

The First Irish Diaspora in The Age of The Bourbon  
Reforms:  
Imperial Translation, Political Economy, & Slavery, 1713-  
1804

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## Abstract

This dissertation is a history of the First Irish Diaspora and its relationship to the Spanish Empire's eighteenth-century Bourbon Reforms. Although there is a long history of Irish migration to Spain, I argue that the conjuncture of the War of the English Succession (1688-1695) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) foreclosed hopes of a reversal of the seventeenth century Irish land-confiscations which defined the English conquest and colonization of Ireland, pushing thousands of Irish Catholics into exile near-simultaneous to the ascension of a reform-minded Bourbon monarchy to the Spanish throne which opened new opportunities for useful subjects. At the same time, these wars established the emergent British Empire as a rising Atlantic hegemon and exposed the fragility of a Spanish Empire widely viewed by contemporaries as in decline. In such a context, Irish familiarity with British methods of empire-making made them ideal imperial translators for the Spanish Crown precisely as the empire embarked on its Bourbon Reform program.

Genealogy and religion formed the foundations of Irish assimilation into the Spanish Empire – the Irish became Hiberno-Spaniards because of the “genealogical fiction” that the Irish *sliocht* (“race,” literally “seed”) descended from Spaniards and because they were Catholic. In Spain, the impact of this Hiberno-Spanish diaspora on the Bourbon Reforms began following the War of the Spanish Succession and reached its crescendo in the aftermath of Spain's disastrous defeat in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Specifically, Hiberno-Spanish imperialists in the metropole were important participants in the debates and decisions that promoted liberalizing national-colonial trade, investments in infrastructure, the emulation of foreign practices such as British and Irish economic societies, and more; i.e. the emulation of British political economy. Their principal contribution to the empire was the translation of political economic statecraft and

a cosmopolitanism of exile that honed their ability to translate foreign ideas in an age of imperial emulation and made them especially effective imperial intermediaries in polyglot and liminal spaces such as the Gulf Coast borderlands. There, in Cuba, Texas, Louisiana, and Florida, Hiberno-Spanish slavers, governors, merchants, and imperialists were important contributors to Spain's real but ephemeral resurgence in colonial North America and the Atlantic world. The Spanish Empire collapsed and Irish emigration patterns rerouted to North America, but Hiberno-Spaniards and the Bourbon Reforms first accelerated the processes of colonization and slavery that transformed Cuba and the Gulf Coast into the world's capital of cotton, sugar, and slavery in the nineteenth century.

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I thank my committee Kevin O’Neill, Sylvia Sellers-Garcia, and my advisor Owen Stanwood. Their suggestions, seminars, guidance, generosity, mentorship, and revisions have been essential to my academic rearing. Any mistakes are my own. I thank Kevin for his insights and our conversations on Irish history and its echoes in Irish American family history. I thank Sylvia for her encouragement and support over my time at BC and with this project. I thank Owen for guiding me along the challenging but rewarding path of a PhD, for his much appreciated encouragement and support, and for his contributions to my understanding of the past and this project’s place in it. I could not have gotten luckier with mentors, committee members, and my advisor.

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With love and pride I dedicate this dissertation to my mother, Mary. I never intended to become a historian of the Irish diaspora, but my mom was quite proud of her Irish-American ancestry – complete with a  $26 + 6 = 1$  tattoo and a love for Sinead O’Connor. These things embarrassed me growing up. Yet, here I am. It is funny how things work out.

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## Archives & Abbreviations

Add. Mss, Additional Manuscripts

AGI, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla

Cuba, papeles de Cuba

E, papeles de Estado

IG, Indiferente General

SD, Santo Domingo

AGS, Archivo General de Simancas, Simancas

CG, Contraduria General

CJH, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda

E, Secretaria de Estado

SG, Secretaria de Guerra

AHMC, Archivo Historico Municipal, Cádiz

AHN, Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid

E, Estado

OM, Ordenes Militares

ANC, Archivo Nacional de la República de Cuba, Havana

BL, British Library, London

BNJM, Biblioteca Nacional de José Martí, Havana

CH, Clonalis House, Co. Roscommon, Ireland.

CHI, *Cambridge History of Ireland*

Leg., *Legajo*

NA, National Archives, Dublin

NLI, National Library of Ireland, Dublin

NORC, New Orleans Research Collection, New Orleans

RIA, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin

TNA, The National Archives, Kew

TNRC, Tulane Historic New Orleans Research Collection

# Introduction:

## *The Wake of Alejandro O'Reilly*

At the funeral of Alejandro O'Reilly (1723-1794) on June 4, 1794 his eulogist Manuel Gil, synod examiner to the archbishop of Seville, declared the departed Irish general the greatest military hero in the history of Spain. The Hiberno-Spaniard died the previous March, only eleven days after King Carlos IV had called O'Reilly out of retirement and named the Irishman the commander of Spain's army in its war against the revolutionary French Republic. It was a time of acute crisis. The French revolutionaries had recently executed Carlos's cousin the king of France Louis XVI, and O'Reilly's untimely passing only made matters worse for a Spanish fearing the loss of its own throne and empire. At the funeral, Gil decried how "Europe convulsed with unimaginable agitation, and the fire and fury of war has been lit with a violence and voracity unmatched in history."<sup>1</sup>

The Irishman's loss was a significant blow to Spain but his memory was a standard to emulate, the exile an ideal imperialist loyal to his King and God. Gil described the Hiberno-Spaniard as second only to King Carlos III in terms of significance to the Bourbon Reforms and Spain's imperial resurgence in the second half of the eighteenth century. Specifically, he celebrated O'Reilly's role in the reform of the Spanish army and his reorganization of the colonies of Cuba and Louisiana, reforms later emulated throughout the empire. The eulogist believed O'Reilly's accomplishments so great and these two colonies so important that they would form the foundation for Spain's mastery of the Atlantic world for centuries to come. Thus,

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<sup>1</sup> P.M. Manuel Gil, "Oración Fúnebre del Excelentísimo Señor Don Alexandro O-Reilly, Conde de O'Reilly, Teniente General, &c. &c. &c" (Cádiz: 1794). New Orleans Research Collection (NORC hereafter), F 373.07 G5.

he compared the Hiberno-Spaniard to his namesake Alexander the Great and declared, “The wisdom of posterity will restore you, and the name Conde de O’Reilly will resonate with the most glory.”<sup>2</sup>

Alejandro O’Reilly was one among hundreds of thousands of Irish “heroes” exiled from their homeland, in the words of Gil, by “the hatred of religion and a false emulation of opulence” who “have for centuries been the shame of their oppressors and the glory of their island.”<sup>3</sup> The value of these exiles was apparent to Spaniards such as Gil, but also to British observers. Indeed, as one contemporary British politician observed, “Any one conversant with the modern military history of Spain, or with good society in that country, must be struck with the large proportion of their eminent officers who were either born or descended from those who were born in Ireland.” The Lord Hollande then added, “The comment, which that circumstance furnishes upon our exclusive and intolerant laws, is obvious enough.”<sup>4</sup> Both Lord Hollande and Manuel Gil recognized the catalyst behind Irish emigration to Spain – British anti-popery – and its benefit to the Spanish Empire. Namely, this benefit was the ability of Irish exiles to translate the ideas and practices – praxis – of the ascending British Empire precisely as the Spanish Empire embarked on its Bourbon Reforms.

The contemporary British poet Lord Byron made posterity’s first poetic comment on Alejandro O’Reilly. Adapting the famous Spanish character Don Juan into his contemporary world, Byron explained that his “*Don Juan* will be known by and bye, for what it is intended, —

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<sup>2</sup> Gil, “Oración Fúnebre del Excelentísimo Señor Don Alexandro O-Reilly,” NORC, F 373.07 G5.

<sup>3</sup> Gil, “Oración Fúnebre del Excelentísimo Señor Don Alexandro O-Reilly,” NORC, F 373.07 G5.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Vassall-Fox 3rd Lord Hollande, *Foreign reminiscences, by Henry Richard lord Holland*, ed. Henry Edward 4<sup>th</sup> Lord Hollande (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1850), 78. For another interpretation of Lord Hollande’s comments, see the introduction of: Tim Fanning, *Paisanos: The Irish and the Liberation of Latin America* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018).

a Satire on abuses of the present states of Society.”<sup>5</sup> In the first Canto, the clandestine lover of the titular character chastises her inquiring cuckold's jealousy; disparaging his distrust and lamenting her situation, she asks “Is it for this that General Count O'Reilly, // Who took Algiers, declares I used him so vilely?” Byron’s satirical reference to Spain’s failed Siege of Algiers (1775) recasts O’Reilly’s signal defeat as a failed sexual conquest.<sup>6</sup> Although it mocks the Irish general’s ignominious fall from fortune, this rendition of a historically successful Siege of Algiers opens space for readers to ask, “what if?” Readers conversant in Spanish history, such as the Lord Hollande, may have noticed a potential implication of the joke: Had he not failed at Algiers, O’Reilly might have been the hero that his eulogist imagined him to be.

The Irish poet Sean Mac Cathail imagined something different. Rather than ask what if looking backwards, he asked the same question looking forward. Composed just before the Siege of Algiers, Mac Cathail wrote a poem from the western corner of Western Europe, County Limerick, within the context of the Irish Whiteboy insurgency, the American Revolution, and rumors of a large Spanish naval force being assembled and led by an Irishman.<sup>7</sup> The moment inspired prophecy: “At sea the soldiers are armed and keen, their sailors are spread and beautiful in their appearance, to rescue Ireland from cruel oppression, a true chieftain of the Gaels commands them, that's captain O'Reilly, and victory will belong to this band of *Sile Ni Ghadra's*.”<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Quote in Jerome McGann, “Byron, George Gordon Noel, sixth Baron Byronunlocked” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>6</sup> George Gordon Lord Byron, *The Works of Lord Byron: With his Letters and Journals, and his Life*, vol. xv, ed. Thomas Moore (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1833), 169. The first Canto of *Don Juan* was originally published in 1819.

<sup>7</sup> *Annual Register*, 1775, 140-6.

<sup>8</sup> Sean Mac Cathail, “*Trath dom ag smaoineamh ar chriochaibh an tsaoil seo*” UCD Ferriter Ms 4, p. 288 quoted and translated in Vincent Morley, *Irish Opinion and the American Revolution, 1760-1783* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 109.

On the eve of the Algerian expedition, at the height of his power and influence, O'Reilly commissioned a painting from the Spanish artist Francisco de Goya, court painter to Carlos III and Carlos IV. The painting is austere, O'Reilly's black coat and body indistinguishable from the black background of the portrait; the effect being that O'Reilly stands out and alone, his face, an ornamental and martial red jacket, and white undershirt are the only things visible. The "last of the masters and first of the moderns," Goya's portrait depicts O'Reilly as a decorated general singularly focused on his duties in a neoclassic tradition of representing "great men." In another sense, however, the haunting darkness surrounding O'Reilly points toward an uncanny anticipation of Goya's later, darker themes: "The Disasters of War," during the Peninsular War (1807-1814) and his "Black Paintings," during the collapse of the Spanish Empire (1819-1823).<sup>9</sup>



Alejandro O'Reilly, portrait by Francisco de Goya. Precise date unknown, c.1770s.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Robert Hughes, *Goya* (New York: Knopf, 2006).

<sup>10</sup> Accessed digitally at

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alejandro\\_O%27Reilly\\_by\\_Francisco\\_Jos%C3%A9\\_de\\_Goya.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alejandro_O%27Reilly_by_Francisco_Jos%C3%A9_de_Goya.jpg) on 06/20/2022.

The name Conde de O'Reilly does not resonate with the most glory. He did not liberate Ireland, did not conquer Algiers, and the Spanish Empire he supposedly restored collapsed soon after his death. His ecclesiastic eulogist believed there were two interrelated causes to the crisis afflicting Spain at the time of O'Reilly's funeral that would result in the empire's demise: a decline of "religion" and the rise of "interest." As he put it, without religion, "man is a monster, laws but toys of his passions." Consequently, "They search for [interest] in the lovely name of liberty: everywhere they raise the flag of rebellion, and this magic voice of liberty... Extinguishes all hierarchies, destroys the Clergy, ruins the temples and alters.... With God falls the powers that come from him, Kings, magistrates, laws, justice, virtue; and as these fall, and end all of this freedom, senselessly cries the horror of war."<sup>11</sup>



The Third of May, 1808 (1814). Francisco de Goya.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Gil, "Oración Fúnebre del Excelentísimo Señor Don Alexandro O-Reilly."

<sup>12</sup> Held at the Prado, this painting was accessed digitally at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Third\\_of\\_May\\_1808](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Third_of_May_1808) on 06/20/2022.

Lost on Gil was O'Reilly and his fellow Hiberno-Spaniards' role in the process that contributed most to this declension: the translation of political-economic statecraft. The funeral of Alejandro O'Reilly was a funeral for the Spanish Empire.



Saturn Devouring His Children (c.1819-1823). Francisco de Goya.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Held at the Prado, this painting was accessed digitally at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saturn\\_Devouring\\_His\\_Son](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saturn_Devouring_His_Son) on 06/20/22.

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This dissertation is a history of the First Irish Diaspora and its relationship to the Spanish Empire's eighteenth-century Bourbon Reforms. Although there is a long history of Irish migration to Spain, I argue that the conjuncture of the War of the English Succession (1688-1695) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) foreclosed hopes for a reversal of fortune in Ireland near-simultaneous to the ascension of the reform-minded Bourbon monarchy in Madrid. These wars also established the British Empire as an emerging Atlantic hegemon and exposed the fragility of a Spanish Empire widely considered by contemporaries as in terminal decline. In such a context, Irish familiarity with British methods of empire-making made them ideal "imperial translators" for the Spanish Crown in the age of the Bourbon Reforms.

Imperial translation signifies an ability to move beyond lifeworlds and cultures as well as empires, to translate literally between languages but also to apply the perspective, concepts, and practices of other peoples and states to the circumstances and traditions of another. In this case, Irish liminality between the English and Spanish empires, honed over more than a century as England and Spain fought over the island's material and spiritual future, invested Irish elites and intermediaries with a particular talent at translating between the Anglo- and Hispanic Atlantic worlds.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> The theoretical assertion described as "imperial translation" is reminiscent of Sophus Reinert's monograph title and indeed the process of imperial translation discussed in this dissertation resembles the various translators of political economic tracts that Reinert discusses. I coined this term and developed my ideas before becoming aware of his study; more importantly, my work differs from his in the following ways: Reinert's excellent study is focused on individual and literal translators of political economic writers. This dissertation uses imperial translation to signify a wider array of behaviors, deportment, ideas, and speech in addition to acts of literal translation; moreover, my study is of a diaspora as opposed to various, disparate individuals. See: Sophus Reinert, *Translating Empire: Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

As is often the case with language acquisition, fluency beget fluency. Therefore, while Irish exiles made their most significant contribution to the Spanish Empire in advocating for British-inspired reform, they also excelled at applying a cosmopolitanism of exile that honed Hiberno-Spanish skill at translating other foreign praxes of empire. This skill at imperial translation made them especially effective imperial agents in liminal and borderland spaces. On the polyglot colonial periphery, Hiberno-Spanish subjects and servants were effective imperialists reminiscent of cultural brokers or intermediaries.<sup>15</sup> Rather than leverage a liminal position between lifeworlds and states, however, Irish exiles' best opportunities were firmly tied to the Spanish Empire and thus they applied their skill at imperial translation in ways to benefit themselves, each other, and the Spanish crown.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of the first Irish diaspora to Spain's Bourbon Reforms was the Hiberno-Spanish translation of British political economy. As it happened, political economic thought and statecraft developed in a symbiotic relationship to the emergence of the English, later British Empire – and Ireland figured preeminent in both theoretical writings as well as practical experimentation. It was in direct engagement with the colonization of Ireland that William Petty developed his ideas on “political arithmetic,” the precursor to political economy, and that John Cary, perhaps the most important early eighteenth century political economic thinker, articulated his mercantilist vision for the British Empire. Irish Catholics, for their part, lived under the consequences of these imperial machinations. This situation, objects of political economic experimentation, invested many Irish Catholics with a familiarity of British

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<sup>15</sup> Daniel Richter, “Cultural Brokers and Intercultural Politics: New York-Iroquois Relations, 1664-1701,” *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (1988), 40-67. For an example of the application of this term to peoples and circumstances within the Spanish Empire: Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700–1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

imperial praxis and its written expression, i.e. the theory and practices of the British Empire. This made Irish exiles useful to the reforming Bourbons of Spain.

Writing in the eighteenth century Adam Smith observed, “As the woolen manufactures too of Ireland are fully as much discouraged as is consistent with justice and fair dealing, the Irish can work up but a small part of their own wool at home, and are, therefore, obliged to send a greater proportion of it to Great Britain, the only market they are allowed.”<sup>16</sup> This description of British mercantilist trade policy towards Ireland is followed later with a defense of Irish contributions to the British Parliament’s debt. Smith argued, “That debt has been contracted in support of the government established by the Revolution [of 1688], a government to which the protestants of Ireland owe, not only the whole authority which they at present enjoy in their own country, but every security which they possess for their liberty, their property, and their religion.”<sup>17</sup> In the latter passage, Smith identified the foundation of the colonial Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland – 1688 – and in the former he explained the essential logic of eighteenth century political economic statecraft, mercantilism. A debated concept, mercantilism might best be understood as a series of policies intended to secure market hegemony via metropolitan control over dependent colonies, import-substitution and the monopolization of manufacturing and luxury good trades, demographic manipulation or social engineering, and a state-driven effort to maximize labor power, improve land, and accumulate specie.<sup>18</sup> Elided in Smith’s

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<sup>16</sup> Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (New York: Bantam Dell, 2003. Original 1776), 313.

<sup>17</sup> Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, 1204.

<sup>18</sup> It is worth noting, too, that mercantilist policies operated under the assumption that the world’s wealth was essentially finite. For more on mercantilism: Philip Stern and Carl Wennerlind, “Introduction,” in Philip Stern and Carl Wennerlind, eds., *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and its Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 3-24. For Stern and Wennerlind, the quest to define the various features that made up what scholars call mercantilism is perhaps less useful than investigating “the ways in which the various and sometimes even conflicting categories it conjures up could be approached differently, revised, or dispensed with altogether to produce concepts that help us understand early modern economic thought and practice,” 4. Other historians have referred to mercantilism as merchant capitalism and war capitalism, but essentially identify a similar set of processes and intentions. See: Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship*. Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*. For a pro-

writings, the history of Ireland demonstrates how these economic endeavors were tied to the political interests of empire.

Writing in the nineteenth century Karl Marx observed, “The accumulation of the Irish in America keeps pace with the accumulation of rents in Ireland. The Irishman, banished by the sheep and the ox, reappears on the other side of the ocean as a Fenian. There a young but gigantic republic rises... to face the old queen of the waves.” If the great eighteenth century political economic theorist identified the event and logic that governed early modern Ireland, 1688 and mercantilism, then the nineteenth century critic identified their consequence: the making of the Irish diaspora. While much differentiated eighteenth and nineteenth century Ireland, the processes that made the first and second diaspora remain essentially comparable: colonialism and capitalism.<sup>19</sup>

I refer to the making of the first Irish diaspora because diaspora is a historical process that unfolds over time. In other words, diaspora is not merely forced relocation. It is an active process of connectivity, a product of networks that human agents build and maintain between dispersed communities and their imagined or real homeland over time. In the conceptual genealogy of the

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“*laissez faire*” perspective on the history of political economy and mercantilism: Joel Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain 1700-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), esp. Ch. 4 “An Enlightened Political Economy,” 63-78. For an account of contemporary political economic debate that warns against “mercantilist consensus,” see: Steve Pincus, “Rethinking Mercantilism: Political Economy, the British Empire, and the Atlantic World in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (2012): 3-34. For a classic, if perhaps outdated definition: Eli F. Heckscher, *Mercantilism, vol. 1*, trans. Mendel Shapiro (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955, original 1931).

<sup>19</sup> Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1 (New York: Penguin, 1976, original 1867), 870. My interpretation on the relationship between mercantilism and capitalism is essentially standard, that the former was a nascent method of capitalist-statecraft in an era before a single hegemon could impose so-called *laissez-faire* markets and thus a period of frequent imperialist conflict over markets, land, labor, and trade goods. On the Irish diaspora and empire see: Kevin Kenny, “Ireland and the British Empire: An Introduction,” in Kevin Kenny, ed., *Ireland and the British Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), especially 1-4. Kevin Kenny, “The Irish in the Empire,” in Kenny, ed., *Ireland and the British Empire*, especially 92-95. So too might future comparisons between the first and second Irish diaspora be fruitful, in terms of assimilation, networks, possible continuities, and contributions to empire.

term there is, moreover, a providential aspect to the experience of diaspora. The word diaspora derives from Greek where it was first used in the fifth century BCE to imply an undesired dispersion and then used later by Jewish-Greek translators of Hebrew scripture to describe the experience of Jewish people living outside of Palestine, their religiously understood promised land. Importantly, the term held spiritual meaning and the promise of salvation. In the explanation of one scholar, in its conceptual origins “‘Diaspora’ turns out to be an integral part of a pattern constituted by the fourfold course of sin or disobedience, scattering and exile as punishment, repentance, and finally return and gathering.”<sup>20</sup> This was precisely how Irish “emigrants and exiles” understood their experience.<sup>21</sup>

Given their self-association with the Israelites and the Exodus, it is unsurprising that Irish Catholics understood their exile in such a religiously imbued manner. Irish speakers described the leaving of Ireland as *deorai*, or “exile.” This term derived from the Old Irish *deoraid*, a legal term referring to a person without property and therefore without kinfolk or a social place.<sup>22</sup> As we shall see, the relationship between kinship, property, religion, and diaspora is essential to understanding the English colonization of Ireland, the Hiberno-Spanish diaspora, and the making of capitalism.

Expelled from their homeland, diasporic Irish exiles built networks of refuge, patronage, and support in Spain and its empire from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Through loyalty to the Crown, with a skill at translating foreign imperial praxis, and with talent plus luck, many discovered avenues for wealth, advancement within the Spanish Empire’s bureaucracy,

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<sup>20</sup> Martin Baumann, “Diaspora: Genealogies of Semantics and Transcultural Comparison,” *Numen* 47, 1 Religion in the Disenchanted World (2000), 315-8.

<sup>21</sup> Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

<sup>22</sup> Kerby Miller, “Emigrants and Exiles: Irish Cultures and Irish Emigration to North America, 1790-1922,” *Irish Historical Studies* 22, 86 (1980), 102-3.

power and privilege. Among other contributions to the Bourbon Reforms, they supported the adoption of political economic statecraft, settler-colonialism, and plantation slavery – processes that begot other diasporic communities. What differentiated the Irish from most other diasporic people in the Atlantic world and specifically the Spanish Empire, e.g. dislocated Native Americans and enslaved Africans, was phenotype.<sup>23</sup> The eighteenth century witnessed the rise of racism as the singular and dominant ideological prism for defining Euro-American imperial inclusion and exclusion; and the history of the Hiberno-Spanish is one especially insightful lens into this eclipse of religious for racial categorization.

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The historiography on the Irish diaspora and its relationship to empire is among the most thoroughly detailed fields of migration history; this literature is, however, largely focused on the modern era and Anglophone world. Yet, if the British Empire evolved after 1801 so too did the Irish diaspora. I refer to the Irish diaspora after the Act of Union (1801) as the “Second Irish Diaspora” in contrast to this earlier, “First Irish Diaspora.” Although the first Irish diaspora extended beyond the Spanish Empire, comprising upwards of 200,000 emigrants dispersed in communities in Portugal, France, Rome, Austria, North America, and elsewhere, Spain was the largest destination for Irish emigrants in the period between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries and the position of the Irish in Spain was uniquely advantageous.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> A useful if imperfect comparison might be made between early modern Irish Catholics and French Huguenots, two white and Christian refuge populations in the early modern Atlantic. See: Owen Stanwood, *The Global Refugee: Huguenots in an Age of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020). Other interesting parallels or contrasts might be drawn through comparative analyses of the Irish and Jewish diasporas in the early modern Atlantic.

<sup>24</sup> For a general overview on extant Irish diasporic history, historiography, and its significance: Kevin Kenny, “Diaspora and Comparison: The Global Irish as a Case Study,” *Journal of American History* 90 (June 2003): 134–62. Kevin Kenny, “Diaspora and Irish Migration History,” *Irish Economic and Social History* 33 (2006): 43–48. Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). Donald Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora, a Primer* (Toronto: P.D. Meany, 1993). There is an extant

This history of the first Irish diaspora helps reframe many of the major questions in extant Irish history, most significantly the diaspora's relationship to empire and racism. As we shall see in chapter 1, genealogy and religion formed the foundations of Irish assimilation into the Spanish Empire – the Irish became Hiberno-Spaniards because of the “genealogical fiction” that the Irish *sliocht* (“race,” literally “seed”) descended from Spaniards and because they were Catholic.<sup>25</sup> This covenant of seed and faith distinguished the Irish from other diasporic peoples and non-Spaniards in the early modern Atlantic and the Spanish Empire. More generally, the blending of faith and genealogy in the Spanish Atlantic was, for some scholars, key to the emergence of race as the foremost category of imperial mastery. Put another way, rather than ask “how the Irish became white,” this dissertation asserts that the Irish were always already white

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literature on the early modern Irish diaspora but it is comparatively small, focused on singular places or experiences, remains Anglophone-focused, and there remains wanting an historical explanation for its origins and significance. See: Patrick Griffin and Francis Cogliano, eds., *Ireland and America: Empire, Revolution, and Sovereignty* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2021). Donald Akenson, *If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630-1730* (Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997). Maurine Bric, *Ireland, Philadelphia and the re-invention of America, 1760–1800* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008). David Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States: Immigrant Radicals in the Early Republic* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2011). Louis Cullen, “The Irish Diaspora of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries” in Nicholas Canny, ed, *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). Patrick Griffin, *The People With No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and The Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). Jenny Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans, and the Construction of Difference* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2013). Jenny Shaw and Kristen Block, “Subjects without an Empire: The Irish in the Early Modern Caribbean,” *Past and Present*, no. 210 (Feb 2011): 33-60. Hilary Beckles, “‘A 'Riotous and Unruly lot': Irish Indentured Servants and Freemen in the English West Indies, 1644-1713,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (1990): 503-522. Nini Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery: 1612-1865* (Dublin: Palgrave, 2007). There is one extant synthetic work of early modern Irish Atlantic history but it is riddled with errors and questionable conclusions: William O'Reilly, “Ireland in the Atlantic World: Migration and Cultural Transfer” in *The Cambridge History of Ireland*, vol. 2., ed. Jane Ohlmeyer, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 385-408. On the Irish in Spain, see below. On the 200,000 estimate and for the most recent attempt at synthesis, see: Nicholas Canny, “How the Local Can Be Global and the Global Local: Ireland, Irish Catholics, and European Overseas Empires, 1500-1900,” in *Ireland and America: Empire, Revolution, and Sovereignty*, eds. Patrick Griffin and Francis Cogliano (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2021).

