abilities, certified by documents issued by the rectors and superiors for this purpose.⁴⁹ These documents recorded the progress of the students during their training, and they were examined once more by the patriarch, who then expressed his opinion on the qualities, aptitudes,

orthodoxy, and culture of the prospective missionaries.⁵⁰ If the candidates had the required knowledge and personal features, Pérez de Guzmán ruled in their favour.⁵¹

Without this endorsement, which could not be granted to candidates who had not been trained in one of the Irish seminaries in the Iberian Peninsula, the council of Finances would not deliver the money.⁵² Irish clerics who had received their training in non-Irish colleges could also apply for the grant, as long as their education had taken place in institutions situated within the king's dominion. For example, Theobald Stapleton attended the Jesuit college in Sardinia and was, because he was endorsed by his teachers, pronounced worthy of joining the Mission and receiving the *viaticum* by Pérez de Guzmán.⁵³

The English missionaries trained in Spain and earmarked for the English Mission had their own criteria.⁵⁴ This enterprise, which was initiated by the Jesuits Robert Persons and Joseph Creswell, began in 1590. That year Philip II conceded a grant to the graduates of the royal English college of Saint Albans, in Valladolid, who wanted to return to England to preach.⁵⁵ Each missionary Jesuit who graduated from this and from other similar colleges (there was one in Seville and, from 1611, another one in Madrid), and the English residences in Lisbon and Sanlúcar de Barrameda, received 50 ducats for their trip.⁵⁶

In 1627, with the foundation of the Scottish Mission, the yearly quota of English missionaries was reduced and the application process for the *viaticum* modified. Commenting on an application by two English candidates, the council of State established that granting a *viaticum* of 100 ducats to more than three candidates a year (a quota that had already been met that year) was unviable. The councillors also insisted that the grant should be administered by the patriarch and that enquiries should be made to ensure that the grantee would indeed be leaving for England; that is, the English were subject to rules that already applied to the Irish.⁵⁷

In 1630 there was still some mistrust at court and the embarkation points. Despite the measures that had been put in place, irregularities had decreased but had not totally disappeared. There were still some Irish who had abandoned themselves to the 'sweet pleasures of this court' or, simply, who were moved by no desire other than receiving the grant, and who were thus squandering their teachings and not being true to their word.⁵⁸ These

questions and the habits of some applicants at the court had damaged the image of the Mission.⁵⁹ Over the years, however, the improved definition of the structural basis of the Mission, the mechanisms created in order to avoid arbitrariness, and a more rigorous selection of candidates all contributed to improve the situation.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, new problems caused by the lack of punctuality in the payments and the selection of candidates demonstrated that the Mission was a flexible structure, which was capable of adapting to changing circumstances.

In 1634, the Dominican order complained about the difficulties and discomfort their missionaries suffered after abandoning their convents at the end of their studies (they had no means to sustain themselves until the grant was made effective).⁶¹ The problem stretched back four years, when the president of the council of Finances, Marquis of Loria na, stopped paying the 100 ducats earmarked for each of the three Dominicans appointed as missionaries.⁶² The general procurator of the order, William Fitzgerald, stressed the limited resources of his friars, and asked the king to reiterate his instructions to Loriana for the payments to be finally made, although his hopes were not high.⁶³ Despite the royal orders and the fact that the president of the council was only occupying his post transitorily, the debts persisted. In a later *memorial*, Father William claimed that the situation of his friars had deteriorated even further. After leaving the convent, they had to suffer endless indignities at bad inns, and many had died waiting for a grant that never came.⁶⁴ The following year, the arrears were partially satisfied, but the procurator emphasised the suffering of the wandering Dominicans, while demanding payment for the rest of the debt accumulated over the previous three years.⁶⁵

In 1637, after this delay in paying the *viatica* had been resolved, an unnamed informer issued a warning concerning the inadequacy of many of the missionaries, and pointed out that priests and friars who were much better qualified did not receive the grant. He also challenged the selection criteria adopted by the patriarch and the certificates produced by the rectors and the superiors of the different orders, which, in his opinion, did not accurately reflect the real aptitudes of the candidates and, therefore, led to the endorsement of substandard missionaries. Following this warning, the council of State reviewed the execution of the selection processes from 1625 onwards and decided that, in order to ensure that the Mission was well

served, the certificates must be accompanied with authentic patents. As well, Pérez de Guzmán was ordered to be stricter in his examination, and to evaluate the candidates' features and their preaching and pastoral abilities. Finally, it was established that the Council would undertake a final consultation with the patriarch before awarding the grant.⁶⁶ In this way, another check was introduced to ensure the competence and dignity of the royal servants, and the efficacy of the process adopted to award them with 100 ducats.

In 1643, the Spanish monarchy started requesting additional information about the college graduates. With the configuration of the Confederacy of Kilkenny and the increasingly active role played by France, Spanish hegemony in Ireland was under threat. For some years, it had been French policy in Rome to fill vacant churches in the island with their own supporters and also with pro-English candidates. This policy also enjoyed the support of the exiled Queen Henrietta Marie of France, wife of Charles I. These advances, which were progressively eroding the Spanish patronage structure, drove the Irish exiles in Madrid to introduce extra checks to ensure that the missionaries were on the Spanish side and that they had been trained in institutions located in its dominions.⁶⁷

The struggle to control Irish ecclesiastical jurisdiction became a power play between France and Spain, not unlike that which preceded a conclave. With independence from the consequences of the success or failure of the Confederacy on the battlefield, the diplomatic and political game was henceforth based on the feelings of prospective bishops for the two contending crowns. A favourable bishop meant control over diocesan jurisdiction and the political will of the population.

The rector of the Irish college in Madrid, Gregory Fallon, saw this from an early stage, and, when the Confederacy was just taking its first steps, advised Philip IV on the convenience of appointing Spanish-educated students as bishops in Ireland.⁶⁸ Despite this not being the colleges' official function, they became a source of good, pro-Spanish bishops. The appointments clearly indicate that, although this was not official policy, it was standard practice, which also suited the needs of the Confederation. Fallon had just been made agent of the Irish clergy in Rome, a position from which he could facilitate the promotion of these candidates in exchange for a royal pension. His monetary request was rejected, and nothing was done apart from the dispatch of a letter about this issue to the

Spanish ambassador in Rome, Juan Chumacero. Fallon's *memorial* was examined in mid-1643, and this prompted the councillors of State to debate the political repercussions of possible strategies to counteract French influence in Ireland.⁶⁹

The progressive consolidation of Spanish patronage and the curtailment of French advances could only be achieved by promoting Spanish-educated missionaries to Irish bishoprics. In the absence of other resources, this would at least create an ecclesiastical network that strengthened the relational and patronage links between the Irish and their patron: the Catholic king. This was an unsettled period, and those who had benefitted from the royal patronage now had to work to ensure that the grassroots Catholics under their care remained loyal to the Spanish monarchy. The political potential of these newly appointed pro-Spanish bishops and agents, who were revered by their flock (for the members of which these prelates were the ultimate point of religious reference), contributed to keep alight the flame of Catholicism in Ireland and to promote the interests of the Spanish monarchy.

The candidates for these posts had to demonstrate good personal qualities and that they had received sufficient training. The dossiers with the certificates issued by the college rectors were sent to Ambassador Chumacero, who recommended those better trained and more sympathetic to the Spanish cause for the vacant sees. In effect, this constituted taking heed of Fallon's proposal. As was the case in 1626, when the Duke of Pastrana recommended Thomas Walsh for the diocese of Cashel, Spanish diplomacy pushed the political and religious interests of the Crown in Ireland by appealing to the Irish Catholics but without getting embroiled in the military negotiations of the Confederacy of Kilkenny. These subtle measures contributed to boost the increasingly weak Spanish position in this kingdom.⁷⁰

Along with the reactivation of this 'Episcopal policy', the dispatch of missionaries did not cease during the Confederation period, although political instability reduced maritime traffic between both coasts. In the 1640s, several priests and friars who had benefitted from Spanish patronage were awarded *in situ* appointments and ecclesiastic privileges in Ireland. This reflects the prestige of the Mission and the efficacy of its pastoral work, despite the growing hardship.⁷¹ Even before the declaration of bankruptcy issued in October 1647, the Mission was suffering from

financial difficulties. For instance, the *viaticum* for the three Augustinian friars who had been awarded the grant that year was reduced to 50 ducats.⁷² The Mission, however, adapted to this financial predicament and continued pushing its missionary endeavours.

Not everyone was so accommodating of the wishes of the Spanish monarchy and the growing problems of Irish Catholics. The settlement of the English Church imposed by Oliver Cromwell in 1652 involved, *de facto*, the suppression of the Catholic hierarchy. The aim of this measure was to procure the highest possible number of conversions by placing the administration of the sacraments under the control of puritanical clerics. However, the results were disappointing and, often, counterproductive. The Catholic convictions of the population became stronger than ever.⁷³ In fact, the vacancies left by the expulsion and execution of priests and friars during the 1650s were, to an extent, filled by the arrival of Spanish-sponsored missionaries.

Around that year, an arbitration was put forward in order to reform the Mission and tackle the sporadic defection of certain graduates. The reasons adduced by the defectors not to undertake their missionary duties were the adverse conditions created by Cromwell's repressive occupation policy. The arbitration criticised this attitude, declaring it cowardly, faint-hearted, and unbecoming of would-be missionaries, who could not expect to be rewarded for their toil. The arbitration concluded by demanding a way to force these graduates to keep their oath. The persistence of the problem meant that it was clear royal sanctions were not enough, especially when the political environment was hostile and the 'material conditions' were not the most favourable for the task.⁷⁴

In the mid-17th century, events in the British Isles led to changes in the Irish Mission, especially the reduction in the number of missionaries. Jerónimo de Barrionuevo's *Avisos*, published in 1656, claimed that Oliver Cromwell had ordered the destruction of all convents and the execution of all friars, which resulted in a final death toll of approximately 1,600. According to his account, several of them managed to escape, and two of these escapees fled to Madrid and another two to Rome.⁷⁵ In 1653, over 1,000 priests were banished and ordered never to return from their Spanish, Flemish, or French exiles.⁷⁶ The nuns had lived through a similar experience during that same year, when they were forced to choose between

marriage or exile.⁷⁷ After the destruction of the last convent in Galway, many Franciscan and Dominican monks found shelter in Castilian convents, where they were maintained with a *juro* for their support.⁷⁸

These events and the execution of nearly one hundred priests during that period soon resulted in the development of a rhetoric that centred on the idea of martyrdom, imprisonment, and exile, as well as the associated need for new missionaries from the continent.⁷⁹ It was even suggested that Philip IV should intercede with parliament so that these missionaries could honour their duty and help the many Catholics who were dying devoid of religious assistance. In exchange, the king could commit not to intervene politically or to make any move that might undermine the Commonwealth.⁸⁰ Some missionaries, but not all, were willing to return to Ireland again even at the risk of their lives, such as Father Patrick de St Leger, prior of Athlonen, or Andrés Ruiz y Lobo, abbot at the monastery of Our Lady of Mayo and metropolitan chancellor in Cashel.⁸¹ Father Juan de Santo Domingo applied for 150 *viatica* for many Dominicans.⁸²

The success of the royal project in Ireland should not be examined without paying close attention to the personal attitude of the missionaries. After receiving their grant and travelling to the Irish coast, the next step was to enter the island discreetly. Missionaries had to dress in secular clothes and hope that, after their prolonged absence, they would not be recognised by the English authorities, and then continue unnoticed as they preached among Catholics.⁸³

Given the need for people on the ground, the annual restriction of three missionaries per order began to be tacitly ignored, although no official order was given to this effect. In 1656, the Franciscan provincials Father Henry O'Mellan, Father Bernard Conry, and Father Thomas Mckernan described the scarcity of ministers who could administer the sacraments for their order. In their calculations, there were over one hundred Irish missionaries waiting for the *viaticum*, and he urged that the royal intervention expedite their payment.⁸⁴

Cromwell's 1652 decrees, however, also meant that a large number of Irish Catholics went into exile. Many bishops were persecuted by the English authorities, stripped of their possessions, and expelled from their dioceses. Their destination was France and, especially, Spain, and they were often in extreme need of aid.⁸⁵ Many missionaries suffered the same fate, or

even death, as a result of the repressive measures: for instance, the priest Cornelio Carti, who was hanged that year after thirteen years' pastoral duty.⁸⁶ For years, the missionaries' apostolic labours had been assisted by the Spanish monarchy, and now they saw their prison sentences and capital punishments commuted to lifelong exile under their patron. The history of the late 16th century was repeated again.⁸⁷ The stage was the same, but the script and the actors had changed. The experience accumulated by the Crown helped it to deal with this situation: bishops and missionaries were rewarded with royal pensions.⁸⁸ Many of them occupied religious posts or were otherwise incorporated into royal service.⁸⁹

Like Archbishop Thomas Walsh before him, the Franciscan Anthony MacGeoghegan, Bishop of Clonmacnoise, applied in 1653 for a living allowance from the king or, failing that, the 1,000 ducats that had been granted to the Archbishop of Tuam.⁹⁰ In exchange, he would undertake services for the Crown, but in Spain, not in Ireland. Following instructions from the council of State, the Marquis of Valparaíso made some enquiries and confirmed that Father Anthony was learned and a good preacher—qualities that recommended him for the post of visitor in the archdiocese of Toledo. Theoretically, MacGeoghegan had played a similar role before, touring the parishes within his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In any case, Valparaíso urged the council to give the archbishop some assistance while the issue was resolved.⁹¹

The final decision depended on the Archbishop of Toledo, Baltasar Moscoso y Sandoval. After making the necessary enquiries, the archbishop rejected the plan because Anthony MacGeoghegan did not speak Spanish or know the style of *ad limina* visits—for which, experience and a good knowledge of the culture, habits, and customs of the region were required.⁹² Despite this refusal, days later MacGeoghegan was appointed representative of the Irish Catholic hierarchy in Rome. Like David Kearney, Thomas Walsh, and Michael Cantwell before him, his role in the Holy See was to ensure that the Pope defended the interests of the Irish Catholics. Philip IV could not give him a permanent assignation, but succoured him with 3,000 ducats for the trip to the pontifical court and recommendation letters to Pope Innocent X and the king's extraordinary ambassador Pedro de Urbina y Montoya, Archbishop of Valencia.⁹³ In August 1653, Father Patrick Duffy, general commissar of the Irish, English, and Scottish Mission,

requested permission to transport the bishop on one of the galleys taking the Count of Castrillo to Italy.⁹⁴

This would not be the last time that Duffy assisted an Irish prelate in Spain. Four years later, he asked the king for the monthly pension of 60 escudos awarded to the Dominican Edmund Dempsey, Bishop of Leighlin, to be channelled through one of the king's rents in Galicia.⁹⁵ The aim of this was to improve his situation of the prelate, but the re-allocation of the grant did not take place and complaints were filed for the delay in payment.⁹⁶

In late 1656, Philip IV's liberality extended to the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* without causing a jurisdictional conflict. This connection created a reciprocal relationship which was continued throughout the century. After the general commissar's petition, the king granted him 200 ducats towards the travelling expenses of fifty Franciscan preachers on their way to Ireland. This grant, which was administered by the council of War, set a precedent.⁹⁷ In April 1657, the council of State was dealing with an issue involving commissar general Duffy.⁹⁸ His refusal was withholding payment of 30 escudos awarded to the papal missionary Father Anthony Stafford, a Franciscan. This triggered the complaint of Father Francis MacGuaik, procurator of that religious order. It was examined by the council, which decided to award Stafford 100 ducats, like the royal missionaries. In this way, Father Anthony was placed under the Spanish patronage.⁹⁹

Meanwhile, the Bishop of Ferns, Nicholas French, escaping from the persecution and the confiscations of the English, also reached out to Philip IV for support from his refuge in Ghent.¹⁰⁰ The prelate's petition was accompanied by credentials that proved he had served in Innocent X's Sacred Chapel while he was in Rome dealing with issues related to the latest Irish wars, in which he played an active role.¹⁰¹ The *memorial* was received in 1656, when military obligations pressed heavily on the royal finances. Despite this, the councillors of State did not want to abandon him, and suggested a pension through the patriarch, like that which had been granted four years earlier to the exiled Irish nuns.¹⁰² These decrees channelled the living allowances of Irish prelates and nuns as well as the pension allocated to the Irish Mission into the hands of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán.

For nearly half a century, the main characteristics of the Irish Mission were its pragmatism and its ability to adapt to the changing circumstances both in Spain and in the British Isles. The consuetudinary and transient character of this patronage meant that no preconceived ideas or structures had to be maintained, and policies could easily shift in response to changes in the environment. From its ethereal beginnings, the Mission tried to accommodate achieving its religious goal whilst also adapting to the fluctuating conditions of English-Spanish diplomacy. Over time, the organisation became less diffuse, and some regularity was introduced into ordinary procedures, such as the application for the *viaticum*, the monitoring of the habits and behaviour of missionaries, and the promotion and sustenance of exiled bishops.

The *perpetuum mobile* nature of the Mission is key to its historical interpretation. The Mission cannot be understood in isolation from the men who made it. This choral story, with its different agents and political and economic factors, was to take a sharp turn in 1658 with the death of Oliver Cromwell and the restoration of Charles II. Meanwhile, the Spanish Habsburgs signed the Treaty of the Pyrenees with France and ensured the continuity of the dynasty with the birth of the future Charles II of Spain in 1661.

Notes

1. García García and Recio Morales (eds.), *Las corporaciones de nación en la Monarquía Hispánica (1580–1750). Identidad, patronazgo y redes de sociabilidad*.
2. Often, college students' studies were funded by bishops—for example, the bishop of Jaén—or ministers such as the Count of Ayala or the Marquis of Tarazona. AGS, Estado, leg. 2796. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 29 November 1633; SP/XIV/A/1/3 and 18. The Count of Ayala to the rector of the Irish college of Salamanca. Madrid, 22 February 1632 and 17 December 1666; and SP/XVIII/N/1/3. Juan Eusebio Nieremberg to the rector of the Irish college of Salamanca. Madrid, 1 February 1642.
3. T. O'Connor, 'Irish Migration to Spain and the Formation of an Irish College Network, 1589–1800,' in *The Sea in European History*, L. François and A.K. Isaacs, eds. (Pisa: Edizioni Plus, 2001), p. 112; and Canny, 'Ireland and Continental Europe, c. 1600–c. 1750,' p. 344.
4. Recio Morales, *Irlanda en Alcalá: la comunidad irlandesa en la Universidad de Alcalá y su proyección europea, 1579–1785*, p. 45.

5. AGS, Estado, leg. 2559. London, n. d., c. 1623. The Count of Gondomar to Philip III. Cfr. Recio Morales, *Irlanda en Alcalá: la comunidad irlandesa en la Universidad de Alcalá y su proyección europea, 1579–1785*, p. 70.
6. BNE, Ms. 6732, f. 236(bis1)r. *Noticias que ofrece a los ojos de la piedad cristiana el colegio de los irlandeses de la Compañía de Jesús de Sevilla* (Seville: s. i., c. 1714).
7. Recio Morales, *Irlanda en Alcalá: la comunidad irlandesa en la Universidad de Alcalá y su proyección europea, 1579–1785*, pp. 23–24.
8. The proposal of the Primate Archbishop Peter Lombard to found a seminary for Irish Dominicans, discussed in the council of State, revealed that the network of colleges was quite the burden on royal finances. The council ended up arguing over how to reduce (not increase) the number of colleges. This would also help to consolidate and develop the existing colleges. AGS, Estado, leg. 2643. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 16 November 1613. Several years later, in 1632, this was already a well-established policy. The Franciscan Father Hugh de Burgo requested a house, which had been pulled down by the Inquisition, to found a seminary for Irish Franciscans, but the Count of Castrillo pointed out that the foundation of new convents was ‘forbidden’ owing to the fact that plenty of them already existed. AGS, Estado, leg. 2795. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 4 September 1632.
9. O’Connell, ‘The Early-Modern Irish College Network in Iberia, 1590–1800,’ pp. 50–52. On the training of missionaries coming from regular orders, case of Dominicans and Augustinians, D.M. Downey, ‘Agostiniani e Scotisti: il contributo irlandese alla teologia della Controriforma nell’Europa continentale,’ in *Storia religiosa dell’Irlanda*, L. Vaccaro and C.M. Pellizzi, eds. (Milan: Centro Ambrosiano, 2001), pp. 159–193.
10. Silke, ‘Irish Scholarship and the Renaissance, 1580–1673,’ pp. 169–206 and 182; and O’Connell, *The Irish college at Santiago de Compostela*, pp. 19 and 36.
11. AGS, Estado, leg. 2839. Certificate by Juan de Santo Thomas. Ávila, 15 April 1676.
12. O’Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela*, pp. 36–37.
13. SP/S/40/6 (i). Several petitions concerning the progress of the Mission. Salamanca, n. d., c. 1652; and SP/S/34/1. Visit by Father Francisco Cachupín, provincial of the Society of Jesus, to the Irish College of Santiago de Compostela. Santiago, 15 June 1662. A. Castillo Gómez, ‘Leer en comunidad. Libro y espiritualidad en la España del Barroco,’ *Via spiritus*, 7 (2000), pp. 99–122.
14. AGS, Estado, leg. 2802 [BDMI, 1759]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 24 September 1639.
15. SP/S/1/1 (9). Paul V’s bull, by request of the Irish College in Seville. Rome, 10 July 1617. On 30 November 1622, David Kearney ordained Nicholas Shee, student in the Irish college of Salamanca and cathedral subdeacon, ‘under the Irish Mission’. AGS, Estado, leg. 2784. *Viaticum* to Nicholas Shee. O’Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela*, p. 13. On 18 January 1623 Urban VIII expanded this privilege to graduating students ‘abque aliquo titulo beneficij ecclesiastici vel patrimonij, sed ad titulum missionis in Hiberniam tantum etiam extra tempora ad id a iure’. SP/S/1/1 (17). Urban VIII’s bull. Rome, 18 January 1623. The dispensation was ratified three years later. UCD-OFM, D. 01, vol. 1, p. 175. Urban VIII’s bull. Rome, 10 July 1626. Cfr. R. De Martinis, *Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide pars prima complectens Bulas Brevia Acta S.S.* (Rome: Ex typographia polyglotta S.C. de Propaganda Fide, 1888), vol. 1, pp. 61–62.

16. SP/S/1/1 (20). Communication of Paul V's bull, issued in Rome on 13 December 1614. Rome, 27 January 1615. O'Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela*, p. 17, note 5.
17. ARSI, Anglia, 29, doc. 11. Oath sworn by students at Saint Patrick's, Irish college of Salamanca. Salamanca, n. d. The oath taken in the Seville college was similar. J.J. Silke, 'The Irish College, Seville,' *Archivum Hibernicum*, 24 (1961), pp. 111–112. The document was later certified with the college's stamp. O'Connell, 'The Early-Modern Irish College Network in Iberia, 1590–1800,' pp. 55–56.
18. SP/II/6/9 (2). For the foundation of Irish seminaries. S. l., n. d., c. 1612.
19. O'Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1580–1834*, p. 136; and Ead., *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela*, pp. 37–38.
20. AHN, Estado, L. 722. Memorial on different issues concerning the Irish nation. Madrid, 3 February 1624.
21. Although new missionaries generally went to Ireland, in some cases they were allocated to other northern provinces since their training theoretically prepared them to work anywhere. The Irish Franciscan Father Cornelio Vardeo, for instance, exercised his ministry in France, despite the fact that his *viaticum* was meant to help him return to his homeland. C. Giblin, *Irish Franciscan Mission to Scotland, 1619–1646* (Dublin: Assisi Press, 1964), pp. 184–185. Tadeo Bradagan and Daniel Flanagan served in Flanders, and Thomas Maxano was set up to go to Ireland or wherever his work would be most useful. AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 568, 13, 76 [BDMI, 67]. Concession of the *viaticum* to Tadeo Bradagan and Daniel Flanagan. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 20 August 1620; and AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 272]. Concession of the *viaticum* to Thomas Maxano. Madrid, 14 December 1659.
22. Eventually, the 100 ducats of the *viaticum* could be increased depending on the quality of the applicant. In 1621, the council of State debated giving the aforementioned Father Richard Gold 300 ducats, because 'he is not going back to his homeland, and he is a studious and worthy man'. His intention in Ireland, according to his own letters, was to publish religious texts and correct some doctrinal errors. Philip IV finally increased the amount, but only to 150 ducats. AGS, Estado, leg. 2751. Madrid, 27 February 1622. In the event, Gold did not join the Mission or return to his land on this occasion. Years later he was granted a 100-ducat grant, which was increased to 120 in 1626. Recio Morales, *Irlanda en Alcalá: la comunidad irlandesa en la Universidad de Alcalá y su proyección europea, 1579–1785*, pp. 194–195. In 1639, the Count of Tyrone promoted him to a church in Munster. AGS, Estado, leg. 2802. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 23 July 1639. He had aspired to a bishopric in Ireland before, when he was recommended to the See of Tuam by Philip IV, the Archduchess Isabel Clara Eugenia, the Count of Tyrone and Philip O'Sullivan Beare. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, pp. 339, 445 and 464. Ludovico Ludovisi, cardinal and protector of the Irish nation, appointed him coadjutor to the diocese of Limerick. In the end, due to a series of circumstances, he was never appointed bishop. Giblin, 'Document on the Irish Trinitarians, 1621–71,' pp. 14–15.
23. SP/S/37/11, f. 23. Visit by the provincial of the Society of Jesus in Andalusia, Pedro de Avilés, to the Irish college of Seville. Seville, 6 March 1644.
24. In similar terms, the missionaries sent by the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* were granted 30 Roman *scutis* as a *viaticum* for their expenses. Missionaries used these books as auxiliary tool to preach, but also there were some attempts to send shipment of books to Ireland with this goal. C. Bravo Lozano, 'Book Culture in the Irish Mission: The Case of Father Juan de Santo Domingo (1636–1644),' *Sederi Yearbook of the Spanish and Portuguese Society for English Renaissance Studies*, 27 (2017), pp. 195–211. On the production of devotional works and books of catechesis

- in Ireland and the continent, see Cunningham, 'Catholic Intellectual Culture in Early Modern Ireland,' pp. 151–162.
25. SP/S/37/11, f. 25. Visit by the provincial of the Society of Jesus in Andalusia, Hernando de Poblaciones, to the Irish college in Seville. Seville, 3 September 1648.
 26. Bravo Lozano, "'Huyendo de los lobos carniceros de su patria". Las monjas irlandesas en Castilla, una aproximación social y discursiva (1652–1706),' pp. 639–646.
 27. SP/S/40/1. Visit by the provincial of the Society of Jesus in Andalusia, Juan de Casarrubios, to the Irish college of Seville. Seville, 13 June 1635; and SP/S/37/11, ff. 45–46. Visit by the provincial of the Society of Jesus in Andalusia, Diego López, to the Irish college in Seville. Seville, 11 April 1658. Burrieza, 'Escuela de sacerdotes y mártires: Los colegios en el exilio católico,' p. 69.
 28. AGS, Estado, leg. 2752 [BDMI, 1830]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 6 March 1624.
 29. SP/S/40/1. Reports on the history of the Irish college in Seville. Seville, n. d., c. 1624.
 30. García Hernán, 'La Misión de Irlanda (1610–1628). Aproximación a una nueva investigación,' pp. 357–358.
 31. AGS, Estado, leg. 2645. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 24 May 1624. The task was also undertaken by the Archbishop of Tuam, Florence Conry, who was in charge of reporting new arrivals to the Iberian Peninsula. O'Scea, 'Los exiliados de las Islas Británicas (1580–1680),' p. 121.
 32. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline*, pp. 85 and ss.
 33. AGS, Estado, leg. 2752 [BDMI, 1841]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 11 December 1624.
 34. AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 593, 16, 75 [BDMI, 37]. Juan de Ciriza to the president of the council of Finances. Madrid, 21 March 1623; AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 594, 14, 35 [BDMI, 42]. Juan de Ciriza to the president of the council of Finances. Madrid, 29 March 1623; and AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 605, 15, 68 [BDMI, 46]. Juan de Ciriza to the president of the council of Finances. Madrid, 23 February 1624. Two years after the king's decision, the councillors of State pointed out that the three missionaries on whose behalf Father Richard Conway was interceding were not among the recipients of the grant, because they were priests, but that it was just to give them as much as the others were getting for their trip. AGS, Estado, leg. 2752 [BDMI, 1832]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 24 May 1624. Burrieza, 'Escuela de sacerdotes y mártires: Los colegios en el exilio católico,' pp. 68–69.
 35. In 1619, it was warned that 'the money should only be given if there is certainty that embarkation is going to take place within three or four months'. Defections were common in this period between the payment and the purported voyage. AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, 564, 18, 32 [BDMI, 28]. Juan de Ciriza to the president of the council of Finances. Santarém, 5 October 1619.
 36. AGS, Estado, leg. 2752 [BDMI, 1841]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 11 December 1624.
 37. SP/S/40/6 (ii). Philip IV to Richard Conway. Madrid, 19 February 1625. Burrieza, 'Escuela de sacerdotes y mártires: Los colegios en el exilio católico,' p. 69. After these resolutions, in 1645, the provincial Pedro de Mendoza wrote to the rector of Salamanca, Paul Sherlock, that the safest course of action was to hand the *viaticum* and the *dimisoria* to trustworthy people and ask these people to deliver them to the missionary when they were 'on board'. SP/XVII/M/1/5. Pedro de Mendoza to Paul Sherlock. Segovia, 16 August 1645.

38. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/454bis. M. Frasso, *Tratado de la Capilla Real de los Serenísimos Reyes Católicos de España nuestros señores* (Madrid: s. i., 1685).
39. AGS, Estado, leg. 2787. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 22 April 1625.
40. Ibid.
41. AGS, Estado, leg. 2752 [BDMI, 1833]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 4 June 1624. Burrieza, 'Escuela de sacerdotes y mártires: Los cole-gios en el exilio católico,' p. 68.
42. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Petitions by Father Theobald Burke. Madrid, 25 May 1625.
43. AGS, Estado, leg. 2787. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 22 April 1625.
44. O'Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1580–1834*, p. 18.
45. AGS, Cámara de Castilla, leg. 1116. Consulta of the Cámara de Castilla. Madrid, 24 November 1621. Cfr. O'Scea, 'The Rôle of Castilian Royal Bureaucracy,' p. 230. In 1626, the Dominican Father Richard Bermingham reported that 'last year some of the Mission-bound missionaries were arrested by the English while they passed through England'. AGS, Estado, leg. 2753. Consulta of the council of State. Barcelona, 18 April 1626.
46. AGS, Cámara de Castilla, leg. 1116. Consulta of the Cámara de Castilla. Madrid, 24 November 1621. O'Scea, 'The Rôle of Castilian Royal Bureaucracy,' p. 231. Recio Morales, *Irlanda en Alcalá: la comunidad irlandesa en la Universidad de Alcalá y su proyección europea, 1579–1785*, pp. 60–70.
47. For Irish commercial networks in Spain see M.C. Lario Oñate, *La colonial mercantil británica e irlandesa en Cádiz a finales del s. XVIII* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2001); M.F. Fernández Chaves and M. Gamero Rojas, 'El reino de Sevilla como escenario del ascenso del poder social y económico de los extranjeros en el siglo XVIII: el caso irlandés,' in *Redes de nación y espacios de poder. La comunidad irlandesa en España y la América española, 1600–1825*, pp. 191–220.
48. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 204]. Alonso Pérez de Guzmán's minute to the rectors in Lisbon, Seville, Santiago and Salamanca, and to the Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian provincials. Madrid, 3 June 1625.
49. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 202]. Juan Venido, general commissar of the Indies, to the general of the Franciscans. Saint Francis, 6 June 1625. Following the instructions from the Council of Trent, 'nobody can preach, not even in the churches of their own order, or in that of any other, unless they have been examined and endorsed by their superiors, and their life, habits, and wisdom approved'. *El sacrosanto y ecuménico Concilio de Trento. Traducido al idioma castellano por Don Ignacio López de Ayala (Agregase el texto original corregido según la edición auténtica de Roma, publicada en 1564)* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1785), p. 60.
50. The report was issued by the general, provincial, or guardian of the order. The report also had to mention whether the order had dispatched their yearly quota of three missionaries. AGS, Estado, leg. 2789. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 23 February 1627.
51. AGS, Estado, leg. 2796. Endorsement of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 9 November 1632.
52. AGS, Estado, leg. 2789. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 2 February 1627.
53. AGS, Estado, leg. 2800 [BDMI, 1719]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 29 August 1637.
54. The English Mission recruited members of different regular orders, and especially priests educated at the English colleges. Burrieza, 'Escuela de sacerdotes y mártires: Los colegios en el exilio católico,' pp. 39–74; and L. Underwood, 'Youth, Religious Identity, and Autobiography at

- the English Colleges in Rome and Valladolid, 1592–1685,' *The Historical Journal*, 55/2 (2012), pp. 349–374.
55. AGI, Indiferente General, leg. 541, L. 1 Despachos, ff. 87rv. Philip II to the Duke of Medina Sidonia and Francisco de Carvajal. El Pardo, 2 December 1590. J. Burrieza, *Una isla de Inglaterra en Castilla* (Valladolid: Iglesia del Real Colegio de San Albano, 2000).
 56. AGI, Indiferente General, leg. 1957, L. 5, ff. 154rv. Order by Philip III to the president and magistrates of *Casa de la Contratación* in Sevilla. Toledo, 26 March 1600. M. Fernández Rojas, 'La Compañía de Jesús en Sevilla: el colegio inglés de San Gregorio Magno,' *UcoArte. Revista de Teoría e Historia del Arte*, 2 (2013), pp. 31–49; and E. Henson (ed.), *The English College at Madrid, 1611–1767* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1929). This practice was confirmed by two royal decrees dated to 1600 and 1635. In these decrees, Philip III and Philip IV instructed this money be taken from some of the royal funds in the *Casa de la Contratación* in Sevilla; instructions were also given that it was to be paid in silver, and not bullion. AGI, Indiferente General, leg. 1957, L. 5, ff. 154rv. Order by Philip III to the president and magistrates of *Casa de Contratación* in Sevilla. Toledo, 26 March 1600; and AGI, Contaduría, leg. 392. Order by Philip III to the president and magistrates of *Casa de Contratación* in Sevilla. Madrid, 31 August 1635. During the 17th century, the number of missionaries sent to England fluctuated on a yearly basis and, during some periods, ceased altogether owing to the lack of candidates and the ministrations of English diplomats in Madrid. Henson, *The English College at Madrid, 1611–1767*, p. 262.
 57. AGS, Estado, leg. 2789. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 15 April 1627. Five days later, a royal decree was issued granting the *viaticum* to three English priests on their way to England. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 97]. Certificate of execution of Philip IV's order to Alonso Pérez de Guzman. Madrid, 20 April 1627.
 58. In 1652, the Archbishop of Toledo Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandoval tried to address this problem by publishing new regulations for the Irish college in Madrid. These new rules tackled irregularities and aimed to restore the honourability of the college and the Mission. The misdemeanours of Irish priests in the court and the subsequent squandering of the training provided by the Irish colleges may have been influenced by economic factors. The death of the college's previous patron Juan de Chaves y Mendoza led the institution into chaos and drove its managers to find a new benefactor in the form of Jerónimo de Ataíde, Marquis of Colares. BA, 51-IX-15. Constitutions of the Irish College of Madrid. Toledo, 20 April 1652.
 59. As pointed out by Archbishop Walsh during the time he was in Madrid fighting for the pension: 'there are here so many of our people misbehaving that I have no strength to say anything to anyone'. Thomas Walsh to Luke Wadding. Madrid, 14 March 1627. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, p. 242; and T. O'Connor, 'Irish Franciscan Networks at Home and Abroad,' in *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603–1688*, p. 289. In another letter, he claimed: 'His Majesty and council be well affected to us, but many base carriages do much avert them from holding us in the predicament of those we should have been'. Thomas Walsh to John Rocke. Madrid, 14 March 1627. Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614–1638*, p. 244.
 60. AGS, Estado, leg. 2798 [BDMI, 2028]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 30 January 1635.
 61. AGS, Estado, leg. 2797. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 31 January 1634.
 62. AGS, Estado, leg. 2797 [BDMI, 2013]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 7 March 1634.
 63. AGS, Estado, leg. 2797. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 5 September 1634.
 64. AGS, Estado, leg. 2798. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 13 February 1635. The certificate with the debts accumulated since 1630 is in AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg.

- 730 [BDMI, 1442]. Royal order. Madrid, 27 February 1635.
65. AGS, Estado, leg. 2799 [BDMI, 1716]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 26 January 1636.
 66. AGS, Estado, leg. 2800 [BDMI, 1735]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 8 September 1637.
 67. In 1639, the Count of Tyrone stressed the loyalty that the Trinitarian Richard Gold had shown to the Crown and recommended him for the next vacant position in the province of Munster. Based on his recommendation, the Council informed the Spanish ambassador in Rome about the French strategy for taking over vacant positions and instructed him to push for Gold to be appointed to a post. AGS, Estado, leg. 2802. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 23 July 1639. Vid. Note 22.
 68. AGS, Estado, leg. 2806 [BDMI, 1796]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 28 February 1643.
 69. Gregory Fallon issued a second *memorial*, repeating his offer. The request was, again, rejected, but the king furnished him with a letter of recommendation for his ambassador in Rome, 'although not so much that he feels too much at home'. AGS, Estado, leg. 2806 [BDMI, 1795]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 13 June 1643. Finally, Fallon ended up requesting that the *viaticum* join the Mission and preach in Ireland. AGS, Estado, leg. 2806 [BDMI, 1794]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 12 September 1643. Fallon's *memoriales* are characteristic of the strategies adopted by many of these officials, who expressed their loyalty to the Spanish monarchy by doing what was good for the king, rather than their own convenience.
 70. AGS, Estado, leg. 2806 [BDMI, 1796]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 28 February 1643.
 71. In 1643, Nicholas Shee, Irish agent in the Netherlands and Cologne, was awarded a benefit in the diocese of Ossory. In that same year, William Wise was appointed *cancellarius* of the Church-Cathedral of Waterford, while Mauricio O'Brien was awarded 50 pounds from a position in Imola. In 1645, the superior of Saint Brigit in the diocese of Ferns was awarded to Stephen Stafford by papal decree. In the same year, Innocent X also appointed Robert Wadding Archdeacon of Ferns. In 1648, Juan de Burgo, presbyter in the diocese of Clonfert, was granted the rents from the abbey of Fonti Saint Patrick, in County Mayo. A year later, the priest Marco Tulio was awarded the rents from the church of Kilosolone. B. Jennings, 'Ecclesiastical Appointments in Ireland, Aug. 1643-Dec. 1649,' *Collectanea Hibernica*, 2 (1959), pp. 20–22, 48, 56 and 60–61.
 72. AGS, Estado, leg. 2811. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 18 July 1647. For the financial situation of the Spanish monarchy in the 1640s, see A. Domínguez Ortiz, *Política y hacienda de Felipe IV* (Madrid: Ediciones Pegaso, 1983), pp. 62–74; F. Ruiz Martín, *Las finanzas de la monarquía hispánica en tiempos de Felipe IV (1621–1665)* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1990); C. Álvarez Nogal, *El crédito de la monarquía hispánica en el reinado de Felipe IV* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1997); Id., *Los banqueros de Felipe IV y los metales preciosos americanos (1621–1665)* (Madrid: Banco de España, 1997); C. Sanz Ayán, *Los banqueros y la crisis de la Monarquía Hispánica de 1640* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2013); and C.J. de Carlos Morales, 'La Real Hacienda de Felipe IV,' and 'La política financiera de Felipe IV, 1621–1628,' in *La corte de Felipe IV (1621–1665): Reconfiguración de la Monarquía católica*, J. Martínez Millán and M. Rivero Rodríguez, eds. (Madrid: Polifemo, 2018), Tom. 3, vol. 4, pp. 1073–1214.
 73. Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685*, p. 88.

74. SP/S/40/6 (i). Several petitions concerning the progress of the Mission. Salamanca, n. d., c. 1652.
75. J. de Barrionuevo, *Avisos* (Madrid: M. Tello, 1892), Tom. 2, carta CXL, p. 382. Madrid, 29 April 1656. It is very likely that Jerónimo de Barrio nuevo knew of these events through exiled Irish clerics. The dissemination of these accounts aimed to influence public opinion. H. Morgan, 'News from Ireland: Catalan, Portuguese and Castilian Pamphlets on the Confederate Wars in Ireland,' in *Ireland, 1641: Context and Reactions*, J. Ohlmeyer and M. Ó Siochrú, eds. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 115–133.
76. Corish, 'The Cromwellian Regime, 1650–60,' in *A New History of Ireland, III: Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691*, p. 381.
77. P. Kilroy, 'Women and the Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Ireland,' in *Women in Early Modern Ireland*, M. MacCurtain and M. O'Dowd, eds. (Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 1991), p. 192.
78. Bravo Lozano, "'Huyendo de los lobos carniceros de su patria". Las monjas irlandesas en Castilla, una aproximación social y discursiva (1652–1706),' p. 641.
79. BAV, Barberini Latini, 4994, ff. 15r–16v. Copy of Oliver Cromwell's anti-Catholic measures. S. l., n. d., c. 1652. Corish, 'The Cromwellian Regime, 1650–60,' p. 382.
80. AGS, Estado, leg. 2817. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 8 March 1653.
81. AGS, Estado, leg. 2819. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 23 February 1655; and AGS, Estado, leg. 2817. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 27 November 1657.
82. AGS, Estado, leg. 2821. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 29 November 1657.
83. AGS, Estado, leg. 2817. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 23 December 1653.
84. RAH, 9/1070, f. 78r. Printed copy of a letter by Franciscans Father Henry O'Mellan, Father Bernard Conry and Father Thomas Mckernan to Pedro Manero. Ulster: s. i., 22 June 1656. García Hernán, 'Clérigos irlandeses en la corte de Madrid,' p. 65.
85. Cárdenas, *La revolución inglesa (1638–1656)*, p. 113.
86. *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (Dublin: William B. Kelly, 1872), vol. 9, pp. 219–220.
87. E. García Hernán, 'Obispos irlandeses y la Monarquía Hispánica en el siglo XVI,' in *Los extranjeros en la España Moderna. Actas del I Congreso Inter-nacional, celebrado en Málaga del 28 al 30 de noviembre de 2002*, Tom. 2, pp. 275–280; and C. Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2005), pp. 114–144 and 305–327.
88. In 1657, Father Manero, Bishop of Tarazona, re-edited his translation of different treatises of Tertullianus, which he dedicated to Philip IV for his dedication and devotion in assisting Catholic exiles. Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (trad. P. Manero), *Apología de Quinto Septimio Florente* (Madrid: Pablo del Val, 1657).
89. Juan Blanco, who served as chaplain in the imperial armies before returning to Ireland, was apprehended along with ten other priests. The parliamentary authorities exiled them to Spain, where they were succoured by the king through the patriarch. AGS, Estado, leg. 2817. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 21 January 1653. Enrique Colenan, canon in the diocese of Cashel, was granted the *viaticum* in 1634 and expelled after 20 years of preaching. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81. Philip IV to Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 27 May 1654; or Dionisio O'Donnell received the grant in 1631 and was awarded 300 reales after his expulsion. AGS, Estado, leg. 2820. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 4 April 1656. The Franciscan Anthony Purcell, missionary since 1622, was arrested in Waterford in 1651 and went into exile in Spain, although it is not known whether he received any further grants from Philip IV. A special

case is that of the Augustinian Patrick Comeford, Bishop of Waterford. He received the royal grant in 1626, but decided to seek refuge with the Irish community in the French port of Saint Malo in 1650. B. Millet, *The Irish Franciscans, 1651–1665* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1964), pp. 256 and 304.

90. AGS, Estado, leg. 3025. Order by Philip IV. Aranjuez, 22 April 1653.
91. AGS, Estado, leg. 2817. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 6 March 1653.
92. AGS, Estado, leg. 2817. Baltasar Moscoso y Sandoval to Fernando Ruiz de Contreras. Madrid, 8 April 1653. After the Archbishop of Toledo had rejected the plan, Philip IV gave instructions for MacGeoghegan to receive a pension of 60 escudos per month. AGS, Estado, leg. 2817. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 24 April 1653.
93. AGS, Estado, leg. 3025. Order by Philip IV. Aranjuez, 22 April 1653
94. AGS, Estado, leg. 2817. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 9 August 1653. During his stay in Rome, he was assisted by the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* with a ‘room, a bed and ten escudos per month’. This bishop maintained a close relationship with the Spanish ambassador, Terranova, whom he met in different events and banquets. Their mutual personal respect led to the ambassador’s recommendation. He requested Philip IV to assist the bishop ‘even if some other Irish bishops are against him, because there are some such in Ireland, who are much against your royal person’s interests’. AGS, Estado, leg. 3028. The Duke of Terranova to Philip IV. Rome, 24 May 1655.
95. This pension was awarded in 1653, a few days after that conceded to Bishop Anthony MacGeoghan. The council of State pointed out that ‘hereafter it would be convenient to close the door and to go slow with these things’. If a precedent was set, it was feared, the number of petitions would increase substantially. AGS, Estado, leg. 2817. Consulta of the council of State. 5 June 1653.
96. AGS, Estado, leg. 2821. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 24 April 1657.
97. AGMM, Libros Registro, L. 50, ff. 239rv. Decree by Philip IV. Madrid, 31 December 1656; and AGMM, Libros Registro, L. 51, ff. 195v–196r. Decree by Philip IV. Madrid, 20 October 1658.
98. After his return from Rome in 1664, Duffy continued with his work as a middleman in court from the Convent of Saint Francis el Grande in Madrid. He rubbed shoulders with important people in the king’s political circle, such as the English and imperial ambassadors Richard Fanshawe and Count Pötting. In 1672 he left, via London, to assume the bishopric of Clogher, to which he had been appointed on 12 May 1671. R. Fanshawe, *Original Letters of Richard Fanshawe during His Embassies in Spain and Portugal* (London: A. Roper, R. Basset, and W. Turner, 1702); and M. Nieto Nuño (ed.), *Diario del conde de Pötting, embajador del Sacro Imperio en Madrid (1664–1674)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1993), vol. 2, pp. 290, 293 and 321. His consecration as bishop was celebrated, with the Pope’s dispensation, in Madrid on 10 October 1671. R. Ritzler and P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi* (Patavii: Typus Librariae Il messaggero di S. Antonio, 1952), vol. 5, p. 162. His appointment was to a large extent brought about by the Duke of Medina de las Torres and Cardinal Nithard. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Irlanda, 1, ff. 304rv and 307rv. Memorial of the Duke of Medina de las Torres. S. l., n. d., c. 1667. Even the aristocrat Nicolás Paules y Merode committed to a notary public to give Duffy a lifelong annual pension of 1,000 silver escudos if he was appointed to the see of Clogher. Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland & Ireland, AD 1400 to 1875*, vol. 1, pp. 256–257. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Irlanda, 1, ff. 305r–306v. Notary public endorsement to letter of attorney given by Nicolas Paules in favour of Patrick Duffy. Madrid, 26 March 1667. During his inevitable stop at the English court, the

prelate was hosted by the Marquis of Fresno, Spanish ambassador. AGS, Estado, leg. 2835. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 13 September 1672.

99. AGS, Estado, leg. 2821. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 24 April 1657.
100. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 65, f. 290r. The internuncio Sebastiano Antonio Tanara to Cardinal Paluzzo Altieri. Brussels, 6 June 1676.
101. S. Kelsey, 'Nicholas French,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, H.C.C. Matthew and B. Harrison, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 20, pp. 971–972. For his position during the Confederation, see P.J. Corish, 'Bishop Nicholas French and the Second Ormond Peace, 1648–9,' *Irish Historical Studies*, 6 (1948), pp. 83–100.
102. AGS, Estado, leg. 2820. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 5 December 1656; and AHN, Estado, L. 234, s. fol. Resolutions adopted by the council of State. Madrid, 5 December 1656. From Ghent the bishop French passed to Santiago de Compostela as coadjutor of the archbishop of the city Pedro Carrillo y Acuña. There he wrote, among others, the pamphlet *Supplicatio Catholicorum Magnæ Britani[æ] et Hiberniæ* about the Catholic situation of Ireland in the context of the Peace of the Pyrenees and the Restoration. J. McHugh, 'Catholic Clerical Responses in the Restoration: The Case of Nicholas French,' in *Restoration Ireland: Always Settling and Never Settled Ireland*, C.A. Dennehy, ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 99–121.

4

‘Rock Castle, Trojan Horse’

The Restoration

Crisis and Reform of Habsburg Patronage: The Irish Mission and the Stuart Restoration

From 1649 onwards, Spanish policy towards England found itself mired in a predicament, lodged between the republican parliament and the exiled king. Within the space of a decade, the political situation changed from amity to confrontation and back to reconciliation, and was dependent on the swinging moods of governments. Invariably, England adopted an amiable policy towards Madrid, and being on good terms with the Commonwealth was also in Philip IV's interests. After signing the peace treaty with the United Provinces in Münster, English neutrality was crucial if Spain was to have any chance of dealing successfully with the war with France and the Portuguese rebellion.¹ This was, therefore, the main goal of the re-instated ambassador in London, Alonso de Cárdenas, who also had to remain alert to the possibility of the restoration of the Stuart monarchy.²

With the execution of his father, the Prince of Wales left for exile and sought the support of different powers in his bid to recover his throne.³ Even at that time he was able to rely on the loyalty of the royalist factions in England, Wales, and Ireland. His travels across Europe took him to The Hague, where he intended to settle, despite the reservations of the States General.⁴ Charles also travelled to Saint-Germain-en-Laye to visit his mother, Henrietta Marie of France, although this compromised the French

position of friendship towards the English republic.⁵ Even though he did not set foot in Spain, he set up channels of communication with the Madrid court, in which a fierce struggle between royalists and parliamentarians for the support of Philip IV was taking place.⁶

The appointment of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector in 1653 caused some friction between the Spanish monarchy and the Commonwealth. The Spanish refused to recognise the new political status quo, in addition to the English requests for religious tolerance towards its residents in Spain (which the Inquisition opposed) or to admit its merchants into American trade. The lack of progress in Spain drove the republic to an alliance with France, an *entente* which ended with the Battle of the Dunes and the conquest of Dunkirk (1658).⁷

In the meantime, the so-called *Western Design*, a plan to create an English empire overseas and to set up English commercial bases in America, became a strategic priority for the Commonwealth. In 1655, a naval squadron was sent against several Castilian enclaves in the Indies, specifically Barbados, Santo Domingo, and Jamaica. Philip IV's immediate response was to expel the English merchants from his lands, turning the mercantile community against the Lord Protector. Initially, England lost more than it had won with this attack, but in the long run Jamaica was to become England's colonial jewel in the Caribbean.⁸

Despite Cárdenas's instructions to try to avoid total rupture with the Commonwealth, this was an inevitable outcome.⁹ A year later, Spain withdrew its ambassador, who left London for Brussels. With the subsequent declaration of war, the royalists doubled their efforts to garner the support of the Spanish monarchy.¹⁰ Cromwell's alliance with Cardinal Mazzarino led Prince Charles to go to Bruges and seek the assistance of Philip IV in his manoeuvres to return to England. Irish Catholics also flocked to the king for resources with which to support the enemies of the republican government, who wanted to restore England's traditional monarchy.¹¹ Even the Franciscan Father Francis MacGuaik de Santa María submitted a *memorial* proposing Ireland as the ideal place to deliver the first blow, because of the strength of the Irish royalist faction.¹²

This new state of events forced the Spanish king to change tack and begin supporting the cause of the Stuarts. The diplomatic negotiations were conducted in Brussels, where Alonso de Cárdenas had settled. In April

1656, an offensive-defensive alliance was signed with the Pretender: the Spaniards agreed to support the royalist cause with military means in exchange for the restitution of Jamaica, as well as English naval and material assistance for the recovery of Portugal, and legal guarantees for English Catholics. Charles Stuart was granted a Spanish pension with which to sustain the royalist party in England.¹³ This opened another front for the Lord Protector, and helped to counterbalance the political and military progress made by the parliamentarians.

Oliver Cromwell's death in September 1658 was the beginning of the end for the Commonwealth and plunged English politics into uncertainty. Although many believed that Richard Cromwell could successfully continue with the parliamentary regime, his lack of military support reactivated the royalist party. By examining the way in which the Restoration came about, the fundamental fragility of the republican system and the adaptability of the aristocratic, bourgeois, and ecclesiastical elites in the British Isles become evident. Many voices in London began demanding the return of the exiled heir to the throne. Meanwhile, Spain signed the Treaty of the Pyrenees with France (1659), which left it free to focus on the Portuguese front. During the negotiations, Prince Charles arrived in San Sebastián to push for a great Spanish-French military alliance in his favour and against parliament, but in this matter he was unsuccessful. Concerning religious policy, the exiled Bishop of Ferns, Nicholas French, also tried to get Spain and France on board. In a letter addressed to the plenipotentiaries in the negotiations, Luis Méndez de Haro and Cardinal Mazzarino, the prelate reported the conditions suffered by Catholics and pressed for full liberty of conscience to be granted by the Stuarts.¹⁴

The political transition was overseen by the veteran republican general George Monck. Marching from Scotland, his army entered London and forced parliament to recall and restore Charles II. Without needing to use the promised Spanish help, Charles abandoned Philip IV's protection and went to Breda, where he signed a universal amnesty, established the liberty of conscience, and called for a new parliament. The Restoration was now firmly set in motion.¹⁵

The events of 1659–1661 brought about a profound change not only in English politics but also in England's position in the European context. At first, it seemed safe to assume that Spain would remain Charles's main ally. This presumption was based on the Treaty of Brussels, which had not been

published but was nevertheless well known in continental chancelleries. In fact, one of the king's first decisions was to end the war with Spain and resume normal commercial relations, under the terms established in the 1630 treaty. At the end of the war, the Spanish monarchy tried to push for the English concessions laid out in the 1656 treaty, but Charles II was already on the throne, and the situation radically changed. Spanish hopes were crushed, for the restored king was not going to keep his word.

The exchange of ambassadors normalised the relationship between both crowns. Spain appointed the Bourguignon Baron of Watteville ambassador in London. In addition to his political duties, the new minister also had to deal with religious issues, chiefly ensuring tolerance of Catholicism within the diverse religious panorama of the British Isles.¹⁶ The second half of the 17th century witnessed an increase in the value of religion as a key political factor, and Charles II had declared his intention to end discrimination against Catholics, in acknowledgement of their loyalty during the *interregnum*.¹⁷ After his coronation, the king received several petitions, including those of his main supporters, Louis XIV and Philip IV, to declare liberty of conscience and to pardon past offenders.¹⁸

The situation of Catholics before the Popish Plot was such that their number was unknown: the Earl of Castlemaine and the census undertaken in 1676 by order of the Bishop of London, Henry Compton, counted between 50,000 and 60,000 Catholics, but John Philipps Kenyon, in his recent study of the royal conspiracy, claims that a figure around 260,000 is closer to reality.¹⁹ Most authors agree that Catholics made up a substantial proportion of the gentry, and many of them sponsored parishes and religious centres that were administered by clerics who had been educated on the Continent.²⁰ Abbot Claudio Agretti, during his visits to the British Court in 1669, counted 230 clerics, 120 Jesuits, 80 Benedictines, 150 Franciscans, and a few Discalced Carmelites and Dominicans throughout the realm. Most of them lived with laymen, whose houses were used as parish churches. Agretti's report also confirmed to Rome that both gentlemen and rich merchants sheltered Catholic missionaries and employed them as private chaplains.²¹

After diplomatic normalisation, the Spanish court instructed Watteville to proceed with caution in religious matters.²² Philip IV also wanted to emphasise the loyalty exhibited by Irish Catholics during Cromwell's

regime, and use it as a negotiating card with Charles II.²³ The royal marriage to a Portuguese Infanta, Catherine of Braganza, was the first sign of his respect for the Catholic faith.²⁴ Nevertheless, his choice of wife caused some friction between London and Madrid.²⁵ The English alliance with the Portuguese enemies of his former Spanish sponsors had obvious financial and commercial advantages. The friendship of Philip IV paled in comparison to the promising matrimonial clauses: marriage would mean a large dowry to pay the kingdom's debt, the harbour cities of Tangiers and Mumbai, and a commercial franchise in Brazil and the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*.²⁶ Watteville reported that many English subjects viewed the marriage, which was essentially driven by financial profit, aversely.²⁷ However, the fact remains that his decision allowed Charles II to reinforce his domestic position whilst also keeping Jamaica, which he would have had to return if he kept his word to the Spanish king.

It was not only in the courts of London and Madrid that the new dynastic alliance was viewed with suspicion. In Rome, Cardinal Benedetto Odescalchi warned Pope Alexander VII of the nefarious consequences of an alliance between a Protestant king and a Catholic kingdom—even if the latter had not yet been recognised by the Holy See.²⁸ Despite this, local Catholics saw Catherine and the seventh clause of her matrimonial contract as the beginning of a new and hopeful era.²⁹

In Ireland, the backlash against the Confederation of Kilkenny and the years of the Commonwealth had left the Catholics in an unenviable position.³⁰ Years of internal disputes and armed conflict were followed by a period of political and religious persecution. The Protectorate had deprived many of their land, and others had had to leave the island for France or the Spanish dominions. These events had contributed to reinforce the standing of the royalist party. The death of Oliver Cromwell also had political effects in Ireland. The protectorate plunged into a crisis after Henry Cromwell resigned as Lord Lieutenant just before the office was stripped from him.³¹ This change in the insular government undermined the republican regime and paved the way for the restitution of the Stuarts. Following the royalist putsch, and with the support of the enemies of the Commonwealth, Charles II was proclaimed king in Dublin on 14 May 1660. The royal restoration garnered widespread public support, and multiple events were organised to

celebrate the downfall of the *usurpers*.³² Ireland resumed the status quo that had been in place prior to the Cromwellian conquest.³³

As a result of Ireland's largely agricultural economy, control over the land became the determinant factor in the new political game. Both Catholics and Protestant royalists viewed the new regime as an opportunity to recover the property and the political influence lost after the 1652 Act of Settlement. Based on the Declaration of Breda, Catholics expected Charles II to confirm a policy of religious tolerance and the devolution of their estates. In November 1660, the king began putting forward a policy of appeasement geared towards his new vassals by publishing the *Gracious Declaration*. In pursuance of this policy, the government launched a series of judicial enquiries to determine which Catholics and Protestant royalists were 'innocent' in relation to the civil wars and the 1641 rebellion, prior to the devolution of the land. The estates granted to the adventurers were returned to their former landowners, and Cromwell's men were compensated.³⁴

The Act of Settlement which followed in 1662 did not satisfy everyone. Neither Catholics nor Protestants nor adventurers received what they expected, but Charles II's favourites and courtesans were generously rewarded. Royalists regarded this as a grave betrayal of faith. In the meantime, the judicial enquiries had ruled that 566 Catholics were 'innocent' and 113 'guilty'.³⁵ In 1663 the Court of Claims announced that there was not enough land for everyone, which left multiple claims unanswered.³⁶ Certain Catholics complained that their demands had not been met, while others resigned themselves to their fate, as there was no land available to relocate the current occupiers. In order to close the matter, in 1665 the government enacted the Act of Explanation, which attempted to address the grievances of those Catholics with outstanding claims. The solution proposed was a tricky one because it involved adventurers giving up one-third of their land for redistribution among the innocents.³⁷

The 1662 and 1665 laws turned a specific section of Catholic Old English (the heirs of the former conquerors of Ireland and clients of the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormond) into a firmly pro-Charles II lobby.³⁸ Judicial rulings promptly returned their estates whereas the Catholic Old Irish remained landless. Following the enactment of these acts, the proportion of land owned by Catholics increased from approximately 10%

to 30%: still far from the 60% owned by Catholics prior to the Confederation of Kilkenny.³⁹ Irish Protestants, for their part, owned approximately 25% of the land. This uneven distribution contributed to increase internal tensions. Soon, Catholics started complaining about this situation, and those who had lost the most began harbouring a mounting resentment towards the king.⁴⁰ The Bishop of Ferns, Nicholas French, who was exiled in Flanders, published a pamphlet against this ‘settlement and sale’ policy, denouncing the attitude of Lord Clarendon and the Duke of Ormond whilst also warning England about the consequences of giving the Irish a pretext to join forces with Scotland and other European powers.⁴¹

The Restoration also meant the settlement of the Church. In 1661, the Irish Commons proposed the suppression of the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland, but this initiative was vetoed by Charles II. The king’s measures aimed instead towards practical tolerance, as demonstrated by the release of 120 members of the Church imprisoned under the penal legislation of Ireland.⁴² Late in 1661, nearly one hundred members of the Catholic gentry published a remonstrance in which they declared their loyalty to the king and committed not to call for the help of exterior powers. In the event, this remonstrance, the purpose of which was to pave the way for the desired religious tolerance, was signed by 164 aristocrats and 70 clerics.⁴³ Religious tolerance, as was understood in these circumstances, was not to become formal policy, but rather implied a tacit policy of tolerance and laxity in the application of the Penal Laws.⁴⁴ In exchange for the king’s benevolence, the subjects took the oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, as established in the Act of Uniformity, which was enacted in 1662.⁴⁵ This contractual relationship of political vassalage between the prince and his kingdom, however, triggered a controversy that affected the Irish exile communities abroad: the *causa valesiana*.

***Viatica* and Guarantees: The Formalisation of the Royal Grant**

While the Stuart government consolidated its position in London, the Irish Mission continued on its course. Political vicissitudes affecting the Spanish and the English monarchies after 1660 continued to affect the royal patronage, as reflected, for example, in the number of missionaries under Spanish patronage. On the other hand, the imposition of new control mechanisms made the Mission, and its ministers, increasingly accountable. These were no superficial changes, but structural transformations progressively formalised the daily operation of the Mission.

The Commonwealth had left its footprint in Ireland, and this resulted in urgent cries for help, as can be noted in vivid accounts of the ‘martyrdoms’ and exiles that were decreed by Oliver Cromwell in his edicts.⁴⁶ A letter sent by the Irish secular clergy to Alexander VII explained the shortage of preachers, and claimed that the admission of Irish students to the Society of Jesus or regular institutions was also straining the available resources.⁴⁷

The procurator of the Dominican Order in Ireland, Father Felix O’Connor, explained the main problems that, from his perspective, beset Irish Catholicism. According to his calculations, twenty-five Dominicans had been persecuted, and this figure did not include those who had fled Ireland. He proceeded to list the men who were ‘keen’ to risk their lives to preserve Catholicism.⁴⁸ Religious abnegation and dedication was a constant element of the narratives of the republican period, including the *memoriales* issued by petitioners in order to appeal to the Crown for help. It was the case of priests and friars who stressed in their petitions how they would choose the spiritual life of Catholics over their personal comforts.⁴⁹

In contrast with the devotion and dedication advertised by the superiors of the different orders in Ireland, the administration of the royal grants was the subject of new criticisms aired in the Spanish court. This time the complaints focused on the administrative related to the royal prebend. Sebastián de Montemayor, commissar at court and general procurator of the Franciscans, who was not familiar with past administrative practice, complained in a *memorial* addressed to Philip IV about Alonso Pérez de Guzmán’s alleged refusal to endorse the order’s chosen candidates in 1660 unless they went to Madrid first, which was very inconvenient for their travel plans. The council of State recommended that the patriarch choose delegates to examine the candidates wherever they were.⁵⁰

In response to these allegations, Pérez de Guzmán emphasised the interest of Father Sotomayor. In order to avoid future conflict with the council of State, the patriarch clarified the selection criteria, pointing out that he had never compelled candidates to the Mission to go to court to apply for their *viaticum*. In a decision adopted some time ago in consultation with the Council, it was determined that this step could be bypassed with the provision of legitimate and authentic certificates by the candidate's superiors. These credentials demonstrated that the candidate had graduated from his studies and that his order considered him ready for the task. However, he clarified that those who were already in Madrid were exempt from the presentation of such certificates, and had to sit an exam instead.⁵¹ This explanation was an attempt to assuage the doubts of those who, like Sotomayor, were already familiar with the operation of the Mission.

Licences gave details of the personal characteristics and the training of the applicants.⁵² These reports reflect the goals pursued by the training programme and the academic progress of the students. The preaching style and the doctrinal foundations of the candidates were considered especially important features, owing to their potential impact on their prospective flock.⁵³ Apart from these, other features such as their exemplary habits, their preaching skills, and their ability to withstand theological debates were also important.⁵⁴ All of these aspects made them competent for the ministry and worthy of the 100-ducat *viaticum*.

Some candidates, such as the Franciscan Father Antonio Faluco, took full advantage of their ample ecclesiastical experience. This retired *calificador* of the Inquisition had lectured in arts and theology in Sicily and Castile for twenty-six years, and successfully applied for the *viaticum* before leaving for Ireland and England, where, as Franciscan *visitador*, he would have had full authority over local matters concerning his order.⁵⁵ Not all applicants, however, were granted the coveted prize, for different reasons. Occasionally, the patriarch's report also mentioned arguments that cast doubts on the worthiness of a given candidate. Sometimes, his scepticism was related to the candidate's lack of basic knowledge. As early as 1628, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán had rejected Dionisio Dicano because he was ignorant of several theological principles that were considered essential for his task.⁵⁶ For the patriarch, the concession of the grant to Maurice O'Brien

had not been an easy decision to make because he was not as learned as could be wished. Comarco Quigo was, in contrast, a clear-cut case, as he had finished his training and was fully qualified.⁵⁷ These comments were not a final rejection, but merely postponed his endorsement until the candidates had made good their shortcomings.⁵⁸ Pérez de Guzmán's filter aimed to ensure that the candidates were sufficiently prepared and to spare the Mission any criticism for the conduct of the missionaries, which was, after all, a reflection of their patron, the Spanish king.

Indeed, there were individuals who did not honour their position with the due decorum and even managed to receive new grants, which were later spent on illegitimate pursuits. In 1668, the Irish doctor Andrew Port addressed Queen Mariana of Austria to ask for a grant with which to buy 'clothes' for his work in the British Isles.⁵⁹ Nothing would have distinguished this petition from all the others, apart from the fact that Port had already been sponsored with a *viaticum* from Philip IV a decade earlier, as Pérez de Guzmán noted upon checking the Irish Mission account books.⁶⁰ Reiterated petitions were not a problem in themselves, but the patriarch had been informed that, after receiving the 100 ducats, he had left for the Indies instead of fulfilling his duty in Ireland.⁶¹ Port's *memoriales* made no mention of his American travels, but emphasised his ancestor's services to the Spanish monarchy. Also, he clarified that his petition was not for his personal benefit, but that he was merely asking for means with which to join the Mission.⁶² The patriarch was not convinced by these arguments and recommended that no further grants be given.⁶³

Pérez de Guzmán's attitude forced Port to provide ever more convincing reasons. He decided to vaunt his missionary credentials, claiming to have converted six Englishmen in Cartagena de Indias, who were later absolved by the local inquisition. This was an admission of his American detour, but he did not specify when, and by what means, this trip had taken place. Back in Madrid, in June 1666, he tried to convert the English ambassador, Sir Richard Fanshawe, to Catholicism on his deathbed. This did not work, and his intervention caused a grave political incident with the family of the diplomat.⁶⁴

Therefore, Port's missionary aspirations did not end with the patriarch's rejection. Using similar arguments, he appealed to the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, but with a similar lack of success.⁶⁵ For this reason, he

tried his hand again in Madrid in 1668. Faced with this insistence, the patriarch compelled Port to go and fulfil his promise without asking again for a grant that he had already been given once.⁶⁶ Several months later, Pérez de Guzmán issued another report, in which he noted that the Franciscan procurator had also advised against giving Port another *viaticum*, as his conviction was that he was not planning on completing his duty.⁶⁷

This case illustrates how arbitrary the system could be, and how necessary it was to implement stricter control measures. Information had to be supported by more exhaustive and reliable documentation, but in order to avoid the same person receiving different grants it was necessary to keep a tally of who had been granted what. The Mission book was a useful tool, but it was not enough. Finally, it was necessary to ascertain whether the money had been correctly spent or had been otherwise misallocated.⁶⁸

In 1661, different measures were implemented to try to correct the situation. Applicants were now compelled to pay a deposit, which would be reimbursed only if the applicants departed to discharge their duty within a year of being granted the *viaticum*. Some grantees had been known to change their minds and decide to stay in Spain after receiving payment.⁶⁹ This new requirement, which was similar in principal to the receipt of payment that missionaries had to sign upon receiving the prebend, made dodging their responsibilities more difficult for the applicants. After delivering the deposit, the prospective missionaries would be handed the 100 ducats (which the grantees had to certify by signing a receipt), and they were then given a year to make all necessary preparations.⁷⁰ In 1673, owing to the rekindling of the French wars and the subsequent financial difficulties of the Crown, the deadline for execution was shortened. Missionaries were thenceforth given two months to make ready and set sail after receiving the money.⁷¹ This gave them very little time to find a ship and buy their gear.

The drive to make the process more accountable continued in July 1662, when the council of Finances agreed that all private petitions to the secretaries had to be accompanied by a deposit, and the treasurers were to be informed of this.⁷² The councillors also discussed how to reimburse the guarantors when the missionaries' duty had been satisfactorily completed.⁷³ This was left to the patriarch, whose responsibility it was to make the relevant enquiries and to settle all accounts with the guarantors.⁷⁴ In 1668,

Pérez de Guzmán informed Queen Mariana of Austria of a new control mechanism devised to guarantee that the would-be missionaries fulfilled their duty. This consisted of sending bills of exchange to Bilbao harbour, thus ensuring that the 100 ducats were handed over on embarkation.⁷⁵

Irish priests and friars lacked the resources to finish their studies and return to their homeland without help. A decree passed by Philip IV made the *viaticum* conditional on a deposit from a Spanish member of one of the four military orders. These knights had the same status as churchmen, but they had a dispensation concerning the usual ecclesiastical vows. They were regarded as both the king's and God's servants, and were in a unique legal position. This position was confirmed during a ceremony in which they swore on their honour whilst being conferred with a sword, a habit, and other symbols. As such, their word was universally respected. Also, only people in high places were granted entry, and thus they had the means with which to act as guarantors of prospective missionaries.

It was not easy for potential missionaries to find guarantors who met these requisites. Although some missionaries socialised with members of the Spanish gentry, most tended to stay within the social networks created by their countrymen. In order to facilitate things, the council of State tried to initiate relations of reciprocity between prospective Irish missionaries and candidates for the military orders by urging the former to act as witnesses in the processes that examined the latter. This would also help to detect the illegitimate exchange of favours between both groups that might cause problems at a later date.⁷⁶

However, the scarcity of deposits and potential guarantors continued to be a problem. Remigio Quino argued that he was poor and could not pay them, asking the king to allow him to give his personal guarantee *in verbo sacerdotis* instead.⁷⁷ Other potential missionaries, such as Juan Helano, Thomas Henegan, and the Dominican Fathers Mauricio Donelan and Tadeo Dali, pointed out that the new conditions moved the grant completely out of their reach. In order to be able to join the Mission, they asked Philip IV for permission to use Spain-based Irish guarantors. This would have created a precedent, and for this reason Philip IV determined to award them the *viaticum* without requiring them to present a guarantee, as an exception.⁷⁸

The Phoenix of the Mission: From Eclipse to Rebirth

In December 1670, Father Mark Brown, commissar general of the order of Saint Francis in England, Scotland, and Ireland, pointed out that no Franciscan missionary had left for these countries since 1663.⁷⁹ What he did not realise was that the drought of *viatica* also affected the Dominicans and Augustinians, and to a lesser extent also the priests, whose number was little more than symbolic in the final years of Philip IV's reign. The interval between 1665 and 1673 can be interpreted as the first period of inactivity of the Mission ([Figures BM1.1](#), [BM1.3–BM1.6](#) and [BM1.8](#)).

This was not the end of the patronage, but simply the result of its structural rearrangement during the regency of Mariana of Austria. At any rate, the gap was not caused by a lack of willing priests and friars, by their insufficient training, or by a lack of funding for the usual grants.⁸⁰ The reasons for this gap are multiple and include political events that affected the Habsburg and Stuart Crowns, and the religious conditions in the British Isles during this period.

The instability caused by the death of the *hidden* favourite Luis Méndez de Haro; the military setbacks in Portugal, which led to the signing of the Treaty of Lisbon; the War of Devolution; the loss of several strongholds in the Netherlands to France; and the first partition treaty of the monarchy in 1668 all hampered the normal operation of the system of government designed by the late Philip IV.⁸¹ In addition to these difficulties, the queen-regent was forced, at least initially, to rely on a semi-collegiate government system in a court divided into multiple factions.⁸² The consolidation of her personal power coincided with the unstoppable political ascent of her confessor, the Austrian Jesuit Johann Eberhard Nithard.⁸³ The military disasters and the vulnerability of the queen's faction, however, encouraged Juan José de Austria, the illegitimate son of the dead king, to march on Madrid with the purpose of ousting Nithard, expelling him from Spain and controlling the young Charles II himself.⁸⁴ Don Juan's determination checked the regency, but did not topple it. Despite the departure of her confessor, the queen retained her central governmental role, finding support

in new allies and the defence of the palace with the regiment of the *Chamberga*.⁸⁵

These internal political problems affected the Irish Mission. The patronage may have also suffered indirectly from Mariana of Austria's religious zeal in the Far East. From its bases in New Spain and the Philippines, the Society of Jesus had initiated a new evangelising offensive to compensate for the setbacks suffered in Asia: previous progress in China had been thrown into disarray with the arrival of the Manchus. From the beginning of the century, the Japanese government had been accosting and expelling Western missionaries. Also, the competition posed by other religious orders had undermined the position of the *Societas*, forcing its members to seek new horizons. The campaigns launched by Luis de Medina and Diego Luis de Sanvítores consolidated the *missio* on the Islands of the Thieves, which were renamed Marianas in honour of the queen, who sponsored the project through the Jesuits in her personal circle.⁸⁶

Another factor that contributed to the inactivity of the Mission was the debate on the role of Catholicism and the application of the traditional Penal Laws in Restoration England.⁸⁷ Charles II's position in the Declaration of Breda of 1660, guaranteeing liberty of conscience and balance between religions, caused some alarm among Anglican and Presbyterian elites.⁸⁸ The new political scene, which was largely based on concessions to the Catholics in exchange for political support, was compensated for by the privileges granted to the Reformed clergy and, in general, the consolidation of the Church of England.⁸⁹ In this context, several bills were presented in parliament to prevent further encroachments by the Catholics, including provisions to expel Catholic priests and to ensure that Catholic children were educated in the Protestant faith.⁹⁰ These measures protected the foundations of the Reformed doctrine and reduced the scope of pro-Catholic acts. Despite Charles II's timid attempts to curb the legislative drive of Protestants and prevent these bills from becoming law, parliament's will was imposed and the edict was proclaimed.⁹¹

Parliament's opposition to the king's tolerance towards Catholics became more virulent after a severe bout of plague decimated the population of London. The fire that razed more than half the city in September 1666 piled yet more pressure on the Catholic community.⁹² Once the flames had been extinguished and while the damage was being assessed, speculation began

as to the originator of the fire. Most rumours pointed at Catholics.⁹³ With this pretext, a proclamation published on 10 November ordered ‘the banishment of all priest and Jesuits expelled from the kingdom within thirty days’. Their departure would be expedited by the magistrates in the English ports. Based on the respective matrimonial clauses, the priests who assisted Queens Catherine and Henrietta Marie were exempt. The Penal Laws enacted against Popish recusants and those suspected of being so were thus fully re-enforced.⁹⁴

The inflamed spirits of the Protestant majority found a suitable target in the Catholics. The Spanish ambassador to The Hague, Esteban de Gamarra, reflected at this point on the ‘strange’ indifference of the English king, observing that Charles II’s authority was totally reliant on the will of the Commons, to the point of being forced to ignore the loyalty shown by the Catholics during the *interregnum*.⁹⁵ After the deadline given to the priests to abandon England had passed, and against expectations, the Spanish ambassador in London, the Count of Molina, was informed of the absence of religious incidents. It seemed odd that the policies pushed through by parliament in response to popular sentiment were having no effect. The diplomat, despite this apparent calm, endeavoured to extend his protection to as many priests as he could, as well as help those who wanted to leave the kingdom.⁹⁶ Madrid was also wary, and Molina was instructed to do his best to minimise the impact of the new measures.⁹⁷

Meanwhile, the debate over the Great Fire was raging. The publication of *London’s Flames* argued for the innocence of Papists and Jesuits, but in contrast a new parliament was convened. The expulsion edict of 1666 and the application of the Penal Laws, which was more theoretical than practical, were followed by new orders in 1667.⁹⁸ Indeed, both Houses had not introduced significant policy changes. As was the case in the reign of Elizabeth I, parliament renewed the existing penalties and punishments and excluded Catholics from prominent public places, except for the members of the queens’ household.⁹⁹

In Ireland, the Restoration was also leaving its religious imprint. After Charles II was recognised as Ireland’s legitimate sovereign, the Irish bishops sent the Franciscan Father Peter Walsh to London, as a show of loyalty to the king and as a reminder of their steadfastness during Cromwell’s Protectorate.¹⁰⁰ During the first few months of the Restoration,

and in order to avoid the threatened re-enactment of the penal legislation, a new formula to declare loyalty to the Crown was devised.¹⁰¹ The so-called Irish Remonstrance was likely penned by Richard Belling and other lawyers in 1661, although historiography has attributed it to Walsh—one of the main Catholic advocates.¹⁰² The oath was a mixture of old formulae which recognised the secular sovereignty of the king and limited the Pope's jurisdiction on the island to religious matters.¹⁰³ This theological treatise was wielded by Charles II to gain political advantage. The Duke of Ormond used the document to distinguish between loyal and disloyal Catholics and, through Walsh, convinced a significant number of clerics to sign it.¹⁰⁴ The king also utilised this document to justify a more relaxed approach towards the Catholic signatories.¹⁰⁵

Despite the poor reception of Walsh's proposal among the Irish clergy, nearly one hundred members of the gentry endorsed it.¹⁰⁶ The Franciscan put pressure on the members of his order to accept it. Most of them, however, followed the internuncio of Brussels, Girolamo de Vecchi, who was critical of the new oath, and avoided becoming entangled in theological debates over the text. From Rome, Cardinal Francesco Barberini addressed the Catholic gentry and also asked them not to swear on that formula. However, the tension kept growing.¹⁰⁷ In 1663, the internuncio visited London in secret to meet Charles II, Queen Catherine, and her first almoner Philip Howard, and even Peter Walsh, whom he accused of being schismatic and an apostate.¹⁰⁸ A few months later, the University of Louvain and a number of Irish colleges associated with it also rejected the new oath.¹⁰⁹

The controversy caused by Walsh was addressed in a provincial chapter of the Franciscan order, celebrated in Dublin in the summer of 1666. Supporters and detractors of the new oath sat together under the presidency of the aforementioned Father Mark Brown. He had travelled, with Philip IV's financial help and under the protection of the Count of Molina, from the Convent of Saint Francis el Grande in Madrid.¹¹⁰ The synod rejected Father Peter's proposals out of hand, and some voices were heard that insinuated connivance between the remonstrant and the president, which undermined the authority of the latter.¹¹¹

The chapter and its conclusions led to the so-called 'Valesian controversy' and the dispatch of the Irish Franciscan Father James Taaffe

with instructions to try to solve the ongoing disagreements. His commission also included instruction on how the prelacy would have to act should further remonstrants raise their voices. In contrast to what had occurred in Louvain and Paris, no verdict was to be passed unless it had the Pope's endorsement.¹¹² Taaffe arrived in Dublin in 1668, under the suspicious gaze of the local clergy, and the Jesuits did not even recognise the legitimacy of his mission as pontifical commissar and apostolic visitor. Soon, heeding Walsh's advice, the Roman agent began appointing pro-English visitors to the different dioceses and, like Brown before him, was criticised for his excessive compliance to the remonstrant.¹¹³

In the midst of the controversy, rumours started circulating about negotiations concerning liberty of conscience with the English parliament—negotiations which, however, excluded Catholics.¹¹⁴ This was certainly the spirit of Charles II's prohibition of conventicles and unlawful assemblies of Papist and non-conformists.¹¹⁵ Ireland was not spared these changes. In 1669, the Duke of Ormond's return to Dublin increased the number of supporters of the second Duke of Buckingham, even among Catholics. George Villiers was the favourite of the king, and many saw in him the instrument to bring about a new parliament with which to break the English-French understanding.¹¹⁶ In this context, and before any anti-Catholic bill was passed, Baron John Berkeley was appointed new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. This appointment caused some controversy in the English ministries. Buckingham wanted this post for his right-hand man, the Earl of Ossory, but this desire was not shared by another important man in the Stuart court, the Earl of Arlington.¹¹⁷ Regardless of these internal disagreements, the fact that the new Lord Lieutenant was married to a Catholic woman seemed to herald a period of religious tranquillity.¹¹⁸ In fact, the English parliament decided at that time to reject a proposal to toughen the Penal Laws. The Count of Molina, however, received this change in policy with caution, and asked his chaplains to be careful not to commit any indiscretion that could alter the prevailing calm.¹¹⁹

Despite the new confessional policies being pursued in London, internal strife continued cleaving the unity of Irish Catholics. In 1670, while Rome debated whether it was possible to accept an oath of Allegiance to a Reformed king, a new chapter of the Franciscans was celebrated in the Castilian city of Valladolid. Once more, the Valesian controversy was at the

core of the debate. Walsh, who was not present and who could not count on the protection of the Duke of Ormond in Castile, was censored, and nearly excommunicated.^{[120](#)}

A year earlier, Mark Brown had to defend himself before his Spanish superiors against accusations of partiality, which cast doubt over his ability to direct the proceedings of the Dublin chapter.^{[121](#)} However, he did not find it too difficult to keep his position as general procurator of his order and recover his lost credit. Immediately afterwards, Brown appealed to Queen Mariana of Austria for her renewed support and the reactivation of royal patronage, citing the need to preserve Catholicism in Ireland through the Patriarch's selection of most suitable candidates.^{[122](#)}

The regent lent a sympathetic ear to the problems besetting the Irish Mission. In 1668, she had been informed of the evolution of the Cádiz pension from the time of its origins to the time of Archbishop Thomas Walsh's death in 1654.^{[123](#)} In a retrospective *memorial*, the patriarch Alonso Pérez de Guzmán gave a detailed account of the history of the 1,000 ducats with which he had been entrusted, the way in which the money had been allocated, the partition of 1627, and also individual claims to some of the Irish half of the money. Also, from his position as administrator of the Mission, the patriarch explained the additional obligations that this responsibility involved, including the examination of the orthodoxy and aptitude of potential missionaries, and how the concession of the *viaticum* largely depended on this assessment.^{[124](#)}

In order to show the regent the legal instruments that ruled the royal patronage under his responsibility, Pérez de Guzmán also presented the papal bulls that dealt with the matter. The report mentioned Innocent XI's 1647 bull, which endorsed the partition of the 1,000 ducats and facilitated the patriarch's task. According to one of its clauses, the patriarch was authorised to delegate this task to somebody else, and he proceeded to do this in 1669.^{[125](#)} Indeed, as a *memorial* was issued, the patriarch was taken ill and his illness proved fatal. Before his death, fearing that the Cádiz pension would be left unattended, he delegated this office to his nephew, Francisco de Guzmán, who was canon and dignitary in Toledo.

The missionaries' reaction to the patriarch's unilateral decision went against the regent's intention to put someone else at the head of the Mission. After the death of Pérez de Guzmán in the summer of 1670 and

the appointment of his successor, Antonio Manrique de Guzmán, two years later, a constant stream of applications signed by Irish priests and friars had to be dealt with.¹²⁶ These applications argued that it was better to put its direction under someone who belonged to it, as had been originally conceived. In order to avoid any unnecessary disruption to the system, these arguments went, the 1,000 ducats could be administered by the first chaplain and almoner appointed to succeed Pérez de Guzmán, following its normal development and without introducing any change.¹²⁷

Mariana of Austria was, therefore, faced with a dilemma: she could respect the will of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán and, indirectly, of Pope Innocent, or yield to the demands of missionaries. The new Patriarch of the Indies, Antonio Manrique de Guzmán, advised reinstating the original system of the Mission.¹²⁸ The fact that the queen gave the matter so much thought was in itself indicative of her plans to reinforce the Crown's confessional strategy.¹²⁹

After the profile of the new administrator of the Mission had been decided, the proposals put forward by Father Mark Brown in 1670 to reorganise the patronage structure were heeded. Spanish harbours were full of Irish priests and friars who could not leave, owing to lack of funds. Despite the disarray that Nithard's departure had caused at court, the councillors of State found the time to debate whether to resume the grant policy inaugurated during the reign of Philip III. They decided to consult the regent, arguing for the religious scope of the project and for the need to establish control mechanisms concerning both the worthiness of the candidates and the concession of the *viaticum*.¹³⁰ Following this opinion, Mariana of Austria instructed Antonio Manrique de Guzmán to proceed with the royal grants and the examination of candidates, and to adopt the same policies as his predecessor.¹³¹ This decision put an end to the stream of petitions and set in motion once more the Mission's mechanisms. This, however, did not happen overnight, and the first palpable signs of reactivation did not become visible until 1673 ([Figures BM1.1](#), [BM1.3–BM1.6](#) and [BM1.8](#)).¹³²

While the continuation of the Mission was being debated in Madrid, both Houses in London were discussing the viability of divorcing Charles II from his Catholic wife Catherine of Braganza, and the possible political repercussions of such a move. This matter was postponed temporarily, as

were the usual resolutions against the Catholics.¹³³ The tense calm attested by the Count of Molina was also disturbed by the public conversion of the Duchess of York, Anne Hyde, to Catholicism.¹³⁴ The Spanish ambassador continued his preventive policy of sheltering priests under his diplomatic protection, as he was concerned about the Catholic backlash that loomed on the horizon.¹³⁵ The duchess's conversion was warmly welcomed by the Catholic world, but Anglicans and Presbyterians were very critical, and parliament published yet another proclamation to prevent the spread of the Papists.¹³⁶ This statement was eventually accepted by Charles II, who demonstrated in this case some reservations, owing to the loyalty shown by Catholics during his exile and the Restoration.¹³⁷

The king's positive opinion of Catholics was probably driven by political pragmatism. However, the problem relating to land distribution persisted, as demonstrated by the Court of Claims and the suit filed in 1671 by Richard Talbot—future Earl of Tyrconnell—on behalf of all Irish Catholics. This initiative was positive for those who wished the revision of the Act of Settlement enacted a decade earlier.¹³⁸ These claims should be situated within the framework of the pro-Catholic policies advocated by Lord Berkeley, the new Lord Lieutenant. In 1672, he authorised Catholics to take minor government offices, buy or rent land, and enjoy the same privileges that they had had during the reign of Charles I.¹³⁹ This was followed by specific licenses to practise their religion and build convents and other cult places. Protestants immediately reacted against these measures, alarmed at what they perceived as the encroachments onto their rights and the allocation of too much land to Catholics. Although tolerance was never officially declared, Charles II tried to restore peace through numerous gestures, for which he was accused of being too soft with papists, who had seen their situation improve somewhat after the Cromwellian period. The king was trying to strike a very fine balance indeed: any decision adopted concerning the Irish inevitably resonated in England, which was unwilling to let popery off the hook.¹⁴⁰

In the context of this trend of political *captatio benevolentiae*, while the king's ministers debated the consequences of a policy of tolerance towards all religions, Charles II's need for money, men, and public opinion in favour of pursuing the war in Holland led the king to do his best to avoid confronting parliament.¹⁴¹ On 25 March 1672, however, the king

proclaimed the Declaration of Indulgence, which was to be applicable to all his dominions. This resolution, which aimed to satisfy all his subjects regardless of their beliefs, was highly significant and involved the suppression of the Penal Laws and the authorisation of all public religious meetings. This permission, however, excluded recusants of the Catholic religion, who were allowed to pray but only in the privacy of their own houses.¹⁴²

This move was positively regarded by the Spanish Crown, which was at the time preoccupied with the presence of French troops near the Spanish border and the worrying military situation in Flanders. As soon as the news was received in Madrid, Mariana of Austria hastened to write to Charles II, celebrating the English king's charitable resolution and emphasising the friendship between both Crowns.¹⁴³ The queen's joyous reaction was justified. After all, tolerance towards Catholics in Protestant kingdoms was one of the political goals of the Spanish monarchy. Also, as pointed out by the new Spanish ambassador in London, the Marquis of Fresno, Charles II's declaration also meant gaining the favour of crypto-Catholic members of parliament for his political and fiscal measures, which caused some unrest in critical sectors in London.¹⁴⁴ Owing to the discontent caused by the king's tolerant move, the diplomat recommended Madrid keep a low-profile policy towards England. If the Spanish cause was to be served, it was advisable to mistrust the movements of the English king and his government.¹⁴⁵

Indeed, not a year later tolerance towards Papists was called into question. Before both Houses of parliament, the English king declared that the aim of his religious measures was to achieve domestic peace, which was considered crucial given the imminent break with the United Provinces. The reaction of parliament made it clear that his legislation and rhetoric were not having the expected results.¹⁴⁶ Parliament convened a committee of members to discuss the suspension of the Penal Laws, which the king had decided to push forward without consulting both Houses. This left Charles II in an invidious position. If he yielded to parliament's wishes, he would keep their good faith and their support for the critical military subsidies, but he would lose face before his vassals and other European powers. If he persevered in his resolution and dissolved parliament, he risked losing their

financial support.¹⁴⁷ This dilemma was resolved a few days later: ‘the seal of the declaration was broken by the king’s hand at Whitehall’.¹⁴⁸

This triumph for parliament was followed by an edict expelling priests and Jesuits, renewing the Penal Laws, and imposing the oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance on all public and military officials.¹⁴⁹ In November 1673, another proclamation that complemented the previous anti-papery measures was published: religious institutions and schools were closed, and the ‘Irish papists’ were barred from pursuing a trade or joining corporations.¹⁵⁰ In Madrid, Mariana of Austria followed the course of events through the reports of her ambassador. Fresno tried to summarise the unpredictability of English policy, remarking that there was nothing to it but money, and that honour and religion were readily sacrificed. Charles II was a political prisoner of those who controlled the economic resources he needed to fund his policies—that is, parliament, which was increasingly against him.¹⁵¹

The ongoing religious ambivalence and political uncertainty in England provided a great opportunity for the projection of Spanish interests in the north. Following the reports of the Marquis of Fresno, the council of State saw the unsettled situation in England as a chance to enlist the support of parliamentarians, with the ultimate aim of smearing English-French diplomatic relations and forcing the Stuart king to seek peace with the United Provinces, which were Spain’s key ally against Louis XIV.¹⁵² Another important element of this policy, actively promoted by Mariana of Austria, was the revival of the Irish Mission. The activity of the ‘Spanish’ agents would consolidate the Crown as the main patron of Catholics on the island and counteract French advances in this regard, while pressure was exercised to have Charles II annul his latest anti-Catholic measures in Ireland.¹⁵³

It is significant that the increase in the number of *viatica* granted coincided with a bad spell for the Catholics in the island and a period of uncertainty for the Spanish monarchy. It was believed that the crisis which began during the regency, with Juan José de Austria’s march to Madrid, had been resolved upon his withdrawal and Nithard’s departure. These events were ultimately for the benefit of Mariana of Austria, who saw her authority reinforced, and the dynastic continuity, with Charles II’s coming of age in 1675, looked more secure.¹⁵⁴ In contrast, Spain was at war with France after reacting to Louis XIV’s military harassment of the United Provinces.

The military and financial pressures in the north and the Mediterranean, after the revolt of Messina in 1674, brought the royal finances to a point that recalled the great crisis of the 1640s. Despite this, the concession of alms to the Irish missionaries was resumed.¹⁵⁵ The Mission, therefore, seemed to follow an anticyclical pattern and was more active when war raged but then at a standstill when peace reigned.

Between 1663 and 1673, the relative inactivity of the Irish Mission did not interrupt the education of potential missionaries in colleges and convents. In fact, the number of students now exceeded that of potential positions. The number of candidates had increased significantly, and the dispatch of missionaries had dried out.¹⁵⁶ This is reflected in the large number of prospective missionaries that applied for the *viaticum* in 1673. The fast growth of the number of applicants could be interpreted as a manoeuvre by the Crown to expedite the concession of grants and the delivery of missionaries. However, the proclamation of the Declaration of Indulgence in the previous year had changed the landscape completely by creating a, theoretically, receptive scenario, and it is, therefore, possible to interpret the soaring number of applicants as a reflection of the new opportunities provided by the royal's confessional policy.¹⁵⁷

The new direction followed by the Mission can also be interpreted differently. During the previous period of inactivity, people in prominent positions had been replaced: for instance, the Patriarch of the Indies, who was directly responsible for the administration of the Mission, and some members of the council of State, which was the first obstacle which *viaticum* applications had to surmount. At first, the new appointees were less knowledgeable about the operation of the patronage structure, which slowed matters down. This could be also said of Queen Mariana, who had been left, during the minority of her son Charles II, with the responsibility for acting as royal patron of an operation which was unfamiliar to her. On top of all this, the Cádiz pension also needed to be resumed and, importantly, someone had to be appointed to administer it.

As a result, the Irish Mission was to be rebranded, even if its human and financial structures remained almost the same. The most significant change affected the name of the Mission and its scope. As early as 1673, the *memoriales* and the other documents issued by the council of State began introducing some regularity to the name of the Mission. Previously, the Mission had been referred to by various names, variations on a theme that

generally included a mention of ‘Ireland’ or ‘other northern parts’, but now the abbreviated formula ‘Northern Mission’ became increasingly common, especially in the closing years of the 17th century.¹⁵⁸ This nomenclature included the royal patronage of missionaries in Ireland, England, and Scotland. The new name, which can be related to the Dutch war and the Spanish alliance with a coalition of Protestant princes, was equivalent to the traditional ‘Irish Mission’.¹⁵⁹

At the same time, the conceptual change had other implications—financial—that revealed the ethereal nature of the Mission. In mid-1675, Patriarch Antonio Manrique de Guzmán produced a report explaining the protocol for the concession of the 50-ducat *viaticum* granted to successful applicants. In the *consulta*, which aimed to inform the young King Charles II of the workings of the Mission, the first chaplain indicated that it was impossible to pay for all successful applications owing to the limited funds at his disposal, which were allocated by the council of Finances.¹⁶⁰ The origin of these funds varied, and they are often impossible to track with the documentation available. In general, the 100 ducats came from the *arca de tres llaves*.¹⁶¹ Other known sources include the *alcabalas* of the city of Segovia or the Marquisate of Cañete, the rents of Valladolid, and the salt works in Castilla la Vieja or Zamora; the salt works in Zamora, for instance, are entered as a source of the *viaticum* in the 1670s.¹⁶²

With the revival of the Mission, the education of Charles II, and the constant complaints of Manrique de Guzmán to have the funds at his disposal increased, new channels were created to provision the missionaries with the necessary resources. In 1674, the regent Mariana of Austria allocated a 300-ducat pension for the Order of Saint Dominic to the procurator of the order, Thomas Burke. This pension was similar to that which had been granted to the Irish colleges of Salamanca and Seville for the provision of *viatica* to their appointed missionaries. In this case, the grant was to be used to send missionaries to the north from the hospice that the order owned in Madrid, and also to sustain recently arrived exiles.¹⁶³

This same year, while the administration of the rent was being organised, Burke asked the queen for 300 ducats with which to expedite the passages of twelve clerics, who were suffering from lack of funds. He proposed that this amount could be given as alms and suggested the councils of Aragón, Italy, and Military Orders as potential sources. This was not the first time

that Burke had suggested these councils provide funds. In 1673 he had also appealed to the councils of Crusade and the Indies for funds with which to assist another ten Dominicans.¹⁶⁴ The council of State began consultations and agreed with Burke's proposal.¹⁶⁵ An order, later confirmed by the regent, urged the president of the councils to furnish the twelve friars with the agreed funds.¹⁶⁶ It was common for royal institutions to use their budget for paying rents and other expenses that were not under their jurisdiction.¹⁶⁷ By late 1674, it was clear that the money granted would not be enough, and thus Thomas Burke, with the endorsement of the queen, asked the president of the council of Finances, Miguel de Salamanca, to finally give him the actual rent.¹⁶⁸

The meeting of a new parliament in England in early 1674 confirmed the previous policy of curtailing Catholicism in the islands and applying the Penal Laws.¹⁶⁹ Several priests, who had defied the Test Act and remained in London, preaching clandestinely, were arrested. The new measures included a reward for informers who exposed crypto-Catholics.¹⁷⁰ For its part, the Irish parliament also introduced more stringent surveillance methods.¹⁷¹ After the end of the third English-Dutch war, the nuncio in Spain, Savo Mellini, along with the procurators of the Dominican, Augustinian, and Jesuit orders, met Mariana of Austria and asked her to intercede with Charles II Stuart to halt the escalation of anti-Catholic measures, in exchange for the continued obedience of his Catholic vassals.¹⁷² The Marquis of Fresno, ambassador in London, acted as royal middleman to try to have them abolished. They, for their part, promised to be good subjects, like during the Restoration. The Spanish diplomat knew well that Irish Catholics were predisposed to be loyal to any prince who respected their religious freedom. During the period of the Confederation of Kilkenny, the loyalty of the Irish had partially shifted from its traditional focus, the Spanish monarchy, to France, but the new political understanding between Charles II Stuart and Louis XIV opened new perspectives for the Spanish king.¹⁷³ However, Fresno thought that the defence of Irish Catholics ran counter to the interests of the Spanish Crown in this new geostrategic context. Charles II and the Duke of York were openly pro-French, forcing Spain to garner support in parliament. Adopting a policy which contradicted that being put forward by their resolutions could seriously undermine the Spanish policy in London.¹⁷⁴

Negotiations became yet more complex a few weeks later, with the enactment of a rigorous order by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earl of Essex, and a decree by the parliament in Dublin, which aimed to enforce two previous decrees, which previously had been only loosely obeyed.¹⁷⁵ In addition, the expulsion of the Catholic hierarchy was decreed, on the grounds that their jurisdiction corresponded to that of the Pope.¹⁷⁶ This act also affected priests and friars, who were ordered to leave without delay, as well as convents, seminaries, and religious houses and schools, which were to be pulled down.¹⁷⁷ The bill immediately resulted in a diaspora to the continent, although on a smaller scale than had previously occurred at the beginning and the middle of the century. Moreover, while some clerics and bishops came under the Catholic king's protection, others in Spain got ready to set sail and fill the vacancies left by the exiles.¹⁷⁸

In this context, the procurator of the Jesuit Mission in Ireland, Jerome Sweetman, presented a petition to the Spanish king.¹⁷⁹ His request went beyond the palace circles to involve private persons in the maintenance of the order's missionary enterprise.¹⁸⁰ In a brief pamphlet, Sweetman returned to the traditional commonplaces of the Jesuit discourse of the early 17th century. He put forward five arguments equating the Jesuit Mission and the royal patronage structure, emphasising the absence of Irish Jesuit novitiates on the continent and also the suffering of Jesuit missionaries, thirty-five of whom were at the time preaching on the island—but nobody got the royal *viatica*—without even a house to their name ([Figure BM1.7](#)). Afterwards, Father Jerome mentioned examples of individual Catholics who had supported the cause in the past, such as Marina de Escobar and Luisa de Carvajal.¹⁸¹ Sweetman finished his *memorial* by presenting a metaphorical (and highly evocative) plan for this mission, likening it to a 'rock castle' with firm foundations and also a 'Trojan horse' which stealthily penetrated the enemy's defences to act in his stead.¹⁸²

Across the sea, after 1675, English legislators continued with the policy of propagating the Anglican faith to the detriment of the other religions in the British Isles.¹⁸³ This preferential policy is well illustrated by the publication of an edict which, in six articles, summarised all previous legislation.¹⁸⁴ The Spanish diplomats thought that the publication of the edict heralded a new parliament, after the abrupt ending of the previous one a few years earlier, and perhaps that Charles II Stuart intended to court

popular support by attacking the Catholics.¹⁸⁵ How effective these edicts were, or how strict their application, is an open question. It seems, at all events, that Catholics were not significantly weakened by persecution, as the events of 1678 and the Popish Plot amply demonstrate.

Promotion and Pension: Irish Bishops at the Service of the Catholic King

The lethargy of the Mission and the parliamentary edicts that followed the Restoration did not affect other strands of Spanish patronage in Ireland. In the last third of the 17th century, a number of Irish priests and friars climbed the ranks to hold important positions in the political structure of the Spanish court. Richard Lynch was appointed, with the backing of Queen Mariana and the General Inquisitor Nithard, to one of the first Jesuit chairs in the University of Salamanca, and the royal convents in Madrid sheltered Irish friars who were to rise high in the ecclesiastical hierarchy: for instance, the Franciscan Father Patrick Tyrell, future secretary of his order and Bishop of Clogher.¹⁸⁶ The success of these Irishmen at court added an extra nuance to the patronage relationship that bound the Irish exiles and the Spanish monarchy. There was a generalised feeling of gratitude for the protection extended by the Crown among Irish soldiers in the royal armies and the clerics and students in the royally funded colleges. Their personal oath, as well as the continuation of the Mission, morally compelled them to pray for the prosperity of their patron and the continuation of his dynasty.¹⁸⁷ According to the Franciscan James O'Neill, the getting of royal favour was responded by the missionaries serving the Catholic king as the chaplain of the royal person for life.¹⁸⁸ Michael Olalur expressed his gratitude in two ways: as a veteran of the wars in Catalonia, where he had served as a horseman, he decided after the conflict to become a priest. He studied arts and theology in Seville, and was ordained in 1660, before being granted a *viaticum*.¹⁸⁹ This peculiar soldier-priest was a perfect fit for a proposal presented to Philip IV thirty-six years earlier which suggested giving missionaries some military experience by making them serve as chaplains in the royal armies. Also closely related to the Spanish monarchy were those who had been or had tried to be appointed bishops with the backing of

the Spanish king in Rome. After the Commonwealth, the Irish Catholic hierarchy was slowly rebuilt, and although the first royal appointments did not take place until 1669, there was a large number of applications to occupy the vacant sees.¹⁹⁰ This was the case of Daniel Mackey and Dermot Fay, chaplains and confessors in the German guard.¹⁹¹ These members of the extended household of the king were not promoted to bishoprics in Ireland. They could continue with their service if they were, indeed, sent to the island to spread the word from a more public position and in a larger jurisdiction. This did not change their loyalty, but simply facilitated the projection of their doctrine among a wider audience.

In 1664, an anonymous document addressed to Philip IV revived the old controversy about the appointment of bishops. Using arguments already put forward by the Earls of Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and Berehaven—or Count of Biraben according to his Castilian title—four decades earlier, the purpose of the author of the paper, who allegedly lived in England, was to ensure that the bishoprics were granted to men of spotless reputation.¹⁹² According to this document, Rome was not sufficiently well informed of what was happening in Ireland, owing to the partiality of the information delivered by the internuncio in Brussels, among others.¹⁹³ As a result of this, the Roman curia was unaware of Charles II's plan to use his religious ambiguity to appoint his own candidates. For these reasons, the document continued, only candidates who had been recommended by the Spanish ambassador in the pontifical court should be considered.¹⁹⁴

This anonymous document conveyed some basic ideas on the *regalista* doctrine, which defended the king's right to appoint bishops. The document proposed that the list of candidates be presented by the Spanish ambassador in Rome. Should Philip IV exercise this prerogative, his authority would have been asserted in no uncertain terms, but the monarch always avoided entangling himself in a controversy with the Holy See, the consequences of which were hard to gauge. For this reason, the king gave orders for a copy of the paper to be sent to Cardinal Pascual de Aragón, his representative to Alexander VII, with instructions to maintain the status quo concerning such Episcopal promotions.¹⁹⁵

This doctrine was maintained throughout the reign of Philip IV and the regency of Mariana of Austria. The only exception occurred in 1668, when the council of State consulted the queen on the convenience of appointing

Peter Talbot to the diocese of Dublin.¹⁹⁶ This Irish aristocrat had been trained in the Irish college of Lisbon. After joining the Society of Jesus, he was awarded a Doctorate in theology from the University of Coimbra.¹⁹⁷ Talbot's role as interlocutor of Charles II of England during the king's continental exile, after the priest had abandoned the Jesuits, meant that his was an unusual candidate.¹⁹⁸ In consequence, after his restoration, Charles II made obvious on several occasions his wish to see Father Talbot at the head of the Catholic bishopric of Dublin.¹⁹⁹ Queen Mother Henrietta Marie, whom Talbot had served in the past as almoner, presented him to Cardinal-nephew Giacomo Rospigliosi.²⁰⁰ In addition, the Duke of Buckingham, Charles II's first minister, encouraged people in upper Catholic circles to support the appointment. Indeed, a number of prominent Spanish ministers, including the Marquis of Castelo Rodrigo and Nithard, facilitated the presentation of the candidate to the Pope through the Spanish ambassador in Rome, the Marquis of Astorga, who finally obtained papal assent.²⁰¹ Peter Talbot was appointed Bishop of Dublin on 9 May 1669 in Antwerp.²⁰²

Two years later, the appeal to Mariana of Austria came directly from the petitioner Daniel Mackey. No Spanish recommendation was necessary in this case. However, although he had already been appointed bishop by the Pope, Mackey needed the royal's help to fund his consecration as Bishop of Down and Connor.²⁰³ The trajectory of this Irish priest was closely related to the Spanish monarchy. He taught theology in the University of Alcalá and was the first chaplain of the German guard to also be the unit's confessor. He held this position on two separate occasions, both times under the command of Pedro Antonio de Aragón, who was a reputed champion of the Irish cause.²⁰⁴ The first of these periods was 1658–1662, when he left for Rome as personal chaplain of Aragón, who had been appointed ambassador there; the second period lasted three years, after his predecessor, Edward Shaw (who was also Irish), left the post in 1668.²⁰⁵ During this last spell in the German guard, the payment of his salary had been delayed, compelling him to ask for assistance to celebrate the consecration ceremony before leaving for his diocese. The queen, without specifying an amount, instructed Patriarch Antonio Manrique de Guzmán to deal with the royal grant.²⁰⁶

In 1672, Dermot Fay, who had succeeded Mackey after his second chaplaincy, tried to take advantage of the religious opportunities provided

by Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence to make a formal bid for a vacancy in Ireland.²⁰⁷ Munster-born Fay had a master of arts and a doctorate in theology, and had been a 'Spanish' missionary eight years earlier. At that time, he was, by royal appointment, collector and spiritual director of the hospital of Saint Andrew of the Flemish in Madrid.²⁰⁸ Wielding his previous services to the Crown, Father Dermot presented his candidacy to the regent for Cardinal Nithard, extraordinary ambassador in the pontifical court, to recommend him. The problem was that Fay had already presented his bid directly in Rome.²⁰⁹ This duplicity was detrimental to Dermot's promotion, especially because the two channels used to put forward his candidacy were jurisdictionally incompatible. This issue and the desire not to interfere in the internal deliberations of the pontifical dicastery seem to have compelled the councillors of State to ask Nithard not to get involved in the case.²¹⁰

Following the usual protocol, the candidate was examined by the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. Cardinal Prospero Bottini presented the report produced in Madrid to the secretary of the dicastery with the queen's recommendation. In her opinion, Fay was deserving of the appointment for the qualities demonstrated during his chaplaincy and for having maintained the Irish college in Alcalá with his own resources.²¹¹ The queen's intervention did not have the expected result, and Clement X did not appoint him to any episcopacy in Ireland.