<sup>25</sup> On early modern understandings of “race” and the word *sliocht* see: Brendan Kane and Malcolm Smuts, “The Politics of Race in England, Scotland, and Ireland,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare*, ed. Smuts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 346-365. Some scholars might argue that *sliocht* was not the same as a “modern” concept of “biological race.” While recognizing this, I am placing myself in conversation with scholars who see a genealogy of “race” that derived from early modern European understandings of religion and bloodlines and who emphasize that there can and have existed alternative forms of racism. See: Maria Elena Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008). J. Kameron Carter, *Race: A Theological Account* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

but uses the case of the Irish diaspora to demonstrate how whiteness became the singular *sine qua non* for inclusion in Euro-American empires over the course of the eighteenth century.<sup>26</sup>

The historiography on the first Irish diaspora and the Spanish Empire is slim but growing.<sup>27</sup> Despite Nicholas Canny's pioneering research and with the exception of Louis Cullen, few Irish historians have followed him in exploring Ireland's place in the Atlantic world.<sup>28</sup> In recent years, however, Irish and especially Spanish historians have begun excavating the Irish presence in early modern Spain and its empire. These studies have tended to focus on singular topics or experiences, for example on Irish merchants in a given city, ecclesiastics, or a single individual. The best of this extant literature is Oscar Recio Morales's general overview *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, to which I am indebted. Morales's recent biography of Alejandro O'Reilly also contributed to this study, although it was published towards the end of my project. Diego Alarcia's research into the Hiberno-Spanish First Minister Ricardo Wall has similarly been useful.<sup>29</sup> My study contributes to this growing corpus as the first truly transatlantic study of the Hiberno-Spanish diaspora and the first study of this diaspora that advances an

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<sup>26</sup> Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions*. Carter, *Race: A Theological Account*. Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>27</sup> Thomas O'Connor, *Irish Voices from the Spanish Inquisition: Migrants, Converts and Brokers in Early modern Iberia* (Dublin: Palgrave and MacMillan, 2016). Fanning, *Paisanos*. Oscar Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire 1600-1825* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), trans. Michael White. Begoña Villar García, ed., *La emigración Irlandesa en el siglo XVIII* (Málaga: 2000). Igor Pérez Tostado, *Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008).

<sup>28</sup> Nicholas Canny, "Atlantic History: what and why?" *European Review* 9, no. 4 (2001): 399-411. Nicholas Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization From Ireland to America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 30, no. 4 (1973), 575-598. The most notable exception is Louis Cullen's corpus of scholarship. See: Louis Cullen, *Economy, trade and Irish merchants at home and abroad, 1600-1988* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2012). Louis Cullen, *The Irish Brandy Houses of Eighteenth-Century France* (Dublin: Lilliput Press. 2000). Louis Cullen, John Shovlin and Thomas M. Truxes, eds., *The Bordeaux-Ireland letters: correspondence of an Irish community abroad* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013). Another significant exception is Gerard Farrell's placing of Ulster in an English-Atlantic context: Gerard Farrell, *The 'Mere Irish' and the Colonisation of Ulster, 1570-1641* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2017).

<sup>29</sup> Oscar Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*. Morales, *Alejandro O'Reilly, Inspector General: Poder militar, familia y territorio en el reinado de Carlos III* (Madrid: Sílex, 2020); Diego Téllez Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall: La 'España Discreta' del 'ministro olvidado'* (Madrid: Fundación de Municipios Pablo de Olavide, 2012).

historical argument: exiled Irish Catholic imperial translators made a major, hitherto unrecognized contribution to the Spanish Empire's Bourbon Reforms and its ephemeral but real resurgence in the eighteenth century.

Extant Spanish imperial historiography largely cites French influences and explains the Bourbon Reform program as essentially responsive to changing circumstances, an *ad hoc* attempt to centralize power in Madrid for enhancing the empire's power to wage war, enrich its dominions, and promote public happiness that may have ultimately caused, accelerated, or contributed to the empire's collapse. While not entirely disagreeing with such views of the Bourbon Reforms, this study presents the perspective and influence of Irish exiles and Spanish elites who believed a British-inspired reform of Spain would restore the empire to an imagined past glory as Atlantic, European, and Mediterranean hegemon.<sup>30</sup>

Like the reform movement itself, the Irish impact on the Bourbon Reforms began following the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) and reached its crescendo in the aftermath of Spain's disastrous defeat in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Specifically, Hiberno-Spanish imperialists in the metropole were important participants in the debates and decisions that promoted liberalizing national-colonial trade, investments in infrastructure, the emulation of foreign practices such as British and Irish economic societies, and more. Catholic

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<sup>30</sup> Gabriel Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759—1808* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Stanley J. Stein & Barbara H. Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000). Allan J. Kuethe and Kenneth J. Andrien, *The Spanish Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century: War and the Bourbon Reforms, 1713-1796* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808* (Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell Publishing, 1994). David Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Mónica Ricketts, *Who Should Rule?: Men of Arms, the Republic of Letters, and the Fall of the Spanish Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009). Carlos Marichal, *Bankruptcy of Empire: Mexican Silver and the Wars Between Spain, Britain and France, 1760–1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

but principally loyal to their king, Hiberno-Spaniards were ardent regalists who supported the Catholic Church's social mission and contribution to order and hierarchy but encouraged the concentration of power and wealth in Crown hands.

The 1750s and 1760s marked what was a Hiberno-Spanish moment, a time when circumstances of fate invested a cadre of Irish exiles with significant political power in Madrid. This network used that power to promote their own interests and visions for the Spanish Empire while fixing an Irish imperial network within the empire's bureaucracy. Their principal contribution to the empire was the translation of political economic statecraft and a cosmopolitanism of exile that honed their ability to translate foreign ideas in an age of imperial emulation and made them especially effective agents of empire in liminal spaces. Deriving from this Irish network, Hiberno-Spanish imperialists emerged as key agents of the Bourbon Reforms in Madrid as well as the colonial periphery.

The Bourbon Reforms have long been a major topic of study for historians of Spain, its empire, and Latin America. Historians of other Euro-American spaces, peoples, and empires, however, have been slower to appreciate the significance of the Bourbon Reforms to the Atlantic system and world history. Instead, the historiography of the Atlantic world, the nation-state, and capitalism tend to privilege England and France as the origins of modernity. Often, among contemporaries and historians, eighteenth century Spain is depicted as backwards.<sup>31</sup> This has

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<sup>31</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848* (New York: Vintage, 1996). Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (New York: Verso, 2003). Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism*. Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century*. Istavan Hont, *Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005). Paul Cheney, *Revolutionary Commerce Globalization and the French Monarchy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010). In Perry Anderson's classic work, Spain figures as the paradigmatic feudal and absolutist empire in early modern Europe, almost a force attempting to impede the ascension of capitalism. Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (New York: Verso, 2013, original 1974). John Tutino has made an important intervention into this debate that has influenced my work, making a strong argument on the importance of Spanish North America to the origins of global capitalism. Tutino, *Making A New World*.

occluded the significance of the Bourbon Reforms. Indeed, the Bourbon Reforms and the Hiberno-Spanish contribution thereto were essential to the imperialist expansion of settler-colonialism, plantation slavery, and diaspora – enclosure and capitalism – in the Atlantic world.

The history of capitalism has returned as a major topic of historical study, yet not without critique.<sup>32</sup> In 1952 Rodney Hilton lamented, “The history of capitalism was once studied by its supporters and its critics on the basis of reasonably common agreement as to what both meant by the term.”<sup>33</sup> We might heave the same sigh today. In the historiography on the origins of capitalism there are essentially three major fields, one that focuses on the genealogy of hegemonic market-power, one on the primacy of “agrarian-capitalism,” and one that focuses on “bourgeois” revolutions.

In the first, the history of textile, armament, and luxury good production is married to infrastructural, naval, coercive, and geographic trade primacy to explain the evolution of capitalist centers of accumulation from northern Italian city-states to the Netherlands to the British Empire over the course of the early modern period.<sup>34</sup> In the second, the origin of capitalism is located in the enclosure of agriculture and the creation of a market and wage-dependent agrarian working class – expressly in England.<sup>35</sup> In the third, the histories of England and France are generally compared and the revolutions of both countries taken as the explanation

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<sup>32</sup> Nan Enstad, “The ‘Sonorous Summons’ of the New History of Capitalism, Or, What Are We Talking about When We Talk about Economy?,” *Modern American History*, 2, no. 1 (2019): 83-95. Trevor Burnard and Giorgio Riello, “Slavery and the New History of Capitalism,” *Journal of Global History* 15, no. 2 (2020): 225-244. Edward Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2016). Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2017).

<sup>33</sup> Rodney Hilton, “Capitalism--What's in a Name?,” *Past & Present* no. 1 (1952): 32.

<sup>34</sup> Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century*. Christopher Chitty, *Sexual Hegemony: Statecraft, Sodomy, and Capital in the Rise of the World System* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020). Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*.

<sup>35</sup> Brenner, “Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe,” *Past & Present*, 30-75. Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism*. Kennedy, *Diggers, Levellers, and Agrarian Capitalism*. Marx, *Capital*.

for the emergence of particular capitalist ruling classes compared to absolutist, feudal, or *ancien regime* states.<sup>36</sup> There is a fourth and growing field that attempts to globalize the history of capitalism, with important antecedents in the historiography of slavery, and a fifth that privileges social reproduction.<sup>37</sup> Missing from these literatures is the history of the largest empire in the early modern period, Spain, and the island that was first consumed by colonial-capitalism, Ireland. The Hiberno-Spanish diaspora and its relationship to the Bourbon Reforms corrects this lacuna.

Historical explanations for the “rise of the west” and the origins of capitalism increasingly center Western Europe’s colonization of the Americas, the transatlantic slave trade, and plantation-slavery economies.<sup>38</sup> The wealth, power, and market entanglements derived from these processes were essential to the making and sustaining of capitalism in the early modern Atlantic world. They were also central to the British Empire’s rise to power, creating raw

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<sup>36</sup> Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution*. Neil Davidson, *How Revolutionary Were the Bourgeois Revolutions?* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2012).

<sup>37</sup> Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*. Tutino, *Making A New World*. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008, original 2000). Gerald Horne, *The Dawning of The Apocalypse: The Roots of Slavery, White Supremacy, Settler Colonialism, and Capitalism in the Long Sixteenth Century* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2020). Alexander Anievas and Kerem Nişancıoğlu, *How the West Came to Rule: The Geopolitical Origins of Capitalism* (London: Pluto Press, 2015). See also the following review of *How the West Came to Rule*: Tim Di Muzio and Matt Dow, “Uneven and combined confusion: on the geopolitical origins of capitalism and the rise of the west,” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 30, no. 1 (2017): 3-22. Andrew David Edwards and Peter Hill, “Capitalism in Global History,” *Past & Present* 249, no. 1 (2020): 1-32. On social reproduction: Silvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation* (Chico, California: AK Press, 2004). I should clarify that when discussing the making of empire, inclusion and exclusion, I am carrying an implicit understanding, courtesy Federici, Judith Bennett, and Jennifer Morgan, among other feminist scholars, that patriarchy prefigured these complex processes and persisted, albeit in different forms, through whatever changes were engendered with the uneven transition to capitalism. Chitty’s *Sexual Hegemony* fits with the scholarship that focuses on capitalism’s historic relationship and reliance on social reproduction too, an effort to marry Foucault on sexuality and Marx on capitalism via Arrighi’s interpretive framework. Tutino and Horne are the exceptions within this literature, re: centering the Spanish Empire.

<sup>38</sup> Although Marx acknowledges these antecedents, this point was first made explicit, or at least thoroughly investigated, by Eric Williams. Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*. See also: Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*. Trevor Burnard and John Garrigus, *The Plantation Machine Atlantic Capitalism in French Saint-Domingue and British Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018). David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 275. Linebaugh, *Red Round Globe Hot Burning*. Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century*. Tutino, *Making A New World*.

material suppliers for British luxury consumption or resale and for manufacturing production while also offering Britain a large and growing consumptive market. The imperial benefits of settler-colonialism and mastery of the transatlantic slave trade were increasingly evident to contemporaries and, as such, drove Madrid's desire to reform Spanish America. Yet, the Bourbons inherited centuries of colonial precedent, creole hybridization, and complex matrices of law, interest, and power, that stymied reform in Spain's vast American empire. On the periphery, however, the Spanish Crown found fertile ground for imperial experimentation.<sup>39</sup>

The Patagonian and Gulf Coast borderlands were the spaces where the Bourbon Reforms were most advanced, aggressive, and arguably successful. They were also home to the largest concentrations of Hiberno-Spanish imperialists. If chapter 1 explains the origins of the diaspora and chapter 2 charts the rise of a Hiberno-Spanish network, the second part of this dissertation – chapters three and four – focuses on Hiberno-Spaniards along the greater Gulf Coast borderland, or the “The Gulf of Empire.”<sup>40</sup> The gulf of empire is metaphoric and literal, located at the interstices of colonization, slavery, and diaspora; Cuba, Texas, Louisiana, and Florida. The Bourbon Reforms and Hiberno-Spanish imperial translators engendered the processes that transformed this region from a relative economic backwater at the start of the eighteenth century into the world's center of slavery and capital accumulation by the turn of the nineteenth.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> On peripheral spaces in the Bourbon Reforms: Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759–1808*. David Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). David Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

<sup>40</sup> In future research, I hope to connect and compare Hiberno-Spaniards in the Patagonian borderlands with the Gulf Coast.

<sup>41</sup> On the nineteenth century history of the “Deep South” and Cuban slavery: Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*. Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror*. Ferrer, *Cuba*. It's worth noting that my argument in chapter 3 on the *longue duree* of Cuban plantation slavery dovetails with that of William C. Van Norman, but provides an essential puzzle-piece in explaining how, when, and why, precisely, these changes occurred. See: William C. Van Norman, *Shade Grown Slavery: The Lives of Slaves on Coffee Plantations in Cuba* (Nashville: University of Tennessee Press, 2013).

The gulf of empire refers first to the borderland between the British and Spanish empires in the Gulf of Mexico and its coastlands, a space I define as stretching from Florida to Texas and inclusive of Cuba.<sup>42</sup> I argue that this space was preeminent to the ambitions and tensions between London and Madrid in the eighteenth-century. Fernand Braudel remarked that geography is not destiny but “helps us to rediscover the slow unfolding of structural realities, to see things in the perspective of the very long term.”<sup>43</sup> Be that as it may, the strategic location of Havana and New Orleans to the Continental and Oceanic trade of the Americas, thanks to the Mississippi River and the course of the Gulf Stream through the Channel of Florida, invested these locations with immense geostrategic and commercial importance in an age of sail and “risk.”<sup>44</sup> While centuries of failed colonization efforts frustrated Spanish ambitions for Florida and the Gulf Coast, the exigencies of escalating imperial conflict in the post-Seven Years’ War era renewed Spanish resolve to master a space long considered essential to Spanish interests but, menacingly, one that also loomed large in the ambitions of London.<sup>45</sup>

Not for nothing did Benjamin Franklin chart the “Gulph Stream” in 1768 precisely as the Spanish Empire embarked on its robust plans to reorganize and improve its Gulf Coast colonies.<sup>46</sup> Nor was the significance of this space lost on Thomas Jefferson when as President he

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<sup>42</sup> The logic behind the application of Richard White’s concept of the “borderland” to the Gulf Coast is clear enough and with precedent. See: Kathleen DuVal, *Independence: Lost Lives on the Edge of the American Revolution* (New York: Random House, 2015). Its application to Cuba is perhaps less common – but the proliferation of smuggling, the role of Havana as Atlantic entrepot, the British occupation of Havana, and Cuba’s proximity and economic connections to the Gulf Coast all underline how Cuba was constituent of a wider Gulf Coast borderland and itself a maritime borderland of sorts. In future research I would like to explore the governorships of Arturo O’Neill and Hugo O’Conor in the Yucatan and Hiberno-Spanish merchants in Veracruz and perhaps expand this study to encompass a truly trans-Gulf of Mexico geographic scope/perspective.

<sup>43</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II Volume I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, original 1949), 23.

<sup>44</sup> Emily Nacol, *An Age of Risk: Politics and Economy in Early Modern Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

<sup>45</sup> David Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). DuVal, *Independence Lost*.

<sup>46</sup> Benjamin Franklin and Timothy Folger, *Gulf Stream information overprinted on: A new and exact chart of Mr. E. Wrights projection, rut. Mercators chart, con. ye sea coast of Europe, Africa & America, from ye Isles of Orkney to*

observed, “There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three eighths of our territory must pass to market.”<sup>47</sup> Speaking of Cuba, he wrote, “I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of states. [Because] [t]he control which, with Florida Point, this island would give us over the Gulf of Mexico.”<sup>48</sup> Even the northerner John Quincy Adams recognized, “[Cuba’s] commanding position with reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the West India Seas... give it an importance in the sum of our national interests with which that of no other foreign territory can be compared.”<sup>49</sup>



Benjamin Franklin’s Gulf Stream Chart, 1768.<sup>50</sup>

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*Cape Bona Esperance & Hudsons Bay to ye straits of Magellan, according to ye observations of Capt. E. Halley, fellow of ye R.S. / to the Rt. Honble., ye Principle Officers & Commissioners of His Majesties Navy ; this chart is most humbly dedicated and presented by their most obedient faithfull servants John Mount & Th. Page ; H. Moll fecit.* (London: Jno. Mount and Tho. Page, 1768), Accessed digitally via the Library of Congress: <https://www.loc.gov/item/88696412/?loclr=blogmap> on 12/21/2021.

<sup>47</sup> Thomas Jefferson to Robert R. Livingston. April 18, 1802 in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 37, 4 March–30 June 1802, ed. Barbara B. Oberg. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 263–267.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe. October 24, 1823.

<sup>49</sup> John Quincy Adams to Mr. Nelson. April 28, 1823.

<sup>50</sup> Accessed digitally via the Library of Congress: <https://www.loc.gov/item/88696412/?loclr=blogmap> on 12/21/2021.

For our purposes, it suffices to note that more than a half century before the Americans dreamed of an “Empire for Liberty” built on mastery of the “American Gulf,”<sup>51</sup> the Spanish Empire embarked on a plan to remake this peripheral borderland into a thriving slavocracy. Thus, on the eve of the American Revolutionary War, Carlos III “decided that the principal objective... during the war with the English is to drive them from the Gulf of Mexico and the banks of the Mississippi... which should be considered as the bulwark of the vast empire of New Spain.”<sup>52</sup> The problem for Spain was that its mastery of the Gulf was tenuous at best.

While much of the Gulf Stream map is densely filled with place-names of locations familiar to Euro-Americans such as Franklin, if one looks closely they can see that Cuba, Texas, Louisiana, and Florida are an exception that are even geometrically imperfect. Beyond Havana, these colonies were small outposts on the rim of the Caribbean plantation zone. Havana was a jewel of the Spanish Empire, a vital entrepot and fortification, but the rest of Cuba was economically underdeveloped, rife with smuggling and expensive to defend. The latter three colonies were hardly colonies at all, more accurately “native ground” where the Spanish had struggled to achieve colonial dominion for centuries.<sup>53</sup> More worrisome, these colonies bordered rapidly expanding British settlements. Most worrisome, the British had occupied Havana (1761) during the Seven Years’ War and thereby endangered the integrity of Spain’s American empire. As a shield for New Spain and the wider empire, the peripheral colonies of the Gulf Coast borderland were essential to the imperial machinations of Madrid in the postwar period. Hiberno-

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<sup>51</sup> Jack Davis, *The Gulf: The Making of An American Sea* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2017).

<sup>52</sup> Lawrence Kinnaird, ed. and trans, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794, Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1945), II (Washington: 1949), 355. This source is a collection of primary sources from the Spanish colonial period, including the cited letter.

<sup>53</sup> DuVal, *The Native Ground. Comanche Empire*. Weber, *Bárbaros Gilbert Dinn, Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves: The Spanish Regulation of Slavery in Louisiana, 1763-1803* (College Station: University of Texas A&M Press, 1999). Jane Landers, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

Spaniards played an outsized role in the attempted reconquest and reorganization of the Spanish Gulf Coast, specifically promoting the adoption of plantation slavery, settler-colonialism, and mercantilism while negotiating and competing with creoles, Native Americans, the enslaved, and European rivals.

Chapter 3 explains the role of Irish exiles in promoting sugar cultivation and plantation slavery in Cuba; that is, their role in the transition of Cuban slavery into a capitalistic “plantation machine.”<sup>54</sup> Historians of slavery have mounted an impressive charge into the history of capitalism, correcting a long overdue hole in the field; but the relationship between the two remains muddled by the seeming contradictions between slavery and capitalism.<sup>55</sup> Critics and supporters alike generally depict capitalism as a system of “free labor,” of wage-earning proletarians in direct contrast to the enslaved. In what sense, then, can slavery be considered capitalist? The conflation of profit making or trade with capitalism is a grave error, after all. What made Caribbean plantation slavery, and most of all sugar production, capitalistic was its

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<sup>54</sup> Trevor Burnard and John Garrigus, *The Plantation Machine: Atlantic Capitalism in French Saint-Domingue and British Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

<sup>55</sup> Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman, eds., *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*. David Eltis and Stanley Engerman, “The Importance of Slavery and the Slave Trade to Industrializing Britain,” *The Journal of Economic History*, 60, no. 1 (2000), 123-144. Burnard and Riello, “Slavery and the New History of Capitalism,” *Journal of Global History* 15, no. 2 (2020): 225-244. Selwyn H. H. Carrington, “Capitalism & Slavery and Caribbean Historiography: An Evaluation,” *The Journal of African American History* 88, no. 3 (2003): 304-312. Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told*. Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*. Johnson, “The Pedestal and the Veil,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 24, no. 2 (2004): 299-308. Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Slavery* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995, original 1974). Eric Hilt, “Revisiting Time on the Cross After 45 Years: The Slavery Debates and the New Economic History,” *Capitalism: A Journal of History and Economics* 1, no. 2 (2020): 455-479. For a critique of the “New History of Capitalism” and its interpretations of slavery: John Clegg, “Capitalism and Slavery,” *Critical Historical Studies* 2, no. 2 (2015): 281-304. Clegg’s critique points out that historians connected to the New History of Capitalism tend to obfuscate what they mean by “capitalism” and astutely suggests that Robert Brenner’s interpretation of capitalism might apply to American slavery: i.e. it was a dependence on the market for social reproduction that made American slavery capitalist. This is the position I adopt. We might extend this insight back into the eighteenth century as applied to specific plantation economies. See also: Scott Nelson, “Who Put Their Capitalism in My Slavery?,” *Journal of the Civil War Era* 5, no. 2 (2015): 289-310. On scholarship that characterizes slavery as non-capitalist: Eugene Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery* (New York: Pantheon, 1965); Eugene Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Fruits of Merchant Capital* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

reliance on the market – in foodstuffs and humans – for social reproduction and thus the economic imperative for slaveholders to compete for maximum profit and therefore the compulsion for Capital to accumulate.<sup>56</sup>

The centrality of Atlantic slavery to the emergence of capitalism is an increasingly common historical observation with an old precedent. That is, plantation slavery and the transatlantic slave trade enriched planters, merchants, and empires while stimulating technological, mechanical, and organizational development and spurred growth in shipping, insurance, banking, and other attendant industries essential to the making of market hegemony. This was the argument that Eric Williams made in *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944). As he put it, “The rise and fall of mercantilism is the rise and fall of [plantation] slavery.” Essential to this interpretation is an understanding that imperialism was always already constituent of political economy and that when combined with the plantation complex whatever preexisting prejudices existed in European culture were accelerated and transformed into the unique brutality of American slavery and racism. The mistake Williams made, we might suggest with the benefit of near a century of subsequent scholarship, was deriving a thesis about capitalism, racism, and slavery, writ large, from the experience of a singular empire.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> This is an application of Wood and Brenner’s thesis on the origins of capitalism as market dependence for social reproduction among the English peasantry or agricultural working-class combined with Marx’s interpretation of what a “capitalist” is to the circumstances of Caribbean slavery. Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism*. Brenner, “Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe,” *Past & Present*, 30-75. Marx, *Capital*. Michael Heinrich, *An Introduction to the Three Volumes of Karl Marx’s Capital* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2004), 108-9.

<sup>57</sup> Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*. Quote 109. On Primitive Accumulation: Marx, *Capital*. For a recent and compelling history on the origins of the transatlantic slave trade and its relationship to blackness, Catholicism, and political economy: Herman Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves: Sovereignty and Dispossession in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020). Williams himself acknowledges this critique but argues that the British and French histories of slavery are comparable enough for his point; I am suggesting that the Spanish example helps us build on his work and better historicize the relationship between capitalism, racism, and slavery.

The comparison of Spanish to British slavery is a debate as old as the question of capitalism and slavery. Deriving from Frank Tannenbaum's *Slave and Citizen* (1946), the "Tannenbaum Thesis" posited that slavery was most racialized and especially brutal in the Anglo- or Protestant-Atlantic but less so in the Ibero- or Catholic-Atlantic and credits these divergent histories of slavery to differences between Protestant Holland and England with Catholic France but especially Portugal and Spain.<sup>58</sup> As subsequent historians have pointed out, Tannenbaum's evidence base overly relied on travel narratives and painted an excessively sanguine interpretation of Ibero-Atlantic slavery.<sup>59</sup> That said, it retained a kernel of truth insofar as other historians have demonstrated a more elastic social structure and distinct conception of *raza* ("race") in the Hispanic Atlantic world and a slavery that was, indeed, confined by the power and expectations of the Catholic Church.<sup>60</sup>

More recently, Herman Bennett has delineated the earliest history of the slave trade in the initial Spanish but especially Portuguese encounters with West Africa. In so doing, he has argued for the central role of the Catholic Church, Christian concepts, the inheritance of Roman law, and the interests of Iberian sovereigns, on the European side, and the power of West African sovereigns with their own traditions and customs on the African side, for understanding the emergence of the transatlantic slave trade.<sup>61</sup> Bennett's keen historicism and astute attention to the

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<sup>58</sup> Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York: Random House, 1946).