The increasing interventionism of the Spanish monarchy did not recede after this fiasco in the pontifical court. In 1676, the debate revolved around the Archbishop of Tuam, James Lynch. After arriving in Bilbao following his banishment, a year earlier, the prelate saw an allowance of 1,000 reales granted by Mariana of Austria blocked.²¹² The council of State was concerned that this would create a precedent and that applications from other Irish prelates would start flooding in.²¹³ The council of Finances, for their part, thought that the problem had to do with the amount, which seemed excessive given recent royal orders to restrain such acts of munificence.²¹⁴ Lynch's complaints were effective, and Queen Mariana ordered the councils to expedite the payment to ensure the prelate's continued support of the Spanish monarchy.²¹⁵ In this way, Lynch joined the ranks of Irish bishops as pensionaries and under the patronage of the Spanish king. Thus, he became an agent in the provinces of the north.²¹⁶

Charles II and the Government of the Mission: *Learning Ad Exemplum*

The missionaries sponsored by the Spanish king within the framework of the Irish Mission used different tools to carry out their apostolic task. In relation to the *viaticum*, this was now handed to them, through the Patriarch of the Indies and the councils of State and Finances, in the Basque or Andalusian harbour from which they departed.²¹⁷ With it, they purchased the books and liturgical ornaments needed for their mission, which were difficult to come by in the British Isles.²¹⁸ Their main task was conferring the sacraments, celebrating mass (in the open or clandestinely), teaching the catechism, and furthering the interests of the Spanish monarchy in Ireland.²¹⁹

The regulation of this process was by now a well-tested procedure, although the lack of formal definition of some aspects, and the occasional desertion of missionaries, undermined the Mission's prestige. In 1675, the Jesuit visitor Martín de Cuynabor turned up in the Irish college of Seville and pointed out that some graduates had stayed in Castile, educating noble children or occupying family-chaplaincies.²²⁰ This was detrimental to their chances to return to their homeland, and Cuynabor claimed that it could affect the alms given for the sustenance of prospective missionaries.²²¹

The succession of Charles II and the regency of Mariana of Austria brought no major changes to the missionary structure. After the young king was declared of age, and once the struggle between the *favourite* Fernando de Valenzuela and the step-brother of the king, Juan José de Austria, had been left behind, Charles II began exercising his political education.²²² While don Juan tried to teach him the practicalities of governing such a vast monarchy, the Patriarch of the Indies explained to him the internal workings of the Irish patronage structure.²²³ In order to instruct the king *ad exemplum*, Antonio Manrique de Guzmán taught him how the ordinary grants were awarded and administered, and how the candidates to receive them were evaluated and selected.

Charles II had sources of information other than the patriarch. In February 1677, the commissar general of the Order of Saint Francis for the northern provinces, Father Bernard Maguer, was entrusted with informing

the young king about the significance of the Irish colleges and the relevant policies followed by his predecessors. The purpose of these seminaries, located in Louvain, Prague, Rome, and the Iberian Peninsula, was to train missionaries under the king's patronage.²²⁴ Through this discourse, Commissar Maguer expected to guarantee the continued protection of the king and also obtain a *viaticum* for ten members of his order who had already been 'approved' and were stuck in different Spanish provinces awaiting the grant.²²⁵ The king conceded it and showed his willingness, with the assistance of Manrique de Guzmán, to continue following the same policy that his father and grandfather had followed before him.²²⁶ The rhetoric used on this occasion to convince Charles II was thenceforth adopted in all the petitions that concerned the northern missions.

The continuity of the royal grace and the religious zeal that the king had demonstrated from childhood were also key arguments in the Irish applications.²²⁷ The Dominican procurator Humbert Delphin adopted the same discourse as his Franciscan peer. Initially, his petition was for nine prospective missionaries, including his.²²⁸ All of them had been nominated for the Mission and had left their convents, but were waiting for the grant in the harbours of Bilbao, San Sebastián, and La Coruña. In order to get the 100 ducats, the petition was accompanied by several endorsed certificates signed by the priors of various Galician and Basque convents, and authorised by the signatures of notaries public. They not only evidenced the aptitudes of the applicants, but also explained the consequences of the missionaries' lasting detention.²²⁹ The Dominican Father Gaspar de Alarcón, prior of the convent of the Incarnation outside the walls in Bilbao, certified that these men had missed many opportunities to embark owing to their lack of means.²³⁰ This document illustrated the difficulties caused by the delays in the payment of the *viaticum*, and the additional expenses incurred by the prospective missionaries during their wait. In this case, the nine friars were granted their wish and could then finally set sail for Ireland.²³¹

One of the main goals of the *docentia* instituted by the Patriarch Manrique de Guzmán and his successor after 1679, Antonio de Benavides y Bazán, in the regular *consultas* was to guarantee that the dispatch of missionaries followed a single, unified protocol. For this purpose, they annulled all the changes introduced to the administrative process after the

reign of Philip III by linking directly the royal resolution and the council of Finances, which was responsible for effecting the payment. After 1680, Patriarch Benavides often emphasised that the president or the governor of the council was directly responsible for preventing complaints from the beneficiaries of the *viatica*.²³² However, the first chaplain assumed responsibility for evaluating all priests and friars who aspired to become missionaries and, therefore, the king's servants.²³³ When all these reports and the binding resolutions of the council of State and the council of Finances had been gathered, the king could give the final word of assent.²³⁴

A London Excursus: The Popish Plot, the Exclusion Crisis, and the Alternatives for Spanish Diplomacy

In the early 1680s, the shortage of missionaries in Ireland became acute in the aftermath of the Popish Plot, a fabricated Catholic conspiracy that shocked the London court and the rest of England.²³⁵ These events began with the intrigues of Titus Oates, a Catholic-born Anglican cleric who attended the University of Salamanca, and his coreligionist Israel Tonge. Wishing to accuse Catholics of regicide and thus eradicate them from the kingdom for good, they came up with a plan in the summer of 1678. A manuscript, which was 'accidentally' to fall into the hands of royal servants, contained a blueprint for the murder of Charles II. The plot would be executed by a group of five Jesuits or, failing that, the doctor of Catherine of Braganza, George Wakeman. Although the king did not seem to have given anyone in particular credit for the plot, parliament insisted on opening an investigation on its own initiative.

The situation in the London court became extremely tense, and reached fever pitch in October with the discovery of the mutilated corpse of Edmund Berry Godfrey, the magistrate in charge of the investigation. The judicial record attests that Oates charged Edward Coleman, former secretary of the Duke of York and pensionary of Louis XIV, with keeping contact with the confessor of the French king, the Jesuit François de la Chaise,

different Bourbon ministers, and the papacy, with the ultimate aim of restoring the Catholic faith in England.²³⁶ It seems that the Most Christian Majesty had offered 300,000 livres for subverting the English government and changing the official religion, with the proviso that Charles II should not announce his Catholicism until the *réunions* campaigns in the Spanish Low Countries had come to an end.

According to reports received in Madrid, the Presbyterians also used the confusion caused by the plot to deprive the king and his brother of the support of Catholics, by banishing Catholics to a distance of twenty miles from London and expelling them from the royal army. The Jesuits, who were believed to be in contact with the French, were caught by the centre of the storm. The participation of Louis XIV in the plot, and how much he might have gained from it, were likewise a matter of debate.²³⁷ The different acts passed by the House of Commons at this time reduced the distance to which Catholics had to be banished but increased the severity of the Penal Laws and the oath of Supremacy (in the second Test Act).²³⁸

A few days later, the king issued a new proclamation that was also applicable to Ireland. It ordered the arrest of all priests and Jesuits, with the exception of the attendants of Queen Catherine of Braganza and the members of the entourage of European diplomats. In order to expedite investigations, Charles II offered a reward of 20 pounds to informers who contributed to expose them.²³⁹

The feeling of indignation in the London court continued growing as details of the plot came to light. Prominent Catholics were accused of involvement in the murder of Magistrate Godfrey, including several of the queen's chaplains and the aforementioned Doctor Wakeman.²⁴⁰ The Commons tried to make the Lords order the expulsion of the queen and all Papists from the palace. This proposal did not succeed: accusing a member of the royal family without proof was a crime of *laesa maiestatis*, and the accuser was put in prison.²⁴¹ At the same time, however, important pro-French aristocrats in the Duke of York's party such as Arundel, Powis, Peters, Bellasis, and Stafford were accused of treason and locked in the Tower. These arrests weakened the position of the king, who was deprived of important supporters, and strengthened that of parliament.²⁴²

The Spanish representative to The Hague, Manuel Francisco de Lira, pointed out that, although everything in the Oates *affaire* seemed fabricated,

the events led to a political storm in Europe, and he also pointed out that England could well be heading for a bloodbath.²⁴³ This opinion was shared in Madrid, where the councillors of State were concerned that, should the instability last, some misfortune might befall Charles II, whose character and habits were another risk factor.²⁴⁴

In the midst of all this confusion, rumours in London started pointing to Juan José de Austria, first minister in Spain, as the main instigator of the plot. According to a statement made by an English Catholic, the step-brother of Charles II of Spain had paid 70,000 pounds for the assassination of the English king. Swiftly, the Spanish ambassador in London, the Count of Egmont, expressed his confusion at these accusations against don Juan. In an audience before the king, he demanded that this be investigated, as it was injurious to Juan José of Austria, and that a public exculpatory declaration should follow. Although the Duke of York and the Lord Treasurer Earl of Danby agreed with Egmont, parliament heeded the word of the accuser. In the presence of Charles II, when asked by the magistrates to give a description of Juan José de Austria, the deception was finally exposed. The English king had met don Juan during his Flemish exile, and could personally vouch that the informer's description did not match him.²⁴⁵

This did not make any difference. No public exculpation and apology was issued, and the name of Juan José de Austria was firmly associated with the Popish Plot. On top of all this, one of the witnesses declared that there were 30,000 Spanish 'pilgrims' in La Coruña and Flanders waiting to set sail in support of English Catholics. Many ministers took this announcement of a kind of second Great Army as a joke, whereas Presbyterians pretended to credit the reports because they advanced their political agenda.²⁴⁶ The Spaniards, given the tension in London and the peace prospects in Nijmegen, attributed the constant lies to French propaganda. According to this thesis, Versailles was wary of the possibility of closer links developing between England, Spain, and the United Provinces, and had decided to stir the religious pot in England to French advantage.²⁴⁷

After the signature of the peace treaty in 1678, the Spanish monarchy prioritised events in England and the defence of its traditional role as champion of Catholicism, despite the accusations against don Juan.²⁴⁸

Parliament mistrusted France, which created a political opportunity for Charles II of Spain. The Spanish ambassadors should focus on helping Catholics, rather than on becoming involved in trying to achieve liberty of conscience, as urged by the nuncio in Spain, Savo Mellini.²⁴⁹ In addition, their behaviour had to adhere to the principles set out by the public interest.²⁵⁰ In early 1679, with the parliament prorogued and the search for the instigators of the supposed Popish Plot continuing, the Count of Egmont tried to find out how much progress the enquiries had made after Coleman's execution. In contrast with the obstacles that previous ambassadors had complained of, the diplomat claimed to have been given all he requested. As a result of his enquiries, he concluded that the plot had been exposed as a mere forgery which aimed to destroy English Catholicism, the followers of which were, in Egmont's words, 'like a flock of sheep under the gaze of a pack of wolves'.²⁵¹

These fabricated accusations were also to play a significant role in the relationship between parliament and the Duke of York. A declared Catholic, his religion became the main threat to the Protestant foundations of the English throne, especially given the lack of a legitimate successor to Charles II. The king had a large number of illegitimate children, so until an heir was produced James Stuart was first in line for succession. Years earlier, while the possibility of forcing the king to divorce was being entertained, the possibility of the duke becoming King of England had become very real.²⁵² As early as 1674, however, European chancelleries regarded him as unpopular among the English.²⁵³ The following year, the Spanish ambassador Pedro Ronquillo reported to Madrid that parliament was rumoured to be thinking of excluding James Stuart from the succession line, and that he would declare his son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, legitimate heir instead.²⁵⁴

The so-called 'Exclusion Crisis' was finally to crystallise in the context of the Popish Plot.²⁵⁵ Alarmed by the conspiracy to murder Charles II and oust the Anglican Church, on 14 November 1678 Lord Chawery asked the House of Lords to banish the Duke of York and his party from court. The Earl of Essex seconded the idea, suggesting that the new Test Act should be applicable to all Catholics without exception, including the king's brother. Although the Commons delayed the resolution of this demand, James Stuart came forward and pledged to abandon government and the court as a way to

dispel all suspicions. He reserved the right to attend parliament and accompany the king in public ceremonies, as a royal minister and a peer. The members of his party followed suit. The support for the royal party in parliament was, in any case, dwindling. The legal outcome of these events was a declaration that the Duke of York was unfit for succession. In the political uncertainty created by this declaration, even the possibility of recognising the Duke of Monmouth, James Scott, illegitimate son of Charles II and Lucy Walter, as heir, was entertained.²⁵⁶ In this context, the Marquis of Borgomanero tried to balance both factions and offered James Stuart the assistance of the Spanish king.²⁵⁷

Thinking about the forced exile of the Duke of York, the Spanish minister considered three possible courses of action. James could stay in England, risking civil war; he could travel through France, with which he had good connections of old (this could complicate Madrid's plans); or he could go to the Spanish Low Countries, which would put Charles II of Spain in a difficult position with the English parliament and the Presbyterians, thus jeopardising the position of his party throughout the north. Borgomanero finally demonstrated his approval for the first option, and in a way avoided further involvement in the matter.²⁵⁸

After receiving this report, Madrid began evaluating the viability, and political repercussions, of receiving James Stuart once more in Spanish dominions. A bitter debate took place among the councillors of State about the potential impact of sheltering the Duke of York on the geopolitical balance created in Europe by the Treaties of Nijmegen. The issue was extremely complex, and the Duke of Villahermosa, general governor in the Low Countries, was summoned to provide his opinion about the possibility of giving James asylum in his jurisdiction. The governor did not rule out this possibility, but suggested that the honours paid to the duke must be limited, and that he must not be allowed to interact with the Crown's officials, in order not to compromise Spanish relations with London. Villahermosa also pointed out that William of Orange was in the United Provinces, which made the decision to send James Stuart there a risky one. Also, as stressed by Borgomanero, the Flemish choice undermined Charles II of Spain's position before the English parliament.²⁵⁹ In the event, the Spanish decision was to allow the Duke of York entry, clarifying that asylum could not be denied among princes, even at the threat of antagonising parliament. Villahermosa was ordered to shelter the exile, but

the council left the door open to change tack and offer him asylum in Spain instead. At any rate, the ambassadors in London were instructed not to accept the offer, and thus court the hostility of parliament, but rather to wait for the duke's decision to act.²⁶⁰

The fine preventive work undertaken by Egmont and Borgomanero was frustrated by Charles II's sudden resolution to send his brother into exile in March 1679.²⁶¹ Initially, the Duke of York received shelter in Flanders, while parliament pushed the issue of his disenfranchisement as heir to the Crown.²⁶² Shortly afterwards, the Commons voted to forbid James Stuart from returning to England to assist his brother under any circumstances.²⁶³ These developments advised against James's presence in the Spanish Low Countries. As Borgomanero had clearly pointed out, giving him shelter in Spain would send the message that Charles II supported his cause, thus draining his political capital in London and before the English parliament. The argument was that James Stuart had decided to go to Flanders himself, and that the Spanish king could not deny him. The Spanish monarchy knew that any other gesture of complicity with the Duke of York would have a tremendous effect on England.²⁶⁴

Parliament's desire to block his aspirations to the English Crown materialised in the Exclusion Bill. The Crown was to be inherited by the Protestant in the line of succession, as required by English law. Theoretically, the resolution was formulated the way it would have been had James Stuart died. Furthermore, he was declared the everlasting enemy of England and of its government, and his entry to any of England's dominion was declared an act of high treason.²⁶⁵

As James's conflict with parliament unfolded, Charles II tried to gain popularity by increasing the pressure on Catholics, an area of his government which, according to Borgomanero, was more important to his mind than external affairs.²⁶⁶ In this case, the king courted the opinion of the people by executing those involved in the Popish Plot.²⁶⁷ In addition to Coleman, the executed included three English Catholics, five priests, five Jesuits, and the queen's physician. These executions were accompanied by another pragmatic decree which followed Elizabeth I's legislation and repeated the measures put forward in the earlier—failed—edict, for a more effective suppression of popery. In its articles, the king emphasised the crime of *læsa maiestatis*, the penalty for which was death and the

confiscation of all goods. Also criminalised were the exercise of pontifical jurisdiction, the sheltering and succouring of Catholic clerics, the catechisation of English subjects, the training of English subjects in the Catholic religion outside England and its dominions, and assisting them financially while they were being trained. In order to expedite the implementation of this order, Charles II established rewards for informers who could lead them to prosecute offenders.²⁶⁸

The ramifications of the Popish Plot were still very much felt when the former ambassador to London, Pedro Ronquillo, was sent back with the objective of trying to redirect the complex situation. Since Nijmegen, he had remained fully informed of the events in London and of the situation of Catholics in the British Isles. His task called for moderation and extreme caution.²⁶⁹ If he supported the king's maxims, he risked losing the support of parliament and other political forces which were essential for Spanish-English relations. In contrast, if he supported parliament, he would reinforce the position of the Reformed clergy in England, also damaging Spanish confessional diplomacy. Such was his care not to upset the English status quo that across the Channel Louis XIV was determined to reestablish Catholicism in England to prevent the offensive alliance between Spain, the United Provinces, and Charles II.²⁷⁰

The new parliament had to discuss what to do about French subventions and, indirectly, the policy of friendship with the Bourbon Crown, which had been in place since the Restoration, as well as make final enquiries into the alleged plot against the king. New details about the Popish Plot became known, obscuring the situation even further and increasing political confusion. Pedro Ronquillo warned Madrid of parliament's ambiguous stance towards Spain and Charles II of England himself. In an attempt to destabilise the king and keep the Duke of York well away from the succession, it was said that the conspirators tried to attract James Stuart's supporters with French subsidies. In this context, the statement of Captain William Bedlow, who shortly before his death claimed that York and his party had planned to murder the king, was believed.²⁷¹

The process dragged on, directly or indirectly, until July 1681. Among the latest to be sentenced were two of the most combative bishops of Ireland: the Archbishop of Armagh, Oliver Plunkett, and the Archbishop of Dublin.²⁷² The public execution on the scaffold of the former and the death

in jail of the latter, which was approved by Charles II himself, sent shockwaves through the Catholic world. Spanish and papal diplomats had tried to stop the executions, but to no avail, in this final episode of Oates's design.²⁷³

After having its local hierarchy decapitated, Irish Catholicism had to begin repairing the damage caused by the power struggle in the London court. It would be assisted in this task by the missionary structure set up in Spain and the fluctuating number of missionaries under the Spanish patronage. Things became easier with the return of James Stuart and the end of Exclusion.²⁷⁴ However, the political events that followed the fatal illness of Charles II reversed the position of weakness of Catholicism. In 1685, the position of *Defensor Fidei* was occupied by a Catholic.

Notes

1. M.A. Ochoa Brun, *Historia de la diplomacia española* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 2006), vol. 8, p. 68.
2. Sanz Camañes, 'Conveniencia política y pragmatismo religioso en las relaciones entre Felipe IV y Cromwell,' p. 311.
3. El príncipe Charles Stuart abandonó Inglaterra acompañado, entre otros, por un grupo de cortesanos irlandeses que se pusieron a su servicio en el exilio. J.J. Cronin, 'Monarchy and Exile: The Political Activities of an Exiled Royal Court and the Role Played by Its Irish Courtiers,' in *Monarchy and Exile: The Politics of Legitimacy from Marie de Médicis to Wilhelm II*, P. Mansel and T. Riotte, eds. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 144–164.
4. On Charles II's exile, see E. Scott, *The King in Exile: The Wanderings of Charles II, from June 1646 to July 1654* (London: Constable, 1905); and Ead., *The Travels of the King: Charles II in Germany and Flanders, 1654–1660* (London: Constable, 1907).
5. J. Castilla Soto, 'Las relaciones entre Felipe IV y Carlos II de Inglaterra durante el protectorado de Cromwell (1656–1659),' *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie IV. Historia Moderna*, 2 (1989), pp. 111–113. On Henrietta Marie's exile, see K. Britland, 'Exile or Homecoming? Henrietta Marie in France, 1644–69,' in *Monarchy and Exile: The Politics of Legitimacy from Marie de Médicis to Wilhelm II*, pp. 120–144.
6. Pérez Tostado, 'Looking for "Powerful Friends",' p. 3.
7. Castilla Soto, 'Las relaciones entre Felipe IV y Carlos II de Inglaterra durante el protectorado de Cromwell (1656–1659),' p. 114.
8. Alloza Aparicio, *Diplomacia caníbal. España y Gran Bretaña en la pugna por el dominio del mundo, 1638–1660*, pp. 168–172.
9. T. Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 102–112.

10. In this context, propaganda was effective. Among the Levellers, there was a widespread state of opinion that regarded Oliver Cromwell as a tyrant and encouraged the people to rise against him. I. Pérez Tostado, “‘Dios te acave, y a nosotros nos libre de ti y del mal, amén’”. Religión y tiranicidio republicano entre Inglaterra y la Monarquía Hispánica,’ in *Repúblicas y republicanismo en la Europa Moderna (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, pp. 459–482.
11. AGS, Estado, leg. 2820. Consultas of the council of State. Madrid, 15 Abril and 1 August 1656.
12. AGS, Estado, leg. 2529. Consulta of the council of State and memorial by the Franciscan Father Francisco MacGuaik de Santa Maria. Madrid, 20 May 1656.
13. R. Hutton, *Charles II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 100–133. On the Irish contribution to the alliance, see J.J. Cronin, ‘Representing Exiled Royalist to the Spanish: The Irish Courtiers of the Exiled Caroline Stuart Court and the Spanish Alliance of 1656–1660,’ in *Irlanda y el Atlántico Ibérico. Movilidad, participación e intercambio cultural*, pp. 165–176.
14. BNE, Ms. 2387, ff. 208r–219v. *Protesta y súplica de los Cathólicos de Irlanda y de la Gran Bretaña al Eminentísimo Cardenal Iulio Mazarino y al Excelentísimo Señor Don Luis de Haro, Plenipotenciarios de los dos Reyes, Cathólico y Cristianísimo* (Seville: Juan Lorenzo Machado, 1660). Pérez Tostado, ‘Irish Political Activity in Spain during the Restoration,’ pp. 307–308; and McHugh, ‘Catholic Clerical Response in the Restoration: The Case of Nicholas French,’ pp. 107–108.
15. J. Miller, *Restoration England: The Reign of Charles II* (New York: Long-man, 1985); R. Hutton, *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658–1667* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Id., *Charles II*; J. Miller, *Charles II* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991); L.K.J. Glassey (ed.), *The Reigns of Charles II and James VII&II* (London: Macmillan, 1997); Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685*; and J.L. Malcolm, ‘Charles II and the Reconstruction of Royal Power,’ *The Historical Journal*, 35/2 (1992), pp. 307–330.
16. AGRB, Ambassade d’Espagne à La Haye, 477, f. 67r. The Baron of Watteville to Esteban de Gamarra. London, 18 February 1661.
17. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Spagna, 124, f. 517r. Carlo Bonelli to the Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi. Madrid, 11 September 1660; and AGS, Estado, leg. 2531. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 11 October 1660. For religion as a political factor in the second half of the 17th century, see A.C. Thompson, ‘After Westphalia: Remodelling a Religious Foreign Policy,’ in *War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648–1713*, D. Onnekink, ed. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 47–67.
18. AGS, Estado, K-1385. Louis XIV to Charles II Stuart. Paris, 7 September 1660.
19. J. Miller, *Popery & Politics in England, 1660–1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 9–12.
20. J. Spurr, ‘Religion in Restoration England,’ in *The Reigns of Charles II and James VII & II*, pp. 92–95.
21. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Anglia, 1, f. 432r. Report on the conditions of Catholicism in England. Brussels, 14 December 1669.
22. AGS, Estado, leg. 2530. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 30 September 1660.
23. TNA: PRO, State papers, 94/44, ff. 99rv. Philip IV to Charles II Stuart. Madrid, 15 October 1660.
24. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/637, f. 412r. Charles II Stuart to Catherine of Braganza. Whitehall, 13 July 1661.

25. For the difficult Spanish-English relations during the 1660s, see R.A. Stradling, *Anglo-Spanish Relations from the Restoration to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle* (Unpublished PhD thesis. Cardiff: University of Wales, 1968); Id., 'Spanish Conspiracy in England, 1661–1663,' *The English Historical Review*, 88/343 (1972), pp. 269–286; and Valladares, *La rebelión de Portugal, 1640–1680. Guerra, conflicto y poderes en la monarquía hispánica*, pp. 171–221.
26. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Spagna, 126, f. 111v. Carlo Bonelli to the Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi. Madrid, 9 March 1661.
27. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/635, f. 197v. The Baron of Watteville to Philip IV. London, 15 September 1661.
28. ASR, Famiglia Odescalchi, 2-M-1, n. 17. Opinion of Cardinal Benedetto Odescalchi. De casa, 27 September 1661.
29. For the marriage, and its political, economic, and religious implications, see C.L. Grose, 'The Anglo-Portuguese Marriage of 1662,' *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 10 (1930), pp. 320–325; G.L. Belcher, 'Spain and the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance of 1661,' *Journal of British Studies*, 15 (1975), pp. 67–88; Valladares, *La rebelión de Portugal, 1640–1680. Guerra, conflicto y poderes en la monarquía hispánica*, pp. 171–180; and L. Madway, 'Rites of Deliverance and Disenchantment: The Marriage Celebrations for Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, 1661–1662,' *The Seventeenth Century*, 27/1 (2012), pp. 79–103.
30. A. Clarke, *Prelude to Restoration in Ireland: The End of the Commonwealth, 1659–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
31. McCormack, *The Stuart Restoration and the English in Ireland*, p. 15.
32. Harris, *Restoration. Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685*, p. 89.
33. McCormick, 'Restoration Ireland, 1660–88,' p. 358.
34. Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685*, pp. 89–90 and 92; and McCormick, 'Restoration Ireland, 1660–88,' p. 358.
35. Hutton, *Charles II*, pp. 196–197; Harris, 'The British Dimension, Religion and Shaping of Political Identities during the Reign of Charles II,' p. 135; and McCormick, 'Restoration Politics, 1660–1691,' p. 101.
36. McCormick, 'Restoration Ireland, 1660–88,' p. 358.
37. Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685*, p. 93.
38. Ibid., p. 99; and McCormack, *The Stuart Restoration and the English in Ireland*, p. 14.
39. Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685*, pp. 93–94 and 99; Id., 'Restoration Ireland-Themes and Problems,' in *Restoration Ireland: Always Settling and Never Settled*, p. 10; and J. Hoppit, 'The Landed Interest and the National Interest, 1660–1800,' in *Parliaments, Nations and Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1660–1850*, Id., ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 93.
40. Harris, 'Restoration Ireland-Themes and Problems,' p. 10.
41. Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685*, pp. 94 and 100; and McCormick, 'Restoration Ireland, 1660–88,' p. 359. N. French, *A Narrative of the Settlement and Sale of Ireland* (Louvain: s. i., 1668).
42. Hutton, *Charles II*, p. 177; and Id., 'The Religion of Charles II,' in *The Stuart Court and Europe*, R.M. Smuts, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 238–239.

43. Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685*, p. 100.
44. Harris, 'The British Dimension, Religion and Shaping of Political Identities during the Reign of Charles II,' p. 137.
45. L.K. Arnold, *The Restoration Land Settlement in County Dublin: A History of the Administration of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993); S.J. Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 12–17; J.G. Simms, 'The Restoration, 1660–85,' in *A New History of Ireland, III: Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691*, pp. 423–425; C.A. Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: Always Setting and Never Settled* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); J. Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 301–357; and Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685*, pp. 89–95.
46. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 350]. Memorial by Matías de León. Madrid, 21 June 1660. Three years later *Relación verdadera de los nuevos decretos, que el Tiranísimo Cromuel ha hecho en Dublin en Irlanda, para que se publiquen en las demás Ciudades, y Lugares, co[n] copia de vna carta, escrita al Reverendísimo Padre General de la Orden de S. Francisco, por los Padres que han sido Provinciales en la Provincia de Irlanda* (S. l.: s. i., 1657) was published. They are probably the same *Relación de los diez y siete decretos, que Oliverio Cromuel ha mandado publicar en Dublin Corte de Irlanda, para que se obseruen y guarden inuiolablemente en los Catholicos de aquella ciudad, y demas partes de aquel Reyno. Refiere una copia de carta escrita al ... Padre fray Pedro Manero, General que fue de la Sagrada Orden de San Francisco, por los Padres que han sido provinciales en ... Irlanda* (Seville: Juan Gómez de Blas, 1657). BNE, VC/56/132.
47. UCD-OFM, D. 01, vol. 2, p. 353. The Irish secular clergy to Alexandre VII. S. l., 20 July 1660.
48. AGP, Real Capilla, caja, 81 [BDMI, 359]. Memorial by Father Félix O'Connor. Madrid, 30 July 1661.
49. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 348]. Memorial by the Agustinian Father Martin de Santa María. San Sebastián, 14 May 1660. The Franciscan Father Bernard Lynch of Galway, missionary 'by order of our Reverend Commissar of Guadalupe for the Kingdoms of the Crown of England', shared the same motivations. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 349]. Memorial by the Franciscan Father Bernard Lynch of Galway. San Sebastián, 15 May 1660. In April 1661, he was appointed chaplain in the chapel of the Spanish embassy in London under Watteville. After the diplomatic incident involving the ambassador and his departure, Father Bernard was authorised to join the Irish Mission along with the priest James Felon and the Jesuit Ignatius Lomel. AGS, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, 3ª época, leg. 2985, exp. 13. Chapel's accounts of the Baron of Watteville (between September 1660 and February 1662). Madrid, 13 August 1663. For a general overview of the notion of martyrdom in the British Isles, see B.S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Ead., *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); and T.S. Freeman (ed.), *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, c. 1400–1700* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007).
50. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81. Luis de Oyanguren to Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 7 October 1660.
51. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81. Alonso Pérez de Guzmán to Luis de Oyanguren. Madrid, 17 February 1661.

52. In the case of the Franciscans Walter Burke and Anthony O'Neill, their certificates were endorsed by the provincial of the order, and archbishops and bishops of Burgos, where they had been trained, as well as the general of their order. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 358]. Application by the Franciscans Father Walter Burke and Anthony O'Neill. Madrid, 17 June 1661.
53. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 379]. Certificate by Father Juan Ramiro. Madrid, 5 June 1664.
54. In addition to four years of theology and the defence of his thesis in the University of Valladolid, Juan Jordán spent four years studying canon law in this same university. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 356]. Certificate by Father Patricio de San Agustín. Madrid, 17 February 1661.
55. For this commission, Father Antonio Faluco went with a secretary and another companion, whose names are not given. He also requested their *viatica*. Since a Spanish agent was at the time operating in London, Pérez de Guzman was in favour of granting him the ordinary grant. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 360]. Memorial by Antonio Faluco. Madrid, 8 October 1661. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 361]. Report by Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 10 October 1661; and AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 1138. Decree by Philip IV for Juan de Góngora and the secretary Francisco Carrillo. Madrid, 26 October and 4 November 1661.
56. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 120]. Opinion of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 17 October 1628.
57. Alonso Pérez de Guzmán recommended giving Maurice O'Brien the *viaticum*, but advised him to continue with his studies 'because he still falls short of the mark'. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 268]. Memorial by Luis de Oyanguren, with Alonso Pérez de Guzmán's opinions. Madrid, 9 March 1660. O'Brien was given final approval and the *viaticum* a month later. AGS, Estado, leg. 2823. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 20 April 1660.
58. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 357]. Opinion of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 26 November 1660.
59. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 387]. Memorial by Andrew Port and report of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 2 and 4 September 1668.
60. AGS, Estado, leg. 2822. Consultas of the council of State. Madrid, 3 January, 2 April and 28 May 1658; and AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81. Order by Philip IV with memorial by Andrew Port. Madrid, 21 October 1658. The following year, yet another similar *memorial* was received. AGS, Estado, leg. 2823 [BDMI, 2932]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 11 March 1659.
61. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 387]. Memorial by Andrew Port and report of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 2 and 4 September 1668.
62. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 367]. Memorial by Andrew Port. Madrid, 24 August 1662. 'Because it is him' was Andrew Port's explanation as to the patriarchs silence. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 1, exp. 1 [BDMI, 368]. Memorial by Andrew Port. Madrid, 7 September 1662.
63. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81. Memorial by Andrew Port. Madrid, 30 December 1666. While this process was taking place, Port was in Madrid working on the improvement of the Irish colleges. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 1, exp. 1. Memorial by Andrew Port. Madrid, 30 November 1666; and ASPF, Scrittura Originali riferite nelle Congregazione Generali, vol. 371, ff. 70r–57v. Printed document addressed to *A los Reverendísimos padres patronos del Colegio Irlandés de Alcalá de Henares, y a los religiosos, y caballeros eclesiásticos y seglares irlandeses, que residen e n esta corte, dedica estos autos su más cierto servidor D. Andrés Porte*. Madrid, 8 June 1666.
64. According to Port's version, the family of the English ambassador had tried to kill him for his attempt, and for this reason he was asking for a letter of recommendation that protected him 'and

- my family from the King of England', and that inclined the Count of Molina, ambassador in London, in his favour. AGS, Estado, leg. 2829. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 16 September 1666.
65. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazione Generali, vol. 371, ff. 43rv. Andrew Port's application on behalf of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. Madrid, 1 November 1666.
 66. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 387]. Report of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 4 September 1668.
 67. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 389]. Alonso Pérez de Guzmán to Mariana of Austria. Madrid, 30 March 1669.
 68. AGS, Estado, leg. 2838 [BDMI, 2990]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 28 May 1675.
 69. AGS, Estado, leg. 2824 [BDMI, 2957]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 29 December 1661; and AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 1147 [BDMI, 2886]. Consulta of the council of Finances. Madrid, 3 January 1662.
 70. AGS, Estado, leg. 2825 [BDMI, 2960]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 31 January 1662.
 71. AGS, Estado, leg. 2836 [BDMI, 2977]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 28 February 1673.
 72. AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 1158 [BDMI, 2914]. Consulta of the council of Finances, with decision by Philip IV. Madrid, 30 June and 6 July 1662.
 73. AGS, Estado, leg. 2825 [BDMI, 2915]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 28 June 1662.
 74. AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 1158 [BDMI, 2914]. Consulta of the council of Finances, with decision by Philip IV. Madrid, 30 June and 6 July 1662.
 75. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 1, exp. 1 [BDMI, 386]. Report of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 2 September 1668.
 76. E. Postigo Castellanos, *Honor y privilegio en la Corona de Castilla: el Consejo de las Órdenes y los Caballeros de Hábito en el siglo XVII* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1988); A. Jiménez Moreno, 'Las Órdenes Militares, la nobleza y la Monarquía española. Aspectos de una relación cambiante,' in *Nobilitas. Estudios sobre la nobleza y lo nobiliario en la Europa Moderna*, J. Hernández Franco, J.A. Guillén Berrendero and S. Martínez Hernández, eds. (Madrid: Doce Calles, 2014), pp. 323–348; and D.M. Giménez Carrillo, 'Los méritos para vestir el hábito de caballero de las Órdenes Militares en el reinado de Felipe V,' in *Mérito, venalidad y corrupción en España y América. Siglos XVII y XVIII*, P. Ponce Leiva and F. Andújar Castillo, eds. (Valencia: Albatros Ediciones, 2016), pp. 41–56.
 77. AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 1158 [BDMI, 2915]. Memorial by Remigio Quino. Madrid, 28 June 1662.
 78. AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 1144 [BDMI, 2877]. Order by Philip IV. Madrid, 25 September 1662.
 79. AGS, Estado, leg. 2833. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 3 December 1670.
 80. A letter by the nuncio in Spain, Vitaliano Visconti, confirms that Irish colleges were full of students who were ready to join the Mission. ASPF, Collegi Vari, 65, f. 27r. Vitiliano Visconti to the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. Madrid, 8 June 1666.
 81. For the regency, see J.F. Baltar Rodríguez, *Las Juntas de Gobierno en la Monarquía Hispánica (siglos XVI-XVII)* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 1998), pp. 106–118;

- M.C. Sevilla González, 'La Junta de Gobierno de la minoridad del rey de Carlos II,' in *Los Validos*, L. Suárez Fernández and J.A. Escudero, coords. (Madrid: Dykinson, 2004), pp. 583–616; and A. Pérez Muñoz, *La gobernación de la Monarquía Hispánica en la regencia de Mariana de Austria (1665–1675)* (Unpublished PhD thesis. Madrid: Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, 2014), pp. 71–415.
82. For the regency and the Spanish context during these years, see Valladares, *La rebelión de Portugal, 1640–1680. Guerra, conflicto y poderes en la monarquía hispánica*, pp. 193–199; M.V. López-Cordón, 'Mujer, poder y apariencia o las vicisitudes de una regencia,' *Studia histórica. Historia Moderna*, 19 (1998), pp. 49–66 and 49–60; and S.Z. Mitchell, 'Habsburg Motherhood: The Power of Mariana of Austria, Mother and Regent for Carlos II of Spain,' in *Early Modern Habsburg Women: Transnational Context, Cultural Conflicts, Dynastic Continuities*, A.J. Cruz and M. Galli Stampino, eds. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 175–194. On the Queen Mariana of Austria, L. Oliván Santaliestra, *Mariana de Austria: imagen, poder y diplomacia de una reina cortesana* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2006); and S. Z. Mitchell, *Mariana of Austria and Imperial Spain: Court, Dynastic, and International Politics in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Unpublished PhD thesis. Miami: University of Miami, 2013).
 83. Maura Gamazo, *Carlos II y su corte*, vol. 1, pp. 137 and ss.; and Id., *Vida y reinado de Carlos II*, pp. 65–120. These events, as viewed by the papal nuncios in Spain. G. Gennaro, *La crisi della monarchia spagnola e la diplomazia pontificia (1665–1673)* (Turin: G. Giappichelli Editore, 1994). For the War of Devolution with Louis XIV's France, see A.J. Rodríguez Hernández, *España, Flandes y la Guerra de Devolución (1667–1668)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2007); and L. Ribot García, 'La repercusión en España del tratado de reparto de la Monarquía de 1668,' in *Tiempo de cambios. Guerra, diplomacia y política internacional de la Monarquía Hispánica*, pp. 55–96.
 84. For the figure of Johann Eberhard Nithard, and details of his departure and embassy in Rome, see R. Novo Zaballós, 'De confesor de la reina a embajador extraordinario en Roma. La expulsión de Juan Everardo Nithard,' in *Centros de poder italianos en la monarquía hispánica (siglos XV–XVIII)*, vol. 2, pp. 751–836; and M.C. Sáenz Berceo, *Confesionario y poder en la España del siglo XVII. Juan Everardo Nithard* (Logroño: Universidad de La Rioja, 2014).
 85. A. Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño, 'La Chamberga: el regimiento de la guardia del rey y la salvaguarda de la majestad (1668–1677),' in *Carlos II y el arte de su tiempo*, A. Rodríguez Rebollo and A. Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, coords. (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2013), pp. 23–105.
 86. V.M. Díaz, *Repositioning the Missionary: The Beatification of Blessed Diego Luis de Sanvitores and Chamorro Cultural History* (Santa Cruz: University of California, 1992); E.G. Johnston (ed.), *Father San Vitores: His Life, Times and Martyrdom* (Mangilao: MARC, 1993); R. Valladares, *Castilla y Portugal en Asia (1580–1680): declive imperial y adaptación* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001); and A. Coello de la Rosa and X. Baró i Queralt (eds.), *Luis de Medina, SJ. Protomártir de las islas Marianas (1637–1670)* (Madrid: Sílex, 2013).
 87. J. Brady and P.J. Corish, *The Church under the Penal Code* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1971), pp. 1–88; and J. Bergin, E. Magennis, L. Mhungheale and P. Walsh (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Penal Laws* (Dublin: Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society, 2011).
 88. Miller, *Popery & Politics in England, 1660–1688*, pp. 51–107.
 89. J. Spurr, "'Virtue, Religion and Government": The Anglican Uses of Providence,' in *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England*, T. Harris, P. Seaward and M. Goldie, eds. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), pp. 29–37; and Hutton, 'The Religion of Charles II,' p. 233.

90. AGS, Estado, leg. 2102, 86 and 87. The Baron of Watteville to Philip IV with the resolution of the House of Commons. London, 13 April 1663; TNA: PRO, State Papers, 29/70, f. 123r. Preamble to the 1663 edict. Whitehall, 28 March 1663; and TNA: PRO, State Papers, 29/71, ff. 6r and ss. *The Humble Representation and Petition of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, Concerning Romish Priest and Jesuits: Presented to His Majesty by the Both Houses with His Majesties Speech at the Reception Thereof and His Gracious Answer Thereunto* (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker, 1663). The date of the bill is 1 April 1663.
91. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 29/71, ff. 162r–163v. Hutton, *Charles II*, pp. 197–198; and Id., ‘The Religion of Charles II,’ pp. 236–237.
92. N. Hanson, *The Dreadful Judgment: The True Story of the Great Fire of London* (New York: Doubleday, 2001); and A. Tinniswood, *By Permission of Heaven: The Story of the Great Fire of London* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2003).
93. I. Haywood, ‘The Gordon Riots as Sublime Spectacle,’ in *The Gordon Riots: Politics, Culture and Insurrection in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain*, I. Haywood and J. Seed, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 132–136.
94. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 46/131, ff. 40–41. Proclamation de Charles II. Whitehall, 10 November 1666.
95. AGRB, Ambassade d’Espagne à La Haye, 479. Esteban de Gamarra to the Count of Molina. The Hague, 16 November 1666.
96. AGS, Estado, leg. 2539. The Count of Molina to Mariana of Austria. London, 27 December 1666.
97. AGS, Estado, leg. 2538. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 30 December 1666.
98. The Count of Molinea was surprised about how much credit people gave to anything that came out in print. AGS, Estado, leg. 2541. The Count of Molina to Mariana of Austria. London, 25 July 1667.
99. AGS, Estado, leg. 2541. The Count of Molina to Mariana of Austria. London, 19 September 1666.
100. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Irlanda, 1, ff. 16rv. The Irish Catholic clergy to Charles II Stuart. S. l., 18 July 1660.
101. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 47, ff. 73rv. *Formula professionis obedientiae ac fidelitatis sub nomine cleri romano. Catholici nationis ibernicae serenissimo regi Magnae Britanniae atque Ibernicae per quosdam de eodem clero nuper oblata et subscripta*. S. l., n. d., c. 1661.
102. A. Creighton, ‘The Remonstrance of December 1661 and Catholic Politics in Restoration Ireland,’ *Irish Historical Studies*, 34/133 (2004), pp. 16–41. In his attempt to gain supporters for the new oath, Peter Walsh had the help of the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
103. R. Gillespie, ‘The Irish Franciscans, 1600–1700,’ in *The Irish Franciscans, 1534–1990*, E. Bhreathnach, J. MacMahon and J. McCafferty, eds. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), pp. 63–64.
104. McCormick, ‘Restoration Ireland, 1660–88,’ p. 359.
105. Hutton, ‘The Religion of Charles II,’ p. 239; and Simms, ‘The Restoration, 1660–85,’ p. 429.
106. T. McCormick, ‘Restoration Politics, 1660–1691,’ pp. 105–106.
107. In this context, the Primate Archbishop of Armagh, Edmund O’Reilly, issued a report about the ecclesiastical conditions in Ireland, in which he listed the different dioceses and their bishops and

argued against Walsh's remonstrance. B. Millet, 'Archbishop Edmund O'Reilly's Report on the Church in Ireland, 1662,' *Collectanea Hibernica*, 2 (1959), pp. 105–114.

108. Millet, *The Irish Franciscans, 1651–1665*.
109. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 47, ff. 73v–75r. *Judicium facultatis theologicæ super eadem formulam postulatum a membris quibusdam primaries cleri Ibernici alisque in dignitate constitutes*. Louvain, 24 December 1662.
110. Philip IV awarded Brown with 400 ducats and ordered the Count of Molina to assist him during his trip. AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 1197 [BDMI, 2708]. Order by Philip IV. Madrid, 8 April 1665; and AHN, Estado, L. 270, f. 146v. Order by Philip IV. Madrid, 30 July 1665. He was in England for six months, after which time the ambassador provided him with the means to return to Spain.
111. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 52, f. 108r–112r. Giacomo Rospigliosi to the Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi, and attached report. Brussels, 11 September 1666. Simms, 'The Restoration, 1660–85,' p. 429.
112. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 52, ff. 25rv. *Propositiones quædam cleri romano catholici Hiberniæ quæ eadem sunt facultatis Sorboniæ et aliarum Universitatum receptæ a plurimis parliamentis Gallicæ anno 1665*. S. l., n. d., c. 1665.
113. B. Millet, 'The Papal Mission to Ireland of James Taaffe in 1668,' in *Dú n Mhuire, Killiney, 1945–95: lé ann agus seanchas*, B. Millet and A. Lynch, eds. (Dublin: Lilliput Press-Franciscans, Killiney, 1995), pp. 102–126.
114. AGRB, Ambassade d'Espagne à La Haye, 480. The Count of Molina to Esteban de Gamarra. London, 20 February 1668.
115. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 45/12, f. 259. Proclamation de Charles II. Whitehall, 10 March 1668.
116. AGS, Estado, leg. 2543. The Count of Molina to Mariana of Austria. London, 22 January 1669. Towards 1671, the Franciscan Father Clement de Metz proposed Father Mark Brown for the Irish see of Duacen. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Irlanda, 1, ff. 118r–119v. Memorial by the Franciscan Father Clement de Metz. S. l., n. d.
117. AGS, Estado, leg. 2544. Manuel Fonseca to Mariana of Austria. London, 30 January 1670.
118. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Anglia, 1, f. 490r. Pietro Bargellini to the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. Paris, 28 February 1670. This appointment was made effective a month earlier, on 21 January. A. Creighton, "'Grace and Favour': The Cabal Ministry and Irish Catholic Politics, 1667–73," in *Restoration Ireland: Always Setting and Never Settled*, p. 146.
119. AGS, Estado, leg. 2545. The Count of Molina to Mariana of Austria. London, 28 September 1670.
120. One of Walsh's main detractors was Father Patrick Duffy. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Irlanda, 3, ff. 663rv. On Walsh's possible heresy, see ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Irlanda, 2, f. 632r. Carlo Francesco Ajroldi to the Cardinal Antonio Barberini. Spa, 30 July 1671. After being sidelined by his order and Irish Catholics in general, Walsh only recanted his previous opinions on his deathbed, in 1688. He was pardoned and welcomed back into the community by the nuncio in England, Ferdinando d'Adda. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Inghilterra, 13, ff. 69r–70r. Ferdinando d'Adda to the Cardinal Alderano Cybo. London, 2 April 1688.
121. The full indictment against Brown can be consulted in ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Madrid, 22, doc. 26. *Querele Provinciæ Hibernicæ contra patrem Marcum Brunum, capituli eiusdem olim presidem* ... Madrid, 1669.

122. AGS, Estado, leg. 2833. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 3 December 1670.
123. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 386]. Order by Mariana de Austria. Madrid, 29 August 1668.
124. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 386]. Report of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 2 September 1668.
125. AHN, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores-Santa Sede, leg. 57, f. 232r. Philip IV to the Duke of Alburquerque. Aranjuez, 17 November 1622.
126. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/811, f. 186v. News of the death of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán on 8 August 1670, and appointment of Antonio Manrique de Guzmán as head chaplain, on 12 August.
127. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 391]. Memorial of the apostolic missionaries on their way to Ireland and England S. l., n. d., c. 1672.
128. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 391]. Pedro Fernández del Campo y Angulo to Antonio Manrique de Guzmán. Madrid, 17 February 1672.
129. Mariana of Austria expressed her interest in supporting Catholics in 1667, wishing ‘the King my master [Charles II], as much as was possible to take away or mitigate’ their suffering. The Count of Sandwich to the Count of Arlington. Madrid, 26 November 1667. *Hispania Illustrata or the Maxims of the Spanish Court, and Most Memorable Affairs from the Year 1667 to the Year 1678* (London: W. Roston, 1703), p. 86.
130. AGS, Estado, leg. 2833. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 3 December 1670.
131. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 390]. Mariana of Austria to Antonio Manrique de Guzmán. Madrid, 8 September 1670.
132. During the period in which the Mission was at a standstill, other initiatives to assist the Irish nation in Spain were maintained. In 1667, Mariana of Austria took on the living expenses of the exiled nuns, following the grant awarded by Philip IV in 1654. Like the Cádiz pension, this money was also administered by the Patriarch of the Indies. When the Irish Mission began having serious difficulties, the freezing of the payments for 1665 and 1666 seriously jeopardised the position of the nuns, who were nearly expelled from their convents. In order to avoid this, the royal chaplain Alonso Pérez de Guzmán appealed to the queen to order the payments. AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 1221. Alonso Pérez de Guzmán to Mariana of Austria. Madrid, 11 May 1667. As a future safeguard against a similar eventuality, the queen made nunneries exempt from the *media anata* that taxed royal grants. AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 1221. Order by Mariana de Austria. Madrid, 21 February 1667. For the around the grant to the Franciscan and Dominican nuns, see Bravo Lozano, “‘Huyendo de los lobos carniceros de su patria’”. *Las monjas irlandesas en Castilla, una aproximación social y discursiva (1652–1706)*,’ pp. 639–646.
133. AGS, Estado, leg. 2545. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 8 January 1671.
134. It was suspected that this had been brought about by the Duke of Ormond ‘and, behind the scenes, by the chancellor and his people’. AGS, Estado, leg. 2545. The Count of Molina to Mariana of Austria. London, 6 March 1671. For the conversion of the Duchess of York, J. Miller, *James II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000²), pp. 58–59; and Id., ‘Anne Hyde,’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, H.C.C. Matthew and B. Harrison, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 2, p. 201.
135. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Anglia, 1, f. 721r. The Count of Molina to Carlo Francesco Ajroldi. London, 13 March 1671.

136. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Anglia, 1, f. 730. Carlo Francesco Ajroldi to the Cardinal Federico Baldeschi Colonna. Brussels, 2 May 1671.
137. AGRB, Ambassade d'Espagne à La Haye, 481/2, f. 548r. Response of the king to both houses of Parliament. Whitehall, 23 March 1671. Despite his rhetoric, the king yielded to the promulgation of a new proclamation. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 45/12, f. 284. Proclamation de Charles II. Whitehall, 23 March 1671. *By the King, a Proclamation* (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker, 1671).
138. Simms, 'The Restoration, 1660–85,' p. 426; Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685*, pp. 100–101; and McCormack, *The Stuart Restoration and the English in Ireland*, p. 19.
139. Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685*, pp. 100–101.
140. *Ibid.*, pp. 100 and 102–103.
141. F. Bate, *The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672: A Study in the Rise of Organized Dissent* (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1908); Hutton, *Charles II*, pp. 284–286; and Miller, *Charles II*, pp. 188–192 and 199–205.
142. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 29/304, f. 1 and ss. *His Majesties Declaration to All His Loving Subjects, March 15th 1672* (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker, 1672).
143. AGS, Estado, leg. 2547. Mariana of Austria to Charles II and Catherine of Braganza. Madrid, 24 April 1672.
144. C.A. Edie, 'Tactics and Strategies: Parliament's Attack upon the Royal Dispensing Power, 1597–1689,' *The American Journal of Legal History*, 29/3 (1985), pp. 220–221.
145. AGS, Estado, leg. 2547. The Marquis of Fresno to Mariana of Austria. Madrid, 28 March 1672.
146. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/3670, ff. 23rv. Charles II's Arguments to the Houses of the Parliament. Whitehall, 15 February 1673. Harris, 'The British Dimension, Religion and Shaping of Political Identities during the Reign of Charles II,' p. 138.
147. AGS, Estado, leg. 2549. The Marquis of Fresno to Mariana of Austria. London, 27 February and 2 March 1673.
148. *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic, Charles II*, p. 319A. Williamson's Journal. March 1673; J. Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558–1689* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), pp. 172 and 184.
149. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 45/12, f. 308r. Proclamation of Charles II. Whitehall, 13 March 1673. *By the King, a Proclamation* (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker, 1673).
150. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 45/16, f. 145r. Proclamation of Charles II. Whitehall, 20 November 1673. *By the King, a Proclamation for Suppression of Popery* (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker, 1673). Harris, 'The British Dimension, Religion and Shaping of Political Identities during the Reign of Charles II,' p. 144.
151. As Fresno pointed out, 'if the king is put to the test, and offered a million pounds, he will happily throw his brother and ministers in a furnace'. AGS, Estado, leg. 2549. The Marquis of Fresno to Mariana of Austria. London, 16 March 1673. The ceremony that celebrated the arrival in London of Maria d'Este, the new Duchess of York, after the death of Anne Hyde during the previous year, clearly demonstrated the weakness of the king, and how much he had to yield to parliament. The ambassador analysed how the king had managed to lose the support of his most loyal vassals, without even guaranteeing the goodwill of parliament in its stead. He concluded: 'the king shows a weak hand in government, punishing the innocent, doing what parliament wishes and being

- remonstrated if he does not'. AGS, Estado, leg. 2550. The Marquis of Fresno to Mariana de Austria. London, 18 December 1673.
152. AGS, Estado, leg. 2549. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 6 April 1673.
 153. In September 1673, the Privy Council informed Arthur Capell, Earl of Essex and Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, of a series of points concerning the Act of Settlement and of the policy to be thenceforth pursued concerning Papists. His instructions included disarming Catholics, banning them from any relevant political or military position, exiling the Catholic hierarchy, and suppressing Popish schools. The declared goal of these measures was to achieve 'the peace and quiet of that kingdom'. *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic, Charles II*, vol. 15, pp. 558–559. The Privy Council to Arthur Capell. Whitehall, 26 September 1673. Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685*, pp. 100–103.
 154. A. Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariano, 'Ceremonial de la majestad y protesta aristocrática. La Capilla Real en la corte de Carlos II,' in *La Capilla Real de los Austrias. Música y ritual de corte en la Europa moderna*, J.J. Carreras and B.J. García García, eds. (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2001), pp. 362–370.
 155. The Dutch war has been described in P. Sonnino, *Louis XIV and the Origins of the Dutch War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); and C.-E. Levillain, *Vaincre Louis XIV. Angleterre, Hollande, France. Histoire d'une relation triangulaire (1665–1688)* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2010). On the Spanish position, see F.J. Collantes Fernández, *España y las Provincias Unidas durante la guerra de Holanda (1668–1679)* (Unpublished PhD thesis. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1991); and M. Herrero Sánchez, *El acercamiento hispano-neerlandés (1648–1678)* (Madrid: CSIC, 2000), pp. 331–376. For the conflict of Messina, see L. Ribot García, *La monarquía de España y la guerra de Mesina (1674–1678)* (Madrid: Actas, 2002).
 156. AGS, Estado, leg. 2836. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 28 February 1673.
 157. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 29/304, doc. 1. *His Majesties declaration to all his Loving Subjects, March 15th 1672* (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker, 1672).
 158. Other expressions used to refer to the Irish Mission in the 1670s are 'missionaries dispatched to northern provinces'. AGS, Estado, leg. 2836 [BDMI, 2974]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 25 January 1673; 'the Mission in his homeland and other northern parts'. AGS, Estado, leg. 2836 [BDMI, 2973]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 2 August 1673; 'the clerics that sail for the northern provinces'. AGS, Estado, leg. 2837 [BDMI, 2978]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 20 December 1674; and 'all the Irish, English and Scottish clerics who go to the Missions in the north'. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/3506, doc. 5 [BDMI, 824]. *Súplica que hace a los piadosos en favor de la misión de la Compañía de Jesús en Irlanda el padre Gerónimo Suitman, procurador de la dicha Misión en la corte de Madrid* (Madrid: s. i., 1674).
 159. M. Herrero Sánchez, 'La Monarquía Hispánica y el Tratado de La Haya de 1673,' in *España y Holanda. Ponencias leídas durante el quinto coloquio hispano-holandés de historiadores. Diálogos Hispánicos*, J. Lechner and H. Boer, eds. (1995), vol. 16, pp. 103–118. The certificate issued for the Dominican Father Patrick Dermot indicated that 'he is trying to reach the mission in the north, in Ireland, England and Scotland'. AGS, Estado, leg. 2839 [BDMI, 2993]. Notarial certificate issued on behalf of Father Patrick Dermot, by the notary public Joseph the Ibarra Elcaraeta. San Sebastián, 23 April 1676.
 160. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 392]. Report of Antonio Manrique de Guzmán. Madrid, 12 July 1675. The following year, another document was produced to inform the king of the

- administrative procedures used by the council of Finances to channel the money. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81. Report of Antonio Manrique de Guzmán. Madrid, 4 December 1676.
161. AGS, Estado, leg. 2836 [BDMI, 2975]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 20 December 1673.
 162. AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 1146 [BDMI, 2879]. Consulta of the council of Finances and payment order from Miguel de Salamanca to Francisco Carrillo. Madrid, 29 September 1662 and Salamanca, 18 October 1663; AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, 1176 [BDMI, 2755]. Consulta of the council of Finances and payment order from Miguel de Salamanca to Francisco Carrillo. San Lorenzo el Real, 20 October and Madrid, 17 November 1663; and AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 1174 [BDMI, 2790]. Memorial by Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 28 January 1664.
 163. AGS, Estado, leg. 2837 [BDMI, 2979 and BDMI, 2981]. Consultas of the council of State. Madrid, 19 October and 20 December 1674. The sum of 300 ducats was confirmed by Íñigo Fernández del Campo. AHN, Estado, L. 235, ff. 216r and 220v. Consultas solved by the council of State. Madrid, 19 October and 20 December 1674.
 164. AGS, Estado, leg. 2836 [BDMI, 2974]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 25 January 1673.
 165. AHN, Estado, L. 235, f. 198r. Consultas solved by the council of State. Madrid, 17 January 1674.
 166. AHN, Órdenes Militares 6347. Mariana of Austria to the Constable of Castile. Madrid, 24 January 1674.
 167. A. Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño, 'De la plenitud territorial a una prolongada agonía,' *Cheiron*, 39–40 (2003), pp. 328–329.
 168. Several years later, Burke's successor as procurator of the Dominican order, Father Humbert Delphin, asked Charles II for the pension to continue being channelled through the procurator of the order—i.e. himself. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 402]. Order sent to Antonio Manrique de Guzmán. Madrid, 14 April 1677.
 169. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 45/16, ff. 158–159. Proclamation of Charles II. Whitehall, 14 January 1674. *By the King, a Proclamation for Preventing the Fears and Dangers That May Arise from the Concourse of Papists or Reputed Papists, in or Near the Cities of London or Westminster during the Present Sitting of Parliament* (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker, 1674). Additionally, now Catholics were forced to present themselves before a magistrate every three months 'to which effect the oath had been taken'. AGS, Estado, leg. 2550. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 16 March 1674.
 170. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 45/12, f. 322. Proclamation of Charles II. Hampton Court, 20 June 1674. *By the King, a Proclamation for Discovery and Apprehension of Jesuits, Seminary Priests and Other that Have Taken Orders from the Church and See of Rome* (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker, 1674).
 171. Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1700*, p. 22.
 172. Levillain, *Vaincre Louis XIV: Angleterre, Hollande, France: Histoire d'une relation triangulaire (1665–1688)*, pp. 131–231.
 173. AGS, Estado, leg. 2550. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 29 March 1674. Fresno's opinion does not tally with the identitary discourse of the Irish exiles. Pérez Tostado, 'Ideología del exilio irlandés,' pp. 61–70.

174. AGS, Estado, leg. 2550. The Marquis of Fresno to Mariana of Austria. London, 10 May 1674. The council of State considered, 'in this case it would be imprudent to fight an evil with evil remedies'. Heeding this advice, Mariana of Austria ordered her ambassador not to become entangled in these issues and to simply do his best to assist Catholics. AGS, Estado, leg. 2550. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 15 June 1674.
175. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 63, f. 221r. Sebastiano Antonio Tanara to the Cardinal Alderano Cybo. Brussels, 2 June 1674.
176. The previous orders were dated to 26 September 1673 and 30 March 1674.
177. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/1070, ff. 84r–85r. Third pragmatic order by the Irish Viceroy and his council. Dublin, 27 April 1674.
178. AGS, Estado, leg. 2837 [BDMI, 2984]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 6 November 1674.
179. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/3506, doc. 5 [BDMI, 824]. *Súplica que hace a los piadosos en favor de la misión de la Compañía de Jesús en Irlanda el padre Gerónimo Suitman, procurador de la dicha Misión en la corte de Madrid.*
180. García Hernán, 'Clérigos irlandeses en la corte de Madrid,' p. 66.
181. On Luisa de Carvajal, see G. Redworth, *The She-Apostle: The Extraordinary Life and Death of Luisa de Carvajal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
182. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/3506, doc. 5 [BDMI, 824]. *Súplica que hace a los piadosos en favor de la misión de la Compañía de Jesús en Irlanda el padre Gerónimo Suitman, procurador de la dicha Misión en la corte de Madrid.*
183. This was organised by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert Sheldon; the Bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, Rochester, Chichester, and Chester; the Lord Privy Seal and Lord Chancellor the Earl of Danby; the secretaries of State Coventry and Williamsons; and the Duke of Landerdale. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 29/360, ff. 295r–296v. Notes on parliamentary procedure. Whitehall, 10–13 February 1675.
184. The final edict followed the opinion of the financial court: the prohibition against holding mass in any part of the kingdom, except in royal and diplomatic chapels (which could only be attended by members of the household in question); the exile of priests and Jesuits within a month, as was emphasised two days later in a specific edict; the return of the king's subjects who were at the time studying on the continent; and the suppression of assemblies and conventicles. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 29/367, ff. 197r–198r. Draft of Charles II's orders. Whitehall, 13 February 1675. *At the Court at Whitehall, February the Third 1675* (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker, 1675). The decree of expulsion of priests is dated to 15 February 1675. The implementation of these measures was supervised by parliament. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 29/367, ff. 205rv. Methods to implement the proclamation issued on 13 February 1675.
185. AGS, Estado, leg. 2551. Pedro Ronquillo to Mariana of Austria. Brussels, 20 February 1675.
186. The Jesuit Richard Lynch studied in the Irish college in Salamanca. He was awarded a doctorate in theology and published several philosophical, doctrinal, and theological works. N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (Madrid: apud Joaquín de Ibarra, 1788), Tom. II, p. 374. For his part, the Franciscan Father Patrick Tyrell trained in the Irish colleges of Alcalá and Rome, developed his career from the convent of Saint Francis el Grande in Madrid. He joined the court as secretary of his order under the general-ship of Salizares; in this capacity, he was summoned as witness by several candidates being invested with a military habit. In May 1676, Tyrell was appointed Bishop of Clogher, succeeding Father Patrick Duffy. Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in*

England, Scotland & Ireland, AD 1400 to 1875, vol. 1, p. 257; and Millet, *The Irish Franciscans, 1651–1665*, pp. 61 and 531–532. Other Irish regulars were promoted as confessors in different noble houses, for instance the Dominican Father Juan del Rosario, who, from the convent of his order in Pamplona, travelled to Rome via Seville in 1657, with a safe conduct that he had obtained as confessor to the Count of Salm. The file with the different licences issued by the provincials of the Dominicans between 1657 and 1661 can be found in TCD, Mss. 851, f. 93r, 94r-95r, 96r, 97r and 103r.

187. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 409]. Petition by the Augustinian Father Thomas de León and the graduate Melchor Choy. Madrid, 10 June 1680.
188. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 375]. Petition by Father James O'Neill and his companion, Father Pedro Manin. Madrid, 15 March 1663.
189. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 352]. Petition by Michael Olalur. Madrid, 8 July 1660.
190. B. Millet, 'Rural Vicars: Disputed Jurisdiction in Limerick, 1654–1671,' in *North Munster Studies: Essays in Commemoration of Monsignor Michael Moloney*, E. Reynne, ed. (Limerick: The Thomond Archeological Society, 1967), p. 279.
191. Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland & Ireland, AD 1400 to 1875*, vol. 1, p. 272; and ASPF, Scrittura riferite nei Congressi. Irlanda, 3, ff. 278r–279v. Petition by Dermot Fay. Madrid, n. d., c. 1673.
192. AHN, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores-Santa Sede, leg. 57, ff. 230r–231r. Memorial by the Counts of Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and Berehaven. S. l., n. d., c. 1621; and order by Philip IV to the Duke of Alburquerque. Valsain, 23 October 1621; and AGS, Estado, leg. 2805. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 13 December 1624. Pérez Tostado, *The Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 309.
193. The *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* sent a similar recommendation to the four Irish archbishops in 1677. This document instructed the archbishops to confer parish churches only on priests with the right administrative and religious aptitude. ASPF, Scrittura riferite nei Congressi. Irlanda, 4, f. 211r. The Cardinal Sebastiano Antonio Tanara to the Cardinal Paluzzo Altieri. Brussels, 11 December 1677.
194. According to the author of the document, 'in Rome it is believed that the King of England is Catholic in his heart, and that he is but waiting for a good opportunity and His Holiness' permission to declare it to the world. Alas, the king is neither a Catholic nor the friend of Catholics. He is only mocking the Pope'. AGS, Estado, leg. 3037. Document from an Irish Catholic. London, 29 August 1664. For this confessional ambiguity, see Hutton, 'The religion of Charles II,' pp. 229–30. Bishop Nicholas French also warned that the king's position was aimed only at placing his supporters in Irish Bishopsrics. McHugh, 'Catholic Clerical Responses to the Restoration: The Case of Nicholas French,' p. 117.
195. AGS, Estado, leg. 2102, 69. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 28 March 1663; AGS, Estado, leg. 3037. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 3 November 1664; and AHN, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores-Santa Sede, leg. 71, f. 101. Order by Philip IV. Madrid, n. d., c. 1664.
196. AGS, Estado, leg. 2542. The Count of Molina to Mariana of Austria. London, 7 September 1668.
197. AGS, Estado, leg. 2542. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 4 October 1668. He belonged to the Society of Jesus for 20 years. O'Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1580–1834*, pp. 50–51; and T. Clavin, 'Peter Talbot,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, H.C.C. Matthew and B. Harrison, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 53, p. 712.

198. AGS, Estado, leg. 3042. Pedro Fernández del Campo y Angulo to Juan Baptista de Arespacochaga. Madrid, 11 October 1668; and ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Anglia, 1, f. 342r. Carlo Francesco Ajroldi to Federico Baldeschi Colonna. Brussels, 18 May 1669. Pérez Tostado, *Irish Influence at the Court in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 165–170 and 174. His mediation with Charles II earned him an English pension of 200 pounds a year. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 54, ff. 150r–152r. Carlo Francesco Ajroldi to the Cardinal Dezio Azzolino. Brussels, 8 December 1668. On the role played by Peter Talbot during the exile of Charles II, see M.R.F. Williams, 'Between King, Faith and Reason: Father Peter Talbot (SJ) and Catholic Royalist Thought in Exile,' *English Historical Review*, 127/528 (2012), pp. 1063–1099; and also a chapter in his book *The King's Irishmen: The Irish in the Exiled Court of Charles II* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 128–157.
199. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 54, ff. 15r and 17r. Minutes for Abbot Claudio Agretti. Rome, 8 December 1668 and 12 January 1669.
200. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Irlanda, 1, ff. 602rv. Patrick Guinness to an inespecified addressee. London, 5 November 1668; and ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 49, f. 222v. The Cardinal Girolamo de Vecchi to the Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi. Brussels, 4 October 1664.
201. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Irlanda, 1, ff. 389r–392v. Nicolas French's report with the list of candidates to occupy the dioceses of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam. Brussels, 30 August 1668; and ff. 516rv. Abbot Claudio Agretti to Federico Baldeschi Colonna. Brussels, 21 July 1668.
202. Peter Talbot's apostolic aptitude was challenged by the internuncio in Brussels, Carlo Francesco Ajroldi, who thought him vain, pompous, and ambitious. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Anglia, 1, f. 381r. Carlo Francesco Ajroldi to the Archbishop of Cesarea. Brussels, 5 October 1669. Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland & Ireland, AD 1400 to 1875*, vol. 1, pp. 336–337. The ceremony was officiated by the Bishop of Antwerp, assisted by Bishop Nicholas French.
203. The appointment took place on 4 May 1671, when Daniel Mackey was 47. Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland & Ireland, AD 1400 to 1875*, vol. 1, p. 272.
204. J.E. Hortal Muñoz, *Las Guardas Reales de los Austrias hispanos* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2013), pp. 344–364. The houses of Pedro Antonio de Aragón in Madrid were open to Irish exiles, including several missionaries such as Robert Poer who was granted the *viaticum* in 1661. Edward Shaw also lived in Aragón's house and was considered its rector, probably because many of those who found shelter were those who could not be accommodated in the college.
205. Ritzler and Sefrin (eds.), *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi*, p. 188; and J. O'Laverty, *An Historical Account of the Diocese of Down and Connor, Ancient and Modern* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1895), p. 475. AGP, Sección Histórica, caja 174. List of chaplains and confessors of the German guard. Madrid, n. d.
206. AGS, Estado, leg. 2834 [BDMI, 2971]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 26 August 1671. On 1 September, Daniel Mackey resigned as chaplain and confessor for the German guard. J.E. Hortal Muñoz, *Las Guardas Reales de los Austrias hispanos. Relación biográfica de los guardas reales de los Austrias hispanos (1504–1707)* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2013), § 'Macquey, Licenciado Daniel'.
207. AGP, Sección Histórica, caja 174. List of chaplains and confessors of the German guard. Madrid, n. d.; and AGP, Expedientes de Personal, caja 2621, exp. 32. Order by Antonio Manrique de Guzmán to the greffier and royal purser Joseph García. Madrid, 20 September 1671.
208. On 1 December 1663, Dermot Fay acted as a witness for his fellow Irishman Juan Madan, from Waterford, who wished to access the Arts course offered by the University of Salamanca. AUSA,

L. 552, f. 341r. University roll. Salamanca, 1 December 1663.

209. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Irlanda, 3, ff. 278r–279v. Petition by Dermot Fay. Madrid, n. d., c. 1672.
210. AGS, Estado, leg. 2835 [BDMI, 2972]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 15 November 1672; and AHN, Estado, L. 235, f. 173v. Consulta's abstract of the council of State. Madrid, 15 November 1672.
211. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Irlanda, 3, ff. 278r y 315r. Copy of the note sent by monsignor Bottini to Urbano Cerri. Rome, 15 July 1673. J.J. Silke, 'The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares, 1649–1785, by Patricia O'Connell,' *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 348 (1998), p. 441. The witnesses in the enquiries made about Dermot Fay, certified by the apostolic notary Diego de Alarcón, were Gabriel Díaz Calderón, Father Patrick Duffy, the Franciscan Father Mark Brown, Giovanni Berni, the students Richard Fallon and Cornelio Fallon, and the translator Nicholas Arthur. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Irlanda, 3, ff. 319r–352r. Process on the character of Dermot Fay. Madrid, 10 January 1673.
212. AGS, Estado, leg. 2838 [BDMI, 2988]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 28 February 1675. AGS, Dirección General del Tesoro, Inv. 1, 17. Note on the concession of 1,000 extra reales to James Lynch. Madrid, 20 March 1675. The concession was made effective on 8 March. James Lynch, a doctor of philosophy from the University of Salamanca, was appointed Bishop of Tuam on 11 January 1669 and consecrated in Ghent the same year, on 16 May, in the presence of the Archbishop of Dublin, Peter Talbot, and the Bishop of Ferns, Nicholas French. However, he only received the *palium* two years later. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Anglia, 1, f. 332r. The Cardinal Ajroldi to the Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Brussels, 18 May 1669. Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland & Ireland, AD 1400 to 1875*, vol. 2, p. 355; and T. O'Connor, 'James Lynch,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, H.C.C. Matthew and B. Harrison, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 34, pp. 878–879. His welcome by the faithful of Tuam is represented in ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Inghilterra, 30, ff. 90r–92r. Aclamatio of the elected archbishop James Lynch for the church of Tuam. Tuam, 1669. The edict of expulsion indicates that James Lynch had been jailed for three years. The orders of the Lord Lieutenant were executed by Gregory Constable, mayor of Galway. He boarded a Bilbao-bound ship in Belfast under the custody of Matthew Ramsha, master of the ship *La Esperanza*. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Irlanda, 3, ff. 459rv. Translation of the judicial acts executed by the Gregory Constable against Peter Talbot and James Lynch. Madrid, 2 January 1675.
213. The councillors advised deferring James Lynch to Rome, to the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, to sustain him. While in Rome, he could enjoy the protection of Cardinal Nithard. As the council had already warned in 1653, 'if we open the door to giving pensions, everyone will soon be coming here, including those who have no need, like this bishop does'. AGS, Estado, leg. 2838 [BDMI, 2988]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 28 February 1675.
214. AGS, Dirección General del Tesoro, Inv. 1, 17. Consulta of the council of Finances. Madrid, 3 April 1675; and Note concerning the payment of James Lynch's arrears. Madrid, August 1675.
215. AGS, Estado, leg. 2838 [BDMI, 2988]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 28 February 1675.
216. AGS, Dirección General del Tesoro, Inv. 1, 17. Consulta of the council of Finances. Madrid, 3 April 1675. Note concerning the payment of James Lynch's arrears. Madrid, August 1675. James Lynch was authorised by the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* to exercise his ecclesiastical powers in Spain. Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland & Ireland, AD 1400 to 1875*, vol. 2, p. 356. On 23 June 1681, the archbishop was naturalised as Spanish in order that he could be made Chaplain of Reyes Nuevos in Toledo. AHN, Consejos, leg. 4476, exp. 29.

- Consulta de la Cámara de Castilla. Madrid, 14 October 1709. Two years later, given the shortage of priests who could assist Irish Catholics on the ground, he was asked to return to Tuam and resume his post as bishop. BL, Additional Manuscripts, 8478, ff. 221rv. The Cardinal Angelo Paluzzi degli Albertoni (Altieri) to the Cardinal Savo Mellini. Rome, 5 July 1683; and BL, Additional Manuscripts, 8478, ff. 224rv. James Lynch to the secretary of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. Seville, 27 September 1683. The *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* repeated this order in 1685. ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Madrid, 13, ff. 136rv. Order of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. Rome, 6 September 1685.
217. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 405]. Memorial of the Dominican Father Domingo de Santa María. Aranjuez, 25 April 1678.
 218. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 377]. Memorial of the Franciscan Father Thomas de San Buenaventura. Madrid, 12 April 1663.
 219. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Anglia, 1, ff. 540r and 541rv. Copy of the powers granted the missionaries by Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Rome, 20 July 1670.
 220. Bernabé Quiernano was the personal chaplain of Diego Mexia, Marquis of Leganés. Because of this position, and the influence that he exercised over the royal councillors during his presence at court, he was granted the *viaticum* in 1643. This privilege charge turned him into the go-to man for many Irish who needed his political mediation with the Confederation. In this way they could bypass the official protector of the Irish nation, the Dominican William Geraldine. Pérez Tostado, *The Irish influence at the court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 121.
 221. SP/S/37/11, ff. 73–74. Visit by Father Martín de Cuynabor, provincial of the Society of Jesus in Andalusia, to the Irish college in Seville. Seville, 1 September 1675.
 222. A. Carrasco Martínez, ‘Los Grandes, el poder y la cultura política de la nobleza en el reinado de Carlos II,’ *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna*, 20 (1999), pp. 77–136: 102–106; and A. Álvarez-Ossorio Alvarino, ‘Ceremonial de la majestad y protesta aristocrática. La Capilla Real en la corte de Carlos II,’ pp. 384–391.
 223. Charles II’s education had been entrusted to the law expert and professor in Salamanca, Francisco Ramos del Manzano. A. Martínez Ruiz, ‘Francisco Ramos del Manzano y la educación de Carlos II,’ *Chronica Nova*, 12 (1981), pp. 127–133. Another of Charles II’s teachers was the Jesuit José de Zaragoza, who taught him maths and music. C. Bordas and L. Robledo Estaire, ‘José Zaragoza’s Box: Science and Music in Charles II’s Spain,’ *Early Music*, 26/3 (1998), pp. 391–413. The education of the king also included watching theatrical plays. C. Sanz Ayán, *Pedagogía de Reyes: el teatro palaciego en el reinado de Carlos II* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2006).
 224. The most recent publications on the work undertaken on the Irish in Louvain, Rome, and Prague are M.A. Lyons, ‘The Role of St Anthony’s College, Louvain in Establishing the Irish Franciscan Network, 1607–1660,’ in *The Irish Franciscans, 1534–1990*, pp. 27–44; D. Keogh and A. McDonnell (eds.), *The Irish College, Rome and Its World* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008); and J. Pañez, ‘The Irish Franciscans in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Prague,’ in *Irish Migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602–1820*, pp. 104–117.
 225. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 401]. Memorial by Father Bernardo Maguer. Buen Retiro, 11 February 1677.
 226. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 403]. Opinion by Antonio Manrique de Guzmán. Madrid, 19 April 1677.

227. For the *Pietas Austriaca*, E. Garms-Cornides, 'Pietas Austriaca-Heiligenverehrung und Fronleichnamsprozession,' *300 Jahre Karl VI. (1711–1740). Spuren der Herrschaft des 'letzten' Habsburgers* (Vienna: Generaldirektion des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs, 2011), pp. 185–197. In relation to its political-religious relevance in the late 17th century, see A. Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño, 'La piedad de Carlos II,' in *Carlos II. El rey y su entorno cortesano*, pp. 141–166.
228. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 399]. Order addressed to Antonio Manrique de Guzmán. Zaragoza, 8 May 1677.
229. AGS, Estado, leg. 2840 [BDMI, 2996]. Madrid, 28 June 1677. These notarial documents are in AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81. [BDMI, 400].
230. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81. [BDMI, 400]. Certificate by Dominican Father Gaspar de Alarcón, endorsed and confirmed by the notary public of Bilbao, Juan Bautista Asturiazaga. Bilbao, 10 June 1677.
231. There is a record of the successful arrival of at least two of them: Father Humbert Delphin, 'praed. Gen. Priore Limericensis'; and Father Patricio Kelly. The former took part in the provincial chapter of the Order of Saint Dominic held on 2 October 1682 in the convent of Roscommon (diocese of Elphin). Kelly features in the list of 'fratrum defunctorum' for this same chapter. TCD, Mss. 851. Proceedings of the chapter of the Dominican order. Roscommon, 2 October 1682.
232. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 410]. Report of Antonio de Benavides y Bazán. Madrid, 4 July 1680.
233. 'The money is not to be handed over until the candidate can show his aptitude in the Christian doctrine and the Catholic faith, by studying theology in a Spanish university'. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 414]. Report of Antonio de Benavides y Bazán. Madrid, 20 August 1682.
234. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 412]. Memorial of the Franciscan Father Joseph Jiménez de Samaniego and report of Antonio de Benavides y Bazán. Madrid, 14 and 15 December 1680.
235. J.P. Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London: Heinemann, 1972); and D.C. Greene (ed.), *Diaries of the Popish Plot being the Diaries of Israel Tonge, Sir Robert Scuthwell, Edmund Warcup, John Joyne, and Thomas Dangerfield: And Including Titus Oates's a True Narrative of the Horrid Plot (1679)* (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles&Reprints, 1977). On the Irish perspective of the Catholic pseudo-conspiracy against Charles II, see J. Gibney, *Ireland and the Popish Plot* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
236. An act of parliament declared the convenience of printing Colman's correspondence with La Chaise, so that the evidence for the plot was conveniently publicised. AGS, Estado, leg. 2556. Committee of the Commons to Charles II. Whitehall, 17 November 1678.
237. AGS, Estado, leg. 3955. The Marquis of Borgomanero to Charles II of Spain. London, 4 September 1678; and AGS, Estado, leg. 2556. The Count of Egmont to Charles II of Spain. London, 7 November 1678.
238. AGS, Estado, leg. 2556. Representation of the House of Commons to Charles II. Whitehall, 6 November 1678. In a later edict, Charles II corrected the terms and scope of this act, as suggested by the Count of Egmont. Although foreign Catholic merchants were exempt, they had to register their names and residence as a control measure. AGS, Estado, leg. 2556. Charles II to the Privy Council. Whitehall, 20 November 1678. Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558–1689*, pp. 185–186. For the anti-Catholic measures in the aftermath of the Popish Plot, see Miller, *Popery & Politics in England, 1660–1688*, pp. 162–182.

239. *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic, Charles II*, vol. 20, p. 533. Proclamation of Charles II. Whitehall, 30 November 1678.
240. AGS, Estado, leg. 2556. The Count of Egmont to Charles II of Spain. London, 18 November 1678.
241. AGS, Estado, leg. 2556. The Marquis of Borgomanero to Charles II of Spain. London, 16 December 1678. Three days later, the Commons asked Charles II to liberate Hoz. Despite his not letting it show, the king was very grateful for this new concession. AGS, Estado, leg. 3956. The Marquis of Borgomanero to Charles II of Spain. London, 19 December 1678.
242. Parliament supported Oates, and was suspicious of the intentions behind the king and his brother dismissing their troops in Flanders. This was to have important consequences. AGS, Estado, leg. 2556. The Marquis of Borgomanero to Charles II of Spain. London, 16 December 1678. Levillain, *Vaincre Louis XIV: Angleterre, Hollande, France: Histoire d'une relation triangulaire (1665–1688)*, pp. 293–296 and 306–309.
243. AGRB, Ambassade d'Espagne à La Haye, 492. Manuel Francisco de Lira to the Marquis of Borgomanero. The Hague, 15 November 1678.
244. AGS, Estado, leg. 2556. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 14 December 1678.
245. AGRB, Ambassade d'Espagne à La Haye, 492. The Marquis of Borgomanero to Manuel Francisco de Lira. London, 18 October 1678. W.H. Ainsworth (ed.), *Ainsworth's magazine* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1847), vol. 9, p. 196; M. Ashley, *Charles II, the Man and the Statesman* (New York: Praeger), 1971, p. 231; and Greene (ed.), *Diaries of the Popish Plot being the Diaries of Israel Tonge, Sir Robert Scuthwell, Edmund Warcup, John Joyne, and Thomas Dangerfield: And Including Titus Oates's a True Narrative of the Horrid Plot (1679)*, p. 182.
246. AGS, Estado, leg. 3955. The Marquis of Borgomanero to Charles II of Spain. London, 21 September 1678.
247. AGS, Estado, leg. 2556. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 5 November 1678.
248. H. Bots (ed.), *The peace of Nijmegen-La Paix de Nimègue: 1676–1678/79* (Amsterdam: Holland University, 1981). For the political role of Spain, see A. Serrano de Haro, 'España y la paz de Nimega,' *Hispania*, 52/181 (1992), pp. 559–584.
249. AGS, Estado, leg. 2556. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 12 December 1678; AGS, Estado, leg. 3956. The Marquis of Borgomanero to Charles II of Spain. London, 7 April 1679; and ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Madrid, 35, ff. 388rv. Pedro Coloma to Savo Mellini. Madrid, 18 May 1679.
250. AGS, Estado, leg. 3975. Charles II of Spain to the Count of Egmont and the Marquis of Borgomanero. Madrid, 18 May 1679.
251. AHN, Estado, leg. 1730. The Count of Egmont to Charles II of Spain. London, 13 January 1679.
252. R.J. Weil, *Political Passions: Gender, the Family, and Political Argument in England, 1680–1714* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 23–24 and 131–132.
253. AGS, Estado, leg. 2550. The Marquis of Fresno to Mariana of Austria. London, 12 February 1674.
254. AGS, Estado, leg. 2551. Pedro Ronquillo to Mariana de Austria. Brussels, 20 February 1675.
255. J.R. Jones, *The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678–1683* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961); D. Allen, 'The Role of the London Trained Bands in the Exclusion Crisis, 1678–1681,' *The English Historical Journal*, 87/343 (1972), pp. 287–303; and C.-E. Levillain, 'La ruta

- de Flandes. El exilio bruselense del duque de York y la crisis de Exclusión (1679),’ in *Visperas de Sucesión. Europa y la monarquía de Carlos II*, pp. 239–257.
256. For the Duke of Monmouth, see B. Bevan, *James, Duke of Monmouth* (London: Robert Hale, 1973); and V. Wyndham, *Protestant Duke: Life of the Duke of Monmouth* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976).
257. AGS, Estado, leg. 3955. The Duke of Villahermosa to Charles II of Spain. Brussels, 23 November 1678.
258. AGS, Estado, leg. 3955. The Marquis of Borgomanero to Charles II of Spain. London, 18 November 1678.
259. AGS, Estado, leg. 3955. Copy of the consulta made by the political *junta* to the Duke of Villahermosa. Brussels, 23 November 1678.
260. AGS, Estado, leg. 3955. Consulta of the council of State and resolution of Charles II. Madrid, 14 December 1678.
261. AGS, Estado, leg. 3956. The Marquis of Borgomanero to Charles II of Spain. London, 27 March 1679.
262. Miller, *James II*, pp. 92–105.
263. AGS, Estado, leg. 3956. The Marquis of Borgomanero to Charles II of Spain. London, 8 May 1679. Rome endorsed Spain’s decision to shelter James Stuart. AGS, Estado, leg. 3956. Savo Mellini to Pedro Coloma. Madrid, 16 May 1679; and AGS, Estado, leg. 3956. Resolutions of the House of Commons. London, 21 May 1679.
264. Manuel Francisco de Lira, extraordinary envoy to the United Provinces, also analysed the potential political effect of the presence of the Duke of York in Flanders. In his reflection, Lira stressed that ‘after destroying us with his friendship with France, he comes now to the Spanish dominions to bring about the last of the ill that he can do us, which is to present us as his accomplices before parliament’. AHN, Estado, L. 180. Manuel Francisco de Lira to the Marquis of Villagarcía. The Hague, 23 March 1679.
265. AGS, Estado, leg. 3956. Copy of the parliamentary proceedings. Whitehall, 5 June 1679.
266. AGRB, Ambassade d’Espagne à La Haye, 493, ff. 41v–42r. The Marquis of Borgomanero to Manuel Francisco de Lira. London, 27 June 1679.
267. AGS, Estado, leg. 3956. The Marquis of Borgomanero to Charles II of Spain. London, 30 June 1679.
268. BL, General References Collection 1851.c.9, f. 167. Proclamation of Charles II. Whitehall, 21 December 1679. *By the King, a Proclamation for the More Effectual Suppressing of Popery* (London: John Bill, Thomas Newcomb and Henry Hill, 1679).
269. AGS, Estado, leg. 3975. Charles II of Spain to Pedro Ronquillo. Madrid, 19 February 1680; and consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 25 February 1680.
270. T. Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 231–233.
271. AGS, Estado, leg. 3957. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II of Spain. Windsor, 9 September 1680. In 1683, there was another plot against the life of Charles II and his brother James. Known as the Rye House Plot, the goal of this conspiracy was to hand the crown to the bastard Duke of Monmouth, James Scott. The repercussions of this plot went far beyond what its viability and the political profile of the conspirators would suggest, and this was mostly due to the libertine John

Locke being implicated. P. Milton, 'John Locke and the Rye House Plot,' *The Historical Journal*, 43/3 (2000), pp. 647–668.

272. In 1679, the Madrid gazette was informed that Peter Talbot had been arrested alongside his brother, Colonel Talbot, and over 100 priests. Notices. London, 2 January 1679, in *La gazeta ordinaria de Madrid*, n° 6 (Madrid: Bernardo de Villadiego, 1679), f. 29v.
273. The news of the imprisonment of Oliver Plunkett caused great consternation in Rome. After the execution of various Catholics, nobles, and members of the Society of Jesus, it was feared that Plunkett was doomed to meet a tragic end. Nuncios Savo Mellini, in Madrid, and Francesco Buonvisi, in Vienna, tried to coordinate the efforts of their ambassadors in London to save Plunkett's life. ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Madrid, 17, ff. 276r–278r. Savo Mellini to Pedro Coloma and the Marquis of Astorga. Madrid, 1 April 1681. About the martyr, later proclaimed saint, Saint Oliver Plunkett, see P.F. Moran, *Memoirs of the Ven: Oliver Plunkett* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1861); and J. Hanly (ed.), *The Letters of Saint Oliver Plunkett, 1625–1681, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland* (Dublin: Dolmen Press, 1979).
274. G. Tapsell, 'Parliament and Political Division in the Last Year of Charles II, 1681–5,' *Parliamentary History*, 22/3 (2003), pp. 243–262.

5

Under Catholic Sovereignty, 1685–1691

Mere instants after certifying the death of Charles II on 6 February 1685, the Privy Council swore allegiance to the Duke of York, James Stuart, legitimate King of England.¹ The proclamation was made public through the usual means of communication. The official chronicles stress the mixed feelings of the people over the death of the former sovereign. The joy with which the provinces and the Catholics received the news of the succession contrasted sharply with the concern of the Protestants, especially in Ireland, where the power of Protestants depended entirely on royal authority.² A Catholic king was back on the throne, one and a half centuries later and despite the different Exclusion Bills. In fact, one of the new king's first actions was to go to the palace chapel and attend two Catholic masses with open doors. This public statement was to drive forward his religious policy.³

When the news became known in Madrid, Cardinal Nuncio Savo Mellini considered that the new situation boded well for reestablishing Catholicism in the British Isles.⁴ The council of State was of the opinion that the key challenge for the new English king was to maintain the political balance between the multiple religious groups. The king could not afford to alienate the Protestant elite, since his position was vulnerable to the opposition of parliament. Ambassador Ronquillo was especially wary of what the Bourbon king might do to attract James II and undermine parliament, in light of what Louis XIV had already done with his deceased brother.⁵ The new scenario was certainly complex, and an analysis of the situation

required the initial enthusiasm shown by the pontifical diplomacy to be toned down somewhat.

Following his religious conscience, James II cancelled the pecuniary fines imposed on Catholics for practising their religion (unless they were involved in the latest plot against Charles II) and surrounded himself with Catholic and Presbyterian members of parliament to assist him in his reforms.⁶ Similarly, many Catholics and Presbyterians were promoted to governmental positions to carry out his reformist measures. According to Pedro Ronquillo's old informers, Presbyterians would give their assent to James II as long as they could keep their privileges. The main problem lay with the unpredictability of the different religious groups, whose relations with the Crown were not subject to a fixed norm.

In this uncertain situation, James II confronted parliament for the first time. Among the issues to be discussed were the relationship between king and kingdom and the consolidation of his party at the top of the political structure.⁷ The initial results of these debates astounded the Spanish consul in London, Felipe de la Guerra, who declared himself perplexed at the leniency shown by parliament to a Catholic king.⁸ However, the religious question soon began to cause problems when Catholic soldiers and officers in the army were exempted from swearing Allegiance to the king as head of the Church of England. This *sui generis* licence did not involve the modification of the law that regulated the oath, as the exemption had been pushed forward on the king's authority. The king also intended to abolish the 1679 Habeas Corpus, imposed in the wake of the alleged plots. This delayed the formal parliamentary revocation of the Penal Laws.⁹ In this context, Pedro Ronquillo expressed some doubts, and suggested that English Catholics were more inclined to courtesan ambitions and the pursuance of ministerial jobs than to practising their religion.¹⁰

These changes were closely monitored from Madrid and Rome. Spain adopted a prudent stance towards the new king, congratulating him on his accession.¹¹ For its part, the Holy See expressed the hope that James II's government would be beneficial for Catholics in the British Isles. In late 1685 diplomatic relations were re-established with the dispatch of ambassadors. The Lombard Count Ferdinando d'Adda was designated Pontifical Nuncio in London, although he was not recognised in this capacity until two years later. The Earl of Castlemaine, one of the

staunchest supporters of the Catholic cause during the reign of Charles II, was appointed English ambassador in Rome.¹²

James II's overhaul of government circles continued and included the promotion of Catholics to civil and military positions.¹³ His cabinet, which only included gentlemen of his confession and members of the Society of Jesus, tried to curtail the powers of the Privy Council. Catholicism had suddenly become the main criterion for political, military, and cultural eligibility. The problems caused by the dispensation granted to the Catholic military recruits intensified with the new form and content of the military patents. The impact that these new patents had on Catholics drove many to demand they be applied to all political and judicial positions, and also to members of the royal household. In this regard, James II followed a moderate policy and rejected this proposal in order to avoid antagonising parliament.¹⁴ However, not everyone in parliament, indeed not all of the people, agreed with this policy of religious openness which aimed to impose a model of Catholic kingship, or of sacral monarchy, inspired by French Gallicanism. The king was trying to impose a new monarchic style, more authoritarian, in the face of popular opposition and growing political pressure against the reimposition of Catholicism as the official religion in England.¹⁵

The political changes were felt with particular force in Ireland. The coronation of James II was received with joy by Irish Catholics, while the Protestant minority saw their power threatened.¹⁶ The measures put forward by the new king, however, did not include the restitution of confiscated property, as had been expected. In religious matters, the king adopted a pragmatic stance, especially after the audience with the Primate Archbishop of Armagh, Dominic MacGuire, and the Bishop of Clogher, Patrick Tyrrell. The negotiations resulted in the assignation of a salary for the high cleric and confirmation of royal protection. Bishops were henceforth allowed to wear their habits in public. The cross, nevertheless, was 'usually worn about the neck and upon the breast'.¹⁷ After a long period of having to dress as laymen, Irish priests and friars could stop hiding their condition.¹⁸ From 1686 onwards, several provincial synods were held to reorganise the dioceses, and new convents and colleges for the regular orders were created. These circumstances facilitated the undertaking of the pastoral work of the missionaries.

The position of Lord Deputy, a role which involved implementing the royal orders in Ireland, was given to an Irish Catholic, the Old English Richard Talbot, first Earl of Tyrconnell and brother of the late Archbishop of Dublin, Peter Talbot.¹⁹ In late 1684 the Catholic Earl of Rochester, one of James II's men, was appointed Lord Lieutenant—a key position for the implementation of pro-Catholic policies in Ireland. This appointment was interpreted as a gift of the Duchess of Portsmouth, lady in waiting to Queen Catherine and lover of Charles II, and of the Earl of Sunderland to James II, so that he could nominate one of his supporters for this relevant position.²⁰ Talbot was soon to clash with the other supreme minister in Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant Earl of Clarendon, brother-in-law of the king and brother of his first wife, Anne Hyde.²¹ From the moment of his appointment, the animosity between him and the Earl of Tyrconnell became obvious. The Lord Lieutenant was replaced before he had been in the job a full year, and speculation was rife that the position would be given to James Fitzjames, son of James II and Arabella Churchill, after his return from campaigns with the Holy League in Central Europe. These rumours were not confirmed, and the recognition was not made effective. Despite that he was already Lord Deputy, Coroneel Richard Talbot was also made responsible for the direction of the royal army, together with the Coroneel Justin MacCarthy, and was ordered to appoint Catholic officers.²² The appointment was badly received by the Reformed communities and caused widespread discontent among them. Complaints abounded, and unconfirmed reports spread that the students in Trinity College, in Dublin, were plotting the assassination of Tyrconnell.²³ The situation was exacerbated by his political promotion as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at the beginning of 1687.²⁴

The political events that were taking place on the island also affected the Irish priests and friars who were training for their pastoral work in Spain. They were well aware of the measures adopted by James II to extend his faith in his realms, and of the decisions of the Lord Lieutenant Clarendon, which were followed and implemented by his successor Talbot, not to disturb Catholic hierarchy or its priests and friars.²⁵ As on previous occasions, the policy of religious openness was a stimulus for the Mission. Royal patronage continued as before, and the pension of Cádiz was still being used to fund *viatica* after reverting to the Crown in 1654.²⁶ With the new possibilities provided by James II's policies, many missionaries

showed their eagerness to depart and take an active role in ongoing events. A *memorial* presented the wish of nine Dominican friars to join the Mission and take advantage of the King of England's promised protection, for which request they gained the endorsement of the general procurator of their order, Ambrose O'Connor.²⁷ The priests Juan Quiernano and Diego and Luke Fagan, students in Alcalá and Seville, respectively, made a similar request, claiming to be ready to preach in their homeland under the protection of the king.²⁸

For his part, the ambassador in London, Pedro Ronquillo, tried to steer the decisions of the English government in the direction of Spanish religious interests. In his opinion, they could best be served through political reciprocity with James II.²⁹ Although Catholicism was being advanced in several ways, the Penal Laws were still in effect, which, for the ambassador, demonstrated James II's essentially pragmatic approach to rule.³⁰ Reaffirmed in his conviction of the principle of religious arbitration, the minister avoided getting involved in courtesan issues that could affect the Spanish strategy.³¹ Meanwhile, in Madrid the council of State declared the benefits of ratifying the previous alliance. For these, however, James II would have to drop English neutrality in the Spanish-French conflict and tighten his links with Charles II.³² The rays of the French sun, however, blinded the English king and pushed him down the path of Gallicanism,³³ and even the mass arrival of exiled Huguenots after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685 did nothing to alter the English rapprochement with the Bourbon dynasty.³⁴ To the discomfiture of Pedro Ronquillo and of the nuncio Ferdinando d'Adda, the French faction in London, which was organised around the ambassador Paul Barillon, progressively penetrated James II's inner circle.³⁵

The members of the Society of Jesus also exercised much influence in the English court during this period. Ronquillo, aware that there was little love lost between the Jesuits and the Spanish cause, attempted to get them on his side, to avoid their undermining the interests of the Crown.³⁶ One of the most important Jesuits was Edward Petre, chaplain at the private oratory in Whitehall.³⁷ His personal affinity with James II was such that the king proposed him for a bishopric or the purple. It was presented in Rome alongside that of Rinaldo d'Este, uncle of Queen Maria, although the result of these petitions could not have been more unequal. While the Prince of

Modena, who had the support of the king and of the Earl of Castlemaine, was appointed cardinal in September 1686, Innocent XI decided not to appoint Petre, ostensibly because this was against the vows of the Society of Jesus.³⁸ Petre's influence over the king earned him many enemies among the Protestant gentry, and Pedro Ronquillo also suggested that, among Catholics, his popularity was not universal either, and some opposed his political ascent.³⁹ Petre was also disliked by Nuncio Adda and even by Versailles.⁴⁰ Confronted with this hostility, and despite the fact that there were precedents for the appointment of Jesuit cardinals, for instance Johann Eberhard Nithard, the Pope rejected the request, and this called into question the sovereign authority of James II.

Also in 1686, the first chaplain of the Spanish embassy in London, the Irishman Gregory Fallon, penetrated the government circles of James II when he was appointed, without mediation from his patron Pedro Ronquillo, to the Episcopal see of Ardagh.⁴¹ In May 1688, following favourable reports from London, Brussels, and Bologna, he was promoted to the diocese of Clonmacnoise.⁴² The royal promotion of a member of a Spanish household suggests that James II viewed diplomatic chapels as a good source of bishops for Ireland—a novel approach that could not fully crystallise because of the revolution.

Confronted by the growing power of Catholics at all levels of government, and after the Duke of Monmouth's failed rebellion, Protestants adopted a stance of passive obedience.⁴³ They even presented themselves as the ultimate safeguard against further acts of sedition. Their unity was in stark contrast to the internal strife that rent the Catholic party both in parliament and in court. The unity of Protestants and the limited number of conversions to Catholicism registered in 1685 were linked to the public feuds that divided the Catholic faction even during parliamentary sessions. As pointed out by Ronquillo, Catholics seemed more interested in their private profit than in working for the liberty of conscience.⁴⁴ This attitude of self-sabotage made it increasingly clear that the Catholic monarchy in England would come to an end with the death of James II, especially in the absence of a direct male heir. In addition, the continuity of his pro-Catholic legislation began to be questioned when he died.⁴⁵

Despite these difficulties, the Declaration of Indulgence was proclaimed on 4 April 1687, materialising one of James II's key political principles.⁴⁶

The declaration instituted the free and general exercise of all religious faiths, with no exception or reservation. These included ‘the perfect enjoyment of their property’ as a way to preserve peace in his dominions.⁴⁷ In relation to the religious diversity of the British Isles, the king would work towards the expansion of Catholicism, but not to the detriment of the Anglican Church or any of the Reformed Christian creeds that existed in the three kingdoms. The Penal Laws were suppressed and the oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance were no longer required in order to access civilian or military offices. Similarly, a pardon was issued for those indicted under any of the now-abolished laws.⁴⁸ Compliance with these principles, however, was uneven among the different religious groups. Especially significant in this regard was the issue of the oath; Presbyterians and other non-conformists, for instance, decided to accept this clause of the declaration whereas Anglicans wished to see it revoked.⁴⁹

These were complex matters, with many subtle nuances, and they compelled Pedro Ronquillo to inform Charles II that the new English king was, indeed, striving to promote Catholicism. His tolerant discourse could be disregarded as a mere façade, as his government was dominated by Jesuits and pro-French politicians who would not allow him to deviate from the goal of fully reinstating Catholicism in his dominions.⁵⁰ The growing tension and the emergence of two irreconcilable parties drove the ambassador to recommend the Spanish Crown discreetly support Presbyterians and non-conformists, as this was the only way to curtail Louis XIV’s increasing influence over English politics.⁵¹ Despite this indirect political control, James II expressed his disconformity with some of the decisions adopted by the Bourbons. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Stuart king admitted and assisted the French Huguenots who had fled to England.⁵² In fact, Ronquillo reported that, despite the *Roi Soleil* opposing the mercy shown to 350 Huguenot families arrived on British shores, James II’s hospitality extended to many more refugees.⁵³

Liberty of conscience was to be debated in the new parliament that James II was planning to summon in 1687. The election of the members of both Houses underlined the differences between parties and confessions. Presbyterians and other parties claimed that the Commons should reflect the plurality of the country, but most peers were Anglicans who opposed this. In the midst of this complex political game, the Bourbons tried to intervene

in the debates by bribing party leaders whilst also propping up the personal authority of the king against parliament.⁵⁴ James II's son-in-law and stadholder of Holland, William of Orange, also entered the fray by means of a declaration in which he staunchly rejected the admission of Catholics into his armies and denounced the breach of the recent laws on religious tolerance.⁵⁵ Based on this declaration, Pedro Ronquillo inferred that the stadholder and the States General were in the process of putting together a religious league, as seemingly confirmed by his close links with Reformed powers such as Hannover, Sweden, and Brandenburg. If James II was confronted with an alliance of this type, he would have no option but to appeal to the French for help, unleashing a new civil, and probably also European, war.⁵⁶

The Irish Mission profited from these favourable conditions. The Declaration of Indulgence was extended to Ireland in 1687, with some caveats.⁵⁷ Conditions for pastoral work improved, and the wish of some private individuals (including several members of Charles II's household) to contribute to the Mission was granted. Even the English ambassador in Madrid, Charles Granville, Viscount Lansdowne, expressed his intention to send several missionaries to the British Isles. Only a few years later, his Anglican successors were trying to close down the Irish colleges of Madrid.