<sup>59</sup> Donald Eder, "Time under the Southern Cross: The Tannenbaum Thesis Reappraised," *Agricultural History* 50, no. 4 (1976): 600-614. Alejandro de la Fuente, "From Slaves to Citizens? Tannenbaum and the Debates on Slavery, Emancipation, and Race Relations in Latin America," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 77, no. 1 (2010): 154-173. On racialization in the Spanish Empire: Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions*. Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves*. For a critique on Tannenbaum's interpretation of English and American slavery that was itself subject to significant critique: Fogel and Engerman, *Time on the Cross*.

<sup>60</sup> Herman Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003). Herman Bennett, *Colonial Blackness: A History of Afro-Mexico* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011). Alejandro de la Fuente, *Havana and the Atlantic in the Sixteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

<sup>61</sup> Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves*, esp. 52-100, 132-151.

political offers a more compelling method for studying Ibero-Atlantic enslavement than Tannebaum's outdated thesis.

The essential point in Bennett's *African Slaves and Black Kings* is that the genesis of the slave trade was "a story of medieval and early modern power that preceded the ascendance of political economy" in which African sovereigns determined the rituals and exchanges that begot the transatlantic slave trade while Iberian sovereigns determined the regulation of the enslaved in their domains.<sup>62</sup> Before race and capitalism, in other words, sovereignty and religion shaped the contours of slavery. Portuguese chroniclers may have invented a discursive genre and accompanying tropes to write about "blackamoors" or "the land of the blacks," but Iberian explorers and traders acquiesced to the ritualized expectations of sovereign African kings and Iberian slavers conformed to, or at best negotiated with, the demands of their Catholic monarchs.<sup>63</sup>

Atlantic slavery was, then, constitutive of wider imperial discourses and interests embedded within religious and civil traditions that figured enslavement within both the *oikos* and the *polis*, the household and the community, the economy and the state. To put it simply, slavery and its regulation were always already tied to the political interests of empire. Given the historic entanglements between the Spanish Crown, Spanish America, and the Papacy, as Bennett has demonstrated in other work, this meant that Spanish slavery was inextricably tied to and defined by Catholicism – until the Bourbon Reforms and Hiberno-Spaniards attempted to secularize the Spanish imperial economy in emulation of British political economic praxis.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves*, quote 13.

<sup>63</sup> Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves*, esp. 75-131.

<sup>64</sup> On Spanish slavery and Christianity: Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves*. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*. Bennett, *Colonial Blackness: A History of Afro-Mexico*. On the Bourbon Reforms, capitalism and slavery, see below and especially chapter 3.

Marrying the debates over capitalism and slavery with those over the Tannebaum Thesis, Chapter 3 of this dissertation elucidates how Hiberno-Spanish slavers and the Bourbon Reforms ignited a rapid transformation in the nature of Cuban enslavement. Embracing and emulating British political economy, their project was a secularization and profit-maximization of slavery that remade Cuban enslavement to resemble the capitalistic plantation machine that Irish slavers were familiar with in Jamaica and elsewhere in the Atlantic.<sup>65</sup> In underlining the central role of Hiberno-Spanish slavers and imperialists in said process, this chapter highlights the significance of the plantation complex, sugar production, and the transatlantic slave trade to the history of Cuban slavery and the Bourbon Reforms – as well as the important role played by Hiberno-Spaniards in these histories.

The histories of Spanish America and British America have likewise invited comparison and, more recently, studies of “entanglement.”<sup>66</sup> Among the debates in this historiography is an insistence within some circles to characterize the Spanish Empire as a monarchy with integrated kingdoms that contrast with English, later British settler-colonialism.<sup>67</sup> As with Tannebaum’s history of Iberian slavery, these depictions of the Spanish Empire are overly sanguine. Spanish

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<sup>65</sup> Burnard and Garrigus, *The Plantation Machine*.

<sup>66</sup> Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-c.1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995). John Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). University of Philadelphia Press, 2018). Eliga Gould, “Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery,” *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (2007): 764-786.

<sup>67</sup> Most pertinent to this study, see: Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 1-2. Morales defends a framing of the “*monarquía hispanica*” and makes the dubious assertion that “the Spanish Empire was really established on the basis of inheritance rather than on one of conquest,” as well as “there was no ‘Spanish empire.’” See also: John Tutino, *Mexico City, 1808: Power, Sovereignty, and Silver in an Age of War and Revolution*, xix-xxiv.

colonialism in the early modern Caribbean, New Spain, Peru, and elsewhere is irrefutable.<sup>68</sup>

Again, however, might persist a kernel of truth.

Deriving from the historical specificity of each endeavor,<sup>69</sup> English colonialism more often attempted to eradicate and enclose both peoples and land whereas Spanish colonialism more often attempted to convert and lord both subjects and spaces. Both imperial endeavors involved conquest, the migration of settlers, and both created racialized hierarchies that privileged lighter phenotypes, but with distinct histories. Whereas for much of the early modern period the Spanish Empire's administrative, ecclesiastic, mercantile, and landowning elite ruled over a population of mostly indigenous-American and "mestizo" subjects, the demographic momentum of Britain's North American settler-colonies circa 1750 and their superior ability to defend and attack French and Spanish colonies during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) laid bare to contemporaries the apparent imperial advantages of settler-colonialism.<sup>70</sup> As with Cuban plantation slavery, Hiberno-Spaniards played an important role in advocating for an emulation of these practices in Spain's northern North American borderlands.

Chapter 4 chronicles how Hiberno-Spanish writers, soldiers, ecclesiastics, and governors in New Spain, Louisiana, and Florida attempted to realize the colonization of native lands, the

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<sup>68</sup> Ida Altman, *Transatlantic Ties in the Spanish Empire: Brihuega, Spain and Puebla, Mexico, 1560–1620* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000). Peter Boyd-Bowman, "Patterns of Spanish Emigration to the Indies until 1600," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 56, no. 4 (1976): 580–604. Hillel Eyal, "Going Local and Global: Internal and Transatlantic Migration in Eighteenth-Century Spain," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 52, no. 2 (2021): 197-223. Magnus Morner, "Review: Spanish Historians on Spanish Migration to America during the Colonial Period," *Latin American Research Review* 30, No. 2 (1995), 251-267.

<sup>69</sup> That is, the differences inherent and evident-enough between the exigencies of governing (and expanding) the conquered Mexica and Inca empires in contrast to piecemeal conquest of various independent indigenous polities and peoples in what became Newfoundland, New England, Virginia, etc. Differences, too, in the more-involved Spanish Crown vis-à-vis the English. The Spanish colonization of the Greater Antilles is perhaps most similar to English colonialism in the Atlantic world. Differences existed too, of course, in the ideological or cultural justifications for colonialism and its varied methods.

<sup>70</sup> Or, at least, to Hiberno-Spanish imperialists involved in the Bourbon Reforms. See chapter 2 on Ricardo Wall, Bernardo Ward, and chapters 3-4 on Alejandro O'Reilly and Hugo O'Conor.

improvement of peripheral colonies and the expansion of enslavement, and thus the perpetual security of the empire. Spanish North America's importance to "primitive accumulation," the Atlantic world system trading system, and modernity is generally acknowledged by scholars and is yet woefully underestimated at the same time.<sup>71</sup> As John Tutino put it, "The importance of American silver to global trade between 1550 and 1810 is beyond dispute. That the Bajío and Spanish North America produced not only much of that silver but also a protean capitalist society has been suggested by a few. But their views have drowned in a sea of scholarship insisting that capitalism and Spain's Americas were historically antithetical."<sup>72</sup>

New Spain was, according to Tutino, key to the *longue duree* origins of global capitalism and, by the late eighteenth century, the Bajío region northwest of Mexico City was a center of "nascent" capitalism. New Spain was, after all, not only fabulously wealthy but also home to both extractive and productive economic industries with wage-earning laborers and extensive market integration.<sup>73</sup> There was only one problem for Madrid: the Apache, the Comanche, and the British Empire threatened to overwhelm the fledgling *presidios* and outpost colonies of northern New Spain, Louisiana, and Florida. I argue that the liminality of Irish exiles, i.e. their skill in translating across states and cultures, helps explain their ability to thrive in this polyglot borderland as agents of Spanish colonialism invested with the responsibilities of reforming and securing the borderlands – Texas, Louisiana, and Florida – from indigenous and European threats.

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<sup>71</sup> See, for example, the generally brief summations of Spanish imperialism in: Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1. Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*. Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century*. Note, also, the absence of the Spanish Empire in Hobsbawm's historical explanation of modernity: Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848* (New York: Vintage, 1996).

<sup>72</sup> Tutino, *Making A New World*, 3.

<sup>73</sup> Tutino, *Making A New World*.

The Gulf of Empire refers second to the metaphoric gulf between imperialist and subaltern. This gulf is attested to in the callousness with which Hiberno-Spaniards, exiles of one empire turned imperialists of another, wrote about and acted upon plebeians but especially Native Americans and Africans. Combining the history of New Spain's colonization and Cuban plantation slavery with the colonization of Ireland and the Hiberno-Spanish diaspora's translation of political economy, in other words, viscerally elucidates the gulf that separated agents of empire and those whom empires acted upon. It also demonstrates with unusual clarity how this gulf existed in a complex matrix of relations in the early modern period before slowly coalescing into a singular binary of inclusion and a singular basis for social reproduction over the course of the eighteenth century: whiteness and the market.

This dissertation concludes with the economic opportunity and refugee crisis engendered by the Haitian Revolution and the role of Hiberno-Spaniards in leveraging this situation for the benefit of themselves and the Cuban plantation economy. While Hiberno-Spanish planters such as the O'Reilly and O'Farrill dynasties used the disruption in Atlantic sugar production to increase their slaving enterprises and profit enormously, Sebastien Kindelan y O'Reagan, governor of Santiago de Cuba and the eastern half of the island and José Coppinger y López de Gamarra, governor of Bayamo, were instrumental to the relocation of French planters to Cuba. In other words, this history ends by coming full circle: Hiberno-Spaniards in Cuba were quick to recognize the potential benefit of French planters to the Spanish Empire. We might ironically refer to these planters as a diaspora, a group of people expelled and dispersed from their homes as the result of providential catastrophe – that this catastrophe was in fact the most heroic event in human history underlines the observation introduced with *The Wake of Alejandro O'Reilly*:

the dialectic of imperial mastery and subaltern agency synthesizes into the dialectic of revolution and counter-revolution.

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As with the subject at hand, the research for this dissertation was transatlantic in scope. The evidence for this work was mined primarily at the Archivo General de las Indias (AGI), the Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), the Archivo Historico Nacional (AHN), the Archivo Nacional de la Republica de Cuba (ANC), The National Archives (TNA), The Irish National Library (INL), the New Orleans Research Collection (NORC), and a scattering of other archives in Britain, Ireland, Spain, Cuba, and the United States. The bulk of primary sources utilized are imperial correspondences, though published works, private letters, newspapers, travel writing, poetry, and other sources are also incorporated. Given the exigencies of the coronavirus pandemic, this study further relies on a rich extant literature in Irish, British, Spanish, and colonial American history as well as a pinch of theoretical conjecture. Given the abovementioned exigencies, scope of the project, and synthetic aspect of this study, I have occasionally used primary sources discovered in extant secondary literature, particularly from untranslated Spanish sources. Where I do this, I cite the archival and textual source to acknowledge my debt to previous scholarship. Nevertheless, in using these primary sources I have done so for different purposes, with distinct interpretations, or in service of my original historical argument. All translations are my own unless stated otherwise.

Methodologically, this work of Atlantic history sits at the intersection of imperial and diasporic history.<sup>74</sup> To tell the story of how the first Irish diaspora contributed to Spain's

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<sup>74</sup> On Atlantic history: Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities" *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 741-757. David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in Armitage

Bourbon Reforms I have elected to focus on a series of particularly prominent individuals. I have done so, on one hand, for means of expediency; given the relative dearth of scholarship, a truly comprehensive account remains wanting. On the other hand, this was also a conscience decision as method and rhetorical device. A focus on individuals helps us understand the decision-making and power of those who attempted to bend historical processes they only partially understood to fit their own interests. It also personalizes the past and makes it more digestible to readers. This approach further permits an understanding of the quotidian processes of empire and diaspora from the perspective of individual historical actors. Lastly, drawing theoretically upon Fernand Braudel and Reinhart Kosellech, I believe that history is made in the liminal place between apersonal or transhistoric processes, the *longue duree*, and the event or individual.<sup>75</sup> Put another way, while many twentieth century Marxist historians celebrated “history from below,”<sup>76</sup> this work takes a cue from one of the social historians’ unacknowledged intellectual forbearers:

This book will concern itself least of all with those unrelated psychological researches which are now so often substituted for social and historical analysis. Foremost in our field of vision will stand the great, moving forces of history, which are super-personal in character. Monarchy is one of them. But all these forces operate through people. And monarchy is by its very principle bound up with the personal. This in itself justifies an interest in the personality of that monarch whom the process of social development brought face to face with a revolution.<sup>77</sup>

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and Michael Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (London: Palgrave and MacMillan, 2002), 11-29. This work incorporates each of Armitage’s three-part categorization of Atlantic history. Canny, “Atlantic History: what and why?” Canny’s argument that peoples moved across national boundaries and thus so too should historical research is especially informative and germane to this project.

<sup>75</sup> Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, Volume I*. Reinhart Kosellech, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 123-6.

<sup>76</sup> Georg Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Middletown, CN: Wesleyan University Press, 2005). Marcus Rediker, “The poetics of history from below,” *Perspectives on History* (September, 2010). Jesse Lemisch, “Jack Tar in the Streets: Merchant Seamen in the Politics of Revolutionary America,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (1968): 371-407.

<sup>77</sup> Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution, volume I* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2008, original 1932), 40.

To explain change over time in an era of aspiring absolutist monarchies necessarily demands a grappling with “great men,” or rather powerful men who aspired to greatness. In this endeavor, I take further cues from a growing neo-imperial historiography that has strived to situate the powerful in their context to explain the impetus and consequences of their actions as they were rather than as they wished them to be.<sup>78</sup> They could not bend history to their will, but those granted the coercive infrastructure of empire were indeed more powerful than those who empires acted upon – until they were not. Put simply, a full historical account must attempt to synthesize the “moving forces of history” from above and below. The history of the Hiberno-Spanish diaspora demands this approach.

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<sup>78</sup> Patrick Griffin, *The Townshend Moment: The Making of Empire and Revolution in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017). Andrew Jackson O’Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America: British Leadership, the American Revolution, and the Fate of the Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

### Prominently Featured Hiberno-Spaniards

Ricardo Wall: Soldier, diplomat, and First Minister of the Spanish Empire (1753-1763)

Bernardo Ward: Political economist, writer of the influential *Proyecto economico* (1762)

Alejandro O'Reilly: General, infantry-inspector, general-visitor to Cuba (1763) and governor of Louisiana (1768-9); Carlos III's favorite general and an influential adviser to the king.

Ricardo O'Farrill: Slaver and the first South Sea Company factor to Havana

Tomas Butler: Jesuit slaver in Cuba

Cornelio Coppinger: Slave merchant in Havana

Hugo O'Conor: General, governor of Texas, and intendant of the Interior Provinces of northern New Spain (1767-1776)

Alonso O'Crouley: Merchant and writer, author of *The Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*.

Juan Morfi: Franciscan historian, author of *The History of Texas*.

Arturo O'Neill: General and governor of West Florida (1781-1793)

Sebastian Kindelan y O'Regan: Soldier and governor of Santiago de Cuba (1798-1803)

Pablo O'Reilly: Cuban slaver

Sebastián Nicolás Calvo de la Puerta y O'Farrill: Cuban slaver and Governor of Louisiana and West Florida (1799-1801).

José Coppinger y López de Gamarra: Governor of Nueva Filipina (Today Pinar del Rio), Bayamo, and Trinidad.

Jose Maria Blanco White: Writer and abolitionist, author of the *Autobiografia* (1823).





Map extracted from: João Teixeira Alberrnaz, Jeronimo de Attayde, and Francisco de Seixas y Lovera, *Taboas geraes de toda a navegação* (1630).<sup>80</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Accessed digitally at [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/be/Pen%C3%ADnsula\\_Ib%C3%A9rica\\_na\\_Carta\\_do\\_Mediterr%C3%A1neo\\_das\\_T%C3%A1boas\\_geraes\\_de\\_toda\\_a\\_navega%C3%A7%C3%A3o\\_de\\_Joa%C3%B5\\_Teixeira\\_%281630%29.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/be/Pen%C3%ADnsula_Ib%C3%A9rica_na_Carta_do_Mediterr%C3%A1neo_das_T%C3%A1boas_geraes_de_toda_a_navega%C3%A7%C3%A3o_de_Joa%C3%B5_Teixeira_%281630%29.jpg) on 06/30/2022.



Thomas Jefferys, "A New Chart of the West Indies, drawn from the best Spanish Maps," in Thomas Jefferys, *A General Topography of North America and the West Indies* (London, 1768).<sup>81</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Accessed digitally at <http://viseyes.org/mapscholar/?3381> on 06/30/2022.

**Part I**

*Empire*

## Ch. 1

# The Milesian Exodus: *Daoirse agus Deorai*

“Capitalism was born when market imperatives seized hold of food production.”<sup>82</sup>

“No nation ever owed greater Obligations to a Prince, than Ireland does to King William: He delivered us not from meer Apprehensions or remote Dangers, but from a vile Slavery... The Designs of our Enemies were not confined to the Destruction of our Religion, our Laws, and our Liberties; but our Estates were marked out for a Prey, and our Persons for a Sacrifice.”<sup>83</sup>

“I live a banished man within the bounds of my native soil; an object of condoling to my relations and friends, and a condoler of their miseries.”<sup>84</sup>

“In the eighteenth century agrarian capitalism came fully into its inheritance.”<sup>85</sup>

In 1709, Samuel Molyneux, British MP and son of the famed Irish polymath William Molyneux, visited an elderly Irish antiquarian whom he had patronized for years. This journey took him out to Connemara on the western fringe of western Ireland in County Galway where both the landscape and people appalled the urbane Molyneux. Accustomed to the grandeur of London and Dublin, he could not “conceive an inhabited country so destitute of all signs of people and art as this is.” Nonetheless, he explained, “Yet here, I hear, live multitudes of barbarous uncivilized Irish after their old fashion.” As such, he concluded that this space marked “the end of the English pale, which distinction should still have place as long as the inhabitants live with us in so open a state of nature.” So too did the man he set out to visit disappoint the younger Molyneux. That man was named Ruaidhrí Ó Flaithbheartaigh, historian and historic heir to the Gaelic *Túath*, or kingdom, of Iar-Connaught. Of their meeting, Molyneux complained that

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<sup>82</sup> Ellen Meiksins Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View* (New York: Verso, 2017, original 1999), 81.

<sup>83</sup> Philostelus, “A letter to the Right Honourable Sir Ralph Gore, Bart. speaker of the Honourable House of Commons” (Dublin: 1732), 16-18.

<sup>84</sup> Ruaidhrí Ó Flaithbheartaigh, *Ogygia Vindicated, Against the Objections of Sir George Mac Kenzie*, ed. and trans. Cathal Ó Conchubhair, (1685, 1775), 153-154

<sup>85</sup> E.P. Thompson, “The Peculiarities of the English,” *Socialist Register* (1965).

the antiquarian had no manuscripts to show him and was, “very old, in a miserable condition.”<sup>86</sup> Ó Flaithbheartaigh was ancient and destitute like the people and landscape of Connemara. If Molyneux had more closely read the writings of the man he patronized, however, he may have understood that the destitution of Ó Flaithbheartaigh and Connaught was not a reflection of any “state of nature,” but rather a consequence of the English colonization of Ireland.

The life and writings of Ruaidhrí Ó Flaithbheartaigh are a useful introduction into this chapter, offering both a lived experience of the English colonization of Ireland and an example of how Irish Catholics responded via appeals to Catholic Europe predicated upon genealogy and religion. Ó Flaithbheartaigh was the last chieftain of the Ó Flaithbheartaigh sept, the historic kings and then the lords of western or Iar-Connaught until the Cromwellian conquest and subsequent land confiscations expelled Ruaidhrí from his patrimonial estate at Moycullen despite the fact that he had no involvement in the Irish Confederate or Cromwellian Wars (1641-1653). Upon the Restoration of the Stuart dynasty, Ó Flaithbheartaigh, like many other formerly elite Irish Catholics, was hopeful for a restoration to his family’s ancestral lands and historic social prominence. He pressed his and his country’s case in a history of Ireland: the *Ogygia, seu rerum Hibernicarum chronologia* (1685). The first work by an Irish Catholic author published in London, the *Ogygia* uses the foundations of Irish identity – the Milesian myth that the Irish descended from Spain and Catholicism, genealogy and religion – to petition for Irish redress. Written in Latin, the work appealed to both the Stuart monarchy and continental, Catholic powers.

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<sup>86</sup> Richard Sharpe, *Roderick O’Flaherty’s Letters: To William Molyneux, Edward Lhwyd, and Samuel Molyneux, 1696-1709* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2013), 4-51. It is worth noting that Ó Flaithbheartaigh may have indeed had the manuscripts Molyneux desired but hesitated to turn over the rare historical documents from which he and other Irish Catholic writers endeavored, in their own understanding, to save Irish history.

The *Ogygia* translated Irish conceptions and practices of kingship and sovereignty to a European audience. The foundation of Gaelic Ireland's social fabric was kinship, reinforced through obligation, ritual, and violence. Split into a multiplicity of polities autonomous and semi-autonomous, hereditary elite Irish family units known as septs or clans ruled over the island before the gradual English conquest. Organized through *ballybetagh* divisions of land, roughly sixteen townlands, "the primary territorial vehicle of the ruling kin-group," Irish kings, lords, and sublords, the *rí*, *tiarnai* and *uirri* respectively, commanded labor, cattle and military service from their subordinates over the wide but amorphous geographic space of a given Irish "kingdom," or *Túath*.<sup>87</sup> One scholar has described the nature of *tiarnai* power thus: "sovereignty as exercised by the *tiarnai* should be understood as largely exercised over specific *sliocht* [families] and their rights to use cattle," in direct contrast to neatly defined boundaries of land.<sup>88</sup> This "invention of tradition"<sup>89</sup> recast Irish concepts and practices in a language familiar to other Europeans so as to claim a distinct but recorded European history for the Irish in the face of English charges of "barbarity."

Put another way, Gaelic society was organized through direct relationships of kinship and power rather than land and ownership; people and divisions of sovereignty were mobile but rigidly ordered. As William Smyth put it, "In this profoundly aristocratic, 'caste' conscious and

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<sup>87</sup> For more on Irish conceptions of *Túath* and how Irish sovereignty and place-names were fluid, see: William Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes, and Memory: A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland c.1530-1750* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2006). For more on Irish conceptions of kingship, kingdoms, and the symbolism of the "crown," as well as a discussion of Irish constitutional history, see: Breandan O Buachalla, *The Crown of Ireland* (Galway: Arlen House, 2006). Significantly, *Túath* referred to both the land and its inhabitants. For more on the evolution of kingship and the English claim to Ireland: Peter Crooks, "The Structure of Politics in Theory and Practice, 1210-1541," *CHI vol. 1*, 441-468.

<sup>88</sup> Gerard Farrell, *The 'Mere Irish' and the Colonisation of Ulster, 1570-1641* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 158-200. Smyth, *Map-making, Landscapes, and Memory*, 61-82, quotes 73, 74. Raymond Crotty, *Irish Agricultural Production: Its Volume and Structure* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1966), especially 1-16.

<sup>89</sup> Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012, original 1983).

highly stratified society, territorial organization and landownership were fueled by the iron laws of kin and status obligations and not by market forces. This interweaving of geographical closeness or distance with genealogical closeness and distance is central to the whole territorial and social structure of lordship.”<sup>90</sup> This changed with the English colonization of Ireland and the imposition of agrarian capitalism, the two interlinked processes that begot the Irish diaspora.

In his own words, Ruaidhrí Ó Flaithbheartaigh wrote the *Ogygia* to promote the Irish cause to both the Stuart monarchy and continental, Catholic powers. As he explained, he was inspired to “revive the much-lamented declension of our antiquities, and to communicate the knowledge of them to foreigners, of which, on account of the numberless grievances of this subdued country, sinking under the weight of penal pressures, they can receive no information, save what is penned by prejudicial and ignorant writers.”<sup>91</sup> While directly appealing to “foreigners,” Ó Flaithbheartaigh also dedicated the *Ogygia* to the Catholic heir apparent, the Duke of York and soon-to-be King James II. He explained to his future king, “Ireland, the most ancient nursery of your ancestors, most humbly implores your highness’s protection and patronage, in introducing the knowledge of her antiquities to the world.”<sup>92</sup> Irish Catholic elites such as Ó Flaithbheartaigh were hopeful that a Catholic and “Milesian,” monarch might reverse their declining fortunes. If James II was Irish, however, the Irish were Spanish.

At the same time that the *Ogygia* appealed to James II based on an imagined Stuart descent from Irish ancestry, so too did it appeal to the Spanish monarchy based on an imagined Irish descent from Spaniards. First recorded in the eleventh-century compilation of the Irish origin myth, the *Lebor Gabala Erenn* (“Book of Invasions”), the Milesian myth posits that the

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<sup>90</sup> Smyth, *Map-making, Landscapes, and Memory*, 82.

<sup>91</sup> Ruaidhrí Ó Flaithbheartaigh, *Ogygia seu rerum Hibernicarum chronologia vol. 1*, trans. James Hely (Dublin: 1793, 1685), lxix.

<sup>92</sup> Ó Flaithbheartaigh, *Ogygia vol. 1*, xiv-xix.