One of the first Irish clerics to volunteer as a missionary was Dermot Fay, chaplain of the German Guard. This cleric insisted on going back to Ireland despite holding an enviable position in the Spanish court because, in his opinion, there were not enough missionaries on the ground. He lacked, however, the means to begin the trip, and so he decided to appeal to his patron Charles II, not for the ordinary *viaticum*, but for the payment of the rents he was owed for his post in the house of Bourgogne, which had fallen into arrears since 1684.⁵⁸

In theory, this brought to an end the relationship established between Fay and the royal household nearly twenty years earlier. Fay, however, was still in the service of the Crown in a different capacity: preaching, administering the sacraments, and teaching the catechism, under the direct patronage of his former master. Nevertheless, the paper trail left behind sows some seeds of doubt concerning his apostolic activity abroad. The 3,000 reales were handed over by the Constable of Castile in April 1687, but four years later Fay features in the list of witnesses summoned to report on the genealogy of

William Murphy, candidate for taking the habit of the Order of Santiago. The file identifies him as ‘chaplain of honour in the service of his Majesty, confessor of the German guard and rector of the Irish college of Saint Patrick in this court’.⁵⁹ The last of these positions, as director of the seminary of his nation, also features in his testament, which was filed in Madrid in 1695.⁶⁰

There are several possible explanations for this. Fay’s application to the Mission was dated to 1687, and it is known that he was planning to travel back to England with Lansdowne.⁶¹ This means that he could have left his position in the king’s service at that time, but that he was back in Spain by 1691, during the Williamite War, and then resumed his job in the German Guard and assumed the position of rector of the Irish college in Madrid, which he held for the rest of his life.⁶² There is also the possibility that Fay never effectively joined the Mission because Lansdowne’s replacement (1688) stayed in his position as chaplain and confessor and, later, was appointed rector of the college.⁶³

Dermot Fay’s case reveals yet more facets of the Irish Mission. Sometimes the Mission’s ranks were filled by private Irish priests and friars who had nothing to do with the colleges and convents which were the traditional sources of missionaries. The ascent of a Catholic to the throne of England also encouraged private individuals who had been ordained in the minor orders to begin expressing their wish to go to Ireland. During the reign of James II, however, the workings and foundations of the Mission remained unaltered, and the favourable conditions in Ireland meant that no significant increase in the number of *viatica* applications ensued. Other factors may have contributed to this, including the usual hardships suffered by the Spanish royal finances and the fact that the number of priests and friars graduating from colleges and convents did not change during these years. Also, during the reign of James II, the marked absence of Franciscan applications from 1682 onwards continued. A similar situation had occurred nearly twenty years earlier, during the crisis of the Mission, although at that time the problem lay with the restrictions imposed by the Commonwealth.⁶⁴ There was also some fluctuation in the number of *viatica* granted. The early years of James II’s reign witnessed a growing trend which peaked in 1687 (the year Indulgence was declared and the royal authority was

consolidated). The following year, the number of missionaries dispatched to Ireland fell to less than half ([Figure BM1.1](#)).

The significant drop in the number of missionaries registered in 1688 stands in sharp contrast to the favourable conditions in Ireland, and may reflect the growing political tensions in England. In that year, the Lord Deputy Tyrconnell informed James II that most officers in the navy were Catholics, that the number of conversions had multiplied, and that new chapels were being built.⁶⁵ As was the case in Ireland, the position of English Catholics was consolidated upon the appointment of Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este as protector of England in the Holy See. He took the place of Cardinal Philip Howard.⁶⁶ It was believed that this decision weakened the French party in Rome, and that d'Este would convince the Pope to promote the Jesuit Edward Petre to take the purple.⁶⁷

The king was determined to have his chaplain appointed cardinal, and he followed the Pope's rejections with new measures to improve the conditions of English Catholics. Given the limitations of the Apostolic vicar John Leyburn, James II asked Innocent XI to appoint three bishops in order to divide England into four dioceses. On 30 January 1688, the pontiff granted the royal wish and consecrated, *in partibus*, the priest Bonaventure Giffard (a prestigious royal preacher), the cleric James Smith (rector of the English college in Douai), and the Benedictine Father Philip Ellis (also a royal preacher).⁶⁸

The Declaration of Indulgence, published in the previous year, was re-edited on 27 April 1688 without any changes being made to the controversial oath article. The novelty of this edition was that it included an order instructing all bishops to publish the declaration in the churches of their dioceses.⁶⁹ Seven Protestant bishops refused to do so and printed a letter of protest that was circulated all over England.⁷⁰ The prelates were incarcerated in the Tower and judged by the Privy Council, which, against the will of the king, declared them not guilty. The following morning they were let out on bail and summoned to a later hearing. The account of their trip to Westminster, down the River Thames, is indicative of the increasing and widespread unpopularity of the king.⁷¹

James II's weak position against the combative Anglican hierarchy led him to take exceptional measures. In Magdalen College (University of Oxford), the college's candidate for the vacant position of rector was

disputed by the king, who wanted to appoint the moderate and pro-Catholic Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford. In this dispute, at least, James II imposed his authority and pushed forward his policy of opening English universities to English students.⁷² In the event, the rectory fell in 1688 to Bonaventure Giffard. The controversy, therefore, ended favourably for the king in the short term, but it also contributed to increase Anglican hostility towards him even further.⁷³

The constant criticisms against the king's controversial decisions reflected the united opinion of the Reformed sectors, the members of which viewed their religious privileges as endangered. From the parliamentary elite to the Anglican and Presbyterian pulpits, Protestants clamoured for the return of pre-1685 conditions. The dissenters were the strongest party, and all they needed was a leader to galvanise their opposition to James II: the stadholder of Holland, William of Orange.⁷⁴ He was invited to intervene by different spiritual and temporal lords and part of the peerage, and, in the name of his wife, Mary Stuart—the elder daughter of James II—the Dutch prince accepted the proposal with the support of the States General.

William's decision to intervene in England had to be explained to his allies, including Charles II. Europe was on the cusp of a new continent-wide confrontation, caused by Louis XIV's territorial ambitions.⁷⁵ Owing to James II's differences with his subjects, which almost resulted in a formal rupture of relations, the intervention was needed to meet the Protestants' demands for political change. Orange pledged not to hurt the king or his legitimate heir, the newborn James Stuart, and also pledged not to annul recent pro-Catholic measures.⁷⁶ He would limit himself to maintaining public order and ensuring that the law was complied with, thus restoring the balance between king and kingdom and preventing James II from amassing absolute power. The cunning Ronquillo understood that these were empty words: he knew that local political groups were not interested in following the stadholder's ostensible policy of restraint.⁷⁷

The political climate of the Stuart court forecasted the storm approaching the English coast.⁷⁸ William of Orange's actions put James II in a complicated military situation. His small forces had to keep his unsettled subjects quiet whilst also confronting the army of the stadholder. He did his best to quell the popular sentiment in order that he could focus his efforts and resources on stopping the external threat, but this was to no avail.⁷⁹ On

11 December 1688, London exploded with popular anger, in a manner which recalled the Great Fire.⁸⁰ Catholic churches were burned and sacked, including diplomatic chapels and the new churches opened by the religious orders during James II's reign. In this context, the chapel of the Spanish embassy suffered especially at the hands of the 'mob'.⁸¹

The disorder and chaos that followed James II's retreat to Saint-Germain-en-Laye triggered popular anger: 'in the absence of the king, there is neither law nor government'.⁸² This revolutionary movement was heralded by the destruction of the work of the deposed monarch. The elimination of Catholic and Jacobite symbols was not limited to London: riots were soon taking place all over England, and officials, soldiers, and members of the gentry defected in droves to the Orangist ranks. The 1688 revolution meant a new political and religious context for the British Isles.

Ireland, the Messina of the Ocean

The Convention parliament met for the first time on the same day as the king's flight from London. The parliament was presided over by the Marquis of Halifax and was composed of a number of secular and religious lords. The composition of this political body was decided by an *ad hoc* meeting convened on that same afternoon in the presence of Protestant bishops, those peers who happened to be in London, the city's mayor, and the aldermen.⁸³ Owing to the magnitude of the seditious movements and the widespread chaos, one of the parliament's first resolutions was to call the Prince of Orange to court. They thought that his presence would help to change a situation that was totally out of control and well beyond the ability of the available troops to curb.⁸⁴

For the first few days after the king's flight, chaos reigned supreme in England. James II was in France, and William of Orange found himself in political limbo. The Spanish ambassador, Pedro Ronquillo, who had been one of the main victims of popular violence, remained in London with no indication as to how to deal with the Dutch prince and no instructions from his master, Charles II.⁸⁵ The level of misinformation was such that he regarded parliament as James II's last opportunity to preserve his crown.⁸⁶

At all events, the conversation had moved on, and the discussion was already revolving around the legitimacy of the Orangist government, what was to be done with James II's rights, and the role of his daughter Mary as *de facto* queen.

After the coronation of William III, only Ireland remained loyal to the deposed king. The revolution had been an English affair which had little impact on the island, where the final resolution would be decided by force of arms. The Williamite War—or the War of Two Kings—soon transcended its dynastic nature.⁸⁷ In addition to falling into line with his expansionist policies and playing to his geostrategic interests—tying Orange troops to Ireland—Louis XIV's intervention on behalf of James II also responded to other economic, military (levies), and religious factors.⁸⁸ Catholics had again come under fire in those lands which were under the authority of William III, in opposition to his declared intention, and many feared that the repressive measures of previous decades would re-emerge.⁸⁹

Given the gravity of the situation, Charles II, who was careful to maintain a position of strict neutrality, ordered Pedro Ronquillo to remind the king-stadholder of his promises with regard to religious tolerance. In previous letters, the Prince of Orange had declared that his intention had never been to persecute anyone by their faith.⁹⁰ This discourse, and his previous political role as stadholder, forecasted that his government would be ruled by a spirit of religious pragmatism.⁹¹ Spain maintained its confessional patronage in Ireland while remaining politically neutral, in what was a very uncomfortable situation for the Spanish monarchy. Its position would be especially exposed in the likely event of the Pope demanding Charles II's intervention. Some Irishmen abandoned the Spanish armies to join the forces of James II, including the field master Hugh O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, who did not wait for a royal licence to march to the north, for 'Ireland is a battlefield where arms must fight for religion, the rights of King James, and the glory, liberty and interest of the Irish nation'. O'Donnell's decision was unilateral, but in his mind he was not neglecting a duty given to him in Spain over a century earlier, but rather was stepping up to a higher role: defending the Catholic religion against the arms of the Calvinist William III.⁹²

On 1 July 1690, the Orangist troops fought the Stuart army and their Irish and French allies in the Battle of the Boyne. The defeat had immediate

consequences for James II, who fled to France while his army fortified itself in Limerick. There the inexperience of his troops became clear, leading to a large number of desertions.⁹³ The forecast made in 1689 by Manuel Coloma, Spanish ambassador in The Hague, proved accurate; until then, the exiled monarch and his party had enjoyed the support of France, but Louis XIV had already lost huge sums of money, as well as many men and ships in support of the Irish loyalists.⁹⁴ Tired of this effort, he finally abandoned the Irish to their fate, as he had done with the Sicilians who had taken up arms against Charles II of Spain; Ireland had become the ‘Messina of the Ocean’.⁹⁵

Defeated and with no help to continue the fight, James II settled in the French palace of Saint-Germain. Even his own supporters disagreed with this move.⁹⁶ Many voices demanded he abandon French soil, suggesting Rome as his new destination. However, like in Paris, the curia was wary of the diplomatic troubles that this would cause, and he was discouraged. The memory of Christina of Sweden was still fresh in the halls of the Vatican.⁹⁷

Ireland, abandoned by its natural lord and French protector, had no fight left in it apart from two besieged garrisons in Galway and Limerick. William III was generous, and agreed to negotiate the honourable surrender of the island, which in practice meant Ireland’s recognition of his sovereignty. The Treaty of Limerick’s thirteen clauses were signed on 3 October 1691. The first of these civil clauses established that Catholics could practise their religion freely, under the royal protection and according to the kingdom’s rules, as had been the case during the reign of Charles II, when they could worship unobstructed—except during the Exclusion crisis. The king-stadholder committed to guarantee their safety from any threat to their religion.⁹⁸ In exchange for this tolerance, the oath of Allegiance was again made a requisite to enter the king’s service. Despite the ambiguous nature of the terms, these conditions went beyond the limits established by William III in the Bill of Rights and, especially, the Tolerance Act of 1689.⁹⁹ All of these resolutions guaranteed William’s authority and the obedience of his subjects, as well as put him in a good diplomatic position vis-à-vis his allies Spain and the Empire.¹⁰⁰

Notes

1. About James II and his reign, see T.B. Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II* (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1849), vols. 1–3; and Miller, *James II*.
2. AHNOB, Osuna, CT. 197, D. 86. Copy of an anonymous letter to an unknown addressee. London, 5 February 1685. The date of the letter does not correspond to the events related within it. Charles II died on 6/16 February 1685.
3. ‘All the Catholics with him, stayed, and many Protestants stayed as well, and the glory of this action is double for not doing it in hiding, and the most consoling thing of it all is that the people were happy’. AGRB, Secrétairerie d’État et Guerre, 383. Pedro Ronquillo to the Marquis of Grana. London, 26 February 1685. A retrospective perspective on religion in 17th century England in P. Walker, *James II and the Three Questions: Religious Toleration and the Landed Classes, 1687–1688* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), pp. 45–61.
4. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Spagna, 163, ff. 164rv. The Cardinal Savo Mellini to the Cardinal Alderano Cybo. Madrid, 8 March 1685.
5. AGRB, Secrétairerie d’État et de Guerre, 383. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 5 March 1685.
6. AHNOB, Osuna, CT. 62, D. 11. Felipe de la Guerra to the Duke of Infantado. London, 19 February 1685.
7. AGS, Estado, leg. 3960. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 30 April 1685. Miller, *Popery & Politics in England, 1660–1688*, pp. 196–213; and S. Pincus, *1688, la primera revolución moderna* (Barcelona: Acantilado, 2013), pp. 207–251.
8. AHNOB, Osuna, CT. 62, D. 18. Felipe de la Guerra to the Duke of Infantado. London, 11 June 1685.
9. AGS, Estado, leg. 3960. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 6 August 1685.
10. AGS, Estado, leg. 3960. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 10 and 24 December 1685. Miller, *Popery & Politics in England, 1660–1688*, pp. 220–222.
11. A report issued by the council of State claimed that the French ambassador, Paul Barillon, did not have as much access to James II as he did when he was Duke of York. The report also stressed that James II’s friendship with his son-in-law, William of Orange, reduced tension with the United Provinces. It was, therefore, inferred that England wished to strike up an alliance with Spain, and the Council recommended a cautious approach. AGS, Estado, leg. 3960. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 12 April 1685.
12. Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine, was one of the most active defenders of Catholicism in Ireland under the Stuarts. As early as the 17th century, he was believed to be the author of *An Apology on behalf of the Papist*. An edition of this work is attached to the contestation of the Anglican Bishop William Lloyd (London: M. Cooper, 1746). For James II’s relationship with Rome, see Miller, *Popery & Politics in England, 1660–1688*, pp. 229–238.
13. Pedro Ronquillo pointed out sixteen changes, including the kings’ decision of dismissing the Bishop of London, Henry Compton, from the Privy Council. AGS, Estado, leg. 3961. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 7 January 1686.
14. AGS, Estado, leg. 3961. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 7 January 1686. The idea of a moderate government as the political principle of James II has been historiographically revised in

Pincus, *1688, la primera revolución moderna*, pp. 207–218.

15. R.G. Asch, *Sacral Kingship between Disenchantment and Re-Enchantment: The French and English Monarchies, 1587–1688* (New York-Oxford: Berghahn, 2014), pp. 142–149; and Id. ‘The Crisis of Sacral Monarchy in England in the Late Seventeenth Century in Comparative Perspective,’ in *Monarchy Transformed: Princes and their elites in Early Modern Western Europe*, R. von Friedeburg and J. Morrill, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 336–342.
16. J.G. Simms, ‘The War of the Two Kings, 1685–1691,’ in *A New History of Ireland, III: Early Modern Ireland 1534–1691*, p. 478.
17. AGS, Estado, leg. 3961. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 4 February 1686; and TNA: PRO, State Papers, 63/340, pp. 138 and 145. James II and the Count of Sunderland to the Archbishop of Armagh Dominic MacGuire. Whitehall, 20 and 27 March 1686. Simms, ‘The War of the Two Kings, 1685–1691,’ pp. 481–482.
18. This concession was extended to the British court one year later, in the context of the Liberty of Conscience act. James II ordered all religious persons coming to the palace of Saint James to wear the habits of their orders. AGS, Estado, leg. 8342, f. 283. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 10 September 1687.
19. This was not the family’s original nobiliary title (from Ulster) but was one conferred by James II. Richard Talbot was the first Earl of Tyrconnell of the reign. J.I. McGuire, ‘Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell (1630–91) and the Catholic Counter-Revolution,’ in *Worsted in the Game: Loser in Irish History*, C. Brady, ed., (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1989), pp. 73–84; P. Wauchope, ‘Richard Talbot,’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, H.C.C. Matthew and B. Harrison, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 53, pp. 717–722; and Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 55.
20. AGS, Estado, leg. 3960. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 8 December 1684; and consultas of the council of State. Madrid, 25 January and 20 February 1685. For the political influence of the French lady Louise de Kérouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth, N.K. Maguire, ‘The Duchess of Portsmouth: English Royal Consort and French Politician, 1670–1685,’ in *The Stuart Court and Europe*, pp. 247–273.
21. The Viceroy Earl of Clarendon solemnly entered Dublin in early February. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 76, f. 101v. Sebastiano Antonio Tanara to the Cardinal Alderano Cybo. Brussels, 15 February 1686.
22. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 76, f. 282rv. Sebastiano Antonio Tanara to the Cardinal Alderano Cybo. Brussels, 24 May 1686; and AHNOB, Osuna, CT. 62, D. 80. Felipe de la Guerra to the Duke of Infantado. London, 28 October 1686. J. McGuire, ‘James II and Ireland, 1685–1690,’ in *Kings in Conflict: The Revolutionary War in Ireland and Its Aftermath, 1689–1750*, W.A. Maguire, ed. (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 1990), p. 46. For the political actions of Richard Talbot during his term of office in Ireland, see J. Miller, ‘The Earl of Tyrconnell and James II’s Irish Policy, 1685–1688,’ *Historical Journal*, 20 (1977), pp. 803–823.
23. Simms, ‘The War of the Two Kings, 1685–1691,’ p. 480.
24. McGuire, ‘James II and Ireland, 1685–1690,’ pp. 48 and 53.
25. Ibid., p. 52.
26. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/454bis, f. 85r. Frasso, *Tratado de la Capilla Real de los Serenísimos Reyes Católicos de España nuestros señores*.

27. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 428]. Report of Antonio de Benavides y Bazán. Madrid, 11 February 1687.
28. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 432]. Report of Antonio de Benavides y Bazán. Madrid, 17 May 1687. Luke Fagan was Bishop of Meath from 1713 to 1729 and Archbishop of Dublin from 1729 to his death in 1733.
29. AGS, Estado, leg. 3961. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 21 January 1686.
30. AHN, Estado, L. 183. Pedro Ronquillo to the Marquis of Villagarcía. London, 8 March 1686.
31. AGS, Estado, leg. 3961. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 4 February 1686.
32. AGS, Estado, leg. 3961. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 16 February 1686.
33. S. Pincus, 'The European Catholic Context of the Revolution of 1688–89. Gallicanism, Innocent XI, and Catholic Opposition,' in *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603–1714: The Atlantic Connection*, A.I. Macinnes and A.H. Williamson, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 79–115; G. Glickman, *The English Catholic Community: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), pp. 33–40; Pincus, *1688, la primera revolución moderna*, pp. 218–251; and J. Rose, *Godly Kingship in Restoration England: The Politics of the Royal Supremacy, 1660–1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 229–274.
34. For the Edict of Nantes, see J. Garrison, *L'Édit de Nantes et sa révocation. Histoire d'une intolérance* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1985); J.-R. Armogathe, *Croire en liberté. L'Église catholique et la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes* (Paris: ŒIL/Histoire, 1985); and É. Labrousse, *La révocation de l'Édit de Nantes. Une foi, une loi, un roi?* (Paris: Payot, 1990).
35. Because of his open opposition to the French moves in the Stuart court, Pedro Ronquillo was attributed the pamphlet *The Idea of the Court of France and the Method of Their Proceedings, from the Time of the Peace of Nimeguen, until the Spring of the year 1684* (London: At the Black Boy in Pater-Noster-Row, 1711), signed by the polemist Gatien Courtilz de Sandras.
36. AGS, Estado, leg. 3961. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 18 June 1686. Felipe de la Guerra pointed out to the Duke of Infantado that James II seemed 'to be governed by his friars rather than by his councillors, but I think that this is wrong, because the king knows as much as the best of his councillors and much more than all the friars put together, and the soldier that understands more of the army'. AHNOB, Osuna, CT. 62, D. 75. Felipe de la Guerra to the Duke of Infantado. London, 4 August 1686.
37. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Inghilterra, 11, f. 237r. Ferdinando d'Adda to the Cardinal Alderano Cybo. London, 8 November 1686.
38. Nuncio Ferdinando d'Adda was entrusted with communicating the appointment of Rinaldo d'Este as cardinal. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Inghilterra, 11, ff. 195rv. Ferdinando d'Adda to the Cardinal Alderano Cybo. Windsor, 16 September 1686.
39. 'Because some would like for the Gallicans to rule here, even the men of the Church'. BFZ, Fondo Altamira, caja 265, GD 1. Pedro Ronquillo to the Marquis of Cogolludo. London, 12 March 1688.
40. BFZ, Fondo Altamira, caja 265, GD 1. Pedro Ronquillo to the Marquis of Cogolludo. London, 5 December 1687.
41. Simms, 'The War of the Two Kings, 1685–1691,' p. 482.
42. BL, Additional Manuscripts, 31248, ff. 175r and 177r. James II to Innocent XI. Whitehall, 19 March 1687. J.C. Monahan, *Records Relating to the Dioceses of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise*

- (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1886), pp. 37 and 114–115; and Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland & Ireland, AD 1400 to 1875*, vol. 1, pp. 247–249.
43. For the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, R. Dunning, *Monmouth Rebellion: Guide to the Rebellion and Bloody Assize* (Wimborne: Dovecote Press, 1984).
 44. AGS, Estado, leg. 3961. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 1 April 1686. Miller, *Popery & Politics in England, 1660–1688*, pp. 196–228.
 45. AHNOB, Osuna, CT. 62, D. 75. Felipe de la Guerra to the Duke of Infantado. London, 4 August 1686.
 46. R.E. Boyer, *English Declaration of Indulgence 1687 and 1688* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968); M. Knights, "'Mere Religion' and the 'Church State' of Restoration England: The Impact and Ideology of James II's Declarations of Indulgence," in *A Nation Transformed: England after the Restoration*, A. Houston and S. Pincus, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 41–70; and T. Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685–1720* (London: Penguin, 2007), pp. 211–216.
 47. The liberty of conscience was widely debated, and reasons to accept it and to reject it were formulated. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 31/1, ff. 300r–301r. 'Objections to an address of thanks (recited) for the Declaration of Indulgence'. Whitehall, n. d., c. 1687.
 48. *His Majesties Gracious Declaration to all His Loving Subjects for Liberty of Conscience* (London: Charles Bill, Henry Hills and Thomas Newcomb, 1687). Whitehall, 4 April 1687. J. Miller, 'The Glorious Revolution,' in *Kings in Conflict: The Revolutionary War in Ireland and Its Aftermath, 1689–1750*, p. 33.
 49. AGS, Estado, leg. 3962. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 14 April 1687.
 50. By that time the Jesuit John Warner had been appointed James II's private confessor. Warner had studied in the University of Salamanca and had lectured in philosophy and theology in a Jesuit house in Liege before becoming its director. He was general procurator of the Society in Brussels and Paris, and rector at the English college in Saint Omer. AGS, Estado, leg. 3962. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 10 March 1687.
 51. AGS, Estado, leg. 3962. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 12 May 1687. S. Pincus, 'To Protect English Liberties': The English Nationalist Revolution of 1688–1689,' in *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650–c. 1850*, pp. 81–84.
 52. Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685–1720*, pp. 185–187.
 53. 'Last week 600 Huguenot exiles from France arrived in Plymouth; two-thirds of them claim to be seamen, and they say that 400 more have just arrived in Holland'. Pedro Ronquillo added that 'one of them told me last night that, only in the Walloon Church in London, over 100 recent converts to Catholicism had recanted and converted back'. AGS, Estado, leg. 3962. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 10 March 1687. B. Cottret, *Terre d'exil. L'Angleterre et ses réfugiés français et wallons de la Réforme à la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes (1550–1700)* (Paris: Aubier, 1985); C.E.J. Caldicott, H. Gough and J.-P. Pittion (eds.), *The Huguenots and Ireland: Anatomy of an Emigration* (Dun Laoghaire: Glendale Press, 1987); G.C. Gibbs, 'The Reception of the Huguenots in England and the Dutch Republic, 1680–1690,' in *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, O.P. Grell, J.I. Israel and N. Tyacke, eds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010), pp. 275–306; and R. Hylton, *Ireland's Huguenots and Their Refuge, 1662–1745: An Unlikely Haven* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2013).
 54. AGS, Estado, leg. 3962. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 4 August 1687.

55. Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II*, vol. II, pp. 215–223.
56. AGS, Estado, leg. 3962. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 15 September 1687; and consulta of the council of State. Madrid, n. d., c. October 1687.
57. ‘The king does not think it proper that the declaration for liberty of conscience made here should be published in Ireland; not but that he thinks the granting of liberty of conscience as necessary there as here and accordingly would have it exactly and constantly preserved (which you are upon al occasion to let the people know), but because some clauses of the declaration which were require and proper in this kingdom are not so in Ireland’. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 63/340, f. 231. The Count of Sunderland to Richard Talbot. Whitehall, 7 May 1687. A month later, in another letter, the secretary explained to the Lord Lieutenant that the king ‘does not yet think it convenient to allow of any great number of person to meet at night in conventicles, nor that anything should be preached against his person or government’. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 63/340, f. 231. The Count of Sunderland to Richard Talbot. Windsor, 21 June 1687.
58. AGP, Expedientes de personal, Caja 2621, exp. 32. Memorial by Dermot Fay. Madrid, n. d., c. 1687. According to the king’s *grefier*, Juan de Velasco, the amount owed to Fay was 197,400 maravedís. AGP, Expedientes de personal, Caja 2621, exp. 35. Antonio de Benavides y Bazán to Juan de Velasco. Madrid, 16 March 1687. He informed Patriarch Antonio de Benavides of this in an undated *memorial*. Because Fay was a foreigner, tradition determined that payments had to be made through the treasury of the Royal Chapel. Although the debt amounted to nearly 5,900 reales, the patriarch recommended paying 3,000 reales on the day he left Madrid and his job as chaplain of the German guard. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 430]. Opinion of Antonio de Benavides. Madrid, 11 April 1687. Charles II’s instructions to the Constable of Castile, Íñigo Melchor Fernández de Velasco y Guzmán, Duke of Frías, indicated how to pay the remainder. AGP, Administración General, 628, carpeta de capellanes. Charles II to Constable of Castile. Madrid, 17 April 1687.
59. The 3,000 reales were paid on 22 April 1687. AGP, Administración General, 628, carpeta de capellanes. The Condestable of Castile to the purser of the Royal Chapel. This order was preceded by another one to the *grefier* Juan de Velasco, dated 17 April. AHN, Órdenes Militares, Santiago, exp. 5550. Files and evidence for the concession of an habit of Santiago to William Murphy. Madrid, 11 April 1691.
60. AHPM, Protocolo 11225 (notary public Juan Andrés del Castillo), f. 103r. Foundation and memory statement, and last will of Dermot Fay. Madrid, 17 February 1698. On the Irish college of Madrid, see García Hernán, ‘El Colegio de San Patricio de los Irlandeses de Madrid (1621–1937),’ pp. 219–249.
61. One of the candidates to replace the Baron of Lansdowne as English ambassador in the Madrid court was Thomas Jeffreys, knight of the Order of Alcantara and consul in Alicante. His appointment was frustrated by the 1688 revolution. C. Bravo Lozano, ‘La fidelidad viste de hábito: irlandeses en las órdenes militares castellanas (1660–1727),’ in *Los hilos de Penélope. Lealtad y fidelidades en la Monarquía de España (1648–1714)*, R. Quirós Rosado and C. Bravo Lozano, eds. (Valencia: Albatros Ediciones, 2015), pp. 127–143 and 135–137.
62. This would confirm José Eloy Hortal’s hypothesis about Fay’s trip to England and date of death, on 15 November 1695. Hortal Muñoz, *Las Guardas Reales de los Austrias hispanos. Relación biográfica de los guardas reales de los Austrias hispanos (1504–1707)*, § ‘Fayo, Dermisio’. However, this author, who makes no mention of Fay’s position as rector of the Irish college in Madrid or of his role as witness, does not clarify what happened to Dermot Fay between 1687 and 1695 or, importantly, what happened to his place in the German Guard: he could have kept ownership of the position while abroad, and the actual tasks associated with the job could have

been undertaken by a delegate; at any rate, the records of the chaplaincy do not attest to Fay being replaced until he was succeeded by Jerónimo Fernández de Velasco, one day after his death. AGP, Administración General, 628, carpeta de capellanes. Chaplains and confessors of the guards. Madrid, n. d.

63. In October 1688, Dermot Fay was a witness in Alberto Adsor's application to enter the Order of Calatrava. AHN, Órdenes Militares, Calatrava, exp. 23, ff. 9r–10v. Files and evidence for the concession of an habit of Calatrava to Alberto Adsor. Madrid, 24 October 1687. On 26 October 1695, Fay gave power of attorney to his friend, the rich merchant Francis Arther, to make his will on his behalf. In it, Father Dermot expressed his wish to be buried 'wrapped in my priestly vestments in the church' of the Irish in Madrid, of which he was the rector. Arther was also made the will's executor in favour of Fay's nephew, Hugh Fay. AHPM, Protocolo 14077 (notary public Francisco Matienzo), mazo de 1695, ff. 80r–82r. Power of attorney granted by Dermot Fay to Francis Arther. Madrid, 26 October 1695. Fay's testament was eventually made in Madrid, on 6 February the following year. The will explains that Fay could not be buried in the Irish church, but rather was laid to rest in his parish of Saint Just and Shepherd, in Madrid. The debts listed in the testament include 798 reales, corresponding to his salary as chaplain of the German guard. AHPM, Protocolo 14077 (notary public Francisco Matienzo), mazo 1696, ff. 16r–20bisr. Dermot Fay's will. Madrid, 6 February 1696. The testament also includes the foundation of a memory, the first chaplain of which would be his nephew Hugh. AHPM, Protocolo 11225 (notary public Juan Andrés del Castillo), ff. 103r–107v. Foundation and memory statement, and last will of Dermot Fay, rector of the Irish college in Madrid. Madrid, 17 February 1698.
64. B. Millet, 'Four Letters of Father James White, OFM, of Clonmel, 1668–1670,' *Collectanea Hibernica*, 18–19 (1976–1977), p. 9.
65. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Inghilterra, 13, f. 236v. Ferdinando d'Adda to the Cardinal Alderano Cybo. Windsor, 3 October 1688. According to Óscar Recio, the improving lot of the Catholics in Ireland can be interpreted as a sign of the success of Spanish diplomacy and patronage. Recio Morales, 'Entre lo divino y lo humano: Irlanda en la estrategia general de los Austrias Madrileños, 1529–1700,' pp. 42–43; and Id., *Ireland and the Spanish Empire, 1600–1825*, pp. 167–168.
66. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Inghilterra, 13, f. 11v. Ferdinando d'Adda to the Cardinal Alderano Cybo. London, 9 January 1688.
67. BFZ, Fondo Altamira, caja 265, GD 1. Pedro Ronquillo to the Marquis of Cogolludo. London, 16 January 1688.
68. AGS, Estado, leg. 3961. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 1 March 1688; and ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Inghilterra, 13, ff. 50r–51v. Ferdinando d'Adda to the Cardinal Alderano Cybo. London, 12 March 1688. J. Lingard, *History of England, from the First Invasion by the Romans to the Accession of William and Mary in 1688* (London: Charles Dolman, 1855), vol. IX, pp. 145–146; and J. Champ, *The English Pilgrimage to Rome: A Dwelling for the Soul* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2000), pp. 97–98.
69. AGS, Estado, leg. 3963. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. Londres, 24 May 1688.
70. The Anglican bishops who published the letter were William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells; John Lake, Bishop of Chichester; William Lloyd, Bishop of St Asaph; Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol; Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely; and Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough. AHN, Estado, L. 183. Pedro Ronquillo to the Marquis of Villagarcía. London, 18 June 1688.

71. Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II*, vol. II, pp. 318 and ss.; G.V. Bennett, 'The Seven Bishops: A Reconsideration,' *Studies in Church History*, 15 (1978), pp. 267–287; Miller, *James II*, pp. 185–187; and W. Gibson, *James II and the Trial of the Seven Bishops* (Houndsmill: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
72. Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685–1720*, pp. 224–229.
73. Pincus, *1688, la primera revolución moderna*, pp. 303–309 and 331–334.
74. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 78, ff. 646rv and 681v. Sebastiano Antonio Tanara to the Cardinal Alderano Cybo. Brussels, 5 and 19 November 1688.
75. AGS, Estado, leg. 3971. Spanish translation of William of Orange's statement before leaving for England. The Hague, 10 October 1688. Troost, *William III, the Stadholder-King: A Political Biography* (Aldershot: Ash-gate, 2005), pp. 191–194; and Levillain, *Vaincre Louis XIV. Angleterre, Hollande, France. Histoire d'une relation triangulaire (1665–1688)*, pp. 353–364.
76. Herrero Sánchez, 'La perduración de la cuestión irlandesa: un obstáculo en las relaciones anglo-españolas durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVII,' p. 418.
77. BFZ, Fondo Altamira, caja 265, GD 1. Pedro Ronquillo to the Marquis of Cogolludo. London, 8 October 1688; and J.I. Israel, 'William III and Toleration,' in *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, pp. 135–140.
78. For the 1688 revolution, J. Miller, *The Glorious Revolution* (London: Long-man, 1983); W.A. Speck, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: Englishmen and the Revolution of 1688* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); D. Hoak and M. Feingold (eds.), *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspective on the Revolution of 1688–89* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); J.I. Israel (ed.), *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and Its World Impact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Pincus, *1688, la primera revolución moderna*; and T. Harris and S. Taylor (eds.), *The Final Crisis of the Stuart Monarchy: The Revolutions of 1688–91 in Their British, Atlantic and European Contexts* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013).
79. BFZ, Fondo Altamira, caja 265, GD 1. Pedro Ronquillo to the Marquis of Cogolludo. London, n. d., c. October 1688. Miller, *James II*, pp. 200–201.
80. Miller, *James II*, p. 205.
81. C. Bravo Lozano, 'Popular Protests, the Public Sphere and Court Catholicism: The Insults to the Chapel of the Spanish Embassy in London, 1685–1688,' *Culture & History*, 6/1 (2017), pp. 1–16.
82. AHN, Estado, L. 183. Pedro Ronquillo to the Marquis of Villagarcía. London, 17 December 1688. See the preparations for the royal flight in Miller, *James II*, pp. 200–209; and Troost, *William III, the Stadholder-King: A Political Biography*, pp. 203–207.
83. R. Beddard, *A Kingdom without a King: The Journal of the Provisional Government in the Revolution of 1688* (London: Phaidon, 1988).
84. AHN, Estado, L. 183. Pedro Ronquillo to the Marquis of Villagarcía. London, n. d., c. December 1688.
85. AGS, Estado, leg. 8342, f. 368. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 23 December 1688. Troost, *William III, the Stadholder-King: A Political Biography*, pp. 205–207.
86. AGRB, Ambassade d'Espagne à La Haye, 496. Manuel Coloma to Pedro Ronquillo. The Hague, 21 December 1688.

87. A. Faulkner, 'An Irish Diary of the War against James II: 12 August–23 October 1689,' *Collectanea Hibernica*, 20 (1978), pp. 21–29; Simms, 'The War of the Two Kings, 1685–1691,' pp. 478–508; D.W. Hayton, 'The Williamite Revolution in Ireland, 1688–91,' in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and Its World Impact*, pp. 185–214; R. Doherty, *The Williamite War in Ireland 1688–1691* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998); J. Childs, *The Williamite Wars in Ireland* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007); and R. Armstrong, 'The War of the Three Kings, 1689–91,' in *Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, pp. 375–398.
88. Ó'hAnnracháin, 'The Strategic Involvement of Continental Powers in Ireland, 1596–1691,' pp. 46–47.
89. ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Madrid, 11, ff. 139rv. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 29 January 1689.
90. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/667, ff. 81r–82r. William of Orange to Charles II. Saint James, 25 January 1689. On 26 October 1688, William of Orange wrote to Charles II that he was to ensure that Catholics enjoyed liberty of conscience and that they would not be subject to religious persecution. RAH, Salazar y Castro, 9/667. This statement and the directives that ruled his religious policies were received with caution by the members of the council of State. AGS, Estado, leg. 8342, f. 388. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 26 February 1689. In his response, Charles II thanked William of Orange for the favour shown to his ambassador, and urged him to put into effect his tolerant discourse. AGS, Estado, leg. 3976. Charles II to William of Orange. Madrid, 9 March 1689. Israel, 'William III and Toleration,' pp. 139–142.
91. AGS, Estado, leg. 3977. Charles II to Pedro Ronquillo. Madrid, 22 March 1690.
92. B. Hazard, 'The Manifiesto of Field Marshal Hugh O'Donnell, in Justification of His Departure from the Kingdom without Leave from Charles II, King of Spain, c. 1690,' *The Irish Sword*, 26/104 (2008), pp. 129–137.
93. P. Lenihan, *1690: Battle of the Boyne* (Stroud: Tempus, 2003).
94. The various reasons that led France to intervene in the Williamite War are examined in R. Pillorget, 'Louis XIV et l'Irlande,' *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, 106 (1992), pp. 7–26; P. Joannon, 'Jacques II et l'Expedition d'Irlande d'après les Despêches du Comte d'Avaux Ambassadeur Extraordinaire de Louis XIV,' *Études Irlandaises*, 18 (1993), pp. 93–108; F. Boulaire, 'L'Irlande, la France et l'Europe en 1689–90: les Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux et Irlande,' *Études Irlandaises*, 21 (2001), pp. 71–83; and D.W. Hayton, 'Louis XIV, James II and Ireland,' in *Louis XIV Outside In: Images of the Sun King beyond France, 1661–1715*, T. Claydon and C.-É. Levillain, eds. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 111–131.
95. AGRB, Ambassade d'Espagne à La Haye, 496. Manuel Coloma to Pedro Ronquillo. The Hague, 27 May 1689.
96. J.G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland, 1685–1691* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000²); and E. Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685–1766: A Fatal Attachment* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004²).
97. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 8/10, f. 6. Copy from the Marquis of Cogolludo to Charles II. Rome, 16 September 1691. E. Corp, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689–1718* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
98. TCD, Mss. 1178, doc. 37. Treaty of Limerick. Limerick, 3 October 1691. W. Troost, *William the Third and the Treaty of Limerick (1691–1697) William III and the Treaty of Limerick, 1691–1697: A Study of His Irish Policy* (Unpublished PhD thesis. Leiden: University of Leiden, 1983); Id., *William III, the Stadholder-King: A Political Biography*, pp. 281–283; Id., 'Ireland's Role in the

Foreign Policy of William III,' in *Redefining William III: The Impact of the King-Staholder in International Context*, E. Mijers and D. Onnekink, eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 53–68; and C.I. McGrath, 'Politics, 1692–1730,' in *The Cambridge History of Ireland, Vol. II: 1550–1730*, pp. 121–124. This also featured in article 12 of the capitulation of Galway, on 21 July. BL, Additional Manuscripts, 61638, ff. 1r–6r:3v. Articles of the Galway peace treaty. Galway, 21 July 1691. The third article of Wateford's surrender read 'the Roman Catholic dwellers of the city shall not be molested in their properties'. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 67/1, f. 176. Confirmation of the third article of Wateford's surrender. Kensington, 13 March 1693.

99. L.G. Schwoerer, *The Declaration of Rights, 1689* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1981); Israel, 'William III and Toleration,' pp. 129–170; L.G. Schwoerer, 'The Bill of Rights, 1689, Revisited,' in *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspective on the Revolution of 1688–89*, D. Hoak and M. Feingold, eds. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 42–58; G.J. Schochet, 'The Act of Toleration and the Failure of Comprehension: Persecution, Nonconformity, and Religious Indifference,' in *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspective on the Revolution of 1688–89*, pp. 165–187; and S. Sowerby, *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 249–255. Different political and philosophical schools have seen John Locke's *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, a handbook of Orangist political practice for the throne of England. J. Marshal, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 127–128.
100. S.J. Connolly, 'The Penal Laws,' in *Kings in Conflict: The Revolutionary War in Ireland and Its Aftermath, 1689–1750*, p. 158; and C. Rose, *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion and War* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p. 218.

6

Religion After War

Redefining the Mission

Limerick, 1691: A Turning Point

The Treaty of Limerick was the closing act of the Williamite War. However, the agreement was to cause consternation among Protestants. A year after the signature of the treaty, the Dublin parliament met for the first time under the sovereignty of William III in order to, amongst other things, ratify the peace treaty.¹ In the meantime, on 3 March 1692, the king-stadholder took another step forward in his project of political reform and appointed his personal friend, Viscount Sidney, Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, replacing the lord justices Charles Porter—Lord Chancellor between 1685 and 1687—and Thomas Coningsby.² The new Spanish ambassador, Manuel Coloma, Marquis of Canales, met him during his embassy in The Hague. In London, Coloma did not waste any time before contacting Viscount Sidney and enquiring about his attitude towards the Irish Catholics and the goals of the new parliament that he intended to summon when he arrived there. In an amicable tone, Coloma recommended keeping a low political profile and deactivating the notion of the *conquered* kingdom. Otherwise, it was legal to impose the English laws on them, confiscate their properties, and levy taxes ‘even in matters of conscience’. Sidney was grateful for this advice and explained to the Spanish diplomat how the government only wanted to ‘humiliate those who are enemies of the kings’.³ This unsolicited interference in English internal affairs earned Coloma a reprimand from Madrid, who tried with this admonition to avoid a greater problem caused

by his indiscretion. It seems clear that Coloma aspired to become an indispensable cog in the diplomatic machinery of England and Spain. After this incident, he was instructed to limit himself to supporting the Catholics in Ireland discreetly, shunning any involvement in any other matter which could damage the position of Irish Catholics and Spanish interests.⁴

Owing to this order, the Marquis of Canales defended the Roman community against the application of the measures that Dublin's parliament had tried to approve in 1692.⁵ After an act passed in London during the previous December, both Houses were entirely made up of Protestants. As such, Catholics were excluded from the debates, thus creating the perfect conditions for Protestants to express their displeasure and opposition towards the Treaty of Limerick and the concessions granted to the Catholics, which were in their opinion illegitimate.⁶

Alongside these attempts at revoking the peace accord, the new Lord Lieutenant proposed expelling the regular clergy from Ireland—a measure that contravened the terms of the Limerick. At a critical juncture, just before the ratification of the treaty was decided, Sidney, whose relationship with the House of Commons was problematic, suspended the session, which meant that the treaty was not ratified. Following the advice of his Privy Council, William III decided not to decree the expulsion of the Catholic regular clergy.⁷ This tug-of-war was to last throughout William's reign. Protestants tried time and time again to derogate the capitulations whereas Catholics supported all their arguments upon it.

Throughout 1692, the treaty clauses came into effect in Ireland. From the start, and despite the royal guarantees, the lord justices complained about the behaviour of Catholics, their demands, and their armed protests.⁸ On the other hand, Catholics claimed that, despite the capitulations, they were still subject to intimidation and threats. While the Treaty of Limerick heralded a period defined by freedom of conscience in the British Isles, Madrid and Rome kept receiving reports about the pressure suffered by the Irish clergy. In some cases, these reports were exaggerated in order to gain sympathy from Charles II and Innocent XII. The nuncio in the Spanish court, the Ferrara-born Giuseppe Mosti, referred to ill treatment, persecution, and executions, and tried to encourage Charles II to broach the issue with William III.⁹ This rhetoric was in sharp contrast to the political tranquillity and religious tolerance described in the reports sent by the Spanish

ambassador in London, Manuel Coloma. This period of change was also reflected in the opening of the new parliament, which ignored the old order that banished recusants ten miles from London and confirmed the Irish peace treaties.¹⁰ The diplomat blamed the biased reports on the intrigues of priests and friars of the French party, as well as French secret agents. According to his view, these agents were trying to interfere with the smooth running of Spanish-English relations, and incited Catholics to protest on the smallest pretext.¹¹ Coloma did not spare the Jacobite party either. He compared them to the Portuguese, who kept waiting for the lost King Sebastian, who had disappeared: 'but if he came back, they would kick him out again right away'.¹² Although William III was of an indulgent disposition, the verbal incontinence of the opposition party encouraged the government to adopt a backhanded policy towards it.¹³

In reality, the Orangist regime oscillated between tolerance and repression. Some political quarrels were still very much alive. Early in the year, the ambassador Manuel Coloma reported to Madrid on his dealings with William III, made at the request of some students who were at the time in London. The goal of this mediation was to block, or at least to mitigate, the legal consequences of the new act signed by the king. According to this act, in addition to the oath of Allegiance, as agreed in the peace treaty, Catholics were also made to take the oath of Supremacy, which contravened the peace clauses. The Earl of Nottingham indicated that the king was willing to concede anything, but also stated that 'the kings of England have not authority over the laws of the realm'.¹⁴

Notwithstanding the initial resistance and the difficulties associated with reaching a true religious balance in Ireland, the Limerick concessions also benefitted the members of the Irish Mission, many of whom had been arrested or killed.¹⁵ Apart from the impact that war could have on the pastors, the main worry was the fate of the Catholic community. A few days before the signing of the treaty, the rector of the college in Salamanca, James Walsh, stressed the desperate shortage of missionaries in Ireland. As a solution, he applied for four *viatica* with which to dispatch four priests at the first opportunity, despite the situation of unrest on the island.¹⁶ This was the first step of a new phase in the life of the Mission, with increasing numbers of missionaries and a more stable administration.

Despite these glitches, the general conditions improved for the ‘Spanish’ missionaries. As in 1673, after the publication of the Declaration of Indulgence, the number of priests and friars dispatched to Ireland in 1692 increased significantly. In that year, fifty-one *viaticas* were granted, the highest number in the whole 17th century ([Figure BM1.1](#)). This quantitative contrast with the reigns of Charles II and James II may be attributed to various causes. The political scenario created by the surrender of Limerick and Galway, as well as the tolerant policy deployed by William III, was a turning point for the Mission. It is a paradox that this had to follow a period of Catholic sovereignty, which, although theoretically meeting the political and religious wishes of the Spanish monarchy, did not lead to a significant easement of the missionary practice.

In addition to these factors, the number of Irish matriculating in Spain-based colleges and convents had grown. In many cases, the only thing that prevented them from setting sail right away was the lack of economic means to start the trip. The superiors of the orders involved stressed, time and time again, the abundance of human resources, which could fill the gaps caused by the casualties suffered in the last war.¹⁷ This argument became a commonplace in applications after 1692. However, as the years passed and the war faded into the mist of the past, the rhetoric became more and more stereotyped. Soon, the only gaps to be filled were those caused by natural deaths, not external or violent factors.¹⁸

Given the pragmatism of the Orangists, some Spanish-educated missionaries looked for the protection of the king-stadholder before assuming their pastoral positions. The application submitted by two Alcalá graduates, Anthony O’Kennedy and Cornelius O’Brien, and by the Augustine Father John Butler, illustrates the change of political and religious policy after Limerick. For these missionaries, the easiest way to reach Ireland was to apply for an official safe conduct, with Charles II mediating. Instead of the *viaticum*, these Irish priests prioritised a Spanish recommendation letter asking William III to admit them to his dominions following the 1691 agreement.¹⁹ The patriarch and the council of State disagreed on how to proceed with this application; the tense debate, which revolved around the issues of tolerance and political convenience, ended in a compromise. Charles II decided not to ask William III for the favour, but instructed Manuel Coloma to carry out the necessary negotiations.²⁰ This example, anecdotal though it is, shows that, concerning religious matters,

Madrid still watched the new English policy of Catholic tolerance with caution.²¹

The lack of direct references to missionary activity on the ground makes it hard to assess the impact of the new policies, especially the acts of the parliament in Dublin, the resolutions of Lord Lieutenant Sidney, and yet another attempt to enforce banishment measures in 1693.²² The Capuchins sent regular reports to the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* but, in contrast, information concerning the Spanish-sponsored missionaries is scarce. There is a letter, however, that seems to indicate that the high officials of the Mission in Spain and the priests and friars in Ireland were in permanent contact. From Dublin, Patrick Lynch informed the new rector at Salamanca, Barnaby Bath, of the extreme poverty of the missionaries. Specifically, Lynch mentions three presbyters who were not on the list of royal servants: Father Mark Lynch, Father Sherlock, and Father Kiernan. In order to be able to help them, he requested the payment of some money that he was owed in Castile, by means of a London-based merchant.²³

Hugh Fay, one of the four priests presented in 1691 in Salamanca by the former rector, James Walsh, was a little luckier than the other three. He was the nephew of Chaplain Dermot Fay, and his success at court was related to his manoeuvring in the Irish college in Madrid, not his missionary work. Although he had initially expressed his wish to join the Mission in Ireland, two years later he was still in Madrid owing to the difficulties associated with entering Ireland and to the prevailing religious problems there.²⁴ Hugh Fay is one of the few documented cases of missionaries who, despite having received the royal *viaticum*, spent their ecclesiastical lives in Spain.²⁵ While he waited for the situation to quiet down in his homeland, Fay busied himself in pushing forward the missionary activity, sometimes acting as procurator for other applicants. It was from 1696 onwards, however, that his courtesan *cursus honorum* really took off, and his influence in the operations of the Mission became truly noticeable. In that year, following the will of his uncle, he was appointed to the chaplaincy of the Madrid college, from which position he would oversee the education and wellbeing of future missionaries to the British Isles.²⁶

Hugh Fay's case, however, was hardly exceptional. There were a large number of missionaries stuck in different ports owing to lack of means. On several occasions, the Franciscan commissar Father Nicholas Bodquin,

while trying to expedite payments by appealing to the humanity of those officials in whose hands the matter rested, decried the *nakedness* that his people had to suffer while waiting for payment.²⁷ The reasons for the delays were the usual shortage of funds in the royal coffers and the extraordinary restrictive measures imposed in the late 17th century on any form of substantial expenditure.²⁸

In 1693, Bodquin also stressed the additional problems being caused by the Dominican procurator, Father Ambrose O'Connor. Father Nicholas's complaint arose from the introduction of new evaluation criteria by the new Patriarch of the Indies, Pedro Portocarrero y Guzmán. According to the information in his power, the royal orders deposited with the first almoner and chaplain did not proceed further without the endorsement of the Dominican. This can be interpreted as an informal filter in the evaluation of memoranda and the merits of the individual applicants, even before they reached the patriarch. This was not merely an administrative issue, but was rather a reflection of the struggle of Dominicans and Franciscans for the control of the Mission.

In a *memorial* addressed to Portocarrero, Commissar Bodquin complained of the injustice that this situation generated for the members of his order. In practice, O'Connor's information was limited concerning which Franciscans studied in the Franciscan colleges and convents in Spain, Louvain, and elsewhere. Bodquin also warned him that the Dominican's ultimate aim was to divert the resources of the Mission to boost Dominican involvement in it, despite the fact that the Franciscans were, by far, the Mission's main source of support.²⁹

Father Nicholas also accused O'Connor of dealing with *viatica* not impartially, and presented several proposals to the council of State to put an end to this situation and to, ultimately, block the growing influence of the Dominicans and return to the former pre-eminence of the Franciscans in Ireland. The evidence seems, however, to indicate that the Franciscan belief in their numerical superiority was not based on real facts. Between 1610 and 1693, the year in which this conflict arose, the records attest to 181 Franciscans—which should be compared to the 258 Dominican missionaries ([Table BM1.1](#) and [Figure BM1.2](#)).³⁰ It is, at any rate, clear that Ireland was one of the many battlefields on which Franciscans and Dominicans met.

All this did nothing to stop other missionaries from beginning with their ministry. In 1695, Theobald Burke applied for the *viaticum*. The patriarch's opinion reveals the singularity of his petition. Portocarrero immediately realised that this was the second time he had done this. The priest had applied for the 100 ducats two years earlier, but had been refused because he had not yet graduated from the University of Alcalá. Mauricio O'Brien and Comarco Quigo had faced a similar situation in 1660 when they had to come back to the seminary to finish their learning.³¹ After sitting the two final years, Burke finally saw his petition endorsed by Portocarrero.³² The administrative rigour exercised and the implementation of the normative framework of the selective process safeguarded the correct running of the Irish Mission.

Irish Mission, Northern Mission

According to some geographic interpretations, the emergence of the idea of the 'Northern Mission', a term coined in 1673, coincided with the crystallisation of the 'North' as a political concept in the aftermath of Louis XIV's territorial *réunions*. The term became particularly common in the 1690s, when it occasionally came to replace the traditional 'Irish Mission'. The name is a reflection of the expansion of the missionary activities into the 'northern provinces', which now also incorporated England and Scotland.³³ These changes did not involve a loss of identity for the Irish Mission, which in fact, even before this conceptual innovation had been formalised, had never been strictly limited to Ireland. Throughout the century, the Irish Mission had progressively incorporated new territories, naturally and as a consequence of the hardships suffered by the royal patronage in England and Scotland, until all territories formed a flexible and adaptable unit.

Despite this 'merger', the missionary work undertaken by the Society of Jesus in England and Scotland continued to enjoy separate royal support. Theoretically, these works were autonomous endeavours, but that did not stop members from recruiting graduates of the English colleges in Valladolid and Madrid. Their *viatica* of 50 ducats were provided by the

Crown through the *Casa de la Contratación* until 1691, when the financial difficulties brought such payments to an end. The colleges tried to make good the shortage themselves, in the hope that they would be compensated at a later date; fifteen years later, the colleges realised that this was not going to happen, and ceased payments as well. The Superior General, Tirso González, instructed the college rectors not to admit any students who had no means to cover the costs of their return to the British Isles.³⁴ In contrast to the Jesuit Mission in England, which went into decline, the Scottish Mission remained very active and sent a constant stream of missionaries to the north.³⁵ Be that as it may, none of these enterprises could compare with the Irish Mission, the strength of which is demonstrated by the fact that it was still going strong in the end of the 17th century, despite the constant difficulties suffered.