Irish *sliocht* (“race,” or literally “seed”) derived from ancient Spanish conquerors who were themselves descendants of Egyptians.<sup>93</sup> Seemingly eclectic, this mythical-history functioned to place the Irish within a Christian and European history and attached the story of the Irish to that of the Israelites by casting the Irish as fellow participants in the Exodus.<sup>94</sup> The *Ogygia* appealed to the king of Spain as much as to the king of England.

The need for this history and for a voracious defense of Irish ancestry, religion, and history may be gleaned in the comparison Ó Flaithbheartaigh made between the Irish and Native Americans. Denouncing the writings of Roman and English authors who depicted the Irish as barbarous, he wrote, “we must indeed declare, that those tribes and septs which have been summed up by Ptolomy [sic], are as foreign to us in sound as the Savage nations of America.” This passage underlined the insecurity of former Irish elites such as Ó Flaithbheartaigh about the position of the Irish in the English Empire. The writings of Ptolemy, Gerald Cambrensis, and Edmund Spenser may have discursively depicted the Irish as uncivilized, but these sources were biased and inaccurate; unlike the “savages” of America, the Irish were an ancient, Catholic *sliocht*.<sup>95</sup> Therefore, the Irish ought be admitted into a Hiberno-English Empire or admitted into the Spanish. The apparent contradiction that the *Ogygia* appealed to both Stuarts and Spaniards in fact underlines the fundamental proposition of this chapter: early modern Ireland resembled a borderland between the English and Spanish empires, and the Irish Catholic elite sought admission within one or the other based on genealogy and Catholicism.

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<sup>93</sup> On race in early modern Ireland and Britain, see: Brendan Kane and Malcolm Smuts, “The Politics of Race in England, Scotland, and Ireland,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare*, ed. Smuts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 346-365.

<sup>94</sup> Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister, ed. and trans., *Lebor Gabala Erenn: The book of the taking of Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1956).

<sup>95</sup> Ó Flaithbheartaigh, *Ogygia vol. 1*, 8-18, 22-4.

I posit that Ireland occupied a borderland of sorts both in Europe and in the Atlantic, both in the religious context of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation and in the imperial competition between Protestant England and Catholic Spain. Put another way, English colonization intended to defamiliarize the Irish from Europe and remake Ireland into a new England while Spanish Counter-Reformation and geopolitical interests, in addition to a long historical relationship with Ireland, pushed against these currents and offered Irish writers, soldiers, ecclesiastics, merchants, and exiles support or asylum.

The conflict over Ireland, an “Age of Atrocity,”<sup>96</sup> culminated three years after the publication of *Ogygia* when the War of the English Succession (1688-1695)<sup>97</sup> opened the possibility for a reversal of the Irish land confiscations and the restoration of the Catholic Church in Ireland, perhaps even Britain. At the start of the war, in 1668, Ó Flaithbheartaigh returned triumphantly to his estate and occupied it; but when the forces of William of Orange defeated those of James II, he was expelled from his home a second time. A similar pattern repeated across the island and a fresh wave of land confiscations reduced Catholic landownership to about 14% of arable land and typically the least productive.<sup>98</sup> Thus Ó Flaithbheartaigh’s lament, “I live a banished man within the bounds of my native soil.”<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> David Edwards, Pádraig Lenihan, Clodagh Tait, eds., *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007). Pádraig Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest Ireland 1603-1727* (London: Routledge, 2007). On the consequences of 1691 in Ireland: Maureen Wall, “The Penal Laws 1691-1760,” in *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century: Collected essays of Maureen Wall*, ed. Gerard O’Brien (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1989), 1-60.

<sup>97</sup> The author’s preferred name for the conflicts in Ireland, Britain, and the Continent relating to the ambitions of Catholic Louis XIV of France, the question of James II’s Catholic heir, and the Protestant coalition led by William of Orange. Most often referred to as the “Glorious Revolution,” in British history, the war over the crown of the three kingdoms was in fact determined in Ireland during the War of the Two Kings (1688-1691), a theater of the wider war.

<sup>98</sup> J.G. Simms, “Land Owned by Catholics in Ireland in 1688,” *Irish Historical Studies* 7, no. 27 (1951): 180-190. D.W. Hayton, “The Emergence of a Protestant Society, 1691–1730,” in *CHI*, vol. 2, ed. Ohlmeyer, 144-168.

<sup>99</sup> Sharpe, *Roderick O’Flaherty’s Letters*, 4-51.

This sense of banishment, or *Deorai*, was pervasive among the Irish and compelled upwards of 200,000 Irish emigrants to seek refuge in Catholic Europe in the early modern period. For Irish emigrants, particularly the well connected, the Spanish Empire promised their best opportunity for assimilation, wealth, and power. *Deorai*, or exile, was, after all, superior to *Daoirse*, or slavery.<sup>100</sup> Thus, the Milesian Exodus and the making of the first Irish diaspora.

If the Hiberno-Spanish odyssey began in the seventeenth century, its origins and subsequent history only make sense when placed in a *longue duree*. This chapter builds off an array of recent scholarship that places early modern Ireland in European, Atlantic, and global frameworks but reverses the current frame of reference. Rather than ask how Ireland fit into a wider world, this dissertation asks how events in Ireland reverberated throughout the Atlantic. The answer lies in the diaspora, but to tell that story we must first wade into the annals of the “Hidden Ireland.”<sup>101</sup>

### **A Borderland in Europe, a Borderland in the Atlantic World**

In the early modern era, Ireland stood literally and metaphorically in a liminal position between Europe and the Atlantic. On one hand, the island was geographically and historically

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<sup>100</sup> The use of *Daoirse* in the Irish language grew dramatically in the eighteenth-century and was used to describe the condition of the Irish vis-à-vis the English in a sense not referential to literal enslavement but rather the classical conception of slavery common among American Patriots and other Enlightenment era writers, i.e. the loss of control of one’s destiny to foreign or despotic tyrants. The irony or problem with this usage of “slavery,” especially evident in later chapters that investigate Irish slavers, is self-evident enough. See: Ian McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin: Gill Books, 2009). On Americans, slavery, and freedom: Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2003, original 1975). On the Classical and Renaissance genealogy of Anglophone thinking on republicanism and freedom more generally: John G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003, original 1975). On 200,000 as a migration estimate: Nicholas Canny, “How the Local Can Be Global and the Global Local: Ireland, Irish Catholics, and European Overseas Empires, 1500-1900,” in *Ireland and America: Empire, Revolution, and Sovereignty*, eds. Patrick Griffin and Francis Cogliano (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2021), 23-52.

<sup>101</sup> Daniel Corkery, *The Hidden Ireland – A Study of Gaelic Munster in the Eighteenth Century* (1924). Corkery’s historical arguments and poetic interpretations have not held up against revisionist scrutiny and continued historical investigation, but his suggestion that the domination of English sources and an English perspective occlude a full historical account of Gaelic and Catholic Ireland remain relevant. Louis Cullen, *The Hidden Ireland: Reassessment of a Concept* (Mullingar, Ireland: Lilliput Press, 1988).

linked to Europe. On the other, its peripheral position on the western fringe of Europe insulated the island from total integration with the Continent. Because of its location, access to the Atlantic, and proximity to England, Ireland became a battleground between the hegemonic, Catholic Spanish Empire and the aspiring Protestant English. It doubled as a borderland in Europe's religious conflict between Protestants and Catholics as well as a borderland in England and Spain's imperial competition over mastery of the Atlantic world. Neither passive victims of English imperialism nor mere pawns of the Spanish, Irish Catholics endeavored to promote their own interests and secure participation in either empire depending upon the changing circumstances of the time. When the English Empire won this triangulated contest over the political future of the island, Irish Catholics responded by making the Irish diaspora.

The English colonization of Ireland drove upward of 200,000 Irish Catholics into exile on the Continent over the course of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a majority of whom emigrated to the Spanish Empire. Irish Catholics leveraged their mythical, historical, and religious relationship to Spain to secure asylum and unique privileges within the preeminent Catholic power of early modern Europe. They did so through recourse to a covenant of faith and seed, Catholicism and the "genealogical fiction" of the Milesian myth.<sup>102</sup> This liminal position imbued Irish elites and intermediaries with a familiarity of both empires that honed the Irish diaspora's ability to translate the practices and ideas – praxis – of English imperialism in exile. Understanding this history demands understanding the complicated contours of Irish history.

According to the *Lebor Gabala Erenn* (LGE), five successive waves of colonizers settled Ireland culminating with the ancestors of the Irish *sliocht*, the Milesians. The LGE explains that the Milesians descended from Gaedel, chieftain of the *Gaedil*, who escaped Egypt around the

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<sup>102</sup> Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions*.

time of the Israelite Exodus and led the Irish race to wander for four hundred and forty years. After wandering throughout the Mediterranean world the Irish *sliocht* settled in Iberia until a man named Breogan spotted Ireland from a tower in northwestern Spain. His son Ith then set sail to explore the island but the *Tuatha De Danann* inhabitants of the island killed him in battle soon after arrival. This in turn led a larger expedition of *Gaedil*, the sons of King Milesius, to Ireland to avenge Ith. Upon their arrival, the three sovereignty goddesses of the island visited them. To the first who demanded an explanation for their conquest, a poet responded, “it is by necessity.” The third goddess, Eriu, then promised “Long have soothsayers had [knowledge of] your coming. Yours shall be the island forever.”<sup>103</sup> The conquerors defeated the *Tuatha De Danann* inhabitants and their monsters before settling and populating the island. The Irish origins myth is, in other words, an archetype story of settler-colonialism fundamentally inflected with Biblical and Classical sources: a providentially destined necessity for a previously wandering people.<sup>104</sup>

As the *LGE* indicates, the Irish long considered themselves constituent of Europe. Over the course of the Middle Ages, following the Christianization of the island, Irish ecclesiastics made frequent and well-known pilgrimages to Britain and throughout Europe, casting Ireland as an island of “saints and scholars.”<sup>105</sup> At the same time, the Irish and other Europeans engaged in trade, informational and cultural exchange, and warfare. The ninth-century Norse incursions into the North Atlantic Archipelago integrated Ireland, for example, into an expansive Indo-European trading network centuries before the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland in the twelfth century

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<sup>103</sup> *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, vol. 5, 35-7.

<sup>104</sup> For an essay on the origins of the *LGE* and its application in early modern Irish, Spanish, and British historiography: Clíodhna Ní Lionáin, “Lebor Gabála Éirenn: The Use and Appropriation of an Irish Origin Legend in Identity Construction at Home and Abroad,” *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 27, no. 2 (2012): 33-51. There is a comment in this story, this dissertation, and the history of the Irish diaspora more generally on the circular relationship between diaspora and colonization.

<sup>105</sup> Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, “Perception and Reality: Ireland c. 980-1229,” *The Cambridge History of Ireland (CHI hereafter)*, vol. 1, ed. Brendan Smith (Cambridge: 2019), 131-156.

subordinated much of the island to the English crown. After King Henry II's partial conquest in 1171, however, the English monarchy deferred *de facto* rule to the descendants of the Anglo-Norman conquerors – the “Old English.” This established a pattern of neglect that concentrated power in a handful of aristocratic families until a combination of events – a Gaelic resurgence in Ireland, English civil wars and declining fortunes in Europe, the early modern European thrust for Atlantic empire begun with the Spanish conquest of the Mexica Empire (1519-23), and the religious conflicts sparked by the Reformation (began c.1517) – combined to drive the Tudor dynasty toward a policy of reconquest, settler-colonialism, and commercialization; or, in the words of one historian, the “shirring” of Ireland.<sup>106</sup>

On August 22, 1485, Henry Tudor defeated King Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth to effectively end the War of the Roses (1455-87) and become King Henry VII, thus establishing the Tudor dynasty as the monarchs of England. According to Jessica Hower, the insecurity of Tudor rule and England's standing in Europe combined to promote an internal and external push to define the English state and national identity with pen and sword vis-à-vis its neighbors and enemies. That is to say, the Tudors built an English state by making a Tudor Empire. The place

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<sup>106</sup> Edel Bhreathnach, “Communities and their Landscapes,” *CHI*, vol. 1, 21-34. John Carey, “Learning, Imagination and Belief,” *CHI*, vol. 1, 50. R. Sharpe, “Churches and Communities in Early Medieval Ireland: Towards a Pastoral Model,” in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester University Press, 1992), 109. Quoted in Carey, “Learning, Imagination and Belief,” *CHI*, vol. 1, 52. Alex Woolf, “The Scandinavian Intervention,” *CHI*, vol. 1, 107-130. Alex Woolf, “The Scandinavian Intervention,” *CHI*, vol. 1, 107-130. Colin Veach, “Conquest and Conquerors,” *CHI*, vol. 1, 157-181. Nicholas Vincent, “Angevin Ireland,” *CHI*, vol. 1, 185-221. John T. Maple, “Anglo-Norman Conquest of Ireland and the Irish Economy: Stagnation or Stimulation?,” *The Historian* Vol. 52, No. 1 (1989): 61-81. Margaret Murphy, “The Economy,” *CHI* vol. 1, 385-414. Katharine Simms, “Gaelic Culture and Society,” *CHI* vol.1, 415-440. Brendan Smith, “Disaster and Opportunity: 1320-1450,” *CHI* vol. 1, 244-271. Simms, “The Political Recovery of Gaelic Ireland,” *CHI* vol. 1, 272-299. On Tudor colonialism: Gerard Farrell, *The 'Mere Irish' and the Colonisation of Ulster, 1570-1641* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). Smyth, *Map-making, Landscapes, and Memory*. Jessica Hower, *Tudor Empire: The Making of Early Modern Britain and the British Atlantic World, 1485-1603* (London: Palgrave, 2020). Nicolas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). Jane Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012). On Shirring: Ciaran Brady, “Politics, Policy, and Power, 1550-1603,” *CHI*, vol. 2, ed. Ohlmeyer, 25-35.

of the Irish and Ireland in this discursive and imperial endeavor was paramount.<sup>107</sup> Fortunate for Henry VII, there was no paucity of sources old and new to justify English rule in Ireland. Building upon the fabricated traditions established by the Papal Bull *Laudabiliter* (1155) and Gerald of Wales's twelfth-century descriptions of the Irish in his histories of the Anglo-Norman Conquest, the *Topographia* and *Expugnatio Hibernica*, early Tudor writers and statesmen asserted a papal-ordained and secular right for the English Crown to rule Ireland.<sup>108</sup>

In 1494 Henry VII appointed Edward Poyning as the Deputy of Ireland, the Crown's chief representative on the island, in order to "impose order among the wild Irish, establishing there the same justice and good rule as in English."<sup>109</sup> Poyning assembled an Irish Parliament at Drogheda in 1494 and this parliament of Old English lords passed what has been known to posterity as "Poyning's Law." The first of its two acts declared that no Irish Parliament could be held without the king's consent and asserted that said parliament could only consider acts affirmed by the king. The second act declared that all statutes passed in England concerning "the common and publique weale" subsequently applied to Ireland too.<sup>110</sup> Together, these acts served as the constitutional basis for the English Parliament's right to legislate for Ireland and asserted the king's authority over the Irish Parliament.<sup>111</sup>

The task for the English was, however, to turn legal fictions into political reality. While Henry VII asserted his right to rule Ireland the island was *de facto* ruled by a number of

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<sup>107</sup> Hower, *Tudor Empire*, 37-59. See also: Christopher Highley, *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Crisis in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Andrew Murphy, *But the Irish Sea Betwixt Us: Ireland, Colonialism, and Renaissance Literature* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2014).

<sup>108</sup> Hower, *Tudor Empire*, 37-59.

<sup>109</sup> Ellis, "Poyning, Sir Edward (1459–1521)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB) (2004) quoted in Hower, *Tudor Empire*, 60.

<sup>110</sup> Hower, *Tudor Empire*, 60-3.

<sup>111</sup> H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *The Irish Parliament in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 272-283. For the enduring significance of Poyning's Law: James Kelly, *Poyning's Law and the Making of Law in Ireland, 1660-1800* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007).

competing polities and lordships both Gaelic and Old English. While the Old English considered themselves subjects to the English Crown, the same was not true of most Gaelic lords who not only ignored English rule but also flaunted, or were ignorant of, English custom. Speaking of the Gaelic Irish, Poyning's wrote, "in all Ireland there are two kinds of men... One of these is tame and civilised.... The other kind is savage... they are called the wild Irish. They have a number of petty kings who are constantly waging war against each other... they adore nothing more than uprisings."<sup>112</sup> The challenge was thus twofold: how to first subdue and then change the behavior of the Irish. The English response was to conquer, confiscate, and commodify Irish land: i.e. to impose English Common Law, nascent agrarian capitalism, and "New English" landlords.

There was, however, another problem. Not only were the Gaelic Irish averse to English rule and custom but, perhaps even worse, the Old English in Ireland were "decaying." In 1515, the Anglo-Irishman William Darcy presented the Privy Council with a list of causes "of the sore decay of the King's subjects of Ireland." As he put it, "good English order" was once observed widely in Ireland among the Old English but now they "be near hand Irish, and wear their habits and use their tongue, so as they are clean gone and decayed."<sup>113</sup> Also in 1515, an anonymous tract presented a solution: King Henry VIII should send an army to Ireland, (re-)conquer the island, and transport "one man oute of every paryshe of England, Cornwale, and Wales, into this lande, to inhabyte."<sup>114</sup> In 1520 the king's Lord Deputy to Ireland, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, endorsed this perspective, writing to Henry VIII, "onles Your Grace send enhabitantes,

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<sup>112</sup> Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, Book XXVI, paragraph 29. Quoted in Hower, *Tudor Empire*, 62-3.

<sup>113</sup> "Decay of Ireland," 24 June 1515, in *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, ed. Brewer and William Bullen, 6 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer, 1867), 1:6-8, and 7, 8. quoted in Hower, *Tudor Empire*, 118.

<sup>114</sup> State of Ireland, and Plan for it's [sic] Reformation," [1515], StP 2:1-31, at 24, 25 quoted in Hower. *Tudor Empire*, 118-120.

off your owne naturall subjectes, to enhabite such countrees as shalbe won.”<sup>115</sup> Thus were the seeds of Tudor colonialism planted in Ireland.

Renewed English interest in Ireland did not occur in a vacuum but was instead directly tied to wider European diplomacy and conflict, one part of the Tudors’ attempt to create an English Empire. Indeed, simultaneous to these developments and discussions about Ireland, Henry VII and then Henry VIII schemed to expand English rule to Scotland, France, and the Americas. Near the turn of the sixteenth century, England had allied itself to Spain through the marriage of Henry VIII with Katherine of Aragon in 1509. By this point, Spain had begun its expansive conquests in the Americas and was a major power in European affairs – a formidable potential ally for the Tudors in their conflicts with the French and Scottish. Yet, as the familiar story goes, Henry's libidinal and imperial desires led him to seek an annulment with Katherine in 1525; when Pope Clement VII refused, Henry VIII rejected Papal authority, confiscated the estates of the church and monasteries, and began the English Reformation. Soon thereafter, he directed the Anglo-Irish Parliament to declare him King of Ireland. Thus was the stage set for the Anglo-Spanish conflict over Ireland.<sup>116</sup>

The traditional starting point in the history of the Reformation is Martin Luther’s posting of his *Ninety-Five Theses* to the door of the Wittenberg Castle Church on October 31, 1517.<sup>117</sup> In a complex chain of events that followed, there emerged distinct churches that challenged the supremacy and then separated from the Papacy. In time, these preachings reached a welcoming audience in the Netherlands, a possession of the Spanish Crown, and England, a nominal ally of

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<sup>115</sup> Surrey to Henry, 30 June 1521, StP 2:73–75, at 74, 75. Scottish comparison followed on 29 July, StP 2:75–77 quoted in Hower, *Tudor Empire*, 140.

<sup>116</sup> Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). For more on the English Reformation and its popular and political dimensions: Ethan Shagan, *Popular politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), esp. 1-25, 131-161.

<sup>117</sup> C. Scott Dixon, *Contesting the Reformation* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 150.

the Spanish Crown until Henry and Katherine's divorce. As historian Ethan Shagan has underlined, Henry VIII's break from Rome was far more than a means for annulling his marriage; "it was a fundamental restructuring of power within the realm." For centuries sovereignty in England, as elsewhere in Europe, was split between Church and State, "Now... the head of the Church government was overthrown, his legal authority eliminated, his political power outlawed, and his subordinates brought under the jurisdiction of the king of England."<sup>118</sup> For their part, the Spanish monarchy was the primary opponent of the Reformation and the chief defender of the Catholic Church.

Born in the union of Aragon and Castille (1479) after the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand (1469), peninsular civil wars, and the conquest of Granada (1492), "Spain" emerged rapidly in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as a major power. Yet, the monarchy that Isabella and Ferdinand bequeathed to the Hapsburgs was "a variegated and decentralized one, a personal union of independent states" with powerful aristocratic interests. In the reading of John Lynch and Maria Martinez, Isabella and Ferdinand built the foundations of an absolutist empire by acquiescing to the nobility's economic power in exchange for monarchical political power while uniting the kingdoms under the banner of Catholicism. At the same time, the "most Catholic" monarchs attempted to curtail the power of Rome within their borders.<sup>119</sup> Thus ossified a feudalistic economy simultaneous to the making of the bureaucratic infrastructure of Hapsburg Spain: the Council of Castile, the Council of State, the council of Finance, the Council of Order, the Council of Aragon, the Holy Office of the Inquisition, and later the Council of the Indies.

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<sup>118</sup> Shagan, *Popular politics and the English Reformation*, 29-60, quote 29. This perspective complements Hower's argument about the English Reformation's importance in making a Tudor Empire by declaring Henry VIII an emperor and the English state an empire: Hower, *Tudor Empire*.

<sup>119</sup> John Lynch, *Spain 1516-1598: From Nation State to World Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 1-17. Quote 9. Maria Elena Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 31.

The blending of Catholic fervor with genealogical anxiety in early modern Spain was, for some historians, key to the origins of racialization. This is evidenced in affairs internal and external. Fifteenth century Spain was rife with anti-Semitism and home to the first explicitly proto-racial laws. As early as 1449 the chief magistrate of the Spanish capital Toledo issued a decree that barred Jews and their descendants from office holding in what is often considered the first statute of *limpieza de sangre* (“purity of blood”). Critically, this legislation and that to follow located “corruption,” “Jewishness,” “impurity,” commonness or non-aristocratic bloodlines, and later “Muslimness” in blood, genealogy, and childbirth, i.e. social reproduction.<sup>120</sup>

From a growing distrust of *conversos* (converted Jews) emerged the Spanish Inquisition in 1478, unique in that Pope Sixtus IV granted the Spanish monarchy the right to conduct the Inquisition within its own kingdom – in effect making the Holy Office an instrument of state power. After the conquest of Muslim Granada (1482-92), the Catholic Kings ordered the conversion or expulsion of all Jews in 1492, all Muslims in 1502 (Castile) and 1526 (Aragon), and created a group analogous to the *conversos*, the *moriscos* (converted Muslims). That these events occurred simultaneous to Spanish conquests in the Americas only strengthened the crusading sensibility among the Spanish. Historian Maria Martinez has explained the importance of religion to the Spanish state and society as “the domain into which all other social relations and ideological structures had to enter”<sup>121</sup> and, as she demonstrated, this domain was mapped

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<sup>120</sup> That is, while there is a long history of anti-Semitism in Iberia (and elsewhere) and a complicated history of Muslim, Jewish, and Christian cohabitation on the peninsula, beginning in the fifteenth century Christian Iberia began codifying laws that explicitly located an inherent “corruption” in the social reproduction (specifically *sangre*, or blood) of Jewish and later Muslim people; i.e. an inherent, reproduced difference that supposed inferiority. Earlier laws in Visigoth Spain attempted to promote conversion or exile while weakening the political and economic power of Jewish people; and in the Muslim kingdoms of Al-Andalus, the laws generally attempted to keep the three communities separate. Bernard S. Bachrach, “A Reassessment of Visigothic Jewish Policy, 589-711,” *The American Historical Review* 78, no. 1 (1973): 11-34.

<sup>121</sup> Maria Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 1-41, quote 40. On anti-Semitism and the origins of whiteness, see: J. Kameron Carter, *Race: A Theological Account*. Carter claims Immanuel Kant was the first to develop a “scientific theory or philosophical account of race” (Carter, *Race*, 81) but his focus on how Kant and other Europeans

onto bodies as Catholicism became racialized in Spain and Spanish America, i.e. predicated on social reproduction and genealogy, via statues of *limpieza de sangre*. Excluding Jewish people, Muslims, Native Americans, and Africans from the Spanish *polis*, these demands for genealogical “blood purity” were precisely how Irish Catholics claimed assimilation in the Spanish Empire.

From the dynastic intrigues and imperial conflicts of the early sixteenth century, Spain emerged as a growing hegemon in Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Americas – a position strengthened upon the ascension of Charles I with the addition of what became the Spanish Low Countries and Austria. This nascent Spanish Empire was a major power, with many sources of wealth and the most powerful army in Europe; and it was inextricably entangled with the Catholic Church. Therefore, on the outbreak of a major schism in the Catholic Church and the attendant disturbances this religious conflict engendered, the Spanish Crown assumed a leading position in the war against Protestantism.<sup>122</sup> Given Spain’s hegemonic status and leading-role in the Counter-Reformation, fears of Spanish and Catholic mastery proliferated in Tudor England and, in no small part, drove the colonization of Ireland.<sup>123</sup>

Before the Tudors, the English crown deferred governance to powerful, trusted Old English aristocratic families as Lord Deputy of Ireland. As the English state expanded into Ireland and promoted both “New English” settlement via the Laois and Offaly Plantations as well as Protestantism,<sup>124</sup> the crown also encroached upon the historic power of these families – thus sparking the Kildare Rebellion (1534-5)<sup>125</sup> and the Desmond Rebellions (1569-73, 1576-

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developed racialized thinking in relation to Christianity and Jewish people is applicable to this earlier Spanish period, which in turns points to a much longer history of “race.”

<sup>122</sup> Lynch, *Spain 1516-1598*, 49-95, 102-111, 123-37, 342-385.

<sup>123</sup> Hower, *Tudor Empire*, 214-225.

<sup>124</sup> Annaleigh Margey, “Plantations, 1550-1641,” *CHI*, vol. 2, 560-3. Hower, *Tudor Empire*, 216-20. Ciaran Brady, “Politics, Policy, and Power, 1550-1603,” *CHI*, vol. 2, 25-7.

<sup>125</sup> Maginn, “Continuity and Change: 1470-1550,” *CHI vol. 1*, 303-321.

83).<sup>126</sup> These conflicts were complex affairs but resulted in increased crown resolve to subjugate Ireland and an increased reliance on English-born settlers and administrators; they also marked the first Anglo-Spanish conflicts over Ireland, with Irish appeals to Spain and the Pope resulting in small Spanish and Papal forces directly participating in the “second” Desmond Rebellion.

In addition to the political circumstances, Spanish involvement in Ireland derived from ideological concerns both religious and historical. As a contemporary Spanish historian explained, “The [mythical] Spanish King Brigo put settlers on a great island, these days called Ireland.... [and the Irish] told us they descend from Spanish lineage,” and describing the Irish as a people that “value faith greatly” but were “in a simple condition, very poor and mistreated.”<sup>127</sup> This historic myth of Irish-descent from Spaniards – the Milesian myth – combined with the Spanish monarchy’s war against Protestantism and its conflicts with England propelled Spanish intervention into Ireland simultaneous to the Tudor colonization project even while both monarchies confronted each other during the Dutch War for Independence.<sup>128</sup> Later, this myth that the Irish descended from Spaniards enabled them to claim *limpieza de sangre* in Spain.

After the Desmond Rebellion, the crown seized the Earl of Desmond’s vast estates and began the Munster Plantation. The first task was to survey the land, the resultant Peyton Survey a haphazard and imperfect picture of the earl's variegated lands but a testament to their potential

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<sup>126</sup> Ciaran Brady, “Faction and the Origins of the Desmond Rebellion of 1579,” *Irish Historical Studies* 22, no. 88 (1981): 289-312. Edward Hinton, *Ireland through Tudor Eyes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935), 35-6. Tadhg O hAnnrachain, *Catholic Europe, 1592-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 11-13. Vincent Carey, “Atrocity and History: Grey, Spenser and the Slaughter at Smerwick (1580),” in *Age of Atrocity*, 79-94. On the interactions and expectations on behavior between the Irish and English: Brendan Kane, *The Politics and Culture of Honour in Britain and Ireland, 1541-1641* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>127</sup> Florian de Ocampo, *Los Cinco Libros primeros de la Crónica general de España* (Medina del Campo, 1553). This source is referenced in: Hower, *Tudor Empire*, 233. I have consulted it myself and expanded Hower’s engagement and recontextualized the source. For more on the marriage between Philip and Mary: Lynch, *Spain 1518-1598*, 134.

<sup>128</sup> Lynch, *Spain 1518-1598*, 105, 133-4, 386-428. Hower, *Tudor Empire*, 227-30. Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*.

value. The plan designated undertakers who assumed ownership of a sizable seignory in exchange for bringing English settlers to their new land, maintaining a garrison, and building a Protestant church at the center of each estate. According to one historian, “The late 1580s Munster plantation reflected a great deal of what Andrew Trollope theorized: that all Irishmen were uncivilized, untrustworthy Catholics with little regard for God and even less for Elizabeth; the Anglo-Irish were in many ways worst.” By 1590, 3,000 English settlers had arrived in Munster. Among them were Edmund Spenser and Walter Raleigh, whose profitable estates belied the relative failure of the plantation effort.<sup>129</sup>

Concomitant to the English colonization of Ireland and colonial endeavors in the Americas were a plethora of writings that justified these endeavors. Walter Raleigh and Edmund Spenser were among the most important participants in both efforts, material and discursive colonization.<sup>130</sup> Spenser’s *Faerie Queen* and even more so his *A View of the Present State of Ireland* are both recognized as significant ideological and practical contributions to English colonization in Ireland, arguing for military conquest, colonization, an attack on Irish customs and the Irish language, and disavowing the Old English Catholic population.<sup>131</sup>

Significantly, before going into detail on the Irish customs he believed responsible for supposed Irish barbarism and elaborating on his violent remedies to make the Irish like the English, Edmund Spenser’s *A View of the Present State of Ireland* went to great lengths to discredit the Milesian myth and thus the basis of Irish history and claims to civilization. Spenser ventriloquized one of the two speakers in his dialogue to postulate that the myth was “in truth

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<sup>129</sup> Hower, *Tudor Empire*, 325-40, quote 326. Margey, “Plantations, 1550-1641,” *CHI*, 567-570.

<sup>130</sup> On Ireland, English colonialism, and the question of discursive colonization see: Clare Carroll and Patricia King, eds., *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003).

<sup>131</sup> Margey, “Plantations, 1550-1641,” *CHI*, 596. Carey, “Atrocity and History: Grey, Spenser and the Slaughter at Smerwick (1580),” in *Age of Atrocity*, 79-94.

mere fables, and very Milesian lyes, (as the lattine proverbe is;) for there was never such a Kinge of Spain called Milesius, nor any suche colony seated with his sonnes, as they fayne, that cann ever bee proued.”<sup>132</sup> Instead, Spenser suggested that Britons populated Ireland – a convenient means of implying an immemorial right for England to rule the island. For his part, Walter Raleigh recognized the place of Ireland in Anglo-Spanish confrontations: “The kinge of Spayne seeketh not Irlande for Irlande but having rayseed up troops of beggers in our backs shalbe able to inforce vs to cast our eyes over our shoulders while thos before vs strike vs on the braynes.”<sup>133</sup> In either case, English imperialists were keen to disconnect Ireland from Spain.

The persisting, conjoined trouble of an aggressive Spain and restless Ireland within the context of the Reformation and heightening imperial rivalry culminated in the most significant Irish war against Tudor encroachment and the overt joining of Spain to the Irish cause: the Nine Years’ War (1594-1603).<sup>134</sup> By the late sixteenth century, English colonization and the spread of English law and custom had reduced the once resurgent Gaelic Irish lordships to Connaught, the Midlands, Kerry, and Ulster. The large, northern province of Ulster was the most removed from English sovereignty, least Anglicized, and home to the powerful O’Neill sept, a family that had for centuries if not millennia ruled Ulster and contended for the High Kingship of Ireland. As one scholar put it, the O’Neill sept “was the most powerful Gaelic polity in Ireland. It was a sovereign entity.”<sup>135</sup> It was also home to a second major Gaelic sept and rival to the O’Neill’s, the

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<sup>132</sup> Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*.

<sup>133</sup> Raleigh to Cecil, 10 May 1593, CP 22/93 quoted in Hower, *Tudor Empire*, 364.

<sup>134</sup> The word “rebellion” is often used to describe this conflict but it may not be entirely accurate because, as discussed below, the Ulster lords who led the Gaelic war effort were essentially sovereign, i.e. they could not rebel against a Crown they did not recognize and that exercised no sovereignty in their domains. Instead, their decision to go to war was something more like a preemptive rebellion or an anti-encroachment war. In some sense, its origins resembled the origins of Metacom’s War in colonial New England, i.e. encroachment and unfair judiciaries. See: Lisa Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip’s War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

<sup>135</sup> Hiram Morgan, *Tyrone’s Rebellion: The Outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 1993), 85.

Ó Domhnaill sept. These two Gaelic clans had exchanged their titles as kings or *ri* for that of lordships, submitting to the Crown and becoming the Earls of Tyrone (O'Neill) and Tirconnell (Ó Domhnaill) in the sixteenth century. They had, however, remained *de facto* Gaelic lords in the traditional Irish manner. As one English contemporary recognized, "Ulster hath of long time been and yet is the very fostermother and example of all the rebellions of Ireland."<sup>136</sup>

The leader of the Gaelic lords in the Nine Years' War was Aodh O'Neill, a hybrid figure of sort who originally served the English Crown and fought on behalf of Elizabeth I in Ulster, the Pale, and Munster. He was also an individual with his own ambitions whose network of blood and fictive kinship, especially his marital connections to the powerful Ó Domhnaill sept, made him a strong claimant to the Gaelic title of Mór O'Neill and hegemon of Ulster. Well-positioned as he was and with the support of Aodh Ó Domhnaill, Aodh O'Neill emerged from the O'Neill succession conflict in the 1580s as the Mór O'Neill in 1593.<sup>137</sup> His position, however, remained fraught and the English authorities intent on reducing his sovereignty and expanding the Crown's power into Ulster. As a result, perhaps as early as 1589, Aodh O'Neill began intriguing with the Spanish Crown while in Spain there already existed a small community of exiled Irish lords and ecclesiastics petitioning Spanish King Philip II into supporting a "Catholic recovery in Ireland" on O'Neill's behalf.<sup>138</sup>

By 1592 Aodh Ó Domhnaill was personally writing to the Spanish monarch encouraging him to invade Ireland. As Gaelic raiding against rival septs and New English settlers in and around Ulster and the Pale escalated in the 1590s, Aodh O'Neill and Aodh Ó Domhnaill appeared to play all sides to their advantage negotiating with Irish lords, the English Crown, and

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<sup>136</sup> British Library, Lansdowne, 111, no. 46 quoted in Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 18. Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 1-20.

<sup>137</sup> Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 85-112.

<sup>138</sup> Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 141.

the Spanish.<sup>139</sup> Then the Ulster Lords wrote to King Philip II of Spain in 1595, “Our only hope of re-establishing the Catholic religion rests on your assistance” and drew on the Milesian myth to appeal for Spanish aid.<sup>140</sup> In May 1596, a small contingent of Spanish representatives sailed to Ireland to encourage the Ulster lords to continue their war against the English, scout western Ireland for suitable harbors, and adjudicate the military prowess of O’Neill and Ó Domhnaill. One of the Spanish representatives, Alonso Cobos, explicitly drew on the Milesian myth to cement a Spanish alliance with the Ulster lords. As he explained to the Ulstermen, “their first and original ancestors came out of Biskay [sic].”<sup>141</sup>

Spanish involvement in Ireland may have been primarily geostrategic and secondarily religious, but the use of the Milesian myth to cement the Irish-Spanish alliance was an important contributing factor and was later essential to the making of the Hiberno-Spanish diaspora. The contemporary Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh underlined this point in his biography of Aodh Ó Domhnaill when he explained, “the Gaels of Fodhla were friendly to and united with the King of Spain on account of their having come from Spain.” Ó Cléirigh continued to explain that many Irish scholars had published accounts “for the King [of] the doings and history of the sons of Mil” and had often gone “to complain of their hardship.”<sup>142</sup> With promises of Spanish support, the Gaelic lords agreed to renege on their peace negotiations with the English Crown and become vassals of the Spanish. The war spread throughout the island to include many Gaelic elites and commoners disaffected to English rule and encroachment. It initially went well for the Gaelic Irish.

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<sup>139</sup> Calendar of State Papers (CSPI), v. 221-2; PRO SP 63/173, no. 89 quoted in Morgan, *Tyrone’s Rebellion*, 164. Morgan, *Tyrone’s Rebellion*, 167-192

<sup>140</sup> Tyrone and O’Donnell to Philip, 27 September 1595, *Cal Carew* 3:167 quoted in Hower, *Tudor Empire*, 368. Hiram Morgan, “Hugh O’Neill and the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland,” *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 1 (1993): 21-37.

<sup>141</sup> PRO SP 63/190, no. 42(1) quoted in Morgan, *Tyrone’s Rebellion*, 208.

<sup>142</sup> Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh, *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill* (“The Life of Red Hugh O’Donnell”), ed. and trans. Paul Walsh (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1948, original c. 1616).

Eventually, however, the English defeated O'Neill and his Spanish allies conclusively at the Battle of Kinsale (1601) and won the war.<sup>143</sup>

English victory in the Nine Years' War first established English rule throughout the island and entrenched the confessional division of Ireland as the political division of Ireland.<sup>144</sup> This meant three interrelated watersheds in Irish history. First, the successful "shirring" of the island into thirty-two counties, meaning the "establishment of sovereignty over a territory through its division into sub-region of clearly demarcated geographical boundaries with identical internal subdivisions and uniform legal, administrative and fiscal structures."<sup>145</sup> Second, it also engendered what might be considered the Ur-event of the First Irish Diaspora: The Flight of the Earls (1607), which in turned led to the third – the Plantation of Ulster (1609).

In the peace settlement that ended the Nine Years' War, Aodh Mór Ó Néill was essentially restored to his lordship and lands. Yet, an unclear combination of further intriguing and fear prompted the Irish lord and his retinue to flee Ulster in 1607 and set sail for Spain where Ó Néill intended to convince the Spanish king Philip II to reconsider his abandonment of the Irish cause. Aodh Ó Domhnaill had set sail for a similar mission following the Battle of Kinsale. Neither Ulsterman ever made it to Madrid, Ó Domhnaill died en route and Ó Néill was redirected to Rome where he spent the rest of his days.<sup>146</sup> The Flight provided the new King

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<sup>143</sup> Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 208-212. James O'Neill, *The Nine Years War, 1593-1603: O'Neill, Mountjoy and the Military Revolution* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017).

<sup>144</sup> O hAnnrachain, *Catholic Europe, 1592-1642*, 11-15.

<sup>145</sup> Ciaran Brady, "Politics, Policy, and Power, 1550-1603," *CHI*, vol. 2, ed. Ohlmeyer, 25-35, quote 27. David Edwards, "The Escalation of Violence in Sixteenth-Century Ireland," in *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland*, eds., Clodagh Tait, David Edwards, and Padraig Lenihan (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 39-40. William Smyth advances a similar perspective: Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes and Memory*.

<sup>146</sup> Tadhg Ó Cianáin, "Flight of the Earls," trans. Paul Walsh, *Archivium Hibernicum* 2 (1913): 1-80. Ó Cléirigh, *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill*. For more on The Flight of the Earls: Farrell, *The 'Mere Irish' and the Colonisation of Ulster*, 1-5.

James Stuart I with the justification he needed to seize the vast land holdings of the Ulster lords and launch the Ulster Plantation.

The Flight of the Earls is a useful moment to consider as the Ur-event of the Hiberno-Spanish diaspora for, after this point – the first English conquest of the entire island; the final defeat of the most powerful Catholic lords in Ireland; and the successful planting of a colony – Irish emigration to the Continent and especially Spanish territories increased from a modest amount to a significant migration.<sup>147</sup> On an island suddenly ruled by foreigners in which increasing numbers of Irish Catholics found themselves alienated from the means of production and reproduction, i.e. the land, a sense of diaspora predominated even among those who remained on the island.

Contemporary Irish poetry attests to this pervasive sense of diaspora. In one poem composed soon after the flight, the poet Ainnrias mac Marcuis wrote, “As the choicest of the sons of Míl // are passing without stay across the ocean, // populous as the bright, fertile land may be, // they are leaving Ireland without one.” Before comparing the situation of the Irish to “the captivity that was in Egypt” and lamenting, “whilst we have no Moses in Ireland?”<sup>148</sup> In another, the poet expressed the sense of banishment among even those who remained, “Free Ireland will become England.... The people you should recognize // From Conn’s Island are Strangers // it is not the foreigners who are strangers to them, // it is the Gaels who are exiles.” Before again connecting the Irish to the Exodus and Spain, “As the people of Israel // were oppressed in Egypt in the east, // so here the sons of Míl // are being parted from their native land.”<sup>149</sup> Still another, “Where have the Gaels gone?” answers its own question thus: “They have

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<sup>147</sup> O hAnnrachain, *Catholic Europe, 1592-1642*, 11-15. Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*.

<sup>148</sup> Ainnrias mac Marcuis, “Anocht is uaigneach Éire” (Tonight Ireland is desolate) (1607), trans. Eleanor Knott, “The Flight of the Earls,” *Ériu* VIII (1916), 193-194.

<sup>149</sup> Fearflatha Ó Gnímh, “Pitiful is the state of the Irish” (1609), trans. Mícheál Mac Craith.

been given billeting far and wide, away from the bright, smooth Ireland; the palaces of kings of the Eastern lands are made well-known to the race of Míl,” and laments, “The cause of all this – being settled by the Scots and young crowds of London – is God's vengeance.”<sup>150</sup>

### **English Colonialism, Agrarian Capitalism, & The First Irish Diaspora**

In the aftermath of the Nine Years' War and subsequent penetration of English colonialism and agrarian capitalism, thousands of Irish exiles relocated to Catholic Europe and especially the Spanish Empire. Over the course of the seventeenth century, they established diasporic nodes in mercantile, religious, and military institutions in Spanish territories. These emigrants were the earliest makers of the Hiberno-Spanish diaspora, their appeals to Spanish asylum resting on the Milesian myth and the cause of Catholicism; they were also a convenient boost to the Spanish army and Counter-Reformation. This diaspora and those who stayed in Ireland remained committed to the hope that the English conquest, colonization, and ascension of Protestantism might be reversed – until the final defeat of Catholic Ireland in 1691 secured the Anglo-Irish Protestant Ascendancy and engendered the Milesian Exodus.

In 1607 the Virginia Company settled what became the first and most significant English colony in North America, Virginia. In 1609 James I approved what became the most successful colony in Ireland, the Ulster Plantation. The Irish text *Pairlement Chloinne Tomais* subtly demonstrates the combined history of these endeavors while satirizing the *arriviste* Irishmen who profited with English rule and consumed English goods. In it, one character criticizes how the

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<sup>150</sup> Lochlainn Ó Dálaigh, “Where Have The Gaels Gone?” trans. W Gillies. Date unknown, probably 1609. On the social position of Irish *fili* (hereditary poets of Irish kings and lords), the crisis they faced, and “The Contention of the Bards,” after 1607: Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael. Studies in the Idea of Irish Nationality, Its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1986). Joep Leerssen, *The Contention of the Bards (Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh) and Its Place in Irish Political and Literary History* (London: Irish Texts Society, 1994).

*parvenu* Tomas Clan “have exchanged your native crafts: honesty for robbery and the drinking of galley-pots, humility and serfdom for swaggering and insolence, your thoroughness and energy for the smoking of tobacco-pipes.” Before lamenting the fall of the gentry and admonishing the clan, “remain as St. Patrick ordered you, if you wish to live in permanent tranquility, and remain subject to the nobles.”<sup>151</sup> The play critiqued and evinced a prescient understanding of the disruption to the Irish social order, genealogical hierarchy and Catholicism, caused by colonialism and commercialization. The most significant consequence of this process was the making of the Hiberno-Spanish diaspora, not only a reaction to English conquest but an actively cultivated relationship between the Irish and Spanish through genealogy and faith.

The gradual and then final Tudor conquest of Ireland over the course of the sixteenth century bequeathed to the Stuarts an island with a defeated ruling class either vanquished or reconciled to the English crown and conditions for the expansion of English law and agrarian capitalism. William Smyth described the English state’s remaking of Irish economic and social relations as the “forging” of Ireland.<sup>152</sup> As he put it, English colonization meant “the imposition of a new economic system that we now recognize as early capitalist in form.... Formerly self-sufficient communities and localities were drawn into a market and urban orbit, if only to find ways of paying the new rents to a mainly intrusive landlord class.”<sup>153</sup> This process was most

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<sup>151</sup> N.J.A. Williams, ed. and trans., *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1981), 87-90. Original author and date unknown, believed to have been composed by a bard sympathetic to the Gaelic elite in County Kerry. Some scholars suggest a date range between 1610-1615, which would preclude Virginian tobacco but, in either case, the presence of tobacco and the critique of commercialization in Ireland are compelling insights into the changes wrought with English colonization in the Atlantic world.

<sup>152</sup> Smyth, *Mapmaking, Landscape, and Memory*, 1-18. Smyth’s concept resembles Sven Beckert’s concept of “war capitalism,” or Marx’s “primitive accumulation,” Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Vintage Books, 2014), ix-97. Marx, *Capital*.

<sup>153</sup> Smyth, *Mapmaking, Landscape, and Memory*, 3-4.

advanced in Ulster where English imperialists drew on the lessons of their sixteenth century failures to create an enduring settler-colonial and agrarian capitalist settlement.<sup>154</sup>

The Ulster plantation intended to settle English and Scottish settlers alongside servitors and “deserving” natives dispersed among English and Scottish colonists as a means of “civilizing” the Irish. Settlements were meant to include armed men in the case of rebellion and settlers held land in “free and common socage (i.e. a form of land tenure whereby 'tenant's chief obligation was to pay rent', with less emphasis on the payment of feudal dues).” The scheme also directly involved the city of London which itself involved the city's rich livery companies that had already invested in the Virginia Company. The scheme carved out the County of Londonderry for London and intended to remake the town of Derry into a thriving commercial hub: “Londonderry.” To organize its affairs in Ireland, the city of London formed the Honourable Irish Society, “a de facto joint-stock company,” that allocated land and oversaw colonial development. The founding of towns was essential to the Irish Society's mission. Twenty-five new towns across the six counties were “to become an integral part of the civilizing force of the plantation.... They would hold markets and fairs; they would be the centres of law and order... they would be the forgers of early industrial development.”<sup>155</sup>

One among many concurrent plantation projects in Jacobean Ireland, the Ulster plantation most successfully settled and commodified land in Ireland. To realize the successful planting of British colonists, the Crown confiscated the entirety of six counties: Armagh, Cavan, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Tyrone. About a quarter of this land was granted to English and Scottish undertakers who were expected to build English-style agricultural estates, import British

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<sup>154</sup> Margey, Plantations, 1550-1641,” *CHI*, 571. This perspective on learning from the sixteenth century dovetails with Nicholas Canny’s argument: Nicholas Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1988).

<sup>155</sup> Margey, Plantations, 1550-1641,” *CHI*, vol. 2, 571-8.

settlers, and expel the Irish. Roughly another quarter was granted to military servitors, who were also encouraged to expel the Irish. The crown granted another third to “deserving” Irishmen.<sup>156</sup>

As with previous colonial efforts on the island, expelling the Irish and attracting British settlers proved harder to realize than to imagine. Nonetheless, as early as 1619 there was an estimated British population of 30,000-40,000 settlers in Ulster, rising to 55,000-72,000 by 1630 and perhaps upwards of 130,000 English and, but primarily, Scottish settlers by 1641.<sup>157</sup> Gerard O’Farrell described the experience of the Ulster Irish thus, “The Irish were not so much expelled physically as relegated in the social scale to the status of sub-tenants, often working as cowherds, manual labourers or domestic servants for those who had taken their place. The ‘deserving Irish’ grantees, meanwhile, fared little better... often falling into debt and mortgaging their land to their English or Scottish neighbors.”<sup>158</sup> Therefore, the Ulster Irish resisted Anglicization and English common law, which were experienced as inherently prejudicial to their interests and customs. As Farrell further explained, “a society of commercial agriculture sought to impose itself upon the base of pastoralists.... [W]hat colonists continued to underestimate, was the resentment of the natives towards this new ruling elite which sought to supplant the old one without the legitimacy afforded by longevity and tradition.”<sup>159</sup> Thus, the six counties became the site of the most successful British colony in Ireland but were, too, like an Irish bog, deposits of millennia of history that would not simply decompose.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Farrell, *The ‘Mere Irish’ and the Colonisation of Ulster*, 4-5.

<sup>157</sup> Smyth, “A Cultural Geography of the 1641 Rising/Rebellion, in *Ireland: 1641 Contexts and Reactions*, 75. This was an unrivaled migration of people in early modern Europe: See Nicholas Canny, ed., *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

<sup>158</sup> Farrell, *The ‘Mere Irish’ and the Colonisation of Ulster*, 7.

<sup>159</sup> Farrell, *The ‘Mere Irish’ and the Colonisation of Ulster*, 170-200. Quote 200.

<sup>160</sup> While the original settlers of the Ulster plantation and their immediate descendants were driven off the land they held in 1641 (discussed below), the successful planting of the colony and English sovereignty in Ulster marked a watershed after which the land was increasingly deforested and settled, bogs drained, and the English Crown would not accept a loss of sovereignty but would remain committed to the plantation endeavor despite the disruption of the 1641 Ulster Rising – after which English and Scottish colonization resumed in Ulster.

Although many Irish Catholics were outwardly loyal, reconciled, or apathetic to Stuart rule, evinced in relative peace following 1609 and the writings of the Irish *literati*, many others responded to English colonialism by continuing the religious and imperial conflict over Ireland in diaspora.<sup>161</sup> Concomitant to the continued English encroachment in Ireland a growing pattern of Irish emigration to the continent developed, especially to Spain and the Spanish Low Countries. This migration was secular and ecclesiastic, military and commercial.<sup>162</sup>

The presence of the Irish diaspora in the Spanish Empire was, perhaps, less contributory to their hosts than it was to their homeland. Indeed, many if not most returned to Ireland for proselytizing or rebellion and many of this diaspora's elite continued to appeal to the Spanish monarchy for direct intervention into Ireland.<sup>163</sup> Perhaps the most enduring impact of this early diaspora was its intellectual contribution to Irish political thought and the cause of Ireland in Catholic Europe. As Raymond Gillespie put it, "The dramatic expansion of the Irish migrant population in western Europe in the years after 1600... gave rise to an exile culture in which people from Ireland did not simply seek to replicate the ways of home in a new world, but initiated a dynamic process of making an 'Irish Europe.' By explaining the significance of Europe to themselves in religious and political terms, they also explained the significance of Ireland to the wider European worlds."<sup>164</sup>

Historians understand the Irish presence in Spanish colleges as constitutive of the wider Counter-Reformation. Scholars have further stressed that Irish writers on the Continent made a

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<sup>161</sup> On Stuart loyalty: O Buachalla, "James our true king: the ideology of Irish royalism in the seventeenth century," in *Political Thought in Ireland Since the Seventeenth Century*, 7-35.

<sup>162</sup> Igor Perez Tostado, *Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 1-49. Oscar Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire 1600-1825*, trans Michael White (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010).

<sup>163</sup> Tostado, *Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century*. Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire 1600-1825*.