The administration never really warmed to the term ‘Northern Mission’, and its use in the record was less frequent than the traditional ‘Irish Mission’. Both expressions were, at any rate, fully interchangeable. In contrast, the European missions promoted by the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* always identified precisely the territory in which each branch operated, and missions were fully independent from one another. In the mid-17th century, the social perception of ‘Septentrion’ was still present in the pontifical imaginary. Under the denomination ‘Settentrionale’, the dicastery included Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and Hungary, among other regions. There is, however, some room for terminological confusion, as the overall mission included these extensive territories, but the more restricted branch known as ‘Missioni settentrionali’ limited its range of action to the territories to the north of the Holy Empire (Anhalt, Holstein, Schleswig, Saxony, Lusatia, Bavaria, and Prussia).³⁶

The use of the same word to refer to slightly different things reflects the tension between the inherent flexibility of language and the need of humans to define with precision what is around them. An analysis of the archives of the patriarchs Antonio de Benavides and Pedro Portocarrero demonstrates the richness of rhetorical terms adopted by the administration of the missionary enterprise, and also the limits of the geographical area included under the Northern Mission.

Characteristically, different expressions were used simultaneously and indistinctly to refer to this ‘north’, revealing that the concept was not all that clear in the minds of the petitioners and councillors of State. Soon after

the introduction of the name, imprecise allusions to the ‘north’ began emerging on applications. In 1689, the priest Mark Plunket reminded the monarch of the custom of giving 100 ducats to all missionaries ‘heading towards any port of the north’, although the royal decree clearly stated that the purpose of this *viaticum* was to travel to Ireland.³⁷ In this same year, the Irish graduate Anthony O’Kennedy declared his readiness to join ‘the mission in the north’. In 1693, nine Irish priests and friars received the alms to depart for ‘the provinces of the north’.³⁸ In a similar vein, the gentleman Alberto O’Farail, the English translator of several Spanish devotional works, tried to gain the royal patronage for his missionary book *The Life of the Virgin Marie*, with which he wanted to contribute to the Irish Mission and to the solace of ‘the Catholics of the north’.³⁹

On other occasions, Ireland was mentioned first as the territory of reference within the wider north. This was, for example, the case with five Augustinian friars on their way to join the Mission and other northern region in 1690. Three years later, the Alcalá graduate Patrick O’Barry kept his promise to his college and set off for Ireland and ‘other provinces of the north’. Likewise, his co-national and colleague Thomas Dineghan also expressed his wish to preach in his homeland or ‘elsewhere in the north’.⁴⁰

The variety of formulae used, and the seemingly random way they combined, even within the same document, contrasted with the use of the generic term ‘missions’. ‘Ireland’ ended up being used to refer to not only the island, but also the neighbouring British realms. The missionary work undertaken in all of them was understood as a single enterprise, and the initial differentiation gave way to a unified administrative, political, and religious structure, indistinctly known as the Irish Mission or Northern Mission.⁴¹

The title and jurisdictions assigned to the procurators of the regular orders also suffered from a similar lack of definition. In principle, their jurisdiction was restricted to the geographical reference included in their designation. For instance, the authority of the general procurator of the Dominicans, Father Ambrose O’Connor, extended to England and Ireland.⁴² For his part, the Franciscan Father Bonaventure Meehan acted in the Spanish court as commissar of the Irish, English, and Scottish missions. His successor, Father Nicholas Bodquin, constitutes a more complex example.⁴³ In some documents the patriarch attributes to him authority over

‘the Mission’ or ‘the Northern Mission’, whereas in other documents he is referred to as commissar of the missions in Ireland, England, and Scotland or, simply, of the mission in Ireland (meaning the whole of the British Isles).⁴⁴

Over time the repetition of expressions that made reference to the ‘north’ contributed to sow the idea in the minds of the politicians and administrators who had to deal with the missionary enterprise, and the Northern Mission came to be factually understood by all as missionary work undertaken under the king’s patronage in the British Isles. In any case, clerics from other northern nations also tried to use this idea of the ‘north’ in their appeals to Charles II. In particular, the Polish attempted to present themselves as comparable to the Irish in order to gain royal patronage, repeatedly referring to the preferential treatment of the Irish. Also, they argued, the Spanish Crown also assisted clerics from other nations.

In 1649, the Polish Dominican Father Carolus Christenius convinced Philip IV to award him the traditional 100 ducats, which were, as usual, channelled through the patriarch.⁴⁵ In contrast, in 1693 his co-nationals and coreligionists Fathers Vicente de Lublin and Cipriano de la Cruz failed to achieve the same result. The record shows that both had been trained in the convent of Our Lady of Atocha and were ready to begin preaching in the north.⁴⁶ Pedro Portocarrero duly endorsed their quality and aptitudes, also indicating that their proposed destination was Poland, not ‘the provinces of the north’.⁴⁷

The fact that the patriarch specified the region where these missionaries were to operate provides a geographical framework for their activity and, importantly, places them outside the scope of the regular royal patronage in the north. In any case, the fact that they were not targeting the ‘north’ did not stop Charles II from giving these clerics some alms with which to return to their homeland. According to Portocarrero’s report, the two Dominicans were lodging in the house of a Madrid-based Flemish man, and although they were not filed as heading towards the British Isles, their proposed ministry was not so far removed from the ‘official’ mission; the king determined that they were to be granted 200 reales each, to be taken from the purse of Queen Mother Mariana of Austria. The source of the money was clearly intentional, as by specifying this source the king clearly

distinguished this grant from the *viaticum* awarded to those missionaries joining the Irish Mission or the Northern Mission.^{[48](#)}

For Secret Expenses and by Power of Attorney: The *Viaticum* and Its Alternatives

In November 1692, a few months before the application of the Polish Dominicans was processed, Charles II and the patriarch dealt with the request filed by the Irish Franciscan Father James Quinn. According to the report submitted by Father Juan de Santo Domingo, lecturer in theology and guardian of the convent of Saint Gil in Madrid, this friar was suffering most severe financial hardship.^{[49](#)} The delays of the council of Finances in delivering the grant forced Quinn to look elsewhere for alternative sources of funding. Quinn's tribulations, like those of the aforementioned Polish Dominicans, were ultimately to find relief in the *bolsillo secreto* of the queen mother.

Continuing a practice that she had started during her regency years, Mariana of Austria supported both priests and friars, even after she left court upon her son coming of age. In the 1690s, she increased her donations even further by awarding private grants from her privy purse, mirroring a policy initiated by Charles II.^{[50](#)} The Irish, in addition to their privileged position in the Crown's official patronage system, also enjoyed the private favour of the queen. For instance, James Quinn, whose petition for the regular *viaticum* was at the time being processed, was granted 300 reales. When the official application finally went through with the endorsement of Portocarrero, the Franciscan (and another eight clerics who had not enjoyed the queen's favour) was awarded 100 ducats in addition to the queen's prebend.^{[51](#)}

Another Irish cleric who found support in the queen mother's privy funds was the Franciscan Father Bonaventure Meehan, who identified himself as a missionary but was, in fact, the general commissar of his order at court. He made no mention of what he wanted the money for, and the 500 reales granted in early 1690 were probably used to cover his personal expenses.^{[52](#)} In a similar case, four years later his successor in the commissary of the

Franciscan order for the Northern Mission, Father Nicholas Bodquin, was awarded 200 reales by the queen mother.⁵³

In the late 17th century, the delay in the delivery of *viatica* had become almost the norm, forcing petitioners to seek quicker and safer alternatives. Because the applications had to be certified by the provincial of the missionaries' orders, and the different reports collected among the rectors of the Irish seminaries, it was not unknown for a whole year to pass between the petition and the concession of the *viaticum*. Concerned about this and the expenses incurred by the prospective missionaries during this time, Joseph Marcos recommended the rector of the Irish college of Salamanca, Barnaby Bath, collate several demands to minimise costs.⁵⁴ The administrative sluggishness did not come to an end there, as it was common for the council of Finances to add to the delay even after the grant had been awarded. For this reason, the Augustinian Fathers William Beldun and Patrick Anin saw the *real bolsillo de gastos secretos* as the only chance for a prompt departure.⁵⁵ A *memorial* issued by the Alcalá graduate Anthony O'Kennedy illustrates the tone of these petitions to the *bolsillo secreto*. He was cautious, wary of the disappointment suffered by some of his coreligionists, but determined to avoid the problems caused by the slowness of the treasury.⁵⁶

The *gastos secretos* worked the same way as the queen's *bolsillo secreto*, and as such were outside the scrutiny of the State's financial control mechanisms. These funds were freely dispensed by the king, for example to exercise his personal patronage, and were dispensed much faster than those delivered by the council of Finances.⁵⁷ This explains their appeal among prospective missionaries, who nevertheless saw them only as a transitory solution to their most immediate needs.

In the final years of Charles II's reign, access to these funds involved a complex administrative protocol. Future missionaries had to submit a regular *viaticum* application through a middleman, who could be either the superior of their order or a private individual. These agents played a prominent role in the negotiation and eventual delivery of the grant. It is necessary to distinguish the auditing processes followed by the regular orders. Whether or not the petitioners were in Madrid had a considerable impact on the final decision. The measures implemented to keep potential missionaries away from Madrid forced those who wished to apply for a

grant from elsewhere to rely on private agents with whom the petitioner had some sort of social, national, or familial link. Most Irish applicants used their contacts among the Irish community in Madrid.⁵⁸ Others, however, waited until they were ready to depart and then sent a power of attorney to have their case presented at court. This was the case for Thomas Joseo, a graduate in Santiago, who requested the mediation of the aforementioned Hugh Fay.⁵⁹ Essentially, the job of the applicant's representative was, with the certification of a notary public, to receive the money delivered by the council of Finances on the patriarch's orders. The delegate also issued a receipt for the money or the bill of exchange to be cashed in the harbour.

Regardless, these practices are poorly documented, and the account is, therefore, largely speculative. In another example, the Pontevedra-based priests John German, Thomas Cheaver, Edward French, Dominic Lynch, Charles Culkin, and Anthony Murphy sought a representative in Madrid in February 1692. Their delegates were Juan del Castillo and the Irishman Francis Brown.⁶⁰ In another example, which involved the payment of the Alcalá graduate Patrick Keogh's *viaticum* through James O'Farrell, the documents stress that the power of attorney was a requisite for payment.⁶¹

An alternative to the delivery of the *viatica* was devised in the 1690s by Father Nicholas Bodquin, the commissar general of the Franciscans in Madrid, who personally channelled the distribution of the grants awarded to the members of his order. The authorisations issued by different Franciscan missionaries in his favour reveal that the commissar relied on the syndic of this order, the textiles merchant Juan de Jaúregui, from the Valley of Baztán (Navarre), to execute the payments.⁶² The receipts for 1696 indicate that all six Franciscan missionaries travelling to Ireland in that year received money in this way.⁶³ In 1698, Fathers Bernardo Matheo and Felipe Trener went through the same process and received the *viaticum* money nearly one year in advance to the king's resolution, issued in March 1699.⁶⁴

These alternative routes suggest that the role of the patriarch had lost some of its former importance as the century wore on, until it was relegated to a secondary position. Conversely, the procurator of the different orders became increasingly important in the structure of the Mission and in the negotiation of the *viatica*. The grants were still officially channelled through the patriarch, but in the final years of the century his role was restricted to rubber-stamping the resolutions adopted by other people.

Meanwhile, the management of the rents paid by the diocese of Cádiz had also changed. In 1696, the 1,000-ducat rent ceased to be managed by the Patriarch of the Indies and was entrusted to the Archdeacon of the Cathedral of Granada, who divided it between the Scottish college in Madrid and its mission and other charitable endeavours, at the king's discretion.⁶⁵ This does not mean that the Irish missionaries were no longer the beneficiaries of half of this money, because that would have contravened the mandate of the papal bulls. However, after 1654 and the death of Thomas Walsh, the money was no longer assigned completely to the diocese of Cashel, but to *in genere* alms, although the patriarch at the time had recommended this money be used as *viatica*.

Notes

1. J.I. McGuire, 'The Irish Parliament of 1692,' in *Penal Era and Golden Age: Essays in Irish History, 1690–1800*, T. Barlett and D.W. Hayton, eds. (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1979), pp. 1–31.
2. Troost, *William III, the Stadholder-King: A Political Biography*, p. 280.
3. AGS, Estado, leg. 3967. The Marquis of Canales to Charles II. London, 26 August 1692.
4. AGS, Estado, leg. 3977. Order by Charles II to the Marquis of Canales. Madrid, 27 September 1692.
5. AGS, Estado, leg. 3967. The Marquis of Canales to Charles II. London, 21 October 1692. Some Irish nobles wanted to thank him for his mediation, but Coloma refused this kind of demonstration to avoid any complaint. AGS, Estado, leg. 3967. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 17 December 1692.
6. Troost, *William III, the Stadholder-King: A Political Biography*, pp. 282–283.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 285 and 289.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
9. AGS, Estado, leg. 3967. Translation of a letter by Giuseppe Mosti to the Marquis of Mancera. Madrid, 28 December 1691.
10. AGS, Estado, leg. 3967. Alonso Carnero to Crispín González Botello. Madrid, 29 January 1692.
11. AGS, Estado, leg. 3967. Manuel Coloma to Charles II. London, 4 March 1692. Coloma's report on the conditions of the Irish was communicated to Nuncio Mosti. ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Madrid, 42, ff. 66rv. The Marquis of Mancera to Giuseppe Mosti. Buen Retiro, 18 April 1692.
12. AGRB, Ambassade d'Espagne à La Haye, 498. Manuel Coloma to the Marquis of Castelmoncayo. London, 27 June 1692.

13. AGRB, Ambassade d'Espagne à La Haye, 498. Manuel Coloma to the Marquis of Castelmoncayo. London, May 1692.
14. AGS, Estado, leg. 3967. Manuel Coloma to Charles II. London, 8 January 1692.
15. After the end of the Irish war, William III informed Charles II that peace and obedience had been restored in his dominions. AGS, Estado, leg. 3967. Translation of a letter by William III to Charles II. Whitehall, 27 October 1691.
16. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 501]. Memorial of the Jesuit James Walsh. Salamanca, 10 August 1691.
17. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 511]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 28 February 1692.
18. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 450]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 31 August 1693; AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 456]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 9 January 1694; AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 460]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 28 January 1695; and AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 592]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 16 January 1697.
19. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 508]. Petition by the students Anthony O'Kennedy and Cornelius O'Brien, and the Augustinian Father John Butler. Madrid, 8 January 1692.
20. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 509]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 7 February 1692; and AGS, Estado, leg. 4086. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 21 February 1692.
21. AGS, Estado, leg. 3967. The Marquis of Canales to Charles II. London, 26 August 1692; Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 27 September 1692; and order by Charles II to the Marquis of Canales. Madrid, 2 October 1692.
22. '[T]he king had once directed a draught to be made of a proclamation for banishing the Popish bishops and regular clergy but upon consideration of this matter in council, his Majesty suspended his resolution in it'. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 67/1, f. 233v. The Count of Nottingham to the Viscount Sidney. Whitehall, 30 May 1693.
23. SP/XX/V/6/2. James Walsh to Barnaby Bath. Bilbao, 2 October 1693; and SP/XX/V/6/4. James Walsh to Barnaby Bath. Bilbao, 29 October 1693. The letter also announces the death of Martín Vitus.
24. SP/XVII/M/2/6. Joseph Marcos to Barnaby Bath. Madrid, 23 December 1693.
25. A letter from Joseph Delamar, rector of the Irish college in Salamanca, to Philip V reports that Hugh Fay, and a number of others, never left for Ireland. Judging by the letter, it seems that in Salamanca there was no knowledge of Fay's work in the Irish college in Madrid. Delamar simply informs the king of Fay's address in one of the court's hospices. SP/S/40/7 (i). Joseph Delamar to Philip V. Salamanca, 19 January 1709.
26. In 1715, the signature of Hugh Fay, in his position as rector of the Irish college in Madrid, is appended to a power of attorney in favour of the director of the college, Nicholas Fallon. AHPM, Protocolo 14212 (notary public Francisco Pulido), mazo de 1715, ff. 83rv. Power of attorney from Hugh Fay and James Barry, in favour of Nicholas Fallon. Madrid, 1 June 1715.
27. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 457]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 22 January 1694; and AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 588]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 15 March 1697.
28. In 1695 the amount available for *viatica* for the Discalced Franciscan Fathers John Purcell and Anthony McLave was reduced to 500 reales. The instructions for the payment indicated that 'no

- more can we give them', and their order was asked to 'supply the hundred ducats in their entirety'. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 467]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 27 April 1695.
29. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 444]. Memorial by Nicholas Bodquin. Madrid, 26 January 1693.
 30. Po-Chia Hsia quantifies 160 Irish Franciscans, both in Ireland and the continent in 1618, almost 300 in 1623 and 1,000 in 1640s. This exponential growth was used by the Superiors of the order to strengthen the Franciscan position within the Mission and legitimise its hegemony against the Dominican order during the second half of the 17th century. R. Po-Chia Hsia, *El mundo de la renovación católica, 1540–1770* (Madrid: Akal, 2010), pp. 118–119.
 31. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 357]. Report of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán. Madrid, 26 October 1660.
 32. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 468]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 21 June 1695.
 33. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 491]. Charles II's decree for Antonio de Benavides, the patriarch's report and memorial by the commissar general of the Franciscans, Bonaventure Meehan. Buen Retiro, 5 June 1691.
 34. Father Juan de Fuentes to Father Joseph Altamirano. Valladolid, 16 April 1692; Beltrán de Candevilla to Father Baltasar de Cañavate. Valladolid, 21 February and 25 April 1699; and Father Diego Alfonso de Sosa to Father Jerónimo de Aranda. Valladolid, 4 September 1706. Cfr. Henson, *The English college at Madrid, 1611–1767*, pp. 326–327 (doc. 84), 329–330 (docs. 86–87) and 339 (doc. 94).
 35. AHN, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores-Santa Sede, leg. 136. Certificate by the Marquis of Mejorada. Madrid, 8 March 1696.
 36. N. Kowalsky and J. Metzler, *Inventory of the Historical Archives of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or "De Propaganda Fide"* (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, 1988). For an analysis of the Catholic missions in the German principalities in the context of the War of the Spanish Succession, in R. Quirós Rosado, 'Diplomacia y misión en Europa durante la guerra de Sucesión: los Habsburgo-Wolfenbüttel, el estado de Milán y el catolicismo septentrional,' *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 41/1 (2016), pp. 29–47.
 37. AGP, Real Capilla, Caja 81 [BDMI, 473]. Petition by Mark Plunket. Madrid, 24 January 1689.
 38. AGP, Real Capilla, Caja 81 [BDMI, 476]. Report of Antonio de Benavides. Madrid, 21 April 1689. These were the Augustinians Fathers Thomas Ologan, Francisco Camin, Agustín Buin, Guillermo Beldun, Nicolás Falon and Lorenzo Plunqueto; the Franciscan Father Jacobo Quin, and the students Nicolás Falon and Thomas Joseo. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 589]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 14 January 1693.
 39. AGS, Estado, 4125. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 11 November 1681. C. Bravo Lozano, "'Se le dé papel, prensa y letras". Albert O'Farail y el libro misionero *The Life of the Virgin Marie* (1671–1693),' *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 41/1 (2016), pp. 49–67.
 40. The Augustinians fathers were Juan de San Agustín, Eugenio Oconor, Juan Maquí, Agustín Linze and Francisco de Burgo. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 483]. Report of Antonio de Benavides. Madrid, 1 August 1690; AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 452]. Petition by Patricio Obari. Madrid, 25 September 1693; and AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 454]. Petition by Thomas Dineghan. Madrid, 8 November 1693.
 41. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 481]. Petition by Ambrose O'Connor. Madrid, 6 October 1689.

42. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 588]. Charles II to Pedro Portocarrero, the patriarch's report and memorial by Nicholas Bodquin. Madrid, 15 March 1697; and AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 459]. Petition by Ambrose O'Connor. Madrid, 21 November 1694.
43. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 479]. Petition by Bonaventure Meehan to seven religious of this order. Madrid, 21 September 1689.
44. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 459]. Petition by Ambrose O'Connor. Madrid, 21 November 1694.
45. AGS, Estado, leg. 2813. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 24 April 1649. It is known that, a year earlier, the Polish Augustinian Martin de Cracovia was also granted 100 ducats to return to his homeland. AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 933 [BDMI, 2321]. Philip IV to José González. Madrid, 15 March 1648.
46. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 447]. Order by Charles II with a memorial to the Dominican Fathers Vicente de Lublin and Cipriano de la Cruz. Madrid, 30 April 1693.
47. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 448]. Opinion of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 19 May 1693.
48. AGP, Administración General, caja 45. The Marquis of Mancera to Agustín de Silva. Del aposento, 2 May 1693.
49. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 524]. Report by the Discalced Franciscan of Saint Joseph, Father Juan de Santo Domingo. Madrid, 18 November 1692. Charles II's instructions to deal with the matter were dispatched three days earlier.
50. The recipients of the queen mother's generosity included the erudite missionary Pedro Cubero Sebastián; the apostolic preacher and Discalced Augustinian Father Manuel de Santa Teresa, who was about to join his order's mission in the Philippines; and the Swedish moralist Andreas Simmingh, who had converted to Catholicism in the Church of San Antonio de los Alemanes. The relevant *memoriales*, dated between 25 September 1689 and 20 April 1694, are preserved in AGP, Administración General, caja 45.
51. AGP, Administración General, caja 45. The Marquis of Mancera to Agustín de Silva. Del aposento, 17 September 1692; and AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 589]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 14 January 1693.
52. AGP, Administración General, caja 45. The Marquis of Mancera to Agustín de Silva. Del aposento, 17 January 1690. Millet, *The Irish Franciscans, 1651–1665*, p. 14, note 37.
53. AGP, Administración General, caja 45. The Marquis of Mancera to Agustín de Silva. Del aposento, 20 December 1694.
54. SP/XVII/M/2/6. Joseph Marcos to Barnaby Bath. Madrid, 23 December 1693.
55. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 445]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 30 January 1693.
56. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 476]. Report of Antonio de Benavides y Bazán. Madrid, 21 April 1689.
57. For the importance of the secret funds, their evolution over time, and the use made of them by Philip IV, D. Seiz Rodrigo, *La disimulación honesta. Los gastos secretos en el reinado de Felipe IV entre la razón de Estado y la merced cortesana* (Madrid: Endymion, 2010).
58. In 1680, the priest Mauricio Canan gave power of attorney to his fellow countryman Diego Farell for 'him to represent me' and receive the *viaticum*. AHPM, Protocolo 8537 (notary public

- Jerónimo de la Flor), mazo de 1680, ff. 136rv. Power of attorney of Mauricio Canan in favour of Diego Farell. Madrid, 8 August 1680.
59. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 517]. Power of attorney of Thomas Joseo in favour of Hugh Fay. Santiago, 18 November 1691.
 60. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 507]. Power of attorney of the priests Juan Germano, Thomas Chiver, Eduardo Frensi, Domingo Linze, Carlos Culquin, and Antonio Morfiin favour of Juan del Castillo and Francisco Bruno. Pontevedra, 25 February 1692. Both attorneys had also been authorised to receive this payment by Pedro Portocarrero. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 507]. Power of attorney of Pedro Portocarrero in favour of Juan del Castillo and Francisco Bruno. Madrid, 10 June 1692. This case was debated twice, on 24 March and 19 April. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 512 and BDMI, 513]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 24 March and 19 April 1692.
 61. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 515]. Power of attorney of Patrick Quejo in favour of James O'Farrell. Alcalá, 10 November 1692. His *viaticum* was granted on 5 September 1692. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 521]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 5 September 1692.
 62. For a detailed account of the role played by the Baztán community in Madrid, see S. Aquerreta, *Negocios y finanzas en el siglo XVIII: la familia Goyeneche* (Pamplona: EUNSA, 2001).
 63. AHPM, Protocolo 13759 (notary public Lorenzo Martínez), ff. 763r–764v, 773r–774v and 808r–809v. Powers of attorney of the Franciscan Fathers Buenaventura Duin, Antonio Sales, Pedro Quinan, Edmundo Nalli, Marcos Lauglen, and Francisco Keone in favour of Nicholas Bodquin. Madrid, 29 May, 19 June and 22 August 1696; and AHPM, Protocolo 13761 (notary public Lorenzo Martínez), ff. 570rv. Power of attorney of the Franciscan Fathers Bernardo Matheo and Felipe Trener in favour of Nicholas Bodquin. Madrid, 7 April 1698.
 64. AHPM, Protocolo 13761 (notary public Lorenzo Martínez), ff. 570rv. Power of attorney of the Franciscan Fathers Bernardo Matheo and Felipe Trener in favour of Nicholas Bodquin. Madrid, 7 April 1698; and AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by the Franciscan Fathers Bernardo Matheo and Philip Trener. Charles II's decree, ordering Pedro Portocarrero to produce a report; and Portocarrero's enquiries. Madrid, 24 February and 12 March 1699.
 65. AHN, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores-Santa Sede, leg. 136. Certificate by the Marquis of Mejorada. Madrid, 8 March 1696. In 1709, Joseph Delamar, rector of the Irish college in Salamanca, requested that Philip V assign some of the 800 ducats which, by his own calculations, must be sitting in 'the purse managed by the archdeacon of the cathedral of Granada', and which came from the rent assigned 'in perpetuity to the missionaries of the North'. SP/S/40/7 (i). Joseph Delamar to Philip V. Salamanca, n. d., c. 1709.

7

Fin de Siècle

A Return Mission

Shortly before the death of Queen Mary in December 1694, the Franciscan commissar and visitor for Ireland, Father Bernard Gavan—O’Gowan—travelled to Spain with another two Irishmen.¹ The goal of his visit was to convince Charles II to compel King William III, through Manuel Coloma, the Spanish ambassador in London, to comply with the conditions agreed in the Treaty of Limerick.² On the eve of St Patrick’s Day, the parliament in Dublin ordered the closure of all Franciscan and Capuchin chapels on the island, hindering the celebration of Ireland’s patron saint.³ This resolution increased tensions between the Orangist authorities and the Catholic majority.

The Council of State declared that Gavan’s petition was extremely dangerous. The councillors agreed that Irish demands must be satisfied, but that every step had to be taken with the full involvement of the English government.⁴ Charles II accepted this opinion and instructed his ambassador accordingly: he was to broach the issue with William III, but also inform him openly of the causes that had motivated the Spanish intercession, namely the closure of the Irish chapels.⁵

The embassy had already received intelligence of the events in Ireland when the Franciscan Father Francisco de la Cruz presented himself to the Marquis of Canales in order to explain the situation. Despite being in possession of but partial information, Coloma obeyed his master and presented the matter to William III in mid-1695. No English law or decree specifically authorised these places of worship. The Spanish ambassador, who knew this normative framework well, proposed tacit tolerance towards

bishops and other Church officials.⁶ Also ignorant of the details, the king was inclined to push for a less rigorous policy and thus keep the word given in the peace treaties in order to avoid backlash in Ireland and against his relationship with his military allies.⁷

With the appointment of Baron Henry Capel as Lord Deputy of Ireland in May 1695, pressure began once more to mount on Catholics. The new parliament tried to take up again the restrictive laws that had been left pending three years earlier. Arguing that they were necessary to guarantee Ireland's security, the Protestants pushed for the application of the Penal Laws in order to stop the advance of the Popery.⁸ The debate returned to the convenience of expelling the regular clergy and suppressing all convents and similar religious institutions and their pastoral work. From the point of view of the Protestants, the activity of friars posed a grave threat to the peace of the kingdom and should, therefore, be banished.⁹ Baron Capel retrieved a bill that Lord Lieutenant Sidney had tried, unsuccessfully, to pass during the 1692 parliament.¹⁰ At this juncture, the imperial ambassador in London, Count Auersperg, intervened decisively to quell tempers and stem the measure from becoming law.¹¹ Following orders from Emperor Leopold I, the minister referred to William III's promise to his master when he embarked upon the conquest of the British Isles in 1688. In his correspondence with Secretary of State William Trumbull, Auersperg also warned that the edict contravened the treaty of Limerick. As a last-ditch attempt, the imperial representative tried to stop the bill before it reached the English Privy Council.¹² This intervention by Auersperg was decisive in the king's decision not to allow the bill against the regular clergy from reaching parliament.¹³ For the second time, the banishment act did not receive the king's assent, although it was to be vigorously recouped at a later date.

In early 1696, the legislative issue became lost in other political and religious events. A Jacobite plot to capture and to assassinate William III was detected before it could be carried out. This attempted regicide was a pretext under which to resume enforcing the anti-Catholic measures originally adopted in 1678. The investigations and the interrogation of suspects did not result in the execution of the main conspirator, John Fenwick. According to the reports that arrived in Spain during those years, Catholics had been made to leave the cities to celebrate their rites, and

priests and friars roamed the island seeking refuge in caves and woods to attend to their flock. Based on these reports, the Bishop of Elphin, Dominic Burke, came to view the peace of Rijswijk a political opportunity to improve the lot of Irish Catholics.¹⁴ The Dominican procurator Father Ambrose O'Connor went a step further and tried to convince the Spanish king to instruct his plenipotentiaries to put the matter on the table during the negotiations.¹⁵ For various political reasons, Charles II instructed his two representatives in that Dutch town, Francisco Bernardo de Quirós and the Count of Tirimont, to do so but to tread carefully and not to bring things to a head.¹⁶ By acting in such a way, the king tried to improve the situation of Catholicism in Ireland and to continue playing an active role in the patronage of Irish Catholics.

Throughout the conference, constant reports from Ireland revealed that the new parliament in Dublin was planning on reinstating the Penal Laws. One of the first measures undertaken by parliament was to re-enact an old bill which forced the children of Irish Catholics to adopt the Reformed faith under the tutelage of their Protestant relatives, should they have any.¹⁷ This edict retrieved an old 1611 prohibition, which forbade Catholic children from being sent to the continent to be educated in colleges and universities, as well as from being admitted to Irish schools.¹⁸ According to the reports penned by Count Auersperg, this measure was aimed at stopping Irish children from being educated in France, where they would become Francophiles and would be steeped in strong anti-English sentiments. In April 1697, the king-stadholder changed his traditional tolerant policy and approved the Bill for the Suppression of Monasteries and the Banishment of Regulars, which included the high echelons of the Catholic Church. Another measure also proclaimed was the reintroduction of the oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance. These new resolutions went against the clauses of the treaty of Limerick and also broke promises made to his Habsburg allies.¹⁹

From the beginning of the 1695 parliament, William III had been trying to get both Irish houses to ratify the peace accord, in the face of opposition from Protestant members and the Privy Council. Two years later, after the death of Lord Lieutenant Henry Capel and Lord Chancellor Porter—one of the treaty's signatories—the matter was resumed and hotly debated by the recently formed Houses. The most controversial question in these debates

was the omission (which was the king's initiative) of the first civil clause, which referred to religious tolerance. This meant that Catholic worship would enjoy no legal guarantee. Despite this, the Protestant majority was still against ratifying the capitulations.²⁰ In contrast, the matter concerning the oaths had already been settled during the previous year, in the aftermath of the Jacobite plot, as a way to guarantee the obedience of the Irish people to the English Crown and the Reformed faith.²¹

In this new context, the Spanish plenipotentiaries were instructed to press for the toleration of the Catholic religion in the British Isles, as agreed in the treaty of Limerick. In pursuance of this goal, Bernardo de Quirós joined forces with Count Auersperg, who had received analogous orders from Emperor Leopold I.²² Both Habsburg ministers tried to act in harmony in order to preserve Catholic privileges, negotiating with an allied king. As on the previous occasion, their main arguments rested on the promises made by William III to Charles II and Leopold I in 1688.

In order to have the most accurate information possible, Auersperg tried to collect reports about the parliamentary plans from William Blathwayt, the acting secretary of State. During their encounter, the Orangist representative assured him that the reports were baseless and guaranteed that the peace agreements would be respected. However, the imperial ambassador was mistrustful of such assurances because the English king had already given his assent to the plans of the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland.²³ A month later, Auersperg's position was the same, and he remained suspicious in spite of a letter addressed to him by Blathwayt, which reiterated William III's promise to stop the bill.²⁴

The Dublin parliament continued with the legislative debates, unhindered by the manoeuvres of the Habsburgs, to the Catholics' growing discomfiture. The nuncio in Madrid, the Lombard Giuseppe Archinto, pled with Charles II and discussed his previous instructions to the Spanish plenipotentiaries at Rijswijk, but this was also to no avail.²⁵ Meanwhile, in the British court, the superior of the Irish Discalced Augustinians appealed to the Marquis of Canales. After his diplomatic limitations as a consequence of the *Schonemberg affaire*, the ambassador could do nothing more than convey the Irish fears to the Catholic ministers in London and Francisco Bernardo de Quirós in the hope they would broach the issue with William III and thus prevent the edict.²⁶ This was the beginning of a

confessional alliance formed by the Catholic ambassadors in London (led by Count Auersperg)—an *entente* that had Rome's full support.²⁷

Parliament's discussions finally crystallised in a deal. After the two previous failures, both Houses finally agreed on a bill to banish anyone who exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction that depended on pontifical authority. If this edict had passed, the archbishops, bishops, and regular clergy would have had to abandon Ireland before 30 April 1698.²⁸ The bill did not directly ban freedom of worship, but rumours started circulating and the Catholic community in London was in a state of high tension.²⁹ The first to raise the alarm about parliament's plans was Count Auersperg, whose intervention in 1695 had prevented a similar bill from coming into effect. The imperial representative promptly appealed to William Blathwayt to have the process halted. The secretary tried to appease him, claiming that the act would only be of application to the regular orders. William III did not want to meddle with the secular clergy, and for this reason the act would not apply to priests.³⁰ The Catholics feared that the Penal Laws would also encompass additional measures, such as economic sanctions for those who sheltered banished friars, the previously noted suppression of religious institutions, and arrest warrants against those who did not obey these orders.³¹

The king-stadholder seemed firm in his resolution, and Catholics took it for granted that he would cave in to the demands of parliament and adopt punitive anti-Catholic legislation in Ireland. The efforts of the imperial ambassador to stop this legal project were futile because of the deterioration in the relationship between Leopold I and William III during the Rijswijk conference.³² For his part, the Marquis of Canales tried once more to appeal to the king-stadholder, who was at the time in his residence in Loo. His interlocutors were Francisco Bernardo de Quirós and the elector of Bavaria, general governor in Flanders. The Spanish ambassador requested the bill be halted and the Irish peace agreements duly respected. However, only a few days earlier the elector Maximilian Emanuel had failed to move the king-stadholder in a personal meeting. William III had made up his mind to support the parliamentary motion, not least because the measure would provide him with greater economic resources.³³ On 25 September 1697, five days after the signature of the peace of Rijswijk, the bill turned into *An Act for banishing all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and*

all regulars of the popish clergy out of this kingdom, which came into force on the following 29 December.³⁴

Catholic diplomats were helpless to stop the re-enactment of the Penal Laws, and different alternatives were now put forward in attempts to revoke them. The Catholic princes did not abandon the Irish cause, despite having other concerns related to the balance of power on the continent and the Spanish succession. The European ambassadors in London were instructed to continue basing their arguments on the treaty of Limerick. Parliament had finally passed the bill, and was waiting only for the formal endorsement of William III.³⁵

The Marquis of Canales did not think that Irish ecclesiastic could play an active role in the diplomatic tangle, even if more was at stake for them than anyone else.³⁶ It was increasingly clear that the only possible solution lay in the ambassadors' intervention. Charles II instructed Francisco Bernardo de Quirós, his representative in The Hague, to continue pressing William III on behalf of Irish Catholics, compelling him to suppress the bill or at least to attenuate its effects. Based on previous experience, there was little reason for optimism. Madrid warned that the English authorities always found a loophole to limit or constrain the implementation of agreements, and Limerick constituted a ready-made recent example.³⁷ Following a strategy of direct mediation, another attempt was made which involved Anne-Elisabeth of Lorraine-Elbeuf, Princess of Vaudémont, who tried to intercede on behalf of Irish Catholics with William III upon his return to Holland.³⁸ This did not have the desired effect. The bill was passed and even more persecution was felt in Ireland before 1697 was over. Despite the diplomatic pressure of Catholic princes, the judicial measures against Catholics intensified in the following year.

The new reality introduced by the bill had a dramatic impact on the Mission. After the peak reached in 1696, the number of ordinary *viatica* issued fell progressively. It was a consequence of the hostile political and religious environment created by the Dublin parliament and partly because of the internal problems besetting the Spanish monarchy on the issue of succession. These difficulties only spurred on the missionaries, who were even more eager than ever to go and replace the vacancies caused by the parliamentary measures. In this vein, procurator O'Connor requested the ordinary grant for nine friars, insisting that there was a shortage of

missionaries on the ground.³⁹ Those who left Spain for Ireland in 1698 met with a stream of exiles travelling in the opposite direction, caused by the increasing harshness of the English government's resolutions and the expiry of the deadline set for the banishment of clerics.

In early 1698, Catholic ambassadors tried again and again to persuade William III to abolish the punitive act, which had not even begun to be applied in full. At this juncture, the king changed tack and decided to moderate the scope of the parliamentary measures, which thenceforth would only be applied to the regular clergy. Meanwhile, the Catholic hierarchy were allowed to stay in Ireland free from judicial persecution.⁴⁰ In a formal meeting, the Lord Chancellor for Ireland, John Methuen, assured Count Auersperg that the secular clergy would be guaranteed, amongst other matters, its dignity, even if no formal law was enacted to that effect. Therefore, only the regular clergy—aside from elderly friars—would be banished from the island, under the indictment of breaking the peace.⁴¹

In addition to this positive decision, there were indications that the prelates and other ecclesiastics exiled in France could expect full restitution of their rights in Ireland.⁴² This meant a substantial improvement of Catholic prospects in Ireland, if not the full revocation of the laws enacted by the Dublin parliament—a decision that ultimately rested with the Houses and not with the king. The move to a more moderate policy encouraged further claims by the Catholic powers in favour of the Irish friars. A brief disseminated by Innocent XII insisted on this dialectic, urging princes to demand tolerance of the Catholic faith.⁴³ In England, this papal declaration was seen as Jacobite interference because the French policy of sheltering Irish prelates and ecclesiastics was understood as a gesture of support towards the deposed king. After the Williamite War, France had become the natural refuge for Irish priests and friars, given its geographical proximity to Ireland. This impaired negotiation by mixing up political and religious concerns.⁴⁴

The Irish diaspora reached far and wide, and it is therefore very difficult to ascertain how many friars had to leave the island by the 30 April 1698 deadline and how many decided to stay, pretending to be priests in order to evade expulsion. The nuncios in Paris and Vienna mention about 400 people, but others mention as many as 1,100.⁴⁵ This figure does not include those headed to Spain and Portugal who were still in transit or waiting to

embark in port.⁴⁶ It is known that the vessel *Feversham* was boarded by 120 clerics on their way to Spain and France.⁴⁷ The exile of these regulars and the bill concerning the education of Irish children were a serious blow to the Irish Mission, even if some of Charles II's missionaries defied the act and stayed in Ireland, including the Franciscans Fathers Peter and Eugenio Kinan, John Flaherty, and Philip Trener.⁴⁸

In response, the structure of royal patronage changed in order to alleviate the emergency created by the banishment orders, and its scope was, therefore, no longer restricted to Irish territory. The migratory flow generated by the parliamentary measures prompted Rome to order the generals of the different orders and the bishops to adopt a welcoming policy in their dioceses and convents.⁴⁹ In Spain, Nuncio Giuseppe Archinto appealed to Cardinal Luis Manuel Fernández Portocarrero, Primate Archbishop of Toledo, to succour all friars in distress. This order was immediately conveyed to the archbishops, bishops, and abbots in the Spanish coastal regions.⁵⁰ For a while, the route between Spain and Ireland turned into a two-way road, with Spanish Royal patronage working in favour of both exiles leaving and missionaries entering Ireland.

At this time, the European chancelleries began receiving reports about the implementation of a third anti-Catholic measure: the obligation of Catholic subjects to take the oath of Supremacy, along with that of Allegiance.⁵¹ According to the Catholic powers, this new imposition was not mentioned during the negotiations held by Blathwayt and Methuen with Count Auersperg.⁵² The resolution made it crystal clear that, regardless of statements to the contrary, the British Crown had adopted a hard policy aimed at effectively suppressing Catholicism in Ireland, along the lines of the Penal Laws that were enacted in the 1650s and 1670s. The testimony of an exiled cleric before the cardinals of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* suggested that, even after taking the oath, many Irish friars were forced to abandon the island because the new measures were not directed against their possible pro-Jacobite sentiments, but rather their faith. According to this account, therefore, the British government was more concerned about religious dissent than any potential political threat.⁵³

The full implementation of the Penal Laws encouraged the Irish regular orders to organise a common diplomatic front in both Habsburg courts, with appeals for the protection of Charles II and Leopold I.⁵⁴ While the

Franciscan Fathers Anthony MacDonnell and Felix O'Neill travelled to Vienna, the Augustinian Father Bernard Kennedy went to Madrid to convince both sovereigns to support the Irish cause before William III.⁵⁵ Yet another petition in favour of the Irish Catholics was approved by the council of State and half-heartedly endorsed by Charles II.⁵⁶ However, all forms of mediation were at this stage doomed to failure, as the repeated diplomatic fiascos demonstrated. As suggested by the Marquis of Canales, the bills were already in force, and even if the king-stadholder could exercise some influence to stop them becoming an act, he was powerless to invalidate it once it had been passed. In fact, not even parliament could pass another bill that directly opposed it. As such, the time for notes and memoranda had passed, and the new approach was to quietly gather support so that 'some look the other way and some others stay silent while the king insinuates this to be his wish'.⁵⁷ The anti-Catholic feelings harboured by the king and his right-hand man, Lord Portland, would render useless all Spanish demands to resume the tolerant policy that had characterised the early years of William III's reign. It is worth noting, however, that in William III's opinion the origin of the problem was the disloyalty and lack of honesty of his Catholic subjects, which went against the laws of the realm.⁵⁸ Under these conditions, the diplomacy of the Catholic king and the emperor carried little weight, and they had barely any room to manoeuvre. This situation, however, did not lead to the *quæstio hibernica* being abandoned. The two Habsburg monarchs remained firm in their defence of Irish Catholicism and asked their representatives in London to present a united front to the king-stadholder.⁵⁹

Despite William's opposition, during 1699 the Marquis of Canales broached the Irish issue with the English parliament. Both Count Auersperg and the Portuguese Luís da Cunha had been instructed to follow the directions of the Spanish ambassador. The weak diplomatic position of this Catholic front led Manuel Coloma to recommend that negotiations be conducted with Count Albermale and not with the anti-Catholic secretary Vernon; an alternative course of action was to approach the Chancellor or some members of the Privy Council. Canales was to report to the elector of Bavaria and the diplomat Francisco Bernardo de Quirós, who would then try to appeal directly to William III in Loo.⁶⁰

Their efforts were fruitless, but at least demonstrated that the religious alliance crafted by the European ministers in London was under the unified direction of the Habsburgs. The influence gained by Louis XIV's ambassador in London, Count Tallard, during the complex negotiations that characterised the final years of the century had been neutralised, against the wishes of Innocent XII and Charles II, who wanted to include the French in the Catholic diplomatic lobby.⁶¹ The real causes of France falling back to a secondary position in this regard were the refusal of Louis XIV to bend to William III's demand that French Huguenots be given in France the same treatment that the Catholics were demanding in the British domains, and, according to Canales, Tallard's uncouth manners in London.⁶²

While a new diplomatic crisis hovered over Europe and the issue of no clear successor for Charles II was at the forefront of people's minds, the *Covachuela* of Madrid started to receive different *memoriales* of priests and friars who were prepared to return to Ireland.⁶³ The banishment of regulars and the pressure suffered by the secular clergy had created a considerable shortage of missionaries on the ground.⁶⁴ The *viaticum* applications presented in 1699 with the endorsement of certain illustrious Irishmen in Madrid argued that it was necessary to start filling in the gaps.⁶⁵ The parliamentary laws would not forbid the arrival of new missionaries from the Spanish harbours. Owing to the spirit of resistance caused by the new measures, the number of *viaticas* increased substantially, and grew to include not only recent graduates from the Irish colleges and those ordained in Spanish convents, but some of the missionaries who arrived in Spain after the 1697 and 1698 exiles.

According to the *memoriales* collected by Patriarch Pedro Portocarrero, between 1699 and 1700 a total of 115 expelled Irish friars appealed to Charles II for help.⁶⁶ Among them, thirty-one regulars had benefitted from royal patronage previously and returned to a place that they knew well, where they had been trained and still maintained certain contacts. On this occasion, they claimed that their presence in Spain was only a temporary measure and their return depended on the conditions in Ireland. However, the usual shortage of means, the uncertain political and religious situation in the island, and even, in certain cases, the loss of missionary zeal, prompted some to stay in Spanish convents, where they felt safe. In contrast, a few others were full of enthusiasm to re-join the mission. Between 1699 and

1707, 12% of exiles in Spain returned to Ireland, of which two Franciscans and a Dominican were enjoying the *viaticum* for a second time ([Table BM1.2](#)).⁶⁷

Madrid, which was in the final years of the 17th century teeming with supplicants of one sort or another, was one of the main destinations for the exiled Irish clerics.⁶⁸ Reports to London spoke of a ‘hovering battalion’ of exiled friars who asked for the protection of the Spanish king.⁶⁹ Trying to gain the sympathies of the king, Patrick Denis and Anthony O’Neill printed a *memorial* in which they explained the sufferings of their coreligionists, while reminding Charles II of the need to press for the implementation of the Limerick agreements and the restoration of the Catholic faith, returning to the pre-1697 situation.⁷⁰

The mass arrival of Irish friars threw the Spanish confessional policy in the North into some disarray, and traditional policies had to be pushed aside in favour of alternative plans of action to tackle the new conditions. After the Irish bill was put into action, the general procurator of the Augustinians, Alypius Walsh, proposed to Charles II the possibility of giving the Irish exiles of his order permission to build a hospice or a college in Spain, Flanders, or Italy.⁷¹ At the same time, the Crown’s financial hardships were making it increasingly difficult to maintain the priests and friars who were waiting for the *viaticum* and the exiles. The letters exchanged by the rectors of Santiago and Salamanca eloquently describe the mounting difficulty of keeping their members supplied amid the delays in the arrival of alms.⁷²

Financial hardships were not the Mission’s only complication during these years; the curricula of prospective members were also proving to be a problem, as illustrated by the example of Anthony Broder. Following common practice, this Irish student applied for a place in the college of Saint George, in Alcalá, in 1697, but there were no vacancies. Expecting to have better luck the following year, Broder stayed in Madrid, studying theology in the Dominican convent of Our Lady of Atocha. While he waited to graduate from Alcalá and join the Irish Mission, he lived on a meagre royal pension. Along with his compatriots Richard Herbert and Caspar Devereux, Broder presented a *memorial* in which he claimed to have graduated and requested the *viaticum*, but his application was rejected. He tried again in 1699, even though he had not been ordained yet, owing to lack of means. Broder explained that the council of State had rejected his

first application under this pretext, but that this had not been a problem for his friends. This was to no avail, and the Mission's officials informed him that no *viaticum* could be forthcoming until this condition was met, as ordered by the regulations.⁷³ This forced Broder to look for alternative means to return to Ireland, which included the papal version of the Spanish Mission: the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*.⁷⁴ The appeal to the dicastery, the limited number of vacancies in the colleges, and the growing role of the nuncio in the protection of the exiles and in the promotion of prospective missionaries marked a decisive turning point for the Irish Mission.⁷⁵

In the opening years of the 18th century, the Spanish Crown could no longer sustain its previous patronage policies and face the challenge posed by the Orangist politics and the banishment order. The final years of the reign of William III brought an end to religious tolerance in Ireland. The religious balance inaugurated in Limerick (1691) remained little more than a legal excrescence, to be repeatedly broken by the Dublin parliament and finally cancelled by the king-stadholder.

Notes

1. This retired lecturer learned about the workings of the British court during the short period in which he acted as priest of the chapel of Queen Maria d'Este and chaplain of Nuncio Ferdinando d'Adda. Despite his devotion, the Lombard count discharged him from these positions on orders from Rome, which instructed the nuncio to apply O'Gowan to the Irish cause, as in this role he would be more useful than in England. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Inghilterra, 11, ff. 145r–146v. Ferdinando d'Adda to the Cardinal Alderano Cybo. Windsor, 28 June 1686.
2. AGS, Estado, leg. 3969. Memorial by the Franciscan Father Bernard Gavan. S. l., n. d., c. September 1694.
3. Nine years earlier, the Duke of Ormond did something similar when he ordered the closure of all Catholic chapels. AGS, Estado, leg. 3960. Pedro Ronquillo to Charles II. London, 19 January 1685.
4. AGS, Estado, leg. 3969. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 5 October 1694.
5. AGS, Estado, leg. 3978. Charles II to the Marquis of Canales. Madrid, 15 October 1694.
6. AGS, Estado, leg. 3970. The Marquis of Canales to Charles II. London, 24 May 1695.
7. AGS, Estado, leg. 3970. Copy of a memorial of the Marquis of Canales to William III. London, 9 May 1695. Ch.I. McGrath, 'Securing the Protestant Interest: The Origins and Purpose of the Penal Laws of 1695,' *Irish Historical Studies*, 30 (1996), pp. 25–46.

8. McGrath, 'Politics, 1692–1730,' p. 127.
9. J.G. Simms, 'The Establishment of Protestant Ascendancy, 1691–1714,' in *A New History of Ireland, IV: Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1691–1800*, T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 16.
10. Troost, *William III, the Stadholder-King: A Political Biography*, p. 289.
11. Connolly, 'The Penal Laws,' p. 161; and C. Bravo Lozano, '¿La última colaboración dinástica? La diplomacia hispano-imperial ante la política confesional de Guillermo III de Inglaterra (1696–1700),' in *Les Habsbourg en Europe. Circulations, échanges et regards croisés*, A. Merle and É. Leroy de Cardonnoy, dirs. (Reims: Editions et Presses Universitaires de Reims, 2018), pp. 161–180.
12. Connolly, 'The Penal Laws,' p. 161; and Rose, *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion and War*, p. 226.
13. Troost, 'Ireland's Role in the Foreign Policy of William III,' p. 64.
14. Dominic Burke to the Cardinal Carlo Barberini. Brussels, 24 May 1697. Cfr. Moran (ed.), *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Serie II, pp. 324–325. For the career of this bishop in exile, see C. Bravo Lozano, 'The Other Irish Mission: Spanish Patronage and Catholic Hierarchy in the 17th Century,' p. 227.
15. AGS, Estado, leg. 4095 [BDMI, 3008]. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 14 May 1697; and ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Madrid, 10, ff. 257rv. Giuseppe Archinto to the Marquis of Mancera. Madrid, 14 December 1695.
16. AHN, Estado, L. 275, ff. 214rv. Charles II to Francisco Bernardo de Quirós and the Count of Tirimont. Madrid, 21 June 1697. A. Serrano de Haro, 'España y la paz de Ryswick,' in *España y Holanda. Ponencias leídas durante el quinto coloquio hispano-holandés de historiadores. Diálogos Hispánicos*, pp. 119–138.
17. J.G. Simms, 'The Bishops' Banishment Act of 1697 (9 Will. III, c. 1),' *Irish Historical Studies*, 17/66 (1970), pp. 185–199. In Count Auersperg's opinion, this measure aimed to put an end to the practice of sending Catholic children to be educated in France, whence they came back espousing anti-English sentiments. AGS, Estado, leg. 3971. The Count of Auersperg to Francisco Bernardo de Quirós. Brussels, 1 August 1697.
18. Troost, *William III, the Stadholder-King: A Political Biography*, p. 289.
19. Connolly, 'The Penal Laws,' p. 162.
20. Troost, *William III, the Stadholder-King: A Political Biography*, p. 290; and Id., 'Ireland's Role in the Foreign Policy of William III,' p. 64.
21. AGS, Estado, leg. 3978. Charles II to the Marquis of Canales. Madrid, 16 May 1696. Connolly, 'The Penal Laws,' p. 162.
22. AGS, Estado, leg. 3971. Translation of a letter from Francisco Bernardo de Quirós to Count Auersperg. The Hague, 30 July 1697.
23. AGS, Estado, leg. 3971. The Count of Auersperg to Francisco Bernardo de Quirós. Brussels, 1 August 1697; and ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 88, f. 309. Orazio Spada to the Cardinal Fabrizio Spada. Brussels, 9 August 1697.
24. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Belgio ed Olanda, 6, f. 87r. Copy of a letter from William Blathwayt to Count Auersperg. Loo, 16 September 1697.