<sup>164</sup> Gillespie, "Introduction," in Raymond Gillespie & Ruairí Ó hUiginn, eds., *Irish Europe 1600-1650: Writing and Learning* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), 20.

significant impact on the development of a national Irish consciousness that gradually replaced the previous division between Gaels and Old English as well as regional identities. Perhaps the most significant intellectual center of this nascent Irish diaspora was Louvain in the Spanish Netherlands.<sup>165</sup> There, Irish ecclesiastics absorbed and repackaged broader, emerging European ideas. Most notably, they “made attempts to define and articulate an ideologically coherent Irish identity (an Irish *natio*) which would unite all Irish Catholics.” Although this endeavor ran into conflicts between Gaelic and Old English Catholics, the scholarship they produced imbibed Spanish concepts of *nacion* (*naision*) and made a significant contribution to the blending of the two Catholic identities in Ireland and the Irish diaspora, the replacement of *Gaedil* (Gael) and *Gall* (foreigner, Old English) with *Eireannach* (Irish) while Irish Catholic ecclesiastics brought these ideas back to Ireland.<sup>166</sup> Among the most significant contributions to this endeavor were the *Annals of the Four Masters* (*AFM* hereafter) led by Micheal O Cleirigh and Seathrún Céitinn’s *Foras feasa ar Eirinn* (History of Ireland).<sup>167</sup>

Micheal O Cleirigh derived from a hereditary class of Gaelic historians who had served the O Domhnaill sept of Tirconnell, or Donegal. In the aftermath of the Nine Years’ War, he studied at the Franciscan-run Irish St. Anthony’s College in Louvain before returning to northwestern Ireland. With the help of three other Irishmen, he compiled an annalistic history of Ireland from a wide set of Irish manuscripts and annals in an endeavor to both preserve Irish history and place it on equal footing with other European national histories; implicitly, a

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<sup>165</sup> Mary Ann Lyons, “St. Anthony’s College, Louvain: Gaelic Texts and articulating Irish identity, 1607-40” in *Irish Europe*, 21-43.

<sup>166</sup> Lyons, “St. Anthony’s College, Louvain: Gaelic Texts and articulating Irish identity, 1607-40,” in *Irish Europe*, 21-43. Quote 28.

<sup>167</sup> Seathrún Céitinn is more commonly known by his English name Geoffrey Keating. I have elected to use his Irish name because that was how he presented himself.

rejoinder to English colonial discourses and an appeal to Catholic Europe.<sup>168</sup> In a post-Renaissance context, Europeans understood written histories as essential markers of civility. Influenced by the Spanish Franciscans at Louvain, O Cleirigh thus explained that he conducted this work “for the glory of God and the honour of Ireland.”<sup>169</sup>

The central themes of the *AFM* were kingship and Catholicism. According to Kenneth Nicholls, the four masters conscientiously elevated Irish High Kings and downplayed the proliferation of petty kings because of the growing European association of multiple kings with Native Americans.<sup>170</sup> The importance of Catholicism and Spanish-descent for the Irish and their effort to disassociate themselves with the indigenous peoples of the Americas is evinced in the *AFM*'s usage of the *Lebor Gabala Erenn* as the origin of the Gaels, its emphasis on the Christian history of Ireland, and its section on the Nine Years' War and the Flight of the Earls. For example, the *AFM* records that after the failure at Kinsale, Aodh O'Neill encouraged Aodh O'Donnell to “leave Ireland” and seek further aid from the Spanish Crown “for he thought that the King of Spain was the person who could render him most relief, and who was the most willing to assist those who always fought in defence of the Roman Catholic religion; and, moreover, on account of his [Philip III's] attachment to the Gaels, from their having first come out of Spain to invade Ireland, as is manifest from *Lebor Gabala Erenn*.”<sup>171</sup>

The influence of Continental and Counter-Reformation thought on this diaspora is even more pronounced in the writing of Seathrún Céitinn, whose history of Ireland blended the Old

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<sup>168</sup> Bernadette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish history, kingship, and society in the early seventeenth century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2014), 1-27, 33-42, 73, 104-116, 176-7, 213-4.

<sup>169</sup> Micheal O Cleirigh, et. al., *Annals of the Four Masters* (AFM hereafter), lv-lvi, Royal Irish Academy MS 23 P 6, fos 35r-36v quoted in Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, 26.

<sup>170</sup> Kenneth Nicholls, “Introduction,” in *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, ed. and trans. John O'Donovan (Dublin: De Burca, 1998) paraphrased in Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, 118.

<sup>171</sup> Micheal O Cleirigh, et. al., *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the Earliest Period to the year 1616*, vol. 6, ed. and trans. John O'Donovan (Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co, 1856, original manuscript 1636), 2291. See also: Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, 117-127, 215-243, 302-3.

English and Gaelic Irish into a singular, Catholic “nation.”<sup>172</sup> Like the *AFM*, the *Foras Feasa* was a response to the crises engendered by the Nine Years War and English rule in Ireland. Unlike the *AFM* it was written in prose rather than an annalistic format so as to give the Irish nation a “modern,” narrative history akin to other European national histories. Born around 1570 from an Old English family in County Tipperary, Céitinn lived through the period before the war, the war itself, and its consequences and studied at the University of Bordeaux in France.<sup>173</sup>

Written in Irish, the history provided the Irish *naision* with a Renaissance-influenced narrative history in their own national language built on written manuscripts. The choice of writing in Irish and the Renaissance influence on his history jointly suggest a conscientious desire to place the language, people, and history of Ireland on equal footing with the rest of Europe. Reflecting and engaging in the process of conjoining the Old English and Gaelic Irish, it also meant to promote the Irish cause in Europe. As he put it, “I deemed it was not fitting that a country so honourable as Ireland, and races so noble as those who have inhabited it, should go into oblivion without mention or narration being left of them.”<sup>174</sup> To recover Irish history from “new foreigners” who had “continuously sought to cast reproach and blame both on the old foreign settlers and on the native Irish,” such as “Cambrensis, Spenser, Stanihurst... and every other new foreigner who has written on Ireland,” he trumped his superior expertise, “I have seen

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<sup>172</sup> Brendan Bradshaw, “Geoffrey Keating: Apologist of Irish Ireland,” in *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), eds. Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield, Willy Maley, 166-190. Bernadette Cunningham, “Representations of king, parliament and the Irish people in Geoffrey Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* and John Lynch's *Cambrensis Eversus* (1662),” in *Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ireland: Kingdom Or Colony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), ed. Jane Ohlmeyer, 131-155. Bernadette Cunningham, *The World of Geoffrey Keating: history, myth and religion in seventeenth century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000). See also: O Buachalla, *The Crown of Ireland*.

<sup>173</sup> Cunningham, *The World of Geoffrey Keating: history, myth and religion in seventeenth-century Ireland*. That Céitinn studied in France does not undermine the significance of Spain to the first Irish diaspora but rather demonstrates its larger presence and cosmopolitanism.

<sup>174</sup> Céitinn, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn vol. 1*, 95.

and I understand the chief historical books, and they did not see them.”<sup>175</sup> The *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* and the Milesian myth were the most important source in this effort to restore Irish history and the position of the Irish in the Atlantic world.

Céitinn repeated the Milesian myth as the origins of the Irish and connected this history to the Exodus. He explained, “we should be able to trace the origin of the Scotie [Irish] nation to its root, i.e. to Japheth [son of Noah]” before providing such a genealogy and retelling the Milesian-Irish race’s history from Noah to ancient Egypt to Scythia and Spain before their colonization of Ireland. In so doing, Céitinn associated the Irish “race” with the Bible, classical civilizations, and Spain. The Irish were not barbarians but Catholic and Spanish.<sup>176</sup> The most influential early modern Irish historian, Céitinn reflected widespread Irish understandings while contributing to the making of a Catholic Irish nation of imagined Spanish descent. He did so by essentially modernizing the *LGE* and translating it into a narrative form. Seathrún Céitinn died in 1644, just three years after the 1641 Ulster Rising.

On October 22, 1641, the Irish Catholics of Ulster rebelled. The ensuing Irish Confederate Wars (1641-1653), its relationship to the War of the Three Kingdoms (1639-1653), and conclusion with the Cromwellian Conquest of Ireland (1649-1653), resulted in the largest transfer of landownership in early modern Europe and the dispossession of the majority of Irish Catholics as well as an exodus both voluntary and coerced of tens of thousands of Irish Catholics. The Cromwellian Conquest firmly reestablished English rule in Ireland after almost a decade of independent rule and its attendant land confiscations led by Sir William Petty provided

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<sup>175</sup> Céitinn, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* vol. 1, 3-95, especially 3-15 and 75-77

<sup>176</sup> Céitinn, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* vol. 1, 3-95, 133-237 especially 3-15 and 75-77. Quote 226. Céitinn, *Foras Feasa* vol. 2, 3-51.

the political, economic, and military foundation for an Anglo-Irish Protestant Ascendancy that dominated the island as a colonial ruling class until the founding of the Irish Free State in 1922.

Led by Sir Phelim O’Neill, the Ulster Rising spread rapidly at a popular level and led to significant sectarian conflict and murders before O’Neill, his fellow conspirators, and Irish Catholic leaders could recover control of the rising. At an elite level, frustrations at the loss of property and therefore social power, political and religious discrimination that excluded Catholics from state office, and a new Catholic-national identity that united Old English and Gaelic Irish inspired the rebellion. At a popular level, “this was a land-war – a war about restoring rights to ancestral lands.... They fought against increased rental dues, tithes and often forced labour services. The destruction of protestant settler properties – the burning of settler mansions and farmhouses, the digging up of gardens, the razing of enclosures and the killing of English sheep and cattle – points to a deep symbolic motive, namely the wiping out of the cultural capital of the coloniser.”<sup>177</sup> Alternatively, in the words of one contemporary, they rebelled because, “Wee have beene your Slaves all this tyme now you shalbe ours.”<sup>178</sup>

Given that British colonialism, Protestantization, and agrarian capitalism were most advanced in Ulster where Gaelic social and cultural power had previous been most enduring, it is little surprise that the rising began and was most intense in the northern province. That the rebellion spread throughout the island and culminated in a Catholic Confederation attests to similar if less advanced processes elsewhere on the island.<sup>179</sup> The Ulster Rising and ensuing Irish Confederate Wars (1641-1653) were not isolated events, however, but constituent of the wider

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<sup>177</sup> William J. Smyth, “Towards a Cultural Geography of the 1641 Rising/Rebellion,” in *Ireland: 1641 Contexts and Reactions*, 71-94, quote 74.

<sup>178</sup> Hugh O’Hanratty, cited in Deposition of John Cox, 5 January 1642, Trinity College Dublin MS 835, f. 95r quoted in Farrell, *The ‘Mere Irish’ and the Colonisation of Ulster*, 153.

<sup>179</sup> For more on the rising, see: Smyth, *Map-making, Landscapes and Memory*, 105-122.

War of the Three Kingdoms (1639-1653). Indeed, the rising was precipitated by the Scottish Bishops' War.

In 1637, Charles I attempted to impose Anglican liturgical and organizational practices on the Scottish Presbyterian kirk. In turn, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland expelled Anglican bishops from the country. Charles I, intent on continuing his absolutist centralization of power and ecclesiastic reforms, organized an army but refused to call the English Parliament in session, instead paying for it himself. Conflict was initially avoided but when the Scottish Parliament approved the decisions of the General Assembly of the kirk in 1639, namely the tri-annual holding of Parliament and the requirement of Covenant for public office holding, war became the only means by which Charles I could enforce his religious and political agenda. Faced with defeat in Scotland, Charles I had little choice but to call the English Parliament into session.<sup>180</sup> His situation was then made worse with the Ulster Rising of 1641, in part inspired by Irish Catholic fears of the growing and virulent anti-Catholicism of the Scottish Covenanters and the English Parliamentarians.<sup>181</sup> Still reluctant to acquiesce to Parliament, Charles's confrontation with his English subjects culminated in the English Civil Wars.

The English Civil War was a seminal event in the religious history of Britain and Ireland, capitalism, the origins of a "modern" English state, and rise of the English Empire. Its rich historiography has undergone a series of revisionist and post-revisionist reinterpretations that have complicated teleological narratives, Whiggish and Marxist.<sup>182</sup> Thus, Christopher Hill

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<sup>180</sup> Allan Macines, *The British Revolution, 1629-1660* (New York: Palgrave, 2005), especially 74-151.

<sup>181</sup> Micheal O Siochru, *Confederate Ireland 1642-1649: A Constitutional and Political Analysis*, 22.

<sup>182</sup> Kennedy, *Diggers, Levellers, and Agrarian Capitalism*, 1-21. Revisionist scholars such as J.G.A. Pocock have instead emphasized contingencies, historicized political language or paradigms, and continuities. J.C. Davis, "Epic Years': The English Revolution and J.G.A. Pocock's Approach to the History of Political Thought," *History of Political Thought* 29, no. 3 (2008): 519-542. See also: Macines, *The British Revolution, 1629-1660*. Whereas revisionists overreacted to teleology with a singular focus on "contingencies," post-revisionists have attempted to restore long-term causes without repeating determinist mistakes.

reworked his reading of the revolution from paradigmatic “bourgeois revolution” to an event that permitted the rise of a bourgeoisie.<sup>183</sup> In Perry Anderson’s interpretation, it hastened an economic transition to capitalism while the English state and ruling ideology remained feudalistic.<sup>184</sup> E.P. Thompson challenged Anderson, instead arguing for an interpretation of the origins of the revolution, the English state, and capitalism that centered English agrarian capitalism – a perspective similar to that of the “Political Marxists” Robert Brenner, Ellen Wood, and Geoff Kennedy.<sup>185</sup> Other scholars, such as John Morrill, Conrad Russell, and Hill’s later work, have emphasized the religious dimensions of the conflict, persuasively centering religious fervor, conflict, and uncertainty as a driving force to explain the recourse to violence in England and throughout the Three Kingdoms.<sup>186</sup>

Whereas the Political Marxists explain the English Revolution as a political event that first protected and then expanded the power of English agrarian capitalists and their Parliament vis-à-vis a centralizing, Catholic-like absolutist monarch, revisionists emphasize contingencies while post-revisionists emphasize that the origins of the conflict are best understood as deriving from long-term religious conflicts. By the end of the “Long Parliament,” a militant religious rhetoric led to a “decisive change” in how many MPs viewed the Anglican Church and the need to reconstitute the religious basis of England. Moreover, Morrill and Hill both have underlined

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<sup>183</sup> Kennedy, *Diggers, Levellers, and Agrarian Capitalism*, 1-21, 30-1.

<sup>184</sup> Perry Anderson, “Origins of the Present Crisis,” in *English Questions*, ed. Perry Anderson (London: Verso, 1992).

<sup>185</sup> Thompson, “The Peculiarities of the English,” *Socialist Register* (1965). Robert Brenner, “Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe,” *Past & Present* no. 70 (1976): 30-75. Brenner, *Merchants and revolution: commercial change, political conflict, and London’s overseas traders, 1550–1653* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993). Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism*. Kennedy, *Diggers, Levellers, and Agrarian Capitalism*.

<sup>186</sup> Conrad Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War: The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford, 1987-1988* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). John Morrill, “The Religious Context of the English Civil War,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 34 (1994): 155-178. Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1984).

the proliferation and dominance of religious pamphlets and publications from the beginning and throughout the revolutionary period and their contribution to the radicalization of MPS and laity, respectively. As Morrill put it, “Fresh constitutional priorities were evaluated from the perspective of increasingly polarised religious assessments.”<sup>187</sup> Perhaps most significant in this religious and political crisis was the specter of popery – Irish Catholics, Spain, and the Pope.

Although English anti-popery dates to the earliest days of the English Reformation, it was not until the close of Elizabeth I’s reign that anti-Catholicism became a popular attitude among English people. As Tadhg O hAnnrachain explained, “The sharpening of anti-Catholicism which became increasingly evident at all levels of English society in the course of the Elizabethan period was stimulated above all by a xenophobic and defensive anxiety about continental threats to the English monarchy.... Most notably Spain.”<sup>188</sup> Thus, in the immediate aftermath of the 1641 Ulster Rising and “massacres,” the incorrigible Catholicism of the Irish was blamed for a violence interpreted as especially heinous while also inspiring fears of Papal and Spanish designs on England.<sup>189</sup> That Charles I was seen as responsible for the Ulster Rising and complicit in Catholicizing drove many MPs and Englishmen into rebellion and revolution.<sup>190</sup>

For the Political Marxists, the conflict is connected to the origins of capitalism. For them, the critical point is to understand “the development of social property relations... the specific rules of social reproduction that become predominant in society as a result of the relationship *between* the direct producers and the appropriators of surplus.” In the history of England, “the

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<sup>187</sup> Morrill, “The Religious Context of the English Civil War,” esp.167-73, quotes 167, 173. Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*.

<sup>188</sup> O hAnnrachain, *Catholic Europe, 1592-1642*, 29-37, quote 36. For more on the English reformation: Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

<sup>189</sup> Nicholas Canny, “1641 in a colonial context,” in *Ireland: 1641 Contexts and Reactions*, 52-70. This is evidenced most clearly in the 1641 dispositions: Jane Ohlmeyer and Micheal O Siochru, “Introduction – 1641: Fresh Contexts and Perspectives,” in *Ireland: 1641 Contexts and Reactions*, 1-16. Aidan Clarke, “The ‘1641 Massacres,’” in *Ireland: 1641 Contexts and Reactions*, 37-51.

<sup>190</sup> Morrill, “The Religious Context of the English Civil War,” 173-6.

English common law... was crucial in establishing capitalist social property relations; that is, the law was crucial in constituting the capitalist ‘economy.’”<sup>191</sup> Put another way, they argue that a peculiar English mode of agricultural land tenure developed following the Black Death and from the nature of Anglo-Norman land tenure with the result that, unlike aristocracies elsewhere, the English landed classes did not rely on extra-economic powers of surplus extraction, i.e. violence, but rather “economic powers of exploitation through their recourse to elements of the common law that pertained to private property.”<sup>192</sup>

In this view, the English aristocracy did not compete with the English Crown but rather viewed it as a guarantor of their privilege and power: commodified land, or property. With a right of private landownership that increasingly encroached upon commons and custom, English agriculture developed in such a way as to make a growing segment of the population dependent upon the market for social reproduction and its landowning class compelled into maximizing rent and income – i.e. agrarian capitalism. When Charles I threatened this situation, the Political Marxists’ interpretation suggests that capitalist landlords and the merchants and manufacturers entangled in the nascent English market rebelled. Where some of these historians make their mistake is in enclosing their analysis within England. Paraphrasing Marx and echoing Brenner and Wood, Kennedy asserted, “This process of class formation and the development of agrarian capitalism, assumed its ‘classic form’ only in England.”<sup>193</sup> The case of Ireland begs to differ.

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<sup>191</sup> Kennedy, 38-9. And as Kennedy put it later, “It is this market dependence that becomes the ‘prime mover’ of capitalist dependence.” Kennedy, *Diggers, Levellers, and Agrarian Capitalism*, 67. See also: Ellen Meiksins Wood, “Capitalism, Merchants and Bourgeois Revolution: Some Reflections on the Brenner Debate and its Sequel,” *International Review of Social History* 41 (1996), 220. Quoted in Kennedy, *Diggers, Levellers, and Agrarian Capitalism*, 38. Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism*. Robert Brenner, “Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe,” *Past & Present* no. 70 (1976): 30-75.

<sup>192</sup> Kennedy, *Diggers, Levellers, and Agrarian Capitalism*, 37

<sup>193</sup> Kennedy, *Diggers, Levellers, and Agrarian Capitalism*, 60.

If agrarian capitalism was born in the “unique form” of English feudal lordship and its political conflict with the peasantry, reflected in disputes around enclosure,<sup>194</sup> Irish agrarian capitalism was born in its imperialist expansion and the planting of excess population in Ireland, i.e. colonialism. In other words, if proletarianization and dependence on the market for social reproduction are definitive features of agrarian capitalism then this process was most advanced not in early modern England, where it may have originated, but in Ireland, where it was first exported and violently extended to its most extreme logic. The colonization of Ireland was twofold: the conquest of the island and the imposition of agrarian capitalism. The result was diaspora. In the 1640s, however, this remained contingent.

The radical impulses of the English Revolution’s New Model Army led to the execution of King Charles I in 1649 and the English Parliamentarians emerged victorious from nearly a decade of civil war under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell. The fate of the nascent and precarious English Empire as well as the fortunes of many of its elite and the soldiers of the New Model Army, however, depended on a reconquest of Ireland where a Catholic Confederation comprised of Gaelic and Old English elites and ecclesiastics ruled most of the island independently since 1642.<sup>195</sup>

As in previous Anglo-Irish conflicts, Spain supported the Irish cause but in a circumscribed manner. This was because the Spanish Empire, as with much of Europe, was embroiled in the Eighty Years’ War (1568-1648) and Thirty Years War (1618-1648) that pitted Catholic Spain against the Protestant German and Nordic states and the Dutch Republic as well

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<sup>194</sup> On enclosure: J.A. Yelling, *Common Field and Enclosure in England 1450-1850* (London: Macmillan, 1977). See also: Kennedy, *Diggers, Levellers, and Agrarian Capitalism*, 59-83. Linebaugh, *Red Round Globe Hot Burning*.

<sup>195</sup> Jane Ohlmeyer, ed., *Ireland from Independence to Occupation 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Micheal O Siochru, *Confederate Ireland, 1642-1649*, esp. 1-54.

as a Catholic France fearful of a Spanish hegemony that had, in fact, already begun to decline.<sup>196</sup> Nonetheless, veteran Irish soldiers and military leaders returned from Spanish territories to help lead the Irish war effort alongside a Papal Nuncio and with financial support from Spain.<sup>197</sup> By the conclusion of the “second” English Civil War in 1649, most of Ireland was in control of the Catholic Confederation but its own military failures and political fragmentation prevented a complete victory.<sup>198</sup>

After the execution of Charles I, the Irish Confederation – having recently negotiated an alliance with the remaining royalists in Ireland – declared Charles Stuart II king of the three kingdoms.<sup>199</sup> The specter of a Catholic, Stuart stronghold in Ireland was anathema to the political, religious, and imperial ambitions of the English Parliamentarians. Indeed, tales of Catholic designs on England and Irish treachery were significant propaganda tools on behalf of the Parliamentarians, English anti-papery an important ingredient in the religious and political radicalism of the English Civil War era.<sup>200</sup> In other words, from the perspective of the Parliamentarians, an independent Ireland could not be.

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<sup>196</sup> Derek Croxton, “The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and the Origins of Sovereignty,” *The International History Review* 21, no. 3 (1999): 569-591. For more on Spanish “decline:” I.A.A. Thompson and Bartolome Yun Casalilla, eds., *The Castilian Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: New Perspectives on the Economic and Social History of Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>197</sup> France also contributed to the Irish Confederation’s war effort, even though Spain and France were at war with each other. Tostado, *Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century*, 1-59. Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*. Jane Ohlmeyer, “Ireland independent: confederate foreign policy and international relations during the mid-seventeenth century,” in Ohlmeyer, ed., *Ireland from Independence to Occupation*, 89-111.

<sup>198</sup> Micheal O Siochru, *God’s Executioner: Oliver Cromwell and the Conquest of Ireland* (London: Faber and Faber, 2008), 1-51.

<sup>199</sup> It’s worth noting that this decision split the Catholic Confederation and the “hard-line” faction led by the Papal Nuncio and Owen Roe O’Neill rejected the decision, which led not only to rancor but outright conflict between the two Catholic sides. O Siochru, *God’s Executioner*, 52-60. It’s also worth noting that, elsewhere, O Siochru has argued that this division was less a Gaelic/Old English split than a class division. See: O Siochru, *Confederate Ireland, 1642-1649*, especially 18-20.

<sup>200</sup> Nicholas Canny, “1641 in a colonial context,” in *Ireland: 1641 Contexts and Reactions*, 52-70. This is evidenced most clearly in the 1641 dispositions: Jane Ohlmeyer and Micheal O Siochru, “Introduction – 1641: Fresh Contexts and Perspectives,” in *Ireland: 1641 Contexts and Reactions*, 1-16. Aidan Clarke, “The ‘1641 Massacres,’” in *Ireland: 1641 Contexts and Reactions*, 37-51.

In March, the English Parliament's Council of State appointed Oliver Cromwell as the commander-in-chief of a proposed invasion of Ireland. Buttressed with anti-popish prejudice and tales of Irish treachery, as well as promises of land to pay soldiers in the New Model Army, the invasion of Ireland commenced in August 1649.<sup>201</sup> After arriving in Dublin, Cromwell and the superior New Model Army, larger than the Royalist/Confederate forces, better funded, and better equipped with artillery, marched on Drogheda and began the Cromwellian Conquest of Ireland, which the English achieved by August 1653.<sup>202</sup> The result was significant population loss, upwards of 20-33% of the population,<sup>203</sup> the near-absolute expropriation of the Irish Catholic landowning class, the unabated penetration of agrarian capitalism at the expense of the remaining vestiges of the Irish social order, and diaspora.

In the immediate aftermath of the conflict as many as 40,000 Irish Catholics fled Ireland for the Continent, with a majority going to Spain or the Spanish Low Countries. Thousands of civilians and prisoners were forcibly relocated to the English Caribbean as indentured servants, with Micheal O Siochru suggesting a population of 12,000 Irish people in the English Caribbean by the 1660s. The Catholic clergy were subject to execution but in practice banished to the Continent or pushed into short-term hiding. After over a decade of war, famine, and expulsion, the population of Ireland declined by an estimated 600,000. Meanwhile, in England, Parliament and the army debated the Irish land settlement. In June 1653, the Council of State declared the Irish rebellion over and, in accordance with the 1642 Adventurers' Act that had presupposed Irish land confiscations to fund the Parliamentary war effort, ordered a survey of the lands of

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<sup>201</sup> O Siochru, *God's Executioner: Oliver Cromwell and the Conquest of Ireland* (London: Faber and Faber, 2008), 60-76.

<sup>202</sup> O Siochru, *God's Executioner*, 77-220.

<sup>203</sup> Jane Ohlmeyer and Micheal O Siochru, "Introduction 1641: Fresh Contexts and Perspectives," in *Ireland, 1641: Contexts and Reactions*, eds. Ohlmeyer and O Siochru (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 1.

rebellious Catholic landholders who were themselves ordered to relocate to the western province of Connaught.<sup>204</sup> In total, Micheal O Siochru estimates that upwards of 10,000 Irish Catholics were expelled from the land they had previously owned.<sup>205</sup>

The planned relocation of Irish Catholics and British colonization of Ireland, as always, proved harder to implement than to design. To accomplish the land confiscations, Cromwell appointed Sir William Petty to conduct a survey of the island. Petty and his team of surveyors completed the ensuing Down Survey, “arguably, the greatest single state-supported scientific project of its day,” by March 1655. The survey permitted the redistribution of 8,400,000 acres of land from Catholic to Protestant owners. While the Tudors had essentially secured English rule in Ireland, 60% of the land in Ireland remained in Catholic hands in 1641; that number was 22% by 1688. Not only did it transfer land, however, but so too did it accelerate the penetration of agrarian capitalism. As Ted McCormick explained, the social and economic transformation of Ireland in the aftermath of the confiscations meant “the enclosure and improvement of lands, the extension of infrastructure and commercial networks, the reorientation of agricultural production to the demands of the (English) market, and the growth of trade.”<sup>206</sup> The New Model Army reconquered Ireland and the Down Survey commodified the island’s land. Together, the conquest and commercialization of Ireland imposed agrarian capitalism and engendered the Irish diaspora.

The Down Survey and the intellectual contributions of William Petty and his “science” of “Political Arithmetick” to English statecraft were essential to the making of the post-civil war English Empire and the colonization of Ireland. Petty’s synthesis of empirical intellectual currents and practical demands of empire produced what we might call political-economic

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<sup>204</sup> O Siochru, *God’s Executioner*, 221-244. On population loss: Ted McCormick, *William Petty: And the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 93.

<sup>205</sup> Smyth, *Map-making*, 160-1.

<sup>206</sup> McCormick, *William Petty*, 84-118, quotes 95, 117.

statecraft, a method of imperialism that intended to quantify so as to master land, labor, and commerce.<sup>207</sup> Critically, to achieve the “improvement of lands and hands,” this “science” explicitly endorsed social engineering, or in the case of the Irish, “transmutation.”<sup>208</sup> Not by coincidence, the Irish diaspora would subsequently translate this praxis of English imperialism to a reforming Spanish Empire.

In 1671 and 1672, William Petty wrote his most important texts, *Political Arithmetick* and *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*, which both circulated as manuscripts among the political elite in England and Ireland. Significantly, they were composed in a time of continued political uncertainty in England, Ireland, and on-and-off war with the more prosperous United Provinces. Indeed, many English writers, Petty included, referred to Dutch economic and trading power in their proposals to reform the English Empire through emulation, competition, conquest, or all three. The essential foundation for basing English policy, Petty suggested, should be empirical. As he explained in the introduction to *Political Arithmetick*, “The Method I take to do this, is not yet very usual; for instead of using only comparative and superlative Words, and intellectual Arguments, I have taken the course (as a Specimen of the Political Arithmetick I have long aimed at) to express my self in Terms of Number, Weight, or Measure; to use only Arguments of

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<sup>207</sup> On Political Economy and mercantilism: Philip Stern and Carl Wennerlind, eds., *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). For more on Irish economic history and its late seventeenth century boom: Louis Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland* (London: Billing & Sons, 1987, original 1972). Crotty, *Irish Agricultural Production: Its Volume and Structure*, 1-34. An older but useful overview is presented in: John Kells Ingram, *A History of Political Economy*, 49-52, 81-158 (London: A & C. Black, 1923). For a comparative perspective on political economy, physiocrats, and France, see: Liana Vardi, *The Physiocrats and the World of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Istvan Hont, *Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005). Paul Cheney, *Revolutionary Commerce: Globalization and the French Monarchy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

<sup>208</sup> McCormick, *William Petty*, 119-167, quote 163.

Sense, and to consider only such Causes, as have visible Foundations in Nature.”<sup>209</sup> The key was to measure the world so as to demonstrate how the state might manipulate it.

Petty's first chapter is perhaps the most significant, a lengthy explanation as to why the size of a country does not necessarily determine its wealth or power. This was, he explained, because control of trade can make a nation powerful through wealth, specifically referring to the Netherlands and their control of the European grain trade and Atlantic shipping trade. As he put it, “Shipping hath given them in effect all other Trade... and... make the rest of the World but as Workmen to their shops,” which was the result, Petty argued, of their political policies. His solution was to emulate and surpass the Dutch. Whereas the Dutch had been a poor, oppressed nation a century before they were, by the mid-seventeenth century, the economic center of Europe.<sup>210</sup> England, then, might also rise from its precarious, post-civil war position to become hegemon of the Atlantic world.

According to Petty, the solution for the English was simple: emulate and surpass the Dutch. To do so, he argued in favor of empirical study and the imperative of industrious subjects. He wrote, “People must Labour hard, and set all hands to Work: Rich and Poor, Young and Old, must study the Art of Number, Weight, and Measure; must fare hard, provide for Impotents, and for Orphans, out of hope to make profit by their Labours: must punish the Lazy by Labour.” After endorsing Dutch religious toleration for Protestant dissenters, Petty secondly endorsed legal titles to land, making a clear connection between the state, the commodification of land, and labor: “the Hollanders do by Registries... make the Title as immovable as the Lands, for there can be no encouragement to Industry, where there is no assurance of what shall be gotten by it.” The foundation of wealth was land and labor, and to increase the latter the former needed to

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<sup>209</sup> William Petty, *Political Arithmetick* (1672).

<sup>210</sup> William Petty, *Political Arithmetic*. Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century*, 130-162.

be commodified. The third point of emulation for Petty was Dutch banking. Effective banking, he explained, enabled the Dutch “to encrease mony, or rather to make a small summ equivalent in Trade to a greater.” Lastly, he celebrated the Dutch invitation and payment of foreigners into their armies and joint-stock companies as a means to cheaply populate their country and colonies.<sup>211</sup> The first chapter of *Political Arithmetick* was, then, arguably a call to marry capitalism and imperialism that begot the “science” of political economy and contributed to mercantilist imperial policy.<sup>212</sup> As had been the case in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Ireland offered England a laboratory for empire.

Petty’s Down Survey, as discussed above, was the method of measuring as means to commodify and confiscate the land of Ireland. It was “Political Arithmetick” in praxis and an essential contribution to the colonization of Ireland, the first step in “transmuting” the Irish into English subjects.<sup>213</sup> The latter task, however, the making of the Irish into English, continued to vex English imperialists and led Petty to pen a second treatise, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*.<sup>214</sup>

*The Political Anatomy of Ireland* first provided a statistical portrait of Ireland, its demographics and economy, before Petty summarized the situation of the island at the time of his writing. As he put it, “the British Protestants and Church have 3/4 of all the Lands, 5/6 of all the Housing... 2/3 of the Foreign Trade. That 6 of 8 of all the Irish live in a brutish nasty Condition... feed chiefly upon Mil and Potatoes.... And that although there be in Ireland 8 Papists for 3 others; there are far more Soldiers and Soldierlike-men [sic] of this latter and less Number.”

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<sup>211</sup> Petty, *Political Arithmetic*

<sup>212</sup> On Petty as the “first” political economist: McCormick, *William Petty*.

<sup>213</sup> For an argument that Petty’s survey was essential to English colonialism and the Protestant Ascendancy: McCormick, *William Petty*, 84-118

<sup>214</sup> William Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* (London: D. Brown, and W. Rogers. 1691, manuscript 1671).

Concluding that the Irish had no realistic hope for a military reversal, Petty explained, “what we offer shall tend to the transmuting one People into the other,” that is, the transformation of Irish habits and custom to mirror the English. His solution was to relocate 200,000 Irish to England and vice versa and to unite the kingdoms of Ireland and England into one polity. Of significance, Petty noted “The differences between the Old Irish, and Old English Papists is asleep now, because they have a Common Enemy” because “The chief Factions are the vested and devested of forfeited Lands: all Irish and Papists generally fearing the latter, and most English and Protestants the former.”<sup>215</sup>

The most extensive aspect of the text focused on the value of land in each Irish province. In so doing, Petty put forth a proto-theory of labor value when he explained, “I would hope to come to the knowledg of the Value of the Said Commodities, and consequently the Value of the Land, by deducting the hire of Working-People in it. And this brings me to the most important Consideration in Political Oeconomies, viz. how to make a Par and Equation between Lands and Labour, so as to express the Value of any thing by either alone” and a theory of money, “understood to be the uniform Measure and Rule for the Value of all Commodities,” which in the seventeenth century meant “Silver only is the matter of Money; and that elsewhere as well as in Ireland.”<sup>216</sup> The task for the English, he believed, was to assess the value of Ireland to understand how best to improve its usefulness to England. To do so, Petty abstracted a method of calculating the value of land, labor, and commodities – a further elaboration of the emerging “science” and imperial praxis of political economy that was inextricably connected to the demands of empire.

Whereas Ireland experienced an outflow of specie and a lack of trade, Petty believed that with proper policy Ireland – and thus London – might be made richer. As he explained, “the

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<sup>215</sup> Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*, 40-45, quotes 44 and 45.

<sup>216</sup> Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*, 60-66. Quotes 65-66

Hands of Ireland may Earn a Million per Ann. more than they now do... if they had sutable employment, and were kept to their Labour.” Moreover, Ireland was geographically well suited to enrich itself from the growing trade with England's colonies in North America. As he put it, “Thus is Ireland by Nature fit for Trade, but otherwise very much unprepared for the same.” The key was to change Irish behavior, most importantly their “lazing,” which Petty believed derived “from want of Imployment and Encouragement to Work.” It would be best for England and the Irish, Petty explained, if “these poorer Irish” were “transmuted into English.”<sup>217</sup> Interestingly, near the end of the text, Petty endeavored, like Spenser, to discredit the Milesian myth. He wrote, “Without recourse to the Authority of Story, but rather diligently observing the Law and Course of Nature, I conjecture, that whatever is fabled of the Phoenicians, Scythians, Biscayers [i.e. Milesians], & c. their first Inhabiting of Ireland... 'tis more probable, that Ireland was first Peopled from Scotland.”<sup>218</sup>

Apparently at odds with the rest of the text, this section was in fact central to Petty’s mission. It was an attempt to discredit the Irish origins myth and suggest that the Irish were instead descendent from Britons, implying both that the Irish belonged historically to London and the Stuart monarchy rather than to Spain and, perhaps implicitly, a British superiority to the Irish that in turn implied the “transmutation” of the Irish was a means of civilizing backward, wayward Britons. Petty’s treatise on Ireland, then, defended the land confiscations, attempted to assess the economic value of Ireland, and proposed a method for improving the island’s productivity and wealth rooted in the “transmutation” of the Irish into English subjects. His intellectual work is best understood as developing a method of statecraft that applied scientific-thinking, social engineering, and political economy to the interests of the English Empire. As to

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<sup>217</sup> Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*, 95-102. Quotes 99, 100, 102.

<sup>218</sup> Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*, 103-4.

be demonstrated in subsequent chapters, however, if Ireland offered the English a laboratory then so too did the Irish themselves learn from the experience and apply their familiarity of English imperial praxis in diaspora.

Petty's ideas and the Cromwellian Conquest proved effective. The peace and penetration of agrarian capitalism after 1653 produced spectacular economic and population growth throughout Ireland and especially in Dublin. The Irish capital's population soared to 60,000 by 1685 and it soon became the second largest and wealthiest city in the English Empire.<sup>219</sup> The rising economic prosperity of Ireland was not shared equally but rather benefitted the colonial landlord class most; despite the protestations of this ruling elite, the English state responded to Irish prosperity with mercantilist measures designed to subordinate Ireland's economy to England. For example, the English Parliament passed legislation in 1667 that prohibited the import of Irish cattle into England. Where labor was cheaper in Ireland, Irish foodstuffs might outcompete English produce and was thus legislated out of competition. Still, the island benefitted from growing trade with the Caribbean and the Continent.<sup>220</sup>

Upon the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, Irish Catholics leveraged the strategic ambiguity between the Catholic Confederation and the Crown during the War of the Three Kingdoms to portray themselves as the only loyal subjects of the Stuart monarchy. Rather than return to a Gaelic past, their hope was a restoration of their land and their church, admission into a Hiberno-English empire, and a share in the spoils of trade and imperialism. As one historian of

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<sup>219</sup> For more on the growth of Dublin: David Dickson, *The First Irish Cities: An Eighteenth-Century Transformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021).

<sup>220</sup> J.G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland, 1685-91* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000. Original 1969), 11-14. Simms claims that Irish wages were half of their English counterparts. On English mercantilism: Philip Stern and Carl Wennerlind, eds., *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). For more on Irish economic history and its late seventeenth century boom: Louis Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland* (London: Billing & Sons, 1987, original 1972). Crotty, *Irish Agricultural Production: Its Volume and Structure*, 1-34.

Irish Jacobitism explained, “The principal issues of the seventeenth century were land and religion, and since Cromwell they were inseparably linked.” The Act of Settlement in 1662 and the Act of Explanation of 1665 determined how and if Irish Catholics might be restored to their confiscated lands; the context of the king’s restoration and his political position, however, realistically foreclosed hope for an absolute reversal. These acts established a court of claims for Irish Catholics to press their case for a restoration of their confiscated lands. In total, Irish Catholics were restored to about a third of their previous landownership, or about 20-33% of the island’s land.<sup>221</sup> One unsuccessful claimant was Ruaidhrí Ó Flaithbheartaigh, the antiquarian and former Irish lord introduced at the outset of this chapter.

Among many Irish Catholics who appealed for redress to the restored Stuart monarchy, Ó Flaithbheartaigh’s *Ogygia* was the third major intervention into seventeenth century Irish politics via historiography. Like Cétinn and O Cléirigh, Ó Flaithbheartaigh was inspired to counter English colonial discourse about the Irish and sought to communicate his history of Ireland not just to an Irish or British audience but also to the Continent. Hence, the writing of the *Ogygia* in Latin, the expressed purpose to communicate Irish history to foreigners, and its dedication to the Duke of York.<sup>222</sup> Whereas previous ecclesiastical writers such as Cétinn and O Cléirigh emphasized the Catholicism of the Irish in addition to the Milesian myth, Ó Flaithbheartaigh centered genealogy as the basis for Irish admission into empire. The Irish were civilized because the Irish *sliocht* traced back to ancient times and was the same race from which derived both Spaniards and Stuarts.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, 1-18. Quote 1.

<sup>222</sup> Ó Flaithbheartaigh, *Ogygia vol. 1*, lxix, xiv-xix.

<sup>223</sup> Ó Flaithbheartaigh, *Ogygia vol. 1*, lvi-lx, 1-5, 8-18, 23-25.

To prove the civilized nature of the Irish race, Ó Flaithbheartaigh took great pains to prove long lines of Milesian royalty in Ireland from ancient times to King James II. He denounced how writers had denied the history of Irish kings as mere pretensions. He decried, “there is no kingdom in Europe, save Ireland, that was not ruled antiently, by many kings... whom the writers of our age... hesitate not to call kings.” It was imperative that he reclaim the legitimacy of Ireland’s kings and their genealogies so he could sustain his argument that James II descended from a royal, Irish genealogical line. He thus claimed there were “181” kings of Ireland, “from the first king Heremon of this line, to Roderick the last king” until the Stuarts restored the Milesian bloodline to the kingship of Ireland. Volume two of the *Ogygia* was almost entirely concerned with the dynastic history of the Milesians in Ireland following the “Scottish invasion” of Ireland. According to Ó Flaithbheartaigh, “From that period there has been a continued succession of kings of the posterity of the Milesian line, in Ireland and Scotland, to the first of May of this present year of our Lord 1684, for the space of 2699 years” until King Henry II and a period of “four hundred and thirty two years” before the “Restoration of the Milesian blood of Ireland in King James [the first].”<sup>224</sup> The *Ogygia* was published in London in 1685, the same year Charles II died without issue and James II ascended the throne. After centuries, there now ruled a king both Milesian and Catholic.

A “fatal attachment,” Irish Jacobitism became the dominant political ideology of Irish Catholics from 1685 until the popularization of republicanism in the late eighteenth century.<sup>225</sup>

Hopes for a Catholic restoration were buoyed early in James II’s reign, as one contemporary

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<sup>224</sup> Ó Flaithbheartaigh, *Ogygia vol.1*, 40-50. Ruaidhrí Ó Flaithbheartaigh, *Ogygia, seu rerum Hibernicarum chronologia vol.2*, trans. James Hely (Dublin: 1793, 1685), 29-34. A note on Scots and Milesians: Ó Flaithbheartaigh uses them interchangeably throughout, articulating an etymological theory about the origins of the word Scot from an imagined progenitor of the Irish *sliocht* and to advance his argument that the Scots and Stuarts were genealogically Irish.

<sup>225</sup> Éamonn Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685-1766: A Fatal Attachment* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002). Vincent Morley, *The Popular Mind in the Eighteenth-century Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2017).

Irish Catholic wrote, “The Cyprians [metaphorically Irish Catholics] exulted in the assured hope that their sovereign... would forthwith restore to the heavenly powers their temples and altars and also to the natives their properties and estates.”<sup>226</sup> Expectations were further raised when James II, with the help of Richard Talbot, began placing Catholics in positions of power within the English army stationed in Ireland and accepting Catholic common soldiers as well as the admission of Catholics into the state apparatus and Privy Council of Ireland. Most worrisome to Protestants in Ireland and England was the prospect of a reversal of the land confiscations. Meanwhile, the appointment of the Catholic champion Talbot as Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1687 was met with Catholic jubilation. As it were, however, it appears that neither James II nor Talbot intended a reversal of the land confiscations; modification, perhaps, but not a complete or even major restoration.<sup>227</sup> In any case, the English Revolution and Dutch invasion of 1688, a so-called “Glorious Revolution,” led to the War of the Two Kings (1688-1691) in Ireland where the Franco-Irish army of James II and the Anglo-Dutch army of the Prince of Orange determined the fate of the English, soon-to-be British Empire.<sup>228</sup>

The birth of James Edward Francis on 10 June 1688 was the event that pushed Englishmen into revolt and convinced William of Orange – husband to the previous heir apparent, James II’s daughter Mary; stadtholder of the Netherlands; and the Protestant champion of Europe – to invade England. In the words of historian Tim Harris, the impending succession of a Catholic heir “was the beginning of the end for James II.” The Catholicizing of the monarch had created serious unease and the specter of this process continuing with a secured Catholic

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<sup>226</sup> Charles O’Kelly, *Macariae excidium, or the destruction of Cyprus*, ed. J.C. O’Callaghan, 15. Quoted in Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, 19.

<sup>227</sup> Simms, *Jacobite Ireland, 1685-1691*, 19-43.

<sup>228</sup> This conflict is perhaps best understood as The War of the English Succession (1688-97) because it underlines the war’s pan-European dimensions and the primary objective of Louis XIV and William of Orange, the respective leaders of both sides in this conflict and directly names the stakes of the conflict in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland – i.e. the dynastic succession of the English and soon-to-be British Empire and thus its foreign policy.

dynasty unnerved a wide segment of Protestant English society. These matters were made worse with the news from Ireland of Catholic favoritism and James II's reliance on Irish soldiers even in England. Indeed, one of the first riots leading to the 1688 Revolution followed Irish soldiers attacking a crowd of jeering boys in London.<sup>229</sup> Thus, twenty days after the birth of a Catholic heir, seven leading representatives of the English aristocracy invited William to invade and make himself king. That autumn, the Prince of Orange invaded England with a force of 15,000 men simultaneous to revolts throughout England and especially the north. By February 23, James II had fled England for France and the English Parliament declared William and Mary King and Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland.<sup>230</sup>

In the analysis of one historian, James II's reign has been unfairly characterized and the Revolution of 1688 misunderstood. In contrast to Whiggish interpretations, Steve Pincus argued that a divergent political program between James II and his English subjects essentially caused the revolution. James II envisioned a "modern," English Empire similar to that of his cousin, the French King Louis XIV, that would be Catholic and absolutist, i.e. regalist; bureaucratic and expansionary; and built upon military, naval, and commercial supremacy. His English subjects, however, looked instead to the Dutch Republic. They envisioned a limited suffrage but powerful Parliament; a Protestant state church and liberty for Protestant religious diversity; and commercial supremacy built on manufacturing power as opposed to a territorial empire. Perhaps the essential point Pincus makes is that James II initiated "a set of sociostructural innovations in statecraft," that was redirected by English revolutionaries and Dutch invaders to steer Britain

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<sup>229</sup> Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, 46-7.

<sup>230</sup> Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (London: Penguin, 2007), 1-11, quote 3. For an account that centers the internal dimensions and argues for an English Revolution rather than Dutch invasion, see: Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

away from Catholicism and absolutism and towards what he labelled the first “modern” state.<sup>231</sup>  
We might replace the elasticity of “modern” with the precision of capitalist.<sup>232</sup>

Late seventeenth century English writers, parliamentarians, and other middling and elites were acutely concerned with their country, empire, and economic development. In their eyes, Spain was in terminal decline and the Netherlands an economic model to be emulated so as to outcompete. Thus, they believed the key to state and economic power was, “to make their economy more Dutch than Spanish.”<sup>233</sup> By the late seventeenth century, the Netherlands had become Europe and the Atlantic world’s preeminent trading and banking nation. Dutch mastery of the grain and naval store trades from the Baltic in addition to American piracy and predations on the Iberian empires, mastery of the transatlantic slave trade, joint-stock companies, and colonial-trading outposts remade Amsterdam and its merchant class into Europe’s central entrepot and financier. It was precisely this preeminence that drew English admiration, jealousy, and hostility.

Dovetailing with Pincus’s interpretation of 1688, Giovanni Arrighi argued that the very success of the Dutch model led to forces that eventually supplanted the Dutch: “variants of what later came to be known as ‘mercantilism.’... The *spread* of multiple mercantilisms in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.... All variants of mercantilism had one thing in common: they were more or less conscious attempts on part of territorialist rulers to *imitate* the Dutch, to become themselves capitalist in orientation.”<sup>234</sup> The English revolution of 1688 was in part a Dutch-invasion and in part a conscience effort from English revolutionaries to emulate

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<sup>231</sup> Pincus, *1688*, 1-10. Quote 9. For a critique of “modern,” see: Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.

<sup>232</sup> Pincus himself advances this very argument, notwithstanding a few questionable assertions, but shies away from centering it. Pincus, *1688*, 51-90.

<sup>233</sup> Pincus, *1688*, 51.

<sup>234</sup> Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century*, 134-162. Quote 144.

Dutch war making, trading, and statecraft.<sup>235</sup> Eventually, the Irish diaspora that this conflict produced would repeat this pattern of mercantilist emulation in Spain, promoting the adoption of English, then British political economic statecraft.

After James II fled England for France, he then invaded Ireland with a force of French soldiers buttressed with an Irish army. Upon arriving in Dublin, James II summoned the Irish Parliament. With 230 representatives from all parts of the island save Protestant-controlled Ulster, the ensuing legislation elucidates the political program of the dispossessed Irish Catholic elite. Whereas James II had previously resisted the most vociferous demands of Irish Catholics, now that his only power base was Ireland he had little choice but to acquiesce on most matters.<sup>236</sup>

This Irish Parliament passed a series of laws intended to make Ireland an equal partner in a Hiberno-British empire, a Catholic kingdom in which its native rulers were restored to their patrimony and social preeminence. It did not intend to reverse the commercialization of the Irish economy or the imposition of private property; rather than look backwards, it imagined a future in which Irish Catholics were equal to their British neighbors. Among the most significant of these acts were “An Act Declaring that the Parliaments of England Cannot Binde Ireland,” which expressly declared, “Whereas this his majesties realm of Ireland is and hath been always a distinct kingdom from that of his majesties realm of England.... [s]o no acts passed in any parliament passed in this k[i]ngdom, were made into laws here, yet as of late.... And as these late opinions... tend to the great oppression of the people here,” as the justification for the declared independence of the Irish Parliament.<sup>237</sup> The restoration of the Catholic landowning class was the

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<sup>235</sup> On the Dutch invasion thesis, Jonathan Israel estimates that Prince William’s Dutch and mercenary army comprised upwards of 80,000 men. See: Jonathan Israel, “The Dutch role in the Glorious Revolution,” in Jonathan Israel, ed., *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its world impact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 105-162.

<sup>236</sup> Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, 74-81.

<sup>237</sup> “An act declaring that the parliaments of England cannot binde Ireland, and against the writ writs of error and appeals, to be brought for removing judgements, decrees and sentences given in Ireland into England,” in John

essential priority of this Parliament; thus, “An Act for repealing the acts of settlement, and explanation,” intended a claims court to restore those dispossessed after 1641 and another act declared the land of rebels against James II as forfeited.<sup>238</sup>

The economic ambitions of this Parliament and its would-be landed class are best evinced in other, less remarked upon acts of the Parliament that underline Irish familiarity with emerging British ideas about trade, mercantilism, and empire. The mercantilist policies of “An act prohibiting the importation of English, Scotch, or Welsh coals,” “Act to enable the king to lay duty on all foreign commodities imported into Ireland,” and “An Act for the advance and improvement of trade, and for encouragement and increase of shipping, navigation,” demonstrate how Irish Catholic elites had, by 1689, adapted the language and practices of the English Empire and were aware of the debates and policies of mercantilism. As the latter of these acts explained,

This kingdom of Ireland, for its good situation, commodious harbours, and great quantity of goods the growth product, and manufactory thereof is, and standeth very fit and convenient for trade and commerce.... And several laws, statutes and ordinances, having heretofore been made... prohibiting and disabling the king’s subjects of this realm, to export, or carry out of this kingdom, unto any other the kings islands, plantations, or colonies... or to import into this kingdom, the goods or merchandizes of the said plantations, colonies and islands, without landing and discharging in England... not only

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Bergin and Andrew Lyall, *The Acts of James II’s Irish Parliament, 1689* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2016), 54-57.

<sup>238</sup> Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, 81-90. See also: “An act for repealing the acts of settlement, and explanation, resolution of the doubts, and all grants, patents and certificates pursuant to them, or any of them,” in Bergin and Lyall, *The Acts of James II’s Irish Parliament*, 21-50. “An act for the attainder of divers rebels, and for the preserving the interest of loyal subjects,” in Bergin and Lyall, *The Acts of James II’s Irish Parliament*, 88-167.

to the decay of the king's revenue, but also to the every great prejudice and disadvantage of all the inhabitants in this kingdom.<sup>239</sup>

This act then declared Ireland had the right to free trade throughout the English Empire and Europe, regularized export and import duties in Ireland to those of England, encouraged trade between Ireland and Virginia, promoted the Irish shipbuilding industry, and set aside funds for constructing free schools of mathematics and navigation in Ireland's major cities.<sup>240</sup> If James II and his English rebels were "modernizers,"<sup>241</sup> so too were Irish Catholic elites. They, like James or William, had their own vision for the future of the Empire: A Hiberno-British Empire that was Catholic, regalist, and mercantilist.