25. AGS, Estado, leg. 3971. Giuseppe Archinto to the Marquis of Mancera. Madrid, 26 August 1697.
26. AGRB, Ambassade d'Espagne à La Haye, 502. The Marquis of Canales to Francisco Bernardo de Quirós. London, 30 August 1697.
27. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 148, f. 365r. Pontifical Secretary of State to Orazio Spada. Rome, 31 August 1697; and ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Germania, 234, f. 892r. Andrea Santa Croce to the Cardinal Fabrizio Spada. Vienna, 9 October 1697. Bravo Lozano, '¿La última colaboración dinástica? La diplomacia hispano-imperial ante la política confesional de Guillermo III de Inglaterra (1696–1700),' pp. 161–172.
28. Notices. London, 4 October 1697. *Gaceta de Madrid*, n° 35 (Madrid: Antonio de Bizarrón, 1697). Connolly, 'The Penal Laws,' p. 161; and Rose, *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion and War*, p. 226.
29. T. Claydon, *William III* (New York: Routledge, 2014²), pp. 181–182.
30. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Belgio ed Olanda, 6, f. 87r. Copy of a letter from William Blathwayt to Count Auersperg. Loo, 16 September 1697. Troost, 'Ireland's Role in the Foreign Policy of William III,' pp. 65–68; J. Brady, 'Remedies Proposed for the Church of Ireland (1697),' *Archivium Hibernicum*, 22 (1959), pp. 163–173; and T.Ch. Barnard, 'Reforming Irish Manners: The Religious Societies in Dublin during the 1690s,' *The Historical Journal*, 35/4 (1992), pp. 805–838.
31. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 67/2, ff. 85v–86r. List of Irish Bills approved at council. S. l., 12 July 1697; and ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Madrid, 43, ff. 115r–116v. The Cardinal Fabrizio Spada to Giuseppe Archinto. Rome, 19 October 1697.
32. Troost, *William III, the Stadholder-King: A Political Biography*, p. 292; and Id., 'Ireland's Role in the Foreign Policy of William III,' pp. 66–68.
33. AGS, Estado, leg. 3090. The Marquis of Canales to Charles II. London, 3 December 1697; and ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 148, ff. 370v–371r. Pontifical Secretary of State to Orazio Spada. Rome, 23 November 1697.
34. *An Act for banishing all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the popish clergy out of this kingdom* (Dublin: Andrew Crook, 1697).
35. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 148, f. 372v. Pontifical Secretary of State to Orazio Spada. Rome, 28 December 1697; and ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Spagna, 358, f. 446v. Pontifical Secretary of State to Giuseppe Archinto. Rome, 29 December 1697.
36. AGS, Estado, leg. 3090. The Marquis of Canales to Charles II. London, 3 December 1697.
37. AGS, Estado, leg. 3917. Charles II to Francisco Bernardo de Quirós. Madrid, 26 November 1697.
38. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 88, ff. 461r–462r. Orazio Spada to the Cardinal Fabrizio Spada. Brussels, 8 November 1697; and ASPF, Actas, vol. 67, ff. 438v–443r. Proceedings of the general meeting. Rome, 9 December 1697. A. Álvarez-Ossorio Alvaríño, 'Prevenir la sucesión. El príncipe de Vaudémont y la red del Almirante en Lombardía,' *Estudis*, 33 (2007), pp. 61–91.
39. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 579]. Opinion of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 12 April 1698. The envoy of the Irish college of Salamanca in Madrid, Joseph Marcos, recorded how difficult it had become to get a royal *viaticum* because of the miserable state of the royal finances. SP/XVII/M/2/22. Joseph Marcos to Andrés Ignacio García. Madrid, 8 January 1698.

40. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Francia, 195, ff. 682rv. Daniele Dolfin to the Cardinal Fabrizio Spada. Paris, 2 June 1698.
41. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Germania, 235, ff. 457r–458v. Andrea Santa Croce to the Cardinal Fabrizio Spada. Vienna, 7 June 1698.
42. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 148, f. 384r. Pontifical Secretary of State to Orazio Spada. Rome, 28 June 1698; and ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 89, ff. 232r–233r. Orazio Spada to the Cardinal Fabrizio Spada. Brussels, 4 July 1698. This possibility was broached in a letter sent by Count Auersperg to the Internuncio Spada, which was printed and disseminated, without official permission, to steer public opinion towards the Irish cause. HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, England. Berichte, Karton 29. *Copie de la lettre du comte d'Auersperg envoyé extraordinaire de Sa Majesté imperiale a Londres, en datte du 9 may 1698 a l'internonce apostolique a Bruxelles* (S. l.: s. i., 1698).
43. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Spagna, 358, ff. 465–466r. Pontifical Secretary of State to Giuseppe Archinto. Rome, 29 June 1698.
44. ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Madrid, 44, ff. 28rv. Pontifical Secretary of State to Giuseppe Archinto. Rome, 29 June 1698; and ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Germania, 235, ff. 580v–582v. Andrea Santa Croce to the Cardinal Fabrizio Spada. Vienna, 19 July 1698.
45. ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Madrid, 44, ff. 28rv. Pontifical Secretary of State to Giuseppe Archinto. Rome, 29 June 1698; and ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Germania, 235, ff. 580v–582v. Andrea Santa Croce to the Cardinal Fabrizio Spada. Vienna, 19 July 1698. For his part, John Gerald Simms claims that 424 regulars left for the continent (most left for France). Simms, 'The Establishment of Protestant Ascendancy, 1691–1714,' p. 17. Sean Connolly estimates the number of friars transported by the authorities to the continent at 400 and those who left by their own means at 300. Connolly, 'The Penal Laws,' p. 162.
46. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 148, f. 385r. Pontifical Secretary of State to Giuseppe Archinto. Rome, 12 July 1698. W.P. Burke, *Irish Priest in the Penal Times (1660–1716)* (Waterford: N. Harvey, 1914), pp. 120–128.
47. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 32/10, ff. 266v–267r. Circular for Lord Ambassador Williamson. Whitehall, 10 June 1698.
48. C. Giblin, 'A List of Personnel of the Franciscan Province of Ireland, 1700,' *Collectanea Hibernica*, 8 (1965), pp. 50 and 54–55. This decision was also adopted by various archbishops and bishops who remained hiding in the island. Connolly, 'The Penal Laws,' p. 162.
49. In Paris, the superiors of the different orders met Nuncio Dolfin and Louis XIV to propose the mustering of all exiles in a single city, which would make it easier to organise their eventual return. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Francia, 195, ff. 824v–825r. Daniele Dolfin to the Cardinal Fabrizio Spada. Paris, 30 June 1698.
50. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Spagna, 179, ff. 403rv. Giuseppe Archinto to the Cardinal Fabrizio Spada. Madrid, 21 August 1698.
51. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 89, ff. 324v–35r. Copy of a letter from Orazio Spada to the Count of Auersperg. Brussels, 7 September 1698.
52. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Spagna, 358, ff. 487r–488r. Pontifical Secretary of State to Giuseppe Archinto. Rome, 19 October 1698.
53. ASPF, Actas, 69, ff. 283rv. Proceedings of the general meeting. Rome, 11 August 1699.

54. M. Wall, *The Penal Laws, 1691–1760* (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1961); and Bravo Lozano, ‘¿La última colaboración dinástica? La diplomacia hispano-imperial ante la política confesional de Guillermo III de Inglaterra (1696–1700),’ pp. 172–177.
55. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Germania, 43, ff. 524v–525r. Pontifical Secretary of State to Andrea Santa Croce. Rome, 11 October 1698; and AGS, Estado, leg. 3979. Charles II to the Elector of Bavaria. Madrid, 14 October 1698.
56. AGS, Estado, leg. 3971. Translation of a memorial by Giuseppe Archinto. Madrid, n. d., c. 1698; Printed memorial by the Augustinian Father Bernard Kennedy. S. l.: s. i., n. d., c. 1698; and consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 6 October 1698.
57. AGS, Estado, leg. 3971. The Marquis of Canales to Charles II. London, 11 November 1698.
58. AGS, Estado, leg. 3971. Francisco Bernardo de Quirós to Charles II. Brussels, 14 November 1698. The British refusal to roll back their anti-Catholic measures encouraged Rome to mobilise additional resources with which to assist the Irish Catholics. A pontifical brief circulated by Innocent XII and the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* among Italian and nearby dioceses demanded prayers be said, processions held (attendees would be rewarded with a plenary indulgence), and collections organised. In order to set an example, the Pope himself gave 10,000 ducats. ASV, Fondo Carpegna, 55, ff. 16r–19r. Decrees of the particular meeting of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. Rome, 5 May and 27 November 1698. The jubilee declared by Innocent XII to this effect took place in several Roman churches, and was attended by a large number of clerics, according to the reports sent to Madrid. Notices. Rome, 31 January 1699. *Gaceta de Madrid*, nº 11 (Madrid: Antonio de Bizarrón, 1699), p. 43.
59. AGS, Estado, leg. 3971. The Marquis of Canales to Charles II. London, 11 November 1698.
60. AGS, Estado, leg. 3971. The Marquis of Canales to Charles II. London, 20 January 1699.
61. ‘With the connivance of some, and the silence of the rest, the British king is allowed to do what he wishes, as long as what we ask for is granted’. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Spagna, 358, ff. 502v–503r. Pontifical Secretary of State to Giuseppe Archinto. Rome, 25 January 1699; and AGS, Estado, leg. 3091. Crispín González Botello to Juan del Moral y Tejada. Madrid, 20 February 1699. For the diplomacy of European chancelleries in 1697–1700, see L. Ribot and J.M. Iñurrategui (eds.), *Europa y los tratados de reparto de la Monarquía de España, 1668–1700* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2016).
62. AGS, Estado, leg. 3971. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 21 February 1699; and AGS, Estado, leg. 3091. The Cardinal Giudice to Charles II. Rome, 22 March 1699.
63. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 559]. Memorial by Bernardo Lameo. S. l., n. d., c. 1699.
64. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Lettere, 88, ff. 6v–7v. Secretary of *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* to Giovanni Battista Bussi. Rome, 17 January 1699; and AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 548]. Memorial by Ambrose O’Connor. S. l., n. d., c. 1700.
65. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by the Franciscan Fathers Bernard Matheo and Philip Trener. S. l., n. d., c. 1699.
66. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 549, 555, 558 and 562]. Opinions of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 9 July and 19 August 1699, and 23 April 1700. According to the Dominican procurator, Father Ambrose O’Connor, Pope Innocent XII had succoured Irish exiles in Rome with 4,000 pesos, while Louis XIV made 300 doubloons available for those seeking shelter in France. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 562]. Opinion of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 9 July 1699.
67. During the exile, *Cathologus Patrum et Fratrum Almae Provinciae Hiberniae* was elaborated, with a list of Irish Franciscans and novices in Spain. C. Giblin, ‘A List of the Personnel of the

Franciscan Province of Ireland, 1700,' *Collectanea Hibernica*, 8 (1965), pp. 47–57.

68. In 1699, the large number of supplicants in Madrid prompted the king to order their immediate departure, adding that those who 'do not behave appropriately will not be allowed to submit any petition, and no employment will be given to them'. AHN, Consejos, leg. 13252, mazo de 1699, exp. 23. Charles II to Manuel Arias y Porres. Madrid, 5 July 1699.
69. AGRB, Ambassade d'Espagne à La Haye, 502. The Marquis of Canales to Francisco Bernardo de Quirós. London, 2 January 1699.
70. AGS, Estado, leg. 3971. Memorial by the Dominican Father Patrick Denis and the Franciscan Father Anthony O'Neill. Madrid: s. i., 1698. In response, the council of State started that 'no more active measures can be taken in their favour, and these will be taken again for their sake and the Catholic faith's in Ireland, and we shall not give up until the relief that they need and that Your Majesty so desires is achieved'. AGS, Estado, leg. 3971. Consulta of the council of State. Madrid, 22 January 1699.
71. The proposed locations included Madrid, Alcalá, Salamanca, Sevilla, Santiago, Burgos, Zaragoza, Valladolid, Cádiz, Puerto Real, Louvain, Brussels, Milan, and Naples. The *Cámara de Castilla* examined this petition and, on the king's orders, referred it to the council of Castile. AHN, Consejos, leg. 4469, exp. 114. Consulta of the Cámara de Castilla. Madrid, 16 November 1699. A letter sent by Charles II to the Elector of Bavaria suggests that the final decision was to build it in Flanders. AGS, Secretarías Provinciales, L. 1453, f. 1254v. Madrid, 14 January 1700.
72. SP/XVII/M/2/27. Joseph Marcos to Andrés Ignacio García. Madrid, 15 May 1700; and SP/XIV/B/5/13–14. Barnaby Bath to Andrés Ignacio García. Santiago de Compostela, 18 July and 22 August 1700.
73. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 560]. Memorial by Anthony Broder. S. l., n. d., c. 1699.
74. ASPF, Actas, vol. 74, ff. 110r–110v, 9. Proceedings of the general meeting. Rome, 2 June 1704.
75. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Spagna, 179, ff. 461rv. Giuseppe Archinto to the Cardinal Fabrizio Spada. Madrid, 4 September 1698; and ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Spagna, 191, f. 124r. Giuseppe Archinto to the Cardinal Fabrizio Spada. Madrid, 19 March 1699.

8

From the Habsburgs to the Bourbons

Change or Continuity?

Charles II, the last of the *Austrias*, died on 1 November 1700. The new century thus began with the twilight of the Spanish Habsburgs, the epilogue of the dynasty that led Spain through the Early Modern Period. The opening of his will put an end to a decade of rumour and speculation about his succession. The king bequeathed the Crown to Philip of Bourbon, Duke of Anjou, to the dismay of the Habsburg party and their potential candidate, Archduke Charles of Austria, second son of Emperor Leopold I. The tone of the protests coming from the Viennese court heralded a conflict that would eventually reach well beyond Spanish borders and acquire a global dimension: the War of the Spanish Succession.¹ From 1701 onwards, European powers began taking sides, which inevitably affected their relationship with the court and institutions in Madrid. While Louis XIV sided with his grandson (who was acting largely under his grandfather's instructions), William III, King of England and Stad-holder in Holland, supported the Empire.² The formation of the Grand Alliance in The Hague was presided over by pragmatism and reasons of State, rather than religious leanings, although these events were to have a profound effect on the Irish situation.³

The proclamation of the first Spanish Bourbon caused quite a social stir in Spain. The arrival of a new dynasty left nobody indifferent, especially among the gentry. In his will, Charles II compelled nobles and ministers to maintain united the body politic of the monarchy, the viability of which had been questioned in the European chancelleries throughout most of his reign. The arrival of the Duke of Anjou sent the representatives of the different

European powers in Madrid into a flurry of activity. The uncertain issue of a likely war over the distribution of Charles II's vast possessions, and the future of the privileges and jurisdictional rights granted in previous centuries, were among the main concerns for the custodians of the monarchy's body politic.

The coronation of the new *Hispaniarum Rex Catholicus* raised great expectations among the exiled Irish community. Their survival, given the complexities of the geopolitical situation, depended on their ability to clarify their identity. A few weeks after his entrance in Madrid, Philip V met one of the Irish community's main demands: those who had lived in Spain for over a decade were recognised as Spanish naturals.⁴ With this resolution, the king confirmed a royal decree issued by Charles II in May 1680, so 'they are regarded and honoured as such'.⁵

During the transition between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons, the Irish community maintained their traditional discourse of loyalty and service to the Spanish monarchy. The old references to the shared origins of the Irish and the Spanish returned to the memoranda and petitions addressed to the king, who, for his part, was in dire need of support. As a result, the conflict which began with Philip's accession to the throne would bring him and his Irish subjects closer together. The latest Orangist edicts had moved a large number of Irish friars towards Spain, while the laws enacted by the Dublin parliament severely limited the activity of the Irish Mission, and Philip V had no intention of abandoning Habsburg policy in this regard. In fact, the young king was determined to reinforce one of the Crown's most characteristic and representative policies. In the closing years of the 17th century, Ireland was regarded as a 'land of missions', as a battlefield where the Spanish Crown, the Society of Jesus, and the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* fought to keep Catholicism alive in the island. Philip V's main instrument in this matter was the Mission, to which he had been introduced by the ministers he had inherited from his uncle Charles II, such as Pedro Portocarrero y Guzmán. As rector of the Mission, the Patriarch of the Indies compelled the new monarch to continue with the project.⁶ The court was also frequented by several influential Irishmen, including the Jacobite soldier and diplomat Tobias Burke, who was well known and respected in Versailles and who had an extraordinary grasp of the situation in Ireland.⁷

As was the case in the regency years of Mariana of Austria and also during the reign of Charles II, the patronage of Irish Catholicism was largely channelled through the colleges and convents located in Spain. The earliest *viatica* applications presented to the new administration emphasised the usefulness of the Mission for the interests of the Monarchy.⁸ The arrival of the Bourbons meant no interruption of the activity of both institutions, which continued training future missionaries and royal servants.⁹ In this vein, the rectors of the Society of Jesus and other regular orders reminded Philip V of the historical credentials of these foundations, pleading that a place be found for them in this new institutional, economic, and political structure that the new king and his ministers (such as Jean Orry and Michel-Jean Amelot de Gournay) were trying to implement.¹⁰

However, the early years of Philip V's reign (and of this royal patronage) would be marked by the instability that is the inevitable by-product of global war. The number of Irish priests and friars receiving the *viaticum* and going to Ireland had fallen substantially after the banishment orders in the late 17th century and the beginning of the tensions between William III and Philip V ([Figure BM1.1](#)). The circumstances conflicted with the work of the Mission, but the applications continued. There were many who wanted to fill the vacancies created by exile, prison, and death.¹¹ The emergency was such that the procurators of the orders volunteered to go to Ireland themselves. The Augustinian father Patrick Brehon, who had just arrived in Madrid from Rome, where he had been appointed the order's procurator in Spain, decided to apply for the *viaticum* in 1702. He was followed in 1706 by the Dominican Father Ambrose O'Connor, who declared his intention to travel to Ireland to visit ninety-eight Dominicans who remained in the island after his visit to the College of the Holy Cross in the University of Louvain. However, his final destiny would be London.¹²

Not all applications could be supported by the royal treasury. Previous instructions had established that *viatica* would only be granted to those candidates who could present their rectors' or superior's endorsement *in scriptis*. This constituted providing a document that certified not only their aptitude and commitment to return to their homeland to put their apostolic training into practice, but also included the facts that they had graduated and had been ordained *ad titulum missionis*.¹³ Based on these documents, Patriarch Portocarrero assessed the candidates, trying to find witnesses who

could confirm the veracity of such documents and vouch for the intentions of the prospective missionaries. As before, all expenses, including the purchase of civilian clothes with which to mask the clerics' real identity and the acquisition of other materials necessary for their religious mission, were consigned to the generic label 'travel expenses'. Each missionary would be given 100 ducats, as was traditional.¹⁴ It was common practice for the money to be handed over in the harbour from which the missionaries were to set sail, but more and more missionaries entrusted the transaction to middlemen. Sometimes, a missionary acted on behalf of others who were already waiting at port, such as Walter Flood and Mark Halloran. Despite being expelled from the Irish college in Seville for rebellion in 1692, along with Bernard and Terence Kiernan, it seems that Flood managed to become a priest.¹⁵ Halloran and Flood delegated the transaction to Patrick Bermingham, who was at the time in Madrid, while they waited for him in Cádiz.¹⁶ The usual protocol remained largely unchanged, and Pedro Portocarrero was generally the vehicle through which the money was channelled, although sometimes the superiors of the religious orders, for example the Dominican Father Domingo de Santa María, were asked to play this role. Sometimes, the money was dispensed directly at the harbour by the rectors of the colleges, as a way to stop the graduates from spending it at court.¹⁷

Apart from the administration of *viatica*, there is little evidence for the Mission in the early years of the 18th century. It seems, however, that not all the friars exiled between 1697 and 1700 were interested in returning to Ireland, even if their integration into the convents of their orders was not always easy. Despite the help provided by Charles II, Philip V was informed by the Augustinian procurator Father Alypius Walsh of the hardships suffered by the twenty Irish Augustinians that were under the Crown's protection in Castile. These Augustinians had been assigned 8,000 ducats, but barely half the money had been handed over as a consequence of an administrative mishap.¹⁸

The small number of prospective missionaries became a serious concern for the high officials of the Mission. The rector of the Irish college in Salamanca, Joseph Delamar, presented Philip V with cases of priests that, even after having been awarded the *viaticum*, refused to head for Ireland. Among them, apart from the aforementioned Hugh Fay, Delamar named the

injured Terence Kiernan. According to the rector of the seminary of Santiago, this priest had been prevented from travelling by a sore on his leg that had, in the end, left him lame for life. Others, for their part, stayed in Madrid, climbing the political and palace ladders.¹⁹ The most illustrative case is that of Nicholas Fallon, who, in the closing years of the 17th century, went from being an imminent missionary to becoming the private chaplain of Queen Maria Anna of Neuburg's lady in waiting, Countess Berlepsch.²⁰ The aptitude with which he used the court's mechanisms and intrigues earned him a promotion to the rectory of the college of Saint Patrick in Madrid in the 18th century.²¹

The aforementioned Anthony Broder stands in sharp contrast to this 'courtier' type. After being rejected twice for not having been ordained, in 1704 he decided to travel to Rome and appeal to the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* for assistance to travel to Ireland. Following common practice, Broder also asked to be granted the rents associated with a chapel or church in Ireland before his departure. He had already taken the missionary oath and was in possession of presentation letters signed by the Bishop of Ferns, Michael Rosseter. All he had left to do, therefore, was to be ordained *ad titulum missionis*, which he seems to have done shortly after.²² According to the record in possession of Patriarch Portocarrero, a year later Broder was granted his prebend in Rome and rejoined the service of the Spanish king.²³

The antithesis of Broder's missionary zeal may be found in Patrick McNeny, who arrived in Flanders as an exile in 1692. He entered the Irish college in Louvain, but afterwards he asked to be exempted from the oath that he had taken upon entry.²⁴ His application declared his poor aptitude for the ecclesiastical ministry—an opinion that was shared by his teachers and confirmed by the internuncio in Brussels. This decision forced McNeny to return the scholarship that he had enjoyed during his time in the institution, as was the customary practice in the Louvain college. After his resignation had been confirmed, he began a meteoric rise in politics. He married Anne Marie Catherine Peterbroeck, daughter of Josse Peterbroeck, councillor of the *Conseil Privé* of Brussels, a marriage that greatly increased his social standing. His union earned him his first position as member of the *Conseil de Finances* (1713), who had assumed sovereignty over the Spanish Netherlands in 1706.²⁵

Philip V's victory in the Battle of Almansa (1707) gave him some breathing space and the opportunity to turn his attention to a matter that he had relegated temporarily: the provision of *viatica*.²⁶ Although the grants had not stopped completely in previous years, the number had fluctuated considerably from year to year. The death of William III in March 1702 meant that Anne Stuart ascended the English throne. The new queen inherited her brother-in-law's alliance with Charles III of Habsburg, and also very clear guidelines in terms of religious policy—guidelines which were to determine her own policies from the start. Her first parliament in Dublin passed some punitive legislation to prevent the growth of Popery. The Catholic community complained about these measures, but to no avail, despite the support lent by the diplomatic intercession of imperial representatives.²⁷

The beginning of Queen Anne's reign coincided with two years in which the Mission's activity ceased, probably as a consequence of the reforms introduced by Minister Orry and the associated financial difficulties which were aggravated by the campaigns against Portugal in 1704. The financial hardships of the Crown, and thereby the Mission, became even worse with the English invasion of Gibraltar by Landgrave Georg of Hessen-Darmstadt.²⁸ Another external factor that may have contributed to the paralysis of missionary activity was the act imposed by the Lord Lieutenant Duke of Ormond in 1703 forbidding the return of Irish priests and friars educated on the continent starting on 1 January 1704. The *Act for registering the Popish Clergy* was passed in March and proclaimed in May.²⁹ The act decreed the registration of all Irish secular clergymen before the local magistrates—name, address, age, parish, date of ordination, and prelate who presided over the ceremony—and the payment of two sureties of 50 pounds to guarantee the good behaviour of these priests. Unregistered secular clergy was ordered to leave Ireland before 20 July. Another clause of this act extended the Banishment Act of 1697 towards unregistered clerics who remained in Ireland after 24 June 1705.³⁰ Besides, the Queen offered a 20-pound reward to priests entering the service of the Church of Ireland. While the act was in force, 1,089 members of the Church registered, some of whom were friars and Jesuits passing as priests in order to continue with their pastoral work clandestinely.³¹

In this case, the Bourbon Spanish monarchy could not intercede on their behalf in the London court, where there was no royal representative since England was one of the powers allied with Charles III of Habsburg.³² In 1705, despite the application of the Irish penal legislation and the pro-Habsburg revolt in Valencia and Catalonia, the activity of the Mission resumed with the dispatch of twelve missionaries to Ireland. The following year, the number of missionaries sent fell by more than half. It is possible that this new decline was caused by the new measures adopted by the Irish parliament and the defection of Patriarch Pedro Portocarrero y Guzmán, who changed sides and recognised the Habsburg candidate after Charles's declaration in Madrid that summer. Portocarrero was later exiled by Philip V, depriving the Mission of his head administrator and the central player in the concession of *viatica*, at least, until his replacement by Carlos de Borja, Archbishop of Trapezus. On the other hand, the military situation in Aragón and Castile left little time for these issues, as the government and financial apparatus of the Crown was focused on fighting the war.³³

The withdrawal of Charles's troops from Madrid and the centre of the peninsula after the Battle of Almansa did not revitalise the royal patronage of the Irish. The reiterated petitions filed by Irish priests and friars reveal the difficulties that they were undergoing whilst trying to obtain grants and depart for the north.³⁴ The situation was particularly dire for the Franciscans, who did not receive the *viaticum* for six whole years, for unknown reasons.³⁵

The complexity of the situation threatened the very existence of the Mission. In 1708, several reports mentioned the shortage of priests and friars, and parliament debated a new act targeted against those who did not swear the oath of abjuration to the rights of the Prince of Wales—James III for the legitimists and the Pretender for his opponents—to the throne. Some of the missionaries had died, a small number were hiding in the mountains, and most were exiled on the continent.³⁶ The religious effects of the Banishment Act of 1697, and in lesser extent those of 1703, still continued and affected the Bourbon patronage. Nuncio Antonio Felice Zondadari was forced to intervene, with Philip V's support, in the Irish issue, compelling the rectors of the colleges in Santiago de Compostela, Seville, Salamanca, and Alcalá to inform him of future candidates that could keep the enterprise alive.³⁷ After the military disasters in Italy and Flanders in 1706 and 1707,

Philip V did not have the chance to turn his attention to the North again until early 1709, when he supported the Pretender James III's naval expedition to Scotland and collected information about prospective Irish missionaries among the rectors of the Irish colleges, and about the funding mechanisms in place to finance their mission.³⁸

The royal interest in the scope and operation of royal patronage may have been connected with the desire to revitalise the enterprise through the promotion of well-trained candidates. His communications with the rectors of the colleges and the procurators of the regular orders intimated that a more exhaustive selection process was going to be built around Patriarch Borja. *Viatica* would not be granted unless strict criteria were met. All this, however, came to nothing. The grave crisis of 1709, a new act passed by the parliament of Dublin against the Irish Catholics that contravened the capitulations of the treaty of Limerick, the progressive estrangement of the courts at Madrid and Versailles, the allied advances in the Low Countries, the threat of invasion of the Kingdom of Sicily and the fortresses in Tuscany, the last of Philip's redoubts in the Mediterranean, and the peace negotiations taking place in the United Provinces all contributed to postponing the continuation of the Irish Mission *sine die*. No *viatica* were granted after 1707, sending the whole structure into a state of paralysis. Only with the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, and the treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt which coincided with the death of Queen Anne Stuart, the royal patronage of the Irish Mission could resume.³⁹ At that time, the rector of the Irish college in Seville reminded Philip V of the loyalty of the Irish to his cause over the course of the conflict. The king no longer had any reason not to extend to the Irish the same degree of protection as his predecessors had dispensed, because the Irish 'had shed so much blood to keep the Spanish crown on your royal head, that even gold could well have turned purple'.⁴⁰

Notes

1. Among the latest publications on the War of the Spanish Succession, see J. Albareda Salvadó, *La Guerra de Sucesión de España: 1700–1714* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2010); V. León Sanz, *El archiduque Carlos y los austracistas* (San Cugat del Vallés: Editorial Arpegio, 2014); B.J. García

- García, 'El tricentenario de los tratados de Utrecht, Rastatt y Baden (1712–1715),' *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 41/1 (2016), pp. 199–224; and R. Quirós Rosado, *Monarquía de Oriente. La corte de Carlos III y el gobierno de Italia durante la guerra de Sucesión española* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2017).
2. L. Frey and M. Frey (eds.), *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession: An Historical and Critical Dictionary* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995), pp. 403–405.
 3. For this reason, French propaganda labelled the War of the Spanish Succession a war of religion. D. González Cruz, *Guerra de religión entre príncipes católicos. El discurso del cambio dinástico en España y América (1700–1714)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2002).
 4. This recognition also included English Catholics, and later also Dutch Catholics 'who will be in everything treated as my vassals, and who will obey the laws, customs, and habits of these kingdoms'. AGS, Guerra y Marina, L. 436, f. 279v. Consulta of the council of War. Madrid, 8 August 1701.
 5. AHN, Estado, leg. 4186, exp. 4. Decree by Philip V. Madrid, 16 April 1701. D.M. Downey, 'La Paz de Westfalia, vista desde Irlanda,' in *350 años de la Paz de Westfalia, 1648–1998. Del antagonismo a la integración en Europa* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional-Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 1999), p. 205.
 6. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by Father Domingo de Santa María. Madrid, 17 June 1701.
 7. On Philip V's French entourage in Spain, see C. Désos, *Les Français de Philippe V. Un modèle nouveau pour gouverner l'Espagne (1700–1724)* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2009).
 8. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by Nicholas Bodquin. Madrid, 30 October 1707.
 9. BNE, Mss., 6732, f. 236–A4r. *Noticias que ofrece a los ojos de la piedad cristiana el colegio de los irlandeses de la Compañía de Jesús de Sevilla*; and AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82. Memorial by the Archbishop of Trapezus. Madrid, 13 October 1707.
 10. A. Dubet, *Un estadista francés en la España de los Borbones. Juan Orry y las primeras reformas de Felipe V (1701–1706)* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2008); and G. Hanotin, *Ambassadeur de deux couronnes. Amelot et les Bourbons, entre commerce et diplomatie* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2018).
 11. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 573]. Memorial by Juan de Scaulan. Madrid, 2 March 1707.
 12. AHN, Estado, leg. 1329. Memorial by Ambrose O'Connor. Madrid, 5 September 1700; and ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Madrid, 23, f. 89. Memorial by Ambrose O'Connor. Ireland, n. d., c. 1705. His next step was the British court where he was imprisoned long temp. ASV, Segreteria di Stato. Fiandra, 101, f. 763v. Girolamo Grimaldi to the Cardinal Paolucci. Brussels, 29 November 1709. From London and after his liberation in 1709, he reported different news on the Irish Catholics and the parliamentary measures adopted that year. ASPF, Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Irlanda, 7, f. 210r. Bonaventure de Burgo to the inter-nuncio Girolamo Grimaldi. Louvain, 4 January 1710. C. Bravo Lozano, 'Renewing Roman diplomacy? Irish Catholicism and the mission of Fr Bonaventure de Burgo (1709–1711)', in *Confessional diplomacy in Early Modern Europe*, R. Anderson and C. Backerra, eds. (New York: Routledge), forthcoming.
 13. BNE, Mss., 6732, f. 236. *Noticias que ofrece a los ojos de la piedad cristiana el colegio de los irlandeses de la Compañía de Jesús de Sevilla*.
 14. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 571]. Memorial by the Jesuit Ignacio Bruno. Madrid, 18 September 1707.

15. ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico, 1606, f. 717. Temporary state of the Irish seminary in Seville. Andalusia, 1693. M. Murphy, *St Gregory's College, Sevilla, 1592–1767* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1992), pp. 182–183; Pérez Tostado, “‘Mártires de profesión’: Estudio de caso de los conflictos de las comunidades inglesa e irlandesa en la Andalucía de finales del XVII,” p. 648; and M. Murphy, *Ingleses de Sevilla. El Colegio de San Gregorio, 1592–1767* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2012), p. 188.
16. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 536]. Memorial by Patricio Bermingham, Gualtero Flud and Marcos Halloran. Madrid, 12 November 1702.
17. AGS, Tribunal Mayor de Cuentas, leg. 1870. Cargo of the general treasurer Diego de Cetina. Madrid, n. d., c. 1706; and SP/S/40/7 (i). Joseph Delamar to Philip V. Salamanca, 19 January 1709.
18. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 541]. Report of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 9 June 1701.
19. SP/S/40/7 (i). Joseph Delamar to Philip V. Salamanca, 19 January 1709; and SP/XIV/B/5/10. Barnaby Bath to Andrés Ignacio García. Santiago de Compostela, 2 November 1698.
20. Nicholas Fallon's *viaticum* applications were filed in 1692 and 1693. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 522]. Memorial by Thomas Joiseo and Nicholas Fallon. S. l., n. d., c. 1692; and AGP, Real Capilla, caja 81 [BDMI, 589]. Opinion of Pedro Portocarrero. Madrid, 14 January 1693. When the Countess of Berlepsch had to leave the court, Fallon was instructed by the Queen's secretary to take the post of chaplain under the Bishop of Lérida, Gaspar Alonso de Valeria, or for Nuncio Acquaviva. AHFAM, Fondo Documental Gabriel Maura Gamazo, caja 57, carpeta 3. François van Aefferden to the Bishop of Lerida. Madrid, 31 July 1700; and AHPM, Protocolo 11462 (notary public Andrés Lorenzo), ff. 94r–97v. Power of attorney of the Count Peter Philipp von Berlepsch in favour of the Countess Berlepsch, his mother. Madrid, 22 April 1699. For the political influence and the privileges amassed by the Countess of Berlepsch during her time as the favourite of Maria Anna of Neuburg, see R. Quirós Rosado, ‘De mercedes y beneficios: Negociación, intermediarios y política cortesana en la venta de los feudos napolitanos de la condesa de Berlepsch (1698–1700),’ *Chronica Nova*, 38 (2012), pp. 212–242.
21. AHPM, Protocolo 14212 (notary public Francisco Pulido), mazo de 1715, ff. 83rv. Power of attorney of Hugh Fay and James Barry in favour of Nicholas Fallon. Madrid, 1 June 1715.
22. ASPF, Actas, vol. 74, ff. 110r–110v, 9. Proceedings of the general meeting. Rome, 2 June 1704.
23. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 532]. Memorial by Anthony Broder. S. l., n. d., c. 1705.
24. ASPF, Actas, vol. 73, f. 237v, 14. Proceedings of the general meeting. Rome, 13 November 1703.
25. His naturalisation as Flemish and his proximity to Prince Eugene of Savoy and his right-hand man, Marquis of Prié, facilitated his ascension to the position of Secretary of State and of War in the Habsburg Low Countries between 1724 and 1745, the year of his death. B. Bernard, ‘Patrice-François de Neny (1716–1784). Portrait d'un homme d'État,’ *Études sur le XVIIIe siècle*, 21 (1993), pp. 1–77; and Id., ‘Les Neny: une famille d'hommes d'état d'origine irlandaise dans la Belgique des lumières,’ in *La emigración irlandesa en el siglo XVIII*, M.B. Villar García, ed. (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2000), pp. 81–99.
26. J.M. Iñurritegui, *Gobernar la ocasión. Preludio político de la Nueva Planta de 1707* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2008).
27. Simms, ‘The Establishment of Protestant Ascendancy, 1691–1714,’ p. 19.
28. D. Martín Marcos, *Península de recelos. Portugal y España, 1668–1715* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2014).

29. TNA: PRO, State Papers, 63/363, ff. 410rv. The Duke of Ormond and the Council of Ireland to the Count of Nottingham. Dublin, 26 June 1703. Connolly, 'The Penal Laws,' p. 164; and McCormick, 'Restoration Politics, 1660–1691,' pp. 134–135.
30. Simms, 'The Establishment of Protestant Ascendancy, 1691–1714,' p. 18.
31. Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1700*, pp. 66, 150 and 274.
32. From 1703 to 1710, different diplomatic offices were done by European ambassadors for orders of their patrons and recommendation of Pope Clement XI: the Portuguese Luis da Cunha, the Imperial envoys, the Count of Wratislav and the Count of Gallas, the Venetian legatus Francesco Cornaro, the minister Jacopo Giraldi in representation of the Great Duke of Tuscany and the Marquis of Brianzone, and diplomat of the Duke of Savoy.
33. R. Quirós Rosado, 'Madrid, 1706. El ministerio español ante la primera restauración de Carlos III de Austria,' in *Le lion et les lys. Espagne et France au temps de Philippe V*, G. Hanotin and D. Picco, eds. (Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2018), pp. 83–108.
34. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 571]. Memorial by the Jesuit Ignacio Bruno. Madrid, 18 September 1707.
35. AGP, Real Capilla, caja 82 [BDMI, 569]. Memorial by the provincial of the Franciscans. Madrid, 30 October 1707.
36. ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Madrid, 62, f. 2563r. The Cardinal Fabrizio Paolucci to Antonio Felice Zondadari. Rome, 8 September 1708.
37. ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Madrid, 26, ff. 527r–535v. Reports sent to Nuncio Zondadari by the Irish colleges in Salamanca, Alcalá, Seville, and Santiago in 1708.
38. BNE, Mss., 6732, f. 236. *Noticias que ofrece a los ojos de la piedad cristiana el colegio de los irlandeses de la Compañía de Jesús de Sevilla.*
39. J. Albareda Salvadó (ed.), *El declive de la Monarquía y del Imperio Español. Los tratados de Utrecht (1713–1714)* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2015).
40. BNE, Mss., 6732, f. 236–A2r. *Noticias que ofrece a los ojos de la piedad cristiana el colegio de los irlandeses de la Compañía de Jesús de Sevilla.*

Appendices

Table BMI.1 Irish applicants for a *viaticum*, 1609–1707¹

<i>year</i>	<i>Franciscan Order (OFM)</i>	<i>Dominican Order (OP)</i>	<i>Order of Saint Augustine (OSA)</i>	<i>Society of Jesus (JHS)</i>	<i>Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mercy (OdeM)</i>	<i>Cistercian Order (OCist)</i>	<i>Priests, graduates, and students (Presb.)</i>	<i>Others</i>
1609	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1610	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1611	• Buenaventura de Santa María	-	-	-	-	-	• Guillermo Duleo	-
1612	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1613	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1614	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1615	• <i>Buenaventura de Santa María</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1616	-	-	-	-	-	-	• Guillermo Vitus • Juan Dea	-
1617	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1618	-	-	-	-	-	-	• Eugenio Colgano • <i>Juan Dea</i>	-
1619	-	• Roque de la Cruz [Roche MacGeoghegan] • Five Dominicans	-	-	-	-	• Phelipe de Valois • Thomas de Valle [Thomas Walsh]	-
1620	-	• Ricardo de la Peña [Richard Bermingham]	-	• Miguel Cantovilla [Michael Cantovilla]	-	• Bernardo Culinano (300 Franciscans)	• Cornelio Osullevan • Carlos Riaño ²	-

				Cantwell]		ducats)	
							• Ricardo Conaldo [Richard O'Connell] • Diego Talbot • Tadeo Bradagan • Daniel Flanagan
1621	• Pedro Tafeo • Thomas Frutien • <i>Buenaventura de Santa María</i>	• Guillermo del Espíritu Santo	• Nicolás de San Patricio • Mauricio Conaldo	• <i>Miguel Cantovilla [Michael Cantwell]</i>	-	-	• Juan Baptista Duguin • Cornelio Quilin • Patricio Valle • Diego de León • Felipe Hogano • Two priests • Guillermo Supel • Tomás Frens • Daniel Brodin • <i>Cornelio Osullivan</i>
1622	• Cornelio Glacneo • Hugo de San Victore • Antonio Purcello • Martin Valois del Ángel	• Two Dominicans	• Juan de Sahagún	-	-	-	• Nicolas Shee • <i>Juan Baptista Duguin</i>

1623	• Cornelio Vardeo • Francisco Criano • Two Franciscans	• Domingo del Rosario • Pedro de Santa María • Diego de Santa María	-	• Juan de la Rocha	-	-	• Constantino Daniel • Juan Dali • Guillermo Cridan • Julio Roy • Thomas Quiernan • Dionisio Falbeo • Daniel Meachais	-
1624	• Juan Nuñan • Buenaventura Magnesio³	• Juan Olano • Nicolas Moloni • Pedro Mártir	-	• Ricardo Valois	-	-	• Juan Archer • Thomas Valois • Daniel Bardeo • Pedro Archeiro • Juan Bardeo • Two priests • Malaquias Meaguer • Guillermo Colin • Teobaldo de Burgo	-
1625	• Agustín de Gaulle	• Guillermo del Espíritu Santo • Miguel del Espíritu Santo • Antonio del Rosario	-	• Cornelio de Rocha • Guillermo de la Cruz • Roberto Netervil	-	-	• Dionisio Harty • Florencio Mahun • Juan Cornelio • Dionisio Colgano • Daniel Hurleo • Roberto Vadingo • Teobaldo de Burgo	• Four Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian friars (without names)

1626	• Marino de San Francisco	• Vicente de Santa María • Tomás de Burgo • Tomás Bernardino	• Patricio de los Ángeles	-	-	-	• Juan Oconor • Guillermo Mauricio (English Mission) • Cristobal Carleton • Diego Mauricio • Thadeo Claro • Juan Carneio • Pedro Cadel • Teodoro Claro • Eugenio Cor	-
1627	• Cornelio Lince • Pablo Vienan • Jacobo Gabano • Hugo Queli	• Thomas del Espíritu Santo (English Mission)	-	-	-	-	• Guillermo Odonel • Three priests • Thomas Predergart • Dionisio Atti • Raymundo Roquel	-

1628	• Roberto Laceo	• Jacinto de Ameros • Jorge de Santo Tomás • <i>Thomas del Espíritu Santo (English Mission)</i>	• Miguel del Espíritu Santo • Dionisio de Santa Cruz • Mauricio Laseo	-	-	-	• Antonio Odriscol • Bernardino Morphee • Miguel del Espíritu Santo • Diego Varonio • Dionisio Dicano • <i>Thomas Predergart</i> • <i>Dionisio Atti</i>	-
1629	• Buenaventura Nangel • Cristóbal Nugencio	• Three Dominicans	• Hernando de San Patricio	• Three Jesuits	-	-	• Juan Conveo • Dermicio Osullevan • Three priests	-
1630	• Jacobo Synoto • Pablo de Santa María	• Patricio Tadeo • Three Dominicans	-	-	-	-	• Malachias Conaldo⁴ • Dionisio Morfeo • Nicholas Borox • Three priests	-
1631	• Francisco Ruaire	• Three Dominicans	• Juan Brenan • Juan de San Agustín • Guillermo de Çea	• Diego Camarton • Diego del Valle • Thadeo O'Sullivan	-	-	• Patricio Trasy • Mauricio Osullevan • Ricardo Brulero • Dionisio Arneo • Daniel Croceo • Teodoro Osullevan • Dionisio Odonel • Guillermo Burget • Diego Piers • Three priests	-

1632	• Antonio de Santa María • Jacobo Duffio	• Nicolas Lince	-	-	-	-	• Dionisio Odonel	-
1633	• Francisco de Santa María • Buenaventura Higan • Esteban Grumel	• Domingo del Rosario	• Diego Lincol	• Ricardo Barrete	-	• Andrés Goano	• Guillermo Geraldino • Juan Boja • Patricio Enriquez Ychan • Esteban Estaforte • Diego Bultero • Guillermo Cuningan • Pedro Libete	-
1634	-	-	-	-	-	-	• Enrique Colenan	-

1635	• Hugo de Santo Columba • Francisco de la Concepción • Buenaventura Banan • Antonio Dali • Raymundo de Santa María • Jacobo Cavelo • Antonio de Burgo	-	• Agustín de la Concepción • Enrique de San Agustín • Diego de San Guillermo	• Guillermo Gran (Scottish Mission)	-	-	• Tadeo Conaldo • Diego Otuni y Valle • Dionisio Odonel • Juan Carneio • Three priests • <i>Enrique Calenan</i>	-
1636	• Hugo Canociano • Juan Bautista Barry	• Three Dominicans	• Raimundo Tobino • Daniel de la Cruz • Diego de Santa Mónica	• Juan Seton (Scottish Mission)	-	-	• Mauro Shihi • Edmundo Morfeo • Raymundo de Burgo • Daniel Guia • Theobald Stapleton	-
1637	• Luis de la Concepción • Daniel Kelly • Lorenzo Geogano • Cornelio Donju	• Bernardo Onel • Domingo Lince • Martín Useo • Domingo Menic	• Ricardo de San Juan • Esteban Lince • Jerónimo de San Nicolás	• Juan Hamilton	-	-	• Thomas Nogle • Thomas Caecio • Guillermo Cahesio • Guillermo Maquochi • Roberto Blaqual • Terencio Oneil • <i>Theobald Stapleton</i>	-

1638	• Three Franciscans • Francisco de Santa Clara • Pedro del Mar • Bernardo Cormich • <i>Luis de la Concepción</i>	• Olivero de Arce • Guillermo de Burgo • Edmundo de Santa María • <i>Domingo Lince</i> • <i>Martín Useo</i> • <i>Domingo Menic</i>	• Pedro de Sarsfeldo • Ricardo Conaldo • Nicolas de Tolentino	• Juan Bluito • Juan Vitus • Juan de Hagano • Pedro Vitus	-	• Guillermo Viseo • Juan Madden • Juan Clanceo • Diego Giraldi • Thadeo Osullivan	-
1639	-	• Esteban Petyt • Patricio Dayri • Domingo de la Transfiguración	• Agustín de la Trinidad • Guillermo de Santa María • <i>Esteban Lince</i>	• <i>Pedro Vitus</i>	-	• Juan Geraldino • Diego Geoghogan • Juan de Casas • Dermicio Patricio • Cornelio Carti • Cornelio Odonel • Raimundo de Santa María⁵ • Bernardino Ebrardo • Diego de la Cruz	-

1640	• Buenaventura Malaquias • Guillermo Siredan • Bernardino Cornelio • Hieremias Herbert • Felipe de San Antonio	• Gregorio Hanin • Ambrosio de San Andrés • Edmundo de Santo Tomás	• Mauricio Conaldo • Thomas de Santa María • <i>Nicolas de Tolentino</i>	-	-	-	• Bartolomé Batheo • Juan de Arceo • Thomas Nugencio • <i>Raimundo de Santa María</i> • <i>Bernardino Ebrardo</i> • <i>Diego de la Cruz</i>	-
1641	• Francisco de Santa María • Buenaventura de Burgo • Patricio Ocharri	• Geraldo del Espíritu Santo Dabo • Thadeo Verno • Joanatas Dabo	• Nicolás Lince • Patricio de San Agustín • Juan Bautista	-	• Guillermo Nolasco	-	• Raimundo Dugano • Bernabé Quiernano • Diego Otuni y Valle • Juan Geraldino	-
1642	• Juan de Nasao • Patricio Gernon • Antonio de Burgo	• Thomas de los Ángeles • Juan de San Vicente • Antonio del Rosario	-	-	-	-	• Bernardo Ohigino	-

1643	• Juan de Oballe • Diego Cayo • Francisco Ofaron • Francisco Odonel	• Thomas de Burgo • Domingo de Santa María • Cornelio de San Miguel • Thadeo de San Vicente • Ricardo Chely • Juan Artheo • Raimundo de San Miguel	• Eugenio Carteo • Bernardo de Santa María • Eugenio de San Patricio	• Thomas Batorphio (English Mission)	-	-	• Mauricio O'Brien • Raimundo Morfeo • Melchor Dardiz • Raymundo Dugano • <i>Bernabé Quiernano</i>	-
1644	• Hugo de San Francisco • Juan Brimighan • Felipe Holano • Francisco Maguir • Francisco de San Antonio	• Thomas Cano • Clemens Berneus • Andres Scoto (Scottish Mission) • <i>Juan de San Vicente</i> • <i>Domingo de Santa María</i> • <i>Cornelio de San Miguel</i> • <i>Thadeo de San Vicente</i>	• Patricio Quirevano • Olivero Martelo • Pedro de Santa María • Agustín de Santa María • Nicolás de Santa María • Felipe de Santa María • <i>Bernardo de Santa María</i> • <i>Eugenio Carteo</i> • <i>Eugenio de San Patricio</i>	• Federico Scoto (Scottish Mission) • Guillermo Bello (Scottish Mission)	• Pedro Nolasco • Joseph de San Ramón	• Diego Butlero	• Juan Gavan • Baltasar Vitus • Diego Flangolio • Juan de Burgo • Marco Tulio • Guillermo de León • <i>Raymundo Dugano</i>	-

1645	• Antonio Carti • Antonio Quelli • Juan Geraldino • Juan de Santa María Kenno • Hugo de San Francisco • <i>Phelipe Holano</i>	• Raimundo Morri • Juan Ruano • Jacinto de Santa María	• Raimundo de Burgo • Lorenzo de Santa María • Juan Columbano	-	-	-	• <i>Marco Tulio</i> • <i>Guillermo de León</i>	-
1646	• Raimundo Gallecurio • Francisco de Santa María • Tomás de San Buenaventura	• Domingo del Rosario • Raimundo Petit • Conaldo de Santo Tomás • <i>Juan Ruano</i> • <i>Raymundo Morry</i> • <i>Jacinto de Santa María</i>	-	-	-	-	• Luis Manaxano	-
1647	• Juan Hugo • Jacobo Matheo • Antonio de Burgo • <i>Raimundo Gallecurio</i> • <i>Francisco de Santa María</i> • <i>Thomas de San Buenaventura</i>	-	• Juan de San Agustín • Lorenzo de San Agustín • Melchor de Burgo	-	-	-	• Nicolás Arturo • Alejandro Guetaze • Juan Martínez	-

1648	• Antonio Bardeo • Buenaventura Magranell • Thadeo Piagano	• Thomas de los Ángeles • Diego Croli • Thomas de Santo Tomás	• Agustín de Burgo • Raimundo de San Nicolás • <i>Melchor de Burgo</i>	-	-	-	• Carlos Fontano	-
1649	• Antonio Oneill • Antonio Obrien • Francisco Coghlan de San Patricio	• Domingo Ferail • Guillermo Rean • Domingo Coppinger • Enojur Omauny • Thomas Omultuly • Remun Boore	• Baltasar de Burgo • Bartolomé de Santa María • Dionisio de Zúñiga • <i>Raimundo de San Nicolás</i>	-	-	-	-	-
1650	• Francisco de Grayo • Joseph de Burgos • Hugo Goyo	• Juan Bautista • Domingo Ocarrany • Guillermo de Burgo • Thomas de Rupe • Geraldo Geraldino	• Marcos Forstal	-	-	• Pedro Cogan	• Fernando Oqueli	-
							• Matheo Bonfildo	

1651	• Eugenio Ara • Pedro Condon • Thomas Croli	• Thomas Gibbon • Ricardo Maddin • Andrés de Santa María • Juan Bautista • Domingo Ocarrany • Guillermo de Burgo • Thomas de Rupe • Geraldo Geraldino	• Gregorio Bodquin • <i>Bartolomé de Santa María</i>	-	-	-	• Pedro Conrado	-
1652	-	-	-	-	-	-	• Jorge de Olea	-
1653	• Pablo de la Concepción • Patricio de la Trinidad • Joseph Flin	• Pedro de Santa María	-	-	-	-	• Andrés Donaldo • Moriarte Donaldo • Duarte Magcoghan • Carlos Carrol • Olivero del Valle	-
1654	-	-	• Thomas Ohinegan • Bernardo Oquenedi	-	-	-	• Felipe Hogano • Ricardo Archpol	-
1655	• Juan Gormoleo	• Thomas Oflin • Jacob Morxo • Guillermo Roxanta • Patricio Layles • Bernabé Neil • Juan Dublinense	-	-	-	-	-	-

1656	-	-	-	-	-	-	• Mauricio Donelan • Andrés Donelan	-
1657	-	• Domingo Onojor • Thomas Jacinto • Esteban Lince • Gregorio Fanigo • Thomas Loiz • Cornelio Geogogan	-	-	-	-	• Andrés Ruiz y Lobo	-
1658	-	• Antonio Orbespi	-	-	-	-	• Andrés del Puerto • Florencio Patricio • Jacobo Helan • Gerardo Vitus • Thadeo Helan • Ángel Goldino	-
1659	• Buenaventura Crueli [Bonaventura Croli] • Bernardo Lugonio • Andrés Vital	• Bernardo del Rosario • Domingo Silvino • Domingo de Santa María • Raymundo Egano	• Juan de San Agustín			-	• Dionisio Harteo • Thomas Maxano • Patricio Quirano • Cornelio Feral • Hugo Galjurio • Diego Cusaco • Guillermo Honegan	-