Their vision did not come to pass, at least not in Ireland. The army of William of Orange defeated that of James II at the deciding conflicts of the war, the Battle of the Boyne (1690) and Aughrim (1691) before winning the war and the English Crown in Ireland.<sup>242</sup> In the ensuing peace negotiations and resultant Treaty of Limerick (1691), the Jacobites secured Irish soldiers the ability to quit the country and join the French army; a promise of relative religious toleration for Catholics in Ireland as they had enjoyed under Charles II; and a pardon that promised protection from further land confiscations for those who remained in Ireland and took an oath of allegiance.<sup>243</sup> Most Irish soldiers elected to depart for France, perhaps hoping to win the wider War of the English Succession on the Continent and return to Ireland in the future with their true king. Thus an exodus of 12,000 men and 4000 women and children. Later, when Louis XIV

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<sup>239</sup> "An act prohibiting the importation of English, Scotch, or Welsh coals," 75-6. "Act to enable the king to lay duty on all foreign commodities imported into Ireland," 82-3. "An Act for the advance and improvement of trade, and for encouragement and increase of shipping, navigation," 83-88. All in: Bergin and Lyall, *The Acts of James II's Irish Parliament*.

<sup>240</sup> "An Act for the advance and improvement of trade, and for encouragement and increase of shipping, navigation," in Bergin and Lyall, *The Acts of James II's Irish Parliament*, 83-88.

<sup>241</sup> Pincus, *1688*, 1-10

<sup>242</sup> Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, 95-240.

<sup>243</sup> Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, 252-3.

turned his dynastic ambitions on the Spanish Crown, many of these men were relocated to the Spanish army but many others and their descendants remained in the French service. The all-Protestant Anglo-Irish Parliament subsequently reneged on the Treaty of Limerick, citing these regiments abroad and the persistent popularity of Irish Jacobitism as justification for passing a series of anti-Catholic penal laws intended to reify their mastery of the island.<sup>244</sup>

The Revolution of 1688 may have built a “modern,” Dutch-inspired English state, but in Ireland it secured the rule of a colonial, agrarian-capitalist landlord class that ruled ideologically on the pillars of anti-popery and anti-Irish prejudice with the help of a standing army; and it led to the making of the Irish diaspora.<sup>245</sup> The defeat of the Catholic and Stuart cause in Ireland led first to a direct emigration of 16,000 Irish Catholics to the Continent and the ensuing anti-Catholic penal laws created conditions on the island that encouraged a continued trickle of late migration from Ireland to Catholic Europe. The new preeminent Catholic power of Europe, France, may have received the bulk of soldier emigration but migration to Spain remained significant and proved more consequential.

What remains to be explained is how this diaspora led the Spanish emulation of an ascendant British Empire. That is to say, the following chapters tell the history of the Hiberno-Spanish diaspora and its relationship to the Bourbon Reforms. First, however, it’s worth observing the changes engendered in Ireland that buttressed the legitimacy of Hiberno-Spanish imperial translators and political economic statecraft as well as the continued trickle of late migration to Spain and the Continent. If the Flight of the Earls was the Ur-event of the Hiberno-

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<sup>244</sup> Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, 253-265.

<sup>245</sup> Martyn Powell, “The Army in Ireland and the Eighteenth-Century Press: Antimilitary Sentiment in an Atlantic Context,” *Eire-Ireland* 50, no. 3&4 (2015): 137-172. Alan J. Guy, “The Irish military establishment, 1660-1776,” in *A military history of Ireland*, ed. Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 211-230. S.J. Connolly, “The defense of Protestant Ireland, 1660-1760,” in *A military history of Ireland*, ed. Bartlett and Jeffrey, 231-246.

Spanish diaspora then the Treaty of Limerick (1691) was the watershed event after which Irish migration to the Continent transformed from a method of supporting the cause in Ireland to one of permanent dislocation and assimilation abroad. Ireland was no longer a borderland. It was henceforth a colony-kingdom of the British Empire. Thus the Milesian Exodus.

### **Ireland's Improvement, Irish Immiseration, & Late Migration**

The conquest and colonization of Ireland reached its zenith in the eighteenth century, the securement of the "Protestant Ascendancy" and the high point of Irish agrarian capitalism. At the turn of the century, Catholic landownership was 14% of the island's land. By 1776, it had declined to 5%. This decline owed much to the anti-Catholic penal laws, which deterred and limited Catholic landownership while pushing the remaining landed Catholic families into conversion.<sup>246</sup> At the same time, the Irish economy experienced tremendous growth.<sup>247</sup> This situation prompted political economic theorizing in the writings of John Cary as well as continued defense of Irish history in the writings of Charles O'Connor. Materially, the consequence of this situation was the "improvement" of Ireland, the immiseration of the Irish, and continued diasporic emigration.

Irish agrarian capitalism produced rapid population growth and Malthusian pressures, in addition to the pressures and limitations of the penal laws, which lead to immiseration and emigration – diaspora.<sup>248</sup> The late emigration of Irish Catholics in the eighteenth century, the trickle that followed the Milesian Exodus, was distinct from seventeenth century emigration.

Whereas the latter had been largely composed of former elites, ecclesiastics, and soldiers, in the

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<sup>246</sup> Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, 262-265. Ian McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin: Gill Books, 2009).

<sup>247</sup> Dickson, *The First Irish Cities*.

<sup>248</sup> For an excellent look at the rapid growth of the Irish population and corresponding growth of Irish cities: Dickson, *The First Irish Cities*. Dickson's focus on Irish cities does not, understandably, explore the making of the Irish diaspora.

eighteenth-century this emigration became a more generalized pattern that flowed primarily from commoners. This emigration pattern was initially tolerated by British and Anglo-Irish political elites, a convenient safety valve on the demographic and economic pressures of the island, but as the eighteenth century progressed this migration became increasingly worrisome to colonial administrators and London. Ascertaining precise details of this migration and its methods are challenging given the limits of extant archival records, but what is clear from British records is that hundreds if not thousands of Irish Catholics continued to emigrate to Catholic Europe in the aftermath of 1691. Emigrants may have primarily fled to become soldiers of France but significant numbers of Irish Catholics continued to emigrate to Spain in a wide array of employments.<sup>249</sup>

A second consequence of this situation was accelerated if uneven and unequal hybridization and cultural exchange. Because of close proximity and relative peace, Irish Catholics grew even more familiar with the language and practices of English settlers and their descendants. As is often the case in such colonial relationships, the vanquished learned much about their conquerors. Elite and intermediary Irish Catholics continued to read about new ideas from Catholic Europe and the wider Enlightenment but were drawn closer into the orbit of the Anglophone world and witnessed firsthand the effects of English colonialism and capitalism. In the early eighteenth century, intellectual descendants of William Petty continued to develop and

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<sup>249</sup> “Protest at seizure of ship which was returning to Ireland and arrest of an Irish officer in the French army,” 1726. TNA, SP 78/184/17, fol. 24. Newcastle to Waldegrave. Orders given to remove difficulties impeding French recruitment in Ireland. Oct. 29, Nov. 9, 1730. TNA, SP 78/195/105, fol. 382. Crawford to Carteret, July 15, 1722. Crawford reports how Irish Catholic priests were deterred from returning to Ireland because of the penal laws. TNA, SP 78/177/46. Pelham to Delafaye, Dec. 6, 1730. Pelham reports that the French recalled their recruiting officers from Ireland. TNA, SP 78/197/121. Waldegrave to Delafaye, Jan. 21, 1733. Waldegrave reported how Marshal Berwick was unlikely to release a French recruiting agent in Ireland, an Irish Catholic identified as Mooney. TNA, SP, 78/204/4. Newcastle to Waldegrave, Sept. 28, Oct. 9, 1730. Newcastle reports on the permission granted to France for recruiting soldiers in Ireland. TNA, SP 78/195/93. Newcastle to Fleury, Nov. 12, Nov. 23, 1730. Newcastle requests that France stop recruiting soldiers in Ireland. TNA, SP/78/195/112. Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*.

apply his ideas concerning political economy. The most significant of these writers at the start of the eighteenth century was John Cary. As with Petty before him, John Cary intended to improve the English, British after 1707, Empire via empirical and political economic study while engaging directly in the settling and governing of Ireland.<sup>250</sup>

Born into a Bristol merchant family with connections to Iberia, sugar, and slavery around 1649, Cary followed his father's example, became involved in the trade of Caribbean sugar and Madeira wine, and joined the Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers in 1677. In the 1690s, the society chose him to represent their interests as a lobbyist of sorts in London. There, he began writing political economic treatises to advocate for the interest of Britain's merchant class. Among the earliest, he penned *An Essay on the State of England* in 1695 during the waning years of the War of the English Succession (1688-1697). Although King William had won the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland in the Irish theater of this war by 1691, the war on the Continent between Catholic France and the Protestant Holy Roman Empire, Dutch Republic, and England, continued to rage while French king Louis XIV of France housed and recognized the Stuart Pretender.<sup>251</sup>

This unstable situation inspired various writings and laws intended to secure, enrich, and expand the English Empire. In Ireland, the Anglo-Irish elite used this specter as a flimsy justification for renegeing on the Treaty of Limerick (1691). This led to the passing of a series of laws known as the "penal laws" that intended to reify Anglo-Irish mastery of the island. Among them, the Irish Parliament's Popery Act of 1704 debarred primogeniture among Catholics,

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<sup>250</sup> Heather Welland, *Political Economy and Imperial Governance in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Milton Park, Oxfordshire: Taylor & Francis, 2021). On Cary: Sophus Reinert, *Translating Empire: Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 73-128.

<sup>251</sup> John Cary, *An essay on the state of England in relation to its trade, its poor, and its taxes, for carrying on the present war against France* (Bristol: W. Bonny, 1695). No pages in introduction.

mandating the parceling of Catholic estates; forbid Catholic ownership of arms; outlawed Catholic purchasing of land or assumption of leases longer than thirty-one years; and called for the registration of all parish priests who were, after another law passed in 1709, required to take an oath of abjuration that rejected the Stuart pretender.<sup>252</sup> Bishops and regular clergy had already been exiled from the island in the 1697 Banishment Act.<sup>253</sup> Historians have demonstrated that these laws were difficult to enforce and frequently flouted, the effort to promote conversion a failure; but as method of attacking the leadership of Catholic Ireland – its elite and ecclesiastics, land and faith – the penal laws, abetted with a standing army that grew in size over the course of the century, succeeded in covering acquiescence and accommodation.<sup>254</sup> This situation in Ireland, Europe, and the Atlantic world inspired Cary's *Essay*.

In the introduction, Cary declared that the “Foundations of the Wealth of this Kingdom are, Land, Manufacturers, and Foreign Trade.” As such, he identified two points of national interest: first, “Plantation Trade” and secondly “the securing of our Wool at Home.” On the former, he argued that the greater dependence of the colonies on England the better for stimulating English “Navigation,” and enriching the King's coffers. On the latter, he postulated that England “would soon become the Queen of Europe, and flourishing in its Manufactures grow rich.” Here, Cary specifically contrasted the economic policies of England and Spain. As

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<sup>252</sup> Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, 262-5.

<sup>253</sup> Maureen Wall, “The Penal Laws,” in Maureen Wall, *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century: Collected Essays of Maureen Wall*, ed. Gerard O’Brien (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1989), 9.

<sup>254</sup> Maureen Wall's history of the penal laws remains, perhaps, the best general survey on their implementation, limitations, and effect. Wall, “The Penal Laws,” in Wall, *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, 1-60. See also: Ian McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland*. It is worth noting that the Anglican-controlled Parliament also discriminated against Protestant dissenters, most significantly the sizable Scots-Irish Presbyterian population in Ulster, though to a lesser extent; i.e. it debarred their participation in the body politic but did not impose the same economic or ecclesiastic restrictions on the Scots in Ireland. On the army: Powell, “The Army in Ireland and the Eighteenth-Century Press: Antimilitary Sentiment in an Atlantic Context,” *Eire-Ireland*, 137-172. Guy, “The Irish military establishment, 1660-1776,” in *A military history of Ireland*, ed. Bartlett and Jeffrey, 211-230. Connolly, “The defense of Protestant Ireland, 1660-1760,” in *A military history of Ireland*, ed. Bartlett and Jeffrey, 231-246.

he put it, “one great Reason why the Kingdom of Spain still continues poor notwithstanding its Indies, because all that the inhabitants buy is purchased for its full Value in Treasure or Product, their Labour adding nothing to its Wealth, for want of Manufacturers.” The conclusion for English political economy was self-evident: promote English manufactures. To do so, Cary claimed England need first put a “lock” on Ireland and Irish trade<sup>255</sup> – a topic he elaborated on later in life, arguing that the British parliament should encourage only the Irish linen trade.<sup>256</sup>

The text itself began by identifying but not naming the essential logic of mercantilism and capital accumulation with the observation that “The Profits of England arise Originally from its Product and Manufactures at home, and from the growths [sic] of those several Plantations it hath settled Abroad... all which being raised by the Industry of its Inhabitants.” English industry and colonization produced goods for trade but when this trade was for consumptive or use-value exchange, as the Spanish did, such trade did not enrich England. When, however, “We change them for Bullion, or Commodities fit to be Manufactured again,” then the empire increased its wealth.<sup>257</sup>

Cary subsequently postulated how England might grow richer. He enumerated the various goods England produced, suggested mercantilist measures to ensure England’s “Plantations” remain dependent on England with specific and frequent reference to the threat of the Irish economy, argued that England should import commodities like dyes from its colonies and foreign nations for the purpose of manufacturing and reselling textiles and do the same with analogous industries such as distilling and leather goods, and advanced suggestions to improve

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<sup>255</sup> Cary, *An essay on the state of England*. No pages in introduction.

<sup>256</sup> John Cary, *A discourse concerning the trade of Ireland and Scotland, as they stand in competition with the trade of England being taken out of an essay on trade* (London: 1696). John Cary, *Some considerations relating to the carrying on the linnen manufacture in the kingdom of Ireland by a joint-stock* (London: 1704). John Cary, *A vindication of the Parliament of England, in answer to a book written by William Molyneux of Dublin, Esq., intituled, The case of Irelands being bound by acts of Parliament in England* (London: Freeman Collins, 1698).

<sup>257</sup> Cary, *An essay on the state of England*, 1-2. On use-value: Marx, *Capital*.

the industriousness of the English and specifically the poor – whom Cary believed were best helped through labor as opposed to charity.<sup>258</sup> Significantly, Cary identified the foundational features of primitive accumulation and the empire’s wealth: colonialism and slavery. Writing on England's foreign trade, Cary explained, “I esteem none to be so profitable to us as that we manage to Africa and our own Plantations in America,” and as he later noted, “and do joyn [sic] them together because of their dependence on each other.”<sup>259</sup>

Cary elaborated that although some critics argued that colonization schemes “drained us of Multitudes of our People,” he believed colonies beneficial to the empire and economy because “People are or may be made the Wealth of a Nation, yet it must be where you find Employment [sic] for them” and that colonies “take off our Product and Manufactures,, supply us with Commodities... imploy our Poor, and encourage our Navigation.”<sup>260</sup> Essential to the wealth of the colonies and therefore empire, though, was “to lay open the African Trade, that the Inhabitants may be supply'd with Negros on easie [sic] Terms.” This was the means by which the English could supplant the Dutch in the sugar trade. As Cary put it, the transatlantic slave trade was “of the most Advantage to this Kingdom of any we drive... for which we have in Return, Gold, teeth, Wax, and Negroes, the last whereof if much better than the first, being indeed the best Trassick [sic] the Kingdom hath, as it doth occasionally give so vast an Employment to our People.... These are the hands by which our Plantations are improved, and 'tis by their Labours

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<sup>258</sup> Cary, *An essay on the state of England*, 2-47. Promoting the “industry” of the poor was one of Cary’s primary intellectual obsessions. John Cary, *A Proposal Offered to the Committee of the Honourable House of Commons Appointed to Consider of Ways for the Better Providing for the Poor and Setting Them on Work* (London: 1700). John Cary, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Corporation of Bristol, in execution of the Act of Parliament for the better employing the poor of that City* (London: 1700). John Cary, *An Essay Towards Regulating the Trade, and Employing the Poor of this Kingdom* (London: 1717).

<sup>259</sup> Cary, *An essay on the state of England*, 47, 66.

<sup>260</sup> Cary, *An essay on the state of England*, 67.

such great Quantities of Sugar, Tobacco, Cotten, Ginger, and Indigo, are raised, which... employ great Numbers of our ships.”<sup>261</sup>

Cary, with an eye for the riches of Spanish America, compared English trade to the Spanish Empire. He explained, “This [slave] Trade indeed is our Silver Mines, for by the Overplus [sic] of Negroes above what will serve our Plantations we draw great Quantities [of silver] thereof from the Spaniard.” The result was that “Jamaica being now become a Magazine of Trade to New-Spain and the Terra Firma, from whence we have yearly vast quantities of Bullion imported to this Kingdom both for the Negroes and Manufactures we send them.”<sup>262</sup> As with the other major topics of the *Essay*, Cary later elaborated on the importance of the slave trade to the empire in another treatise.<sup>263</sup>

After discussing England’s American colonies, Cary returned to Ireland. The “interest” of “the English in Ireland” was colonization and “improvement.” As he put it, “whatever hinders the Peopling, and consequently the cultivating and improving the Lands of Ireland, doth so far hinder the advancing its true Interest.” He further explained the importance of a mercantilist policy towards Ireland, “let them consider also that we have power to limit their Trade so as it may be least prejudicial to our own, which in my Judgement cannot better be done than by reducing that Kingdom to the State of our other Plantations.... This will make Ireland profitable to England.”<sup>264</sup> The point, for Cary, was to maximize English trade through colonization or improvement and coerced or enslaved labor, in the Americas, Ireland, and England itself.

Cary’s final section was an extended analysis on the poor and “Idleness.” He complained that anyone who walked through London would encounter “swarmes [sic] of idle Drones” for

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<sup>261</sup> Cary, *An essay on the state of England*, quotes 72-78.

<sup>262</sup> Cary, *An essay on the state of England*, quotes 72-78.

<sup>263</sup> Cary *A Discourse of the Advantage of the African Trade to this Nation* (London: 1712).

<sup>264</sup> Cary, *An essay on the state of England*, 94, 99

whom “Beggary is now become an Art or Mystery, to which Children are educated from their Cradles.” His solution was simple: “If better imployed [they] might be more useful to the Common-Wealth.” To do so, as with other questions of economy, England needed a political solution. As he put it, “our Laws to put the Poor at work are short and defective,” and thus, “I find that nothing but good Laws can do it, such as will provide work for those who are willing, and force them to work that are able” through work-houses in the production of manufactured goods.”<sup>265</sup>

The *Essay*’s conclusion summarized the essential logic of political-economic statecraft, “Money we know to be the Sinews of War... I believe there are few Men who do not by this time see, that not the longest Sword but the strongest Purse is most likely to come off Victor,” and thus English must pay taxes to defend “those inestimable Jewels of Liberty and Property.”<sup>266</sup> Cary was the most famous and effective political economic lobbyist in Britain in the early eighteenth century, his ideas influential to his contemporaries and Parliament. As one historian summarized the significance of the *Essay*, “for the first time in the English language, trade became a science,” and thus shaped British political economy and statecraft.<sup>267</sup>

The *Essay* also proved indispensable to the Hiberno-Spanish political economist Bernardo Ward who, as we shall see in the next chapter, repackaged much of Cary’s praxis for application to Spain’s circumstances. Ward, like other Irish Catholics, would have been familiar with Cary not only given the political economist’s popularity among learned English and Anglo-Irish men but also given that Cary himself resided in Dublin for a time when, in 1700, the English Parliament appointed him to oversee the Williamite land confiscations and the sale of

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<sup>265</sup> Cary, *An essay on the state of England*, 153-8. Quotes 153, 157-8.

<sup>266</sup> Cary, *An essay on the state of England*, 171.

<sup>267</sup> Reinert, *Translating Empire*, 11.

forfeited lands in Ireland. Moreover, Irishmen such as Ward would not have merely read about English political economy and its theories but witnessed its application first hand.

The Williamite land settlement resecured the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and expanded its ownership of the island to an almost absolute mastery. These men subsequently embarked on robust endeavors to “improve” Ireland. In the explanation of Toby Burnard, “They welcomed a creed that equated their self-interested actions with public spiritedness. As well as handing enhanced rentals to heirs, they were fashioning a prospering and peaceful Ireland, perhaps even a Protestant one. The Irish were being inured to useful labour. Tenants, faced with higher rents, sought the means to pay them.” Thus manufacturing and agricultural improvement.<sup>268</sup> These consummate improvers embarked on plans to transform the landscape, economy, and habits of Ireland and the Irish.<sup>269</sup> Over the course of the first half of the century, these landowning improvers expanded “The characteristic landscape of agrarian capitalism... roads, bridges, improved fields, estate villages, church, country houses, demesne walls, plantation,” and thus, “credit, banking, and capital easily flowed in.”<sup>270</sup> The result was enrichment for the wealthy and middling classes and increased commodity and luxury consumption; significant population growth; and immiseration for the poorest segments of society.<sup>271</sup>

Yet, while the general condition for Irish Catholics deteriorated, a middle class profited. Debarred from land, many Catholics of means turned to trade and became profitable merchants or professionals. Moreover, those Catholics who had retained sizable estates themselves became ardent improvers keen on maximizing their incomes and pursued accommodationist politics for

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<sup>268</sup> Toby Burnard, *Improving Ireland? Projectors, prophets and profiteers, 1641-1786* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 16.

<sup>269</sup> Burnard, *Improving Ireland*, 13-40.

<sup>270</sup> Peter Linebaugh, *Red Round Globe Hot Burning*, 96-115. Quotes 97-8.

<sup>271</sup> Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland*. Linebaugh, *Red Round Globe Hot Burning*, 96-115. Dickson, *The First Irish Cities*, esp. 200-212.

Catholic reprieve.<sup>272</sup> These men, in particular, would have been the most familiar with the ideas and practices – praxis – of the British Empire.

Perhaps the most famous of these eighteenth century Catholic property owners was the antiquarian Cathal Ó Conchubhair – or, Charles O’Conor of Ballinagare.<sup>273</sup> His writings demonstrate the hybridity of Irish Catholic elites, the continued centrality of the Milesian myth to Irish Catholic self-understanding, and the making of Irish diasporic networks in Catholic Europe and the Spanish Empire.

Cathal Ó Conchubhair was born in 1710 just after the major penal laws were passed and he died just months before the revolutionary Society of the United Irishmen formed in 1791. He was one of the moderate, accommodationist Irish Catholic leaders. Like Ó Flaithbheartaigh, he was the head of the cadet branch of a great Gaelic Connaught family, the Conchubhair sept that had once ruled western Ireland as kings and contended for the High Kingship of Ireland – indeed, the major branch of the family claimed descent from the last High King of the island – but had been reduced to sizable but insecure landed property owners. Cathal Ó Conchubhair described his situation thus, “I struggle to keep my hold and if I am left nothing to inherit but the religion and misfortunes of a family long on the decline.”<sup>274</sup> Further like Ó Flaithbheartaigh, Ó Conchubhair wrote about the past in an effort to ameliorate his present. He was an

Enlightenment thinker and historian, inspired by Rousseau, who aspired to place the Irish on

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<sup>272</sup> David Dickson, “Catholics and trade in eighteenth-century Ireland: an old debate revisited,” in T.P. Tower and Kevin Whelan, eds., *Endurance and emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth century* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990), 85-100. Wall, “The Rise of a Catholic Middle Class in Eighteenth Century Ireland,” in Wall, *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, 73-84. Wall, “Catholics in Economic Life,” in Wall, *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, 85-92.

<sup>273</sup> For a general overview of O’Connor, his life, and writings: Luke Gibbons and Kieran O’Connor, eds., *Charles O’Conor of Ballinagare, 1710-91: Life and Works* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2015). For more on eighteenth-century Irish antiquarianism: Clare O’Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: Antiquarian Debate and Cultural Politics in Ireland, c. 1750-1800* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005).

<sup>274</sup> Charles Owen O’Connor, *The O’Conors of Connaught: An Historical Memoir* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1891), 295-296.

equal footing amongst Europe's great civilizations, past and present, and thus enable Irish Catholics to participate in empire.<sup>275</sup>

In 1753, Ó Conchubhair published the first edition of his *Dissertations on the History of Ireland*. As with the *AFM*, Keating's *Forsa Feasa*, and Ó Flaithbheartaigh's *Ogygia*, the foundation of his arguments rested on the *Lebor Gabala Erenn* and the Milesian myth; and, as with his seventeenth century predecessors, Ó Conchubhair wrote to promote the position of the Irish within and beyond the confines of the British Empire. Ó Conchubhair, like Ó Flaithbheartaigh and Céitinn, began his history with a denunciation of the privileging of "ignorant" classical and English accounts of Irish history before defending the extant records of ancient Ireland. After his introduction, Ó Conchubhair explained the origins of the Irish: "the ancient Spaniards were the most martial and free, the most humanized by letters, and the most conversant with the Egyptians, Phoenicians, and Grecians. From that nation, our Gadelian, or Scottish colony, derive their original." He further explained that the name "Scots," refers to the Irish people of Ireland and "northern Britain," and, "has been, in all ages, preserved among the natives themselves. In the genealogical line of Milea, or Milesius, the Spaniard, we find them drawing their original from a supposed Heber Scot, or Scut; what points out, evidently, a memory of their Iberian-Scythian original."<sup>276</sup>

Most significant to this study, he repeated the Irish connection to Spain, believing of the Irish language "that the origin of the speakers must be from Spain." He further argued that Irish historians were "unanimous in giving the Scots a Spanish original," thus these origins should be considered "as fundamental truth." The stress