1660	• Benito Hugonio • Juan Maguir • Gualtero de Burgo • Bernardino Lince de Galvia [Bernard Lynch of Galway]	• <i>Raymundo Egano</i>	• Agustín Higino • Martín de Santa María	-	-	-	• Thadeo Ocahassi • Mauricio Obrien • Enrique Comefort • Matías de León • Miguel Olalur • Juan Jordan • Comarco Quigo • <i>Guillermo Honegan</i>	-
1661	• Antonio Oneill • Antonio Faluco • Gregorio Falono • <i>Gualtero de Burgo</i>	• Félix Oconor (Procurador) • Ricardo Relio / Queli • Thomas Mahun • Hilario Higgin • Guillermo Colligin • Antonio Roe • Guillermo Gorman • <i>Bernardo del Rosario</i> • <i>Raymundo Egano</i>	-	-	-	-	• Roque Lecot de Baurece • Roberto Poero • Daniel Quenali • Gualtero Roquefort • Thomas Ogrifha • Thadeo Hilan • <i>Juan Jordán</i> • <i>Guillermo Honegan</i>	• Secretary of Antonio Faluco • Partner of Antonio Faluco

1662	• Antonio de Santa María • Francisco Brodi	• Mauricio Donelan • Thadeo Dali	• Thomas Henegan	-	-	-	• Remigio Quino / Quinio • Felipe Macbradi • Juan Helano • Donaldo Querino • David Pendergasto • Juan de Orán • Thadeo Urleo • Carlos Quiago / Giago • Comarco Quigo • Dionisio Arleo • Francisco Gray • Diego O'Neill • Thomas Cardin • Francisco Bruden • Antonio Hustes • Juan Ridan • Hugo Queneuano • Pedro Valero • Pedro Manin	-

							• Francisco Fay • Francisco Bale • Antonio Carteo • Jorge Golde • Mauricio Griffa • Francisco Macohello • Bernardo Mariarte • Thadeo Heir • <i>Andrés de Portu / Porte</i> • <i>Roberto Poero</i> • <i>Daniel Quenali</i> • <i>Gualtero Roquefort</i>	
1663	• Jacobo Oneil • Pedro Manin • Thomas de Buenaventura • <i>Antonio de Santa María</i>	-	-	-	• Pedro Macarti	-	• Juan Georgan • <i>Donaldo Querino</i> • <i>Roberto Poer / Puero / Poero</i> • <i>Mauricio Obrien</i>	• Ten friars (without name and religious order)
1664	• <i>Antonio de Santa María</i>	-	-	-	-	-	• Dermicio Fayó • Daniel Muldune • <i>Juan Gargan</i> • <i>Donaldo Querino</i>	-

1665	-	-	-	-	-	-	• Felipe Bradi • <i>Enrique Comefort</i> • <i>Andrés de Portu / Porte</i>	-
1666	-	-	-	-	-	-	• <i>Andrés de Portu / Porte</i>	-
1667	-	-	-	-	-	-	• <i>Andrés de Portu / Porte</i>	-
1668	-	-	-	-	-	-	• <i>Andrés de Portu / Porte</i>	-
1669	-	-	-	-	-	-	• <i>Andrés de Portu / Porte</i>	-
1670	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1671	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1672	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1673	-	• Ten Dominicans • Twelve Dominicans	• Eight Augustinians	-	-	-	• Juan Richardo Crosbi • Raymundo Geraldino	-
1674	-	• <i>Twelve Dominicans</i>	-	-	-	-	• Hugo Gafio • Dermicio Nestar / Nestor • Juan de Zúñiga	-

1675	• Hugo Maqcorneq	-	• Columbano de San Nicolás • Francisco Plunketo	-	-	-	• Gerardo Doudal • Cornelio Lince • Guillermo de Santa María • Dermicio Muldun • Dionisio Brigdal y Nestor	-
1676	-	• Diego Bath • Thomas Brenan • Martín de Santo Thomas • Antonio Hugo • Domingo de Santo Thomas • Juan Cassim • Juan de Santo Thomas • Gregorio Nelbussia • Patricio Dionisio • Juan Colmano • Ignacio Lince • Miguel Oconor	-	-	-	-	• Malaquías Roili • Bernardo Berni • Columba Lince • Juan Bodquin • Jerónimo Martínez • Patricio Molano • <i>Dermicio Muldun</i>	-

1677	• Ten Franciscans	• Humbert Delphin (procurador) • Thomas Gradeo • Domingo Hart • Miguel Berghum • Bartolomé Heym • Patricio Kelly • Domingo Maddim • Thomas Grady • Bernardo Dermott • Francisco Matheo • Esteban Procter • Domingo Daveto • Domingo Delphin	-Juan Berni -Francisco de San Agustín	-	-	-	-	-
1678	• Nine Franciscans	• Domingo de Santa María	-	-	-	-	-	-
1679	-	-	-	-	-	-	• Malachias Lince • Nicolas Doyle • <i>Cornelio Lince</i>	-

1680	• Thadeo Roizze • Terencio Ohart • Bernardo Cabeo • Bernardino Janor • Gregorio Mulani • Malachias Lennan • Marcos McCraigh • Eugenio Egano • Bernardino Mathai • Bernardo Costello • Daniel Cogklan • Francisco Carthao • Antonio Muluihi	• Domingo Holaran • Bernardo de Santo Tomás • Diego de Udal • Diego Quini • Juan de Burgo • Diego Reynaldo • Ricardo de Burgo • Matías Tuli	• Thomas de León	-	-	-	• Melchor Choy • Mauricio Canan	-
1681	• Eight Franciscans	-	• Juan de Burgo • Juan Carolo	-	-	-	• Ricardo Dueli • Juan Donelan • Eugenio Donelan	-

- Ambrosio
Oconor
[Ambrose
O'Connor]
(Procurador)

- Dionisio
Galacher

- Domingo Moni

- Raimundo de
Burgo

- Diego Coglán

- Pedro Riaño

- Matías de Santo
Tomás

- Antonio de Santa
María

- *Ricardo de
Burgo*

- Bernardo
Oconor

- Félix Coglán

- Juan de Santo
Tomás

- Diego Raynaedo

- Domingo Orán

- Daniel Culquin -

- Jacobo Josseo

- Ricardo Lince

- Juan Dungan

- Carlos Tuel

- Terencio Obrien

1683	-	-	• Nicolás Morey	-	-	-	-	-
1684	-	• Agustín / Miguel Oconor • Marcos Bruno [Mark Brown] (Procurador) • Agustín de Burgos • Ambrosio de Santo Tomás • Thomas del Rosario • Lucas Vidal • Domingo de Santo Tomás • Juan Alpin • Diego / Domingo Ylan • Reymundo de San Juan	-	-	-	-	• Ricardo Manrique • Carlos Canavane • Guillermo Dueli	-
1685	-	• Agustín / Miguel Oconor • Marcos Bruno • Agustín de Burgos • Ambrosio de Santo Tomás • Thomas del Rosario • Lucas Vidal	• Clemente Asti / de Asti	-	-	-	-	-

- *Domingo de Santo Thomás*
- *Juan Alpin*
- *Diego / Domingo Ylan*
- *Reymundo de San Juan*

1686	-	• <i>Hernando Zúñiga</i> • <i>Juan de Santa María</i> • <i>Francisco Dabot</i> • <i>Juan de Santa Rosa</i> • <i>Pedro Reurean</i> • <i>Ambrosio Macdermot</i> • <i>Domingo Dogherty</i> • <i>Juan Delfín</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-

1687	-	• Pedro de Santa María • Cornelio Reginaldo • Pedro Mulrean • Juan de Santo Tomás • Juan Nelh • Juan Oreiley • Ambrosio Magaraban • Diego Enegan • Ricardo de Santa Rosa • <i>Ambrosio Oconor</i>	• Juan Hor	-	-	-	• Diego Fagan • Lucas Fagan [Luke Fagan] • Juan Quiernano	-
1688	-	-	-	-	-	-	• Miguel Enríquez • Guillermo Nugencio • Antonio Garuan • Cornelio Obrien • Juan Carneio	-

1689	• Bernardino Conmeo • Antonio Favila (Naughten) • Joanes Killkenii • Antonio Johnson • Buenaventura Amstrong • Joanes Neldon • Félix Ogara	• Clemente Colgan • Patricio Duque • Raymundo de Burgo • Pedro Furlongo • Juan Lince • Patricio Obruin • Pedro Kinay • Laurencio Davoren • Ambrosio Canavan	-	-	-	-	• Therencio Quiernano • Marcos Plunquet • Antonio Oquenedi • Patricio Molano	-	
1690	-	• Jacobo Egan • Thomas Knauin • Pedro Bergiman • Juan de Santo Thomas • Pedro Mulrean • Diego de Santa María	• Juan de San Agustín • Eugenio Oconor • Juan Maqui • Agustín Lince • Francisco de Burgo	-	-	-	-	• Nicolás Herbert • Mauricio Morfi	-

1691	• Francisco Sal • Pedro Mahan • Francisco Talon • Antonio Talon • Francisco Gilde • Antonio Teruel • Francisco Coreo • Antonio Calanan	-	• Juan Butler • Julián Baldron • Thomas Henre • Miguel Treni • Juan Canolo • Nicolás Falon • Diego Nadcara • Laurencio Plunquet • Daniel Lalor • Lucas Tierne	-	-	-	• Gregorio Ordóñez • Carlos de San Miguel • Ricardo Burgo • Hugo Fayó⁶ [Hugh Fay] • Florencio Macarti • Francisco Leynagh • Ignacio Travers⁷ • Tadeo de Riaño	-
1692	• Jacobo Quin [+ Mariana of Austria] • Antonio Obern • Francisco Dilon • Antonio French • Ricardo Hogan • Francisco Ohehir • Patricio Mason [Patrick Mayson]	• Jerónimo Bath • Patricio Scarfield • Eduardo French • Thomas Ward • Cristóbal Conel • Raymundo Swotnian • Patricio Dugang • Domingo de Santa María • Hugo Dionisio • Juan Bruno • Juan Glasin • Raymundo Fallon • Patricio de Santo Thomas	• Juan de San Nicolás • Thomas Lenan • Thomas Olonan • Francisco Comin • Agustín Buin • Guillermo Beldun • Nicolás Falon • Lorenzo Plunqueto • <i>Juan Butler</i>	-	-	-	• Juan Gorman / Germano • Thomas Chiver • Eduardo Frensi • Domingo Lince • Carlos Culquin • Antonio Morfi • Mauricio Berni • Juan del Castillo • Francisco Bruno • Thomas Jorseo • Nicolás Falon⁸ • Patricio Quejo • Daniel Calor • Ricardo German	-

- Antonio
- Dionisio
- Francisco
- Duan
- Juan de Favila
- Hugo Hanin
- Mathías
- Heanselogh
- Bernardo
- Falonio

- Pedro Anli
- Thomas Quejo
- Ricardo de
- Burgo

- *Cornelio*
- *O'Brien*
- *Antonio*
- *O'Kennedi*

1693

- *Jacobo Quin*
- *Antonio*
- *Francisco*
- *Dilon*
- *Antonio*
- *French*
- *Ricardo*
- *Hogan*
- *Francisco*
- *Ohehir*
- *Patricio*
- *Mason*
- *Antonio*
- *Dionisio*

- Juan O'Brien
- Diego Davock
- Domingo Daley
- Diego de Santa
- María
- Domingo
- Plunquet
- Diego Eraghty
- Domingo Egan
- Patricio
- Anin
- Patricio
- Butler
- Nicolás
- Conmy /
- Comii
- Edmundo
- Valois
- Thomas
- Olonan
- Francisco
- Comin
- Agustín Buin

-

-

-

- Theobaldo de
- Burgo
- Patricio Obari
- Thomas
- Dincghan
- *Nicolas Falon*
- *Thomas Joseo*

-

• <i>Francisco Duan</i>	• <i>Guillermo Beldun</i>
• <i>Juan de Favila</i>	• <i>Nicolás Falon</i>
• <i>Hugo Hanin</i>	• <i>Lorenzo Plunqueto</i>
• <i>Mathías Heanselogh</i>	
• <i>Bernardo Falonio</i>	

1694	-	• Vicente Ferrer • Patricio Walesio • Diego Cullan / Colan • Juan Moran • Guillermo Kelley • Thomas Tulley • Domingo Halleran • Ricardo Eano • Domingo Oruri de Santa María • <i>Juan Obrien</i> • <i>Diego Davock</i> • <i>Domingo Daley</i> • <i>Diego de Santa María</i> • <i>Domingo Plunquet</i> • <i>Diego Eraghty</i> • <i>Domingo Egan</i>	-	-	-	-	-	• Antonio Ricardo de Burgo • <i>Patricio Obari</i>	• Nicholas Bodquin [+ Mariana of Austria]

1695	• Juan Purcell • Antonio Maclave	• Juan Colman • Thomas Hurli • Juan de Burgo • Domingo Daniel • Domingo Morero / Morey • Humberto de Burgo • Marcos Daniel • Pedro Ruiz / Rust • <i>Patricio Walesio</i> • <i>Diego Cullan / Colan</i> • <i>Juan Moran</i> • <i>Guillermo Kelley</i> • <i>Thomas Tulley</i> • <i>Domingo Halleran</i> • <i>Ricardo Eano</i> • <i>Domingo Oruri de Santa María</i>	• Guillermo de Santa María Ofuin	-	-	• <i>Nicolás Herberte</i> • <i>Theobaldo de Burgo</i>	-

1696	• Edmundo Nalli • Pedro China / Kinan • Eugenio Maquina • Antonio Sales • Buenaventura Duir • Marcos Lauglen • Francisco Keone	• Thomas Maglaglen • Domingo Daley • Cristóbal Obrien • Francisco MacMahon • Jacobo Rusell • Diego del Rosario • Oliverio Puar • Diego Morphi • Patricio Quiroban • <i>Juan Colman</i> • <i>Thomas Hurli</i> • <i>Juan de Burgo</i> • <i>Domingo Daniel</i> • <i>Domingo Morero / Morey</i> • <i>Humberto de Burgo</i> • <i>Marcos Daniel</i> • <i>Pedro Ruiz / Rust</i>	• Guillermo O'Reyli • Miguel de San Agustín • Thomas de Santa María • Juan de Okeli • Bernardo Oconor • Agustín Este • Juan de Sahagún • Juan de Santa Mónica	-	-	-	• Patricio Mulchay • Melchor Reyli • Guillermo Lampard	-
1697	• Juan Flaherti [John Flaherti] • Patricio Ologhlen • Francisco Moglen	• <i>Thomas Maglaglen</i> • <i>Domingo Daley</i> • <i>Cristóbal Obrien</i> • <i>Francisco MacMahon</i> • <i>Jacobo Rusell</i>	• <i>Juan de Sahagún</i> • <i>Juan de Santa Mónica</i>	-	-	-	• Ricardo Gorman • Antonio Broder • Bernardo Maclave • Terencio Quiernano⁹	-

- Buenaventura de Burgo
- Joseph Ogara
- Mariano Obruodin
- Francisco Gorman
- Miguel Suini
- Buenaventura Muluihil
- Buenaventura Melaghlen
- Antonio Macarti
- Francisco Dilon
- *Diego del Rosario*
- *Oliverio Puar*
- *Diego Morphi*
- *Patricio Quiroban*
- Hugo Cleri

1698	–	• Joseph Lince • Pedro Oneil • Daniel Maddan • Guillermo Reyli • Juan Mores • Thomas Bardeo • Domingo Mulaney • Diego Moreghu • Domingo de Santo Thomas	• Bernardo Kenedi	–	–	–	• Gaspar Deveraux • Ricardo Herbert • <i>Antonio Broder</i>	–

1699	• Bernardo Matheo • Felipe Trener	• Geraldo Mhon	-	-	-	-	• Bernardo Lameo • Patricio Caoy • Patricio Aller • Patricio Bermenghan • Malachias Tumulcy • Edmundo Galachor • Miguel Dounes • Miguel Lince • <i>Patricio Caoy</i> • <i>Patricio Aller</i> • <i>Patricio Bermenghan</i> • <i>Antonio Broder</i> • <i>Ricardo Gorman [pensión]</i>	-
1700	• Francisco Maghee • Antonio Stapleton • Francisco Macdonnell • Miguel Gormleg • Francisco MacNamara • Juan de la Concepción	• Ambrosio Oconor [Ambrose O'Connor] (procurador)	-	-	-	-	• Jorge Macmanus • Marcos Halloran • Guillermo Lonergan	-

1701	• Paulo O’Brin • Antonio de Burgo • Juan O’Nielan • Joseph O’Brien • Terencio O’Hart • Lorenzo Considin • Francisco Cleri • Buenaventura Conolan • Marcos Magragh • Buenaventura Mandeville • Francisco O’Hein • Buenaventura Burke • Enrique Valesio	• Ten Dominicans	-	-	-	-	-	-

- Compañero
de Enrique
Valesio
- *Francisco
Macdonell*
- *Miguel
Gromly*
- *Antonio
Stapleton*
- *Francisco
Maghee*

1702	• Francisco Cleni • Gilberto Marie Bruodin • <i>Francisco Macdonell</i> • <i>Miguel Gromly</i> • <i>Antonio Stapleton</i> • <i>Francisco Maghee</i> • <i>Paulo O'Brin</i> • <i>Antonio Burke</i> • <i>Juan O'Nielan</i> • <i>Joseph O'Brien</i>	-	• Patricio Brehon	-	-	-	• Gualtero Flud [Walter Flood] • Patricio Lidam • <i>Marcos Halloran</i> • <i>Patricio Bermenghan</i>	-

		• Terencio O'Hart • Buenaventura Conolan • Marcos Magrath • Buenaventura Mandeville • Buenaventura Conolan • Francisco Cleri							
1703	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	• Marcos Halloran • Gualtero Flud [Walter Flood] • Patricio Lidam • Patricio Bermenghan	-
1704	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1705	-	• Agustín de Burgo • Juan Kilkelly • Bernardo Maedermot • Thomas Word • Cristobal OBrien • Guillermo Hollaran	-	-	-	-	-	• Juan Dueli • Diego Redmond • Antonio Broder • Lorenzo Laugan • Ricardo Purfield • Patricio Lidam	-

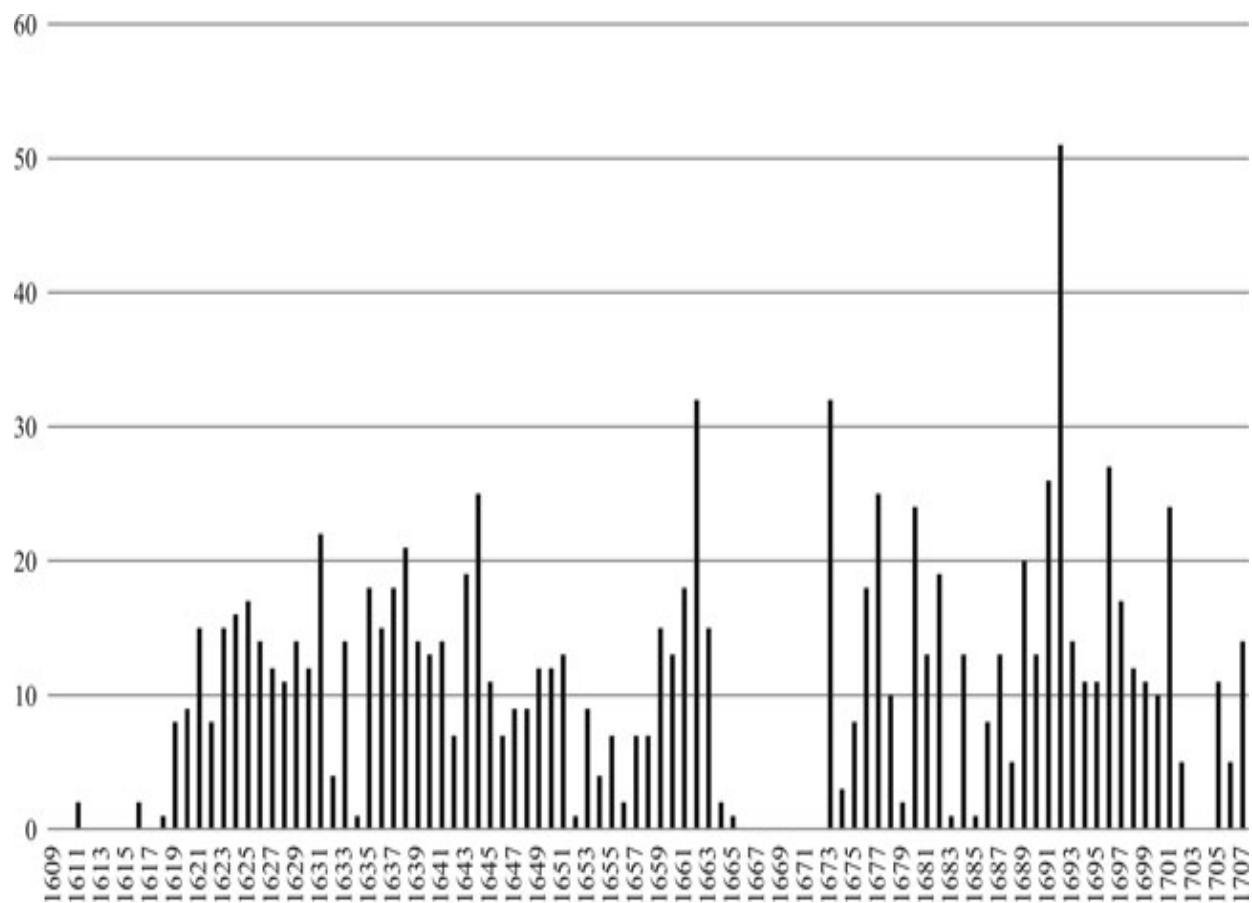
1706	-	• Juan Gayner • Bernardo O'Reilly • Domingo Kelli • Juan de Scaulan • Ambrosio Oconor [Ambrose O'Connor] (procurador)	-	-	-	-	-	-
1707	• Jacobo Cahil • Francisco de San Patricio • Alejandro Roch • Miguel Odonel • Juan Ogara • Miguel Macharti • Thomas Phelan • Bernardo Caveo • Antonio Macdonel • Miguel Suyni • Diego Paul • Juan Oquelli • Terencio Ohart	-	-	-	-	-	• Patricio Vitus • Mauricio OBrenan	-
TOTAL	238	316	115	23	4	4	327	17

[*Table BM1.2*](#) Irish friars exiled in Spain, 1699–1700¹⁰

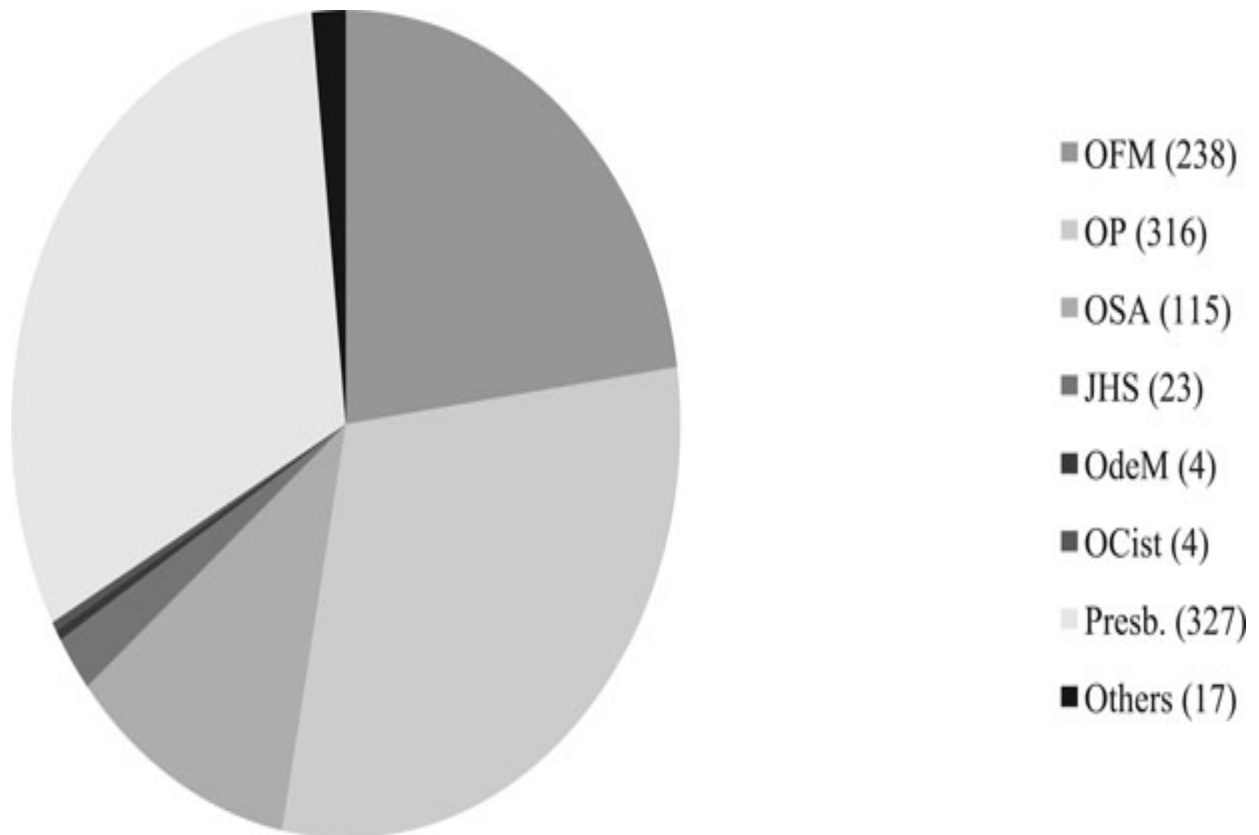
<i>Year</i>	<i>Franciscan Order (OFM)</i>	<i>Dominican Order (OP)</i>	<i>Order of Saint Augustine (OSA)</i>	<i>Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mercy (OdeM)</i>	<i>Priests, graduates, and students (Presb.)</i>
1699	• Bernardino Conmeo, 1680 and 1689 [asks to return, 1707] • Miguel Sueni, 1697 [asks to return, 1707] • Eugenio Macquiena, 1696 • Antonio Dionisio, 1692 and 1693 • Mariano Obruodin, 1697 • Patricio Olaglen, 1697 • Patricio Nazon, 1692 and 1693 • Bernardo Falcon, 1692 and 1693 • Joseph Ogara, 1697 • Mateo Quenselagh, 1692 and 1693 • Francisco Clery [asks to return, 1702] • Francisco Macnamara [asks to return, 1700] • Miguel Gormyli [asks to return, 1700, 1701, 1702] • Francisco Macdaniel [asks to return, 1700, 1701, 1702] • Buenaventura Manduel [asks to return, 1701, 1702] • Juan Ogara [asks to return, 1707]	• Bernardo Dermotrea, 1677 [asks to return, 1705] • Juan Brun, 1692 • Patricio Denis, 1676 • Diego Frachny, 1693 and 1694 • Juan de Burgo, 1680 • Raimundo Fayo, 1692 • Thomas Keaghor, 1692 • Juan de Santa Rosa, 1686 • Guillermo Kenesi, 1694 and 1695 • Francisco Dautk, 1686 • Lucas Lidan, 1684 and 1685 • Humbert Delphin, 1677 • Juan Coghlan [asks to return, 1706, 1707] • Juan Jeyner [asks to return, 1706] • Baltasar de San Juan • Diego Falan • Thomas Aran • Patricio Brenan • Thomas de Burgo • Marcos Maconell • Thomas Eshortas • Lucas Mede • Mathias Macnamara	• Juan de Burgo, 1681 • Juan Hore, 1687 • Francisco Comin, 1692 and 1693 • Agustín Vein, 1692 and 1693 • Juan de Oqueli, 1696 • Nicolás Morris, 1683 • Nicolás Conmin, 1693 • Clemente de Aste, 1685 • Dionisio Cassy • Lorenzo Tullio • Dionisio Acarrel • Felipe Oduan • Guillermo Obrenan • Thomas Aqueli • Miguel Costelo • Juan Ogan • Juan Valterra • Alipio Valesio	—	• Melchor Reyli, 1696 • Bernardo Maclave, 1697

• Antonio Estapellon [asks to return, 1700, 1701, 1702]	• Mauricio Dean
• Francisco Magge [asks to return, 1700, 1701, 1702]	• Francisco Mahor
• Paulo Obrein [asks to return, 1701, 1702]	• Pedro Arquers
• Buenaventura Morfi	• Diego Anin
• Paulo Oneil	• Domingo Flenagan
• Francisco Bodquin	• Domingo Oconor
• Patricio Nola [Patrick Nowlan]	• Bernardo Cunighan
• Juan Maguirín	• Thomas Castelloe
• Malachias Oconolasso	• Antonio Tiernane
• Francisco Mazquiera	
• Buenaventura Diloniten	
• Francisco Morrey	
• Buenaventura Queaniten	
• Thadeo Ogara	
• Ignacio Keryten	
• Francisco Odonel	
• Antonio Lameo	
• Antonio Oneil	
• Buenaventura Consindin	
• Paulo Obern	
• Andres Saron	
• Eugenio Macarty	

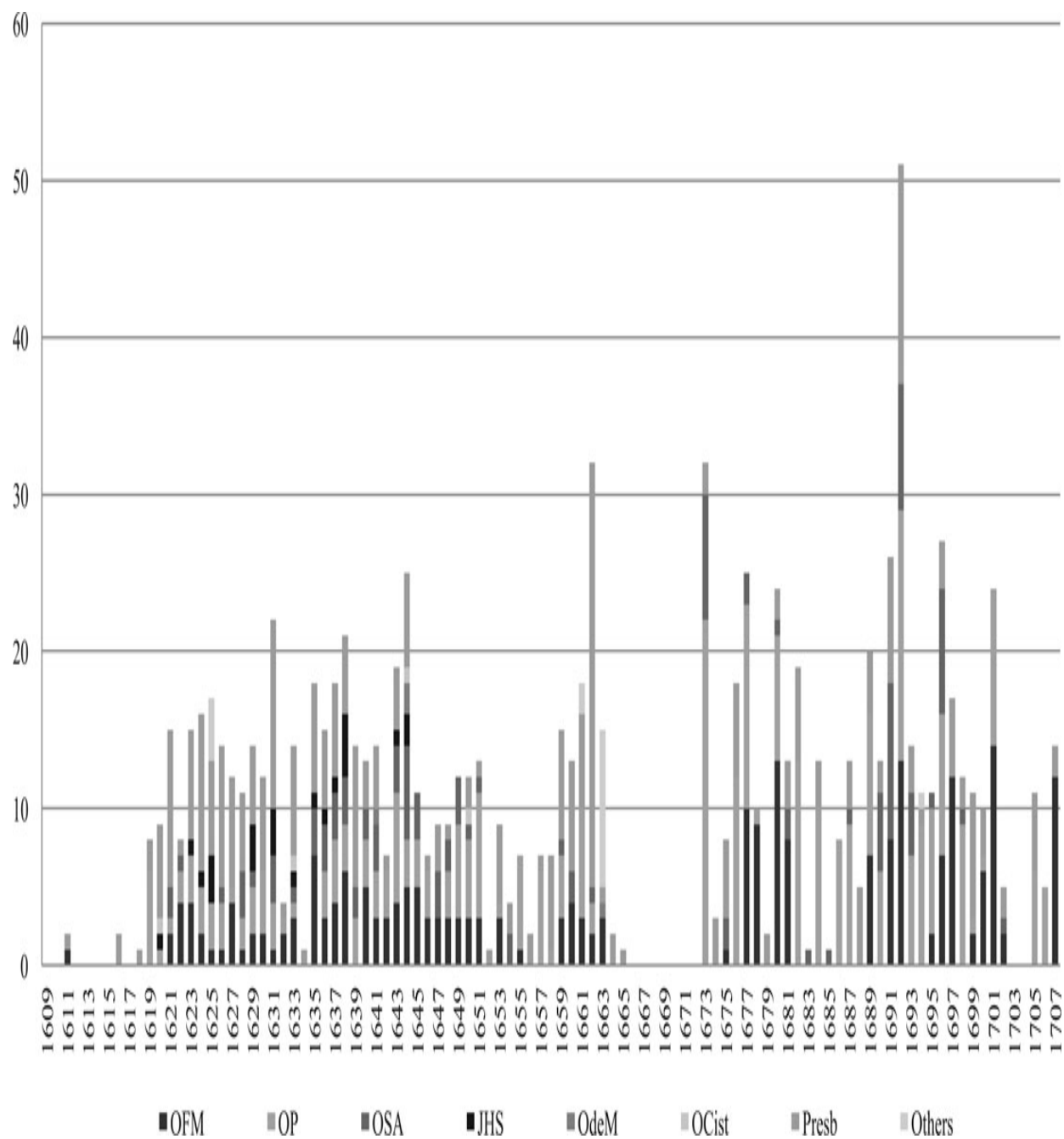
						• Mauricio Oconrry • Juan Ilbonin • Matias Magray • Francisco Oconor • Patricio Ohart • Francisco Quehan • Juan Kelly • Buenaventura Dogherty • Antonio Garlon • Francisco Magereghy • Francisco Macharty • Buenaventura Goulding • Francisco Harald • Francisco Trener • Malachias Branagh • Francisco Mugent • Juan Dali • Francisco de Burgo • Patricio Osiel • Buenaventura Pursel • Pedro Odonolane
1700	—	—	—			• Joseph Osulivan — - de Jesús María • Pedro MacCarti • Diego Dunn • Ramón Odonovan
TOTAL	59	32	18	4	2	



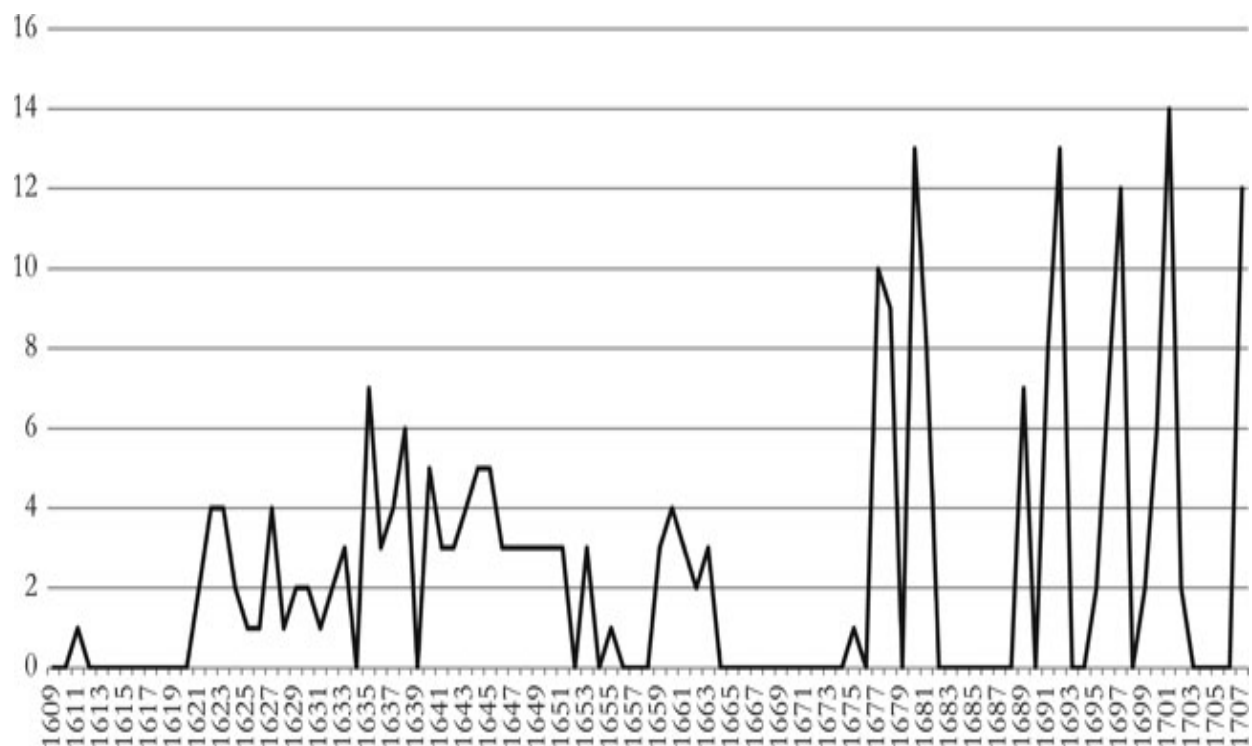
[Figure BM1.1](#) Annual distribution of Irish applicants for a *viaticum*, 1609–1707



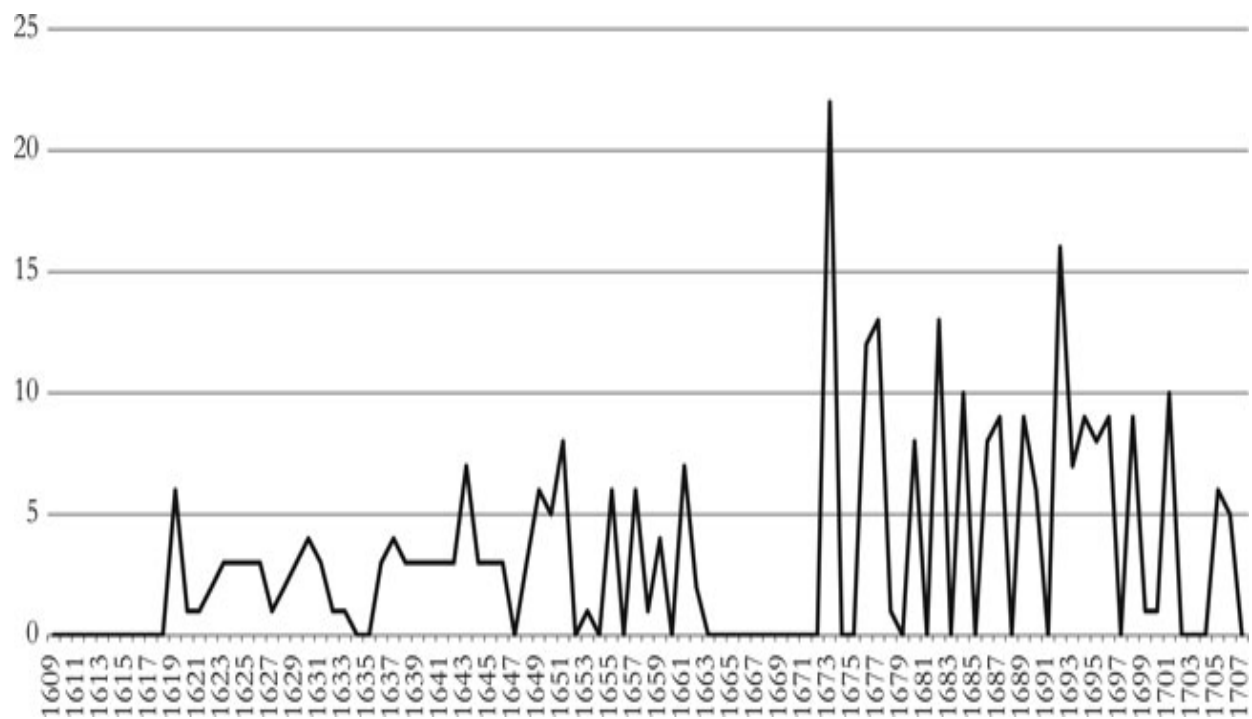
[*Figure BM1.2*](#) Distribution of Irish applicants for a *viaticum* by religious order OFM = Franciscan Order; OP = Dominican Order/Order of Preachers; OSA = Order of Saint Augustine; JHS = Society of Jesus; OdeM = Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mercy; OCist = Cistercians; Presb. = Priests, graduates, and students; and Others (number of clerics without specific origin)



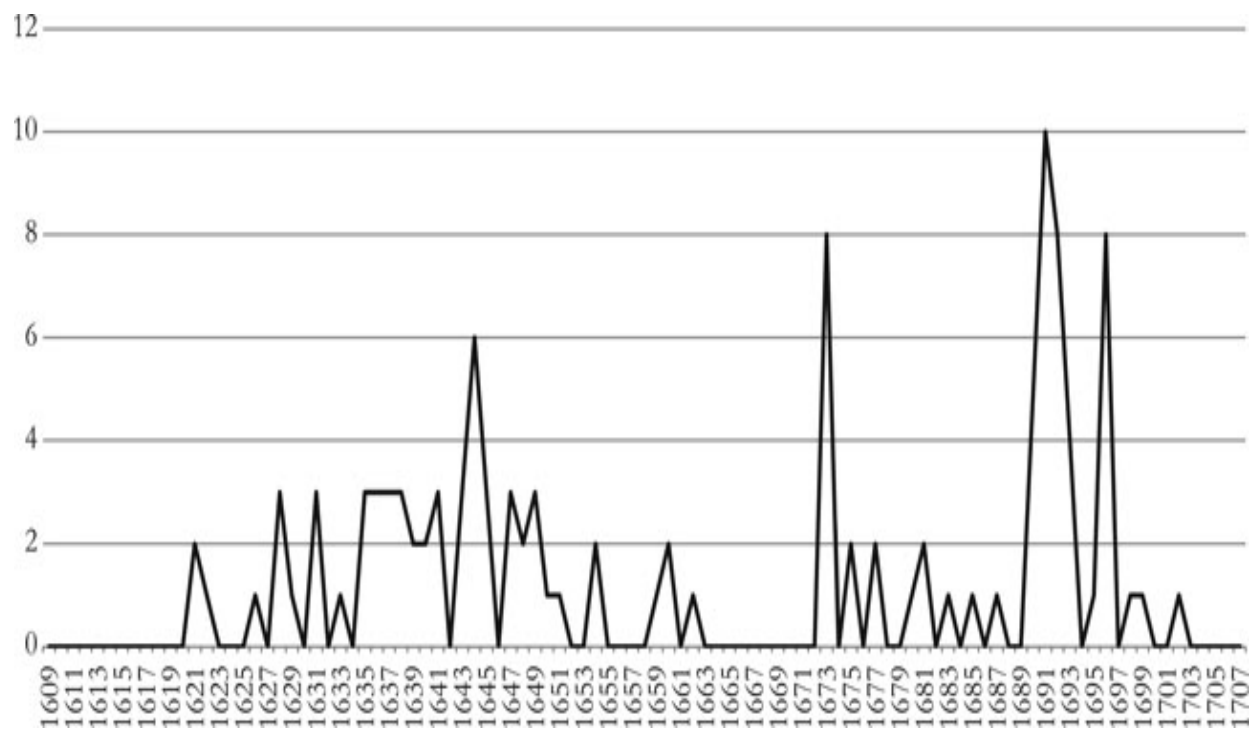
[Figure BML.3](#) Comparison of Irish applicants for a *viaticum*, 1609–1707



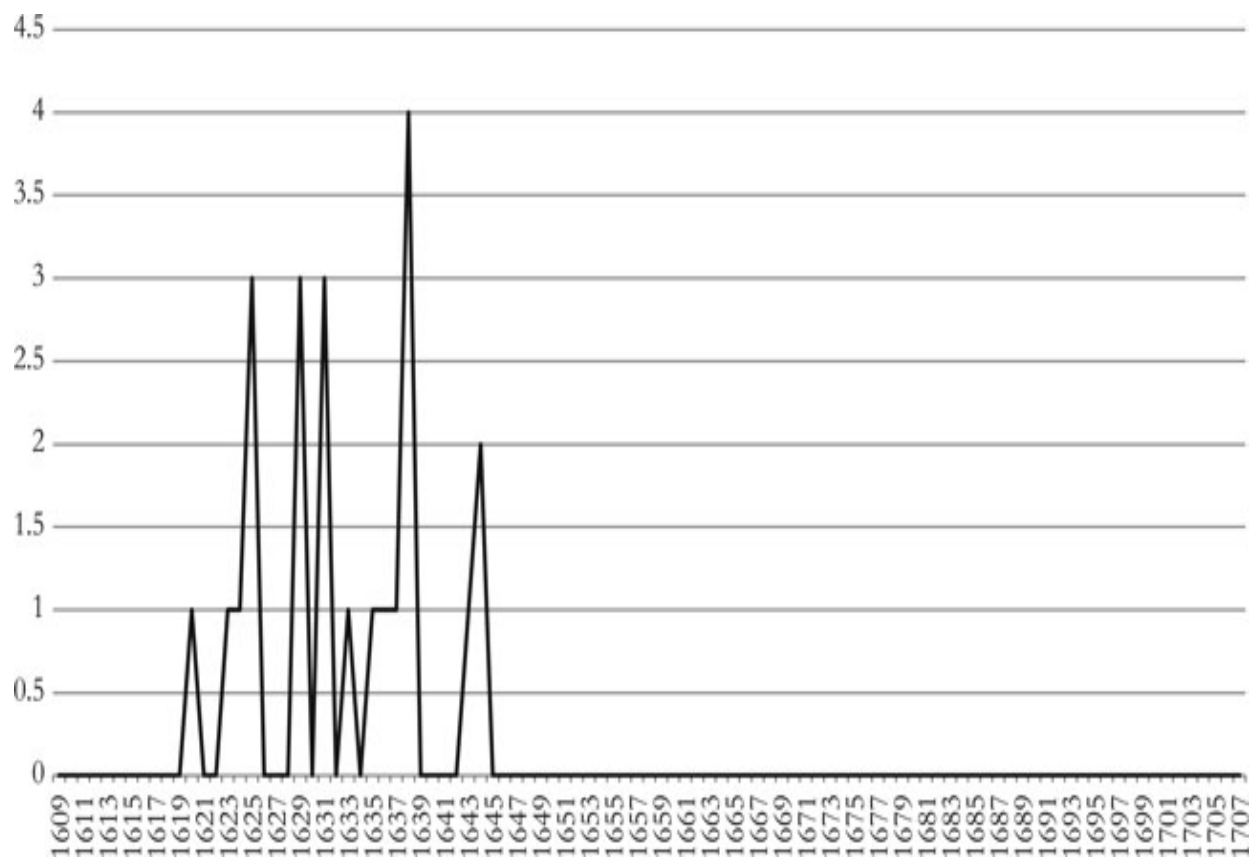
[Figure BM1.4](#) Franciscan Order (OFM)



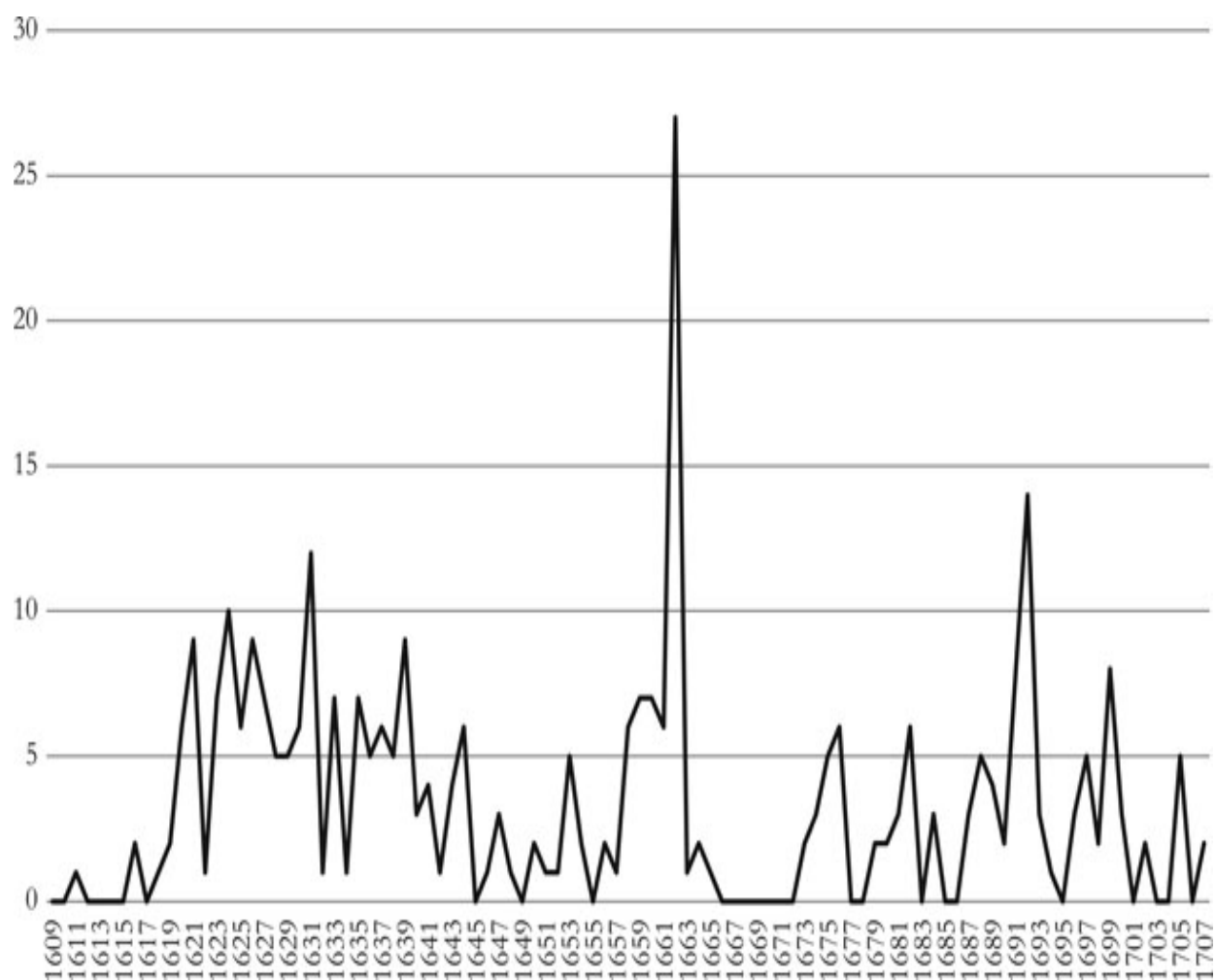
[Figure BM1.5](#) Dominican Order (OP)



[Figure BML.6](#) Order of Saint Augustine (OSA)



[Figure BML.7](#) Society of Jesus (JHS)



[Figure BML.8](#) Priests, graduates, and students (Presb.)

Notes

- 1 The names have been transcribed literally from the Spanish records and according to the cleric's name in religion, as identification can offer be a hazardous exercise. Data from AGP, Real Capilla, cajas 81 and 82; AGP, Administración General, Caja 45; AGS, Estado, legs. 2751–2758, 2760–2761, 2783–2786, 2788–2791, 2793–2807, 2822–2827, 2829, 2832–2834, 2836–2840, 4059, 4061–4064, 4086, 4100–4101, 4125; AGS, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, 562, 564, 568, 573, 575–576, 584, 587–588, 593–594, 605, 607, 610, 624, 646, 658, 661, 683, 703–705, 734–735, 740–741, 752, 754, 760, 763–764, 769, 782, 785, 789, 799, 807, 816, 830, 835, 843, 847, 851–854, 856–857, 859, 863, 865–868, 870, 880, 892, 906, 911, 914–916, 921, 923, 930, 932–933, 935, 949, 953, 956, 977, 979–980, 1009, 1026, 1118, 1122, 1138, 1144, 1146–1147, 1149, 1158, 1162, 1167, 1174, 1176 and 1197; AGS, Dirección General del Tesoro, Inv. 1, 17; AHN, Estado, L. 230–232 and 234–237; SP/S/40/7 (i); SP/XIV/B/5/10 and S/19/1. Names in italics correspond to applicants who applied for the *viaticum*, or where recommended by the provincials of their orders, in more than one occasion.

- 2 This priest was student at the Irish college of Seville. Before being awarded the royal grant, he had received 100 ducats from the cathedral chapter in Seville, to assist him in joining the Irish Mission. Silke, 'The Irish College, Seville,' pp. 143–144.
- 3 Father Bonaventure Magennis—Hugh Magennis—was appointed bishop of the dioceses of Down and Connor in 1630.
- 4 Malachias O'Connell, old student of the Irish college of Salamanca, was vicar general in the diocese of Ardfert. AUSA, leg. 605, f. 21r. Records of studies and exams of Malachias O'Connell—Malachias Conaldo.
- 5 These three applicants feature in an application dated to 1640. The document includes a note, attesting that the patriarch 'finds that these three men are worthy of your grace and asks that the viaticum be granted'.
- 6 He did not return to Ireland, but stayed in Madrid, as chaplain for the memory of Dermot Fay in the Irish college of Madrid.
- >7 He did not return to Ireland. He settled in Pontevedra.
- 8 He did not return to Ireland. He settled in Madrid, with Hugh Fay.
- 9 He did not return to Ireland. He settled in Santiago de Compostela.
- 10 Data from AGP, Real Capilla, cajas 81 and 82.
- 11 The names—as they appear in the Spanish records—in bold indicate the expelled missionaries that had received a *viaticum*. The year indicates the date of their petition. The dates between brackets correspond to the years in which prospective missionaries requested help to return to Ireland, after the 1697 banishment. In addition to this list, the Franciscan Father Terence O'Hart received the royal grant in 1680 and, after he was presumably expelled (no record exists of his expulsion), he repeatedly requested it again in 1701, 1702, and 1707.

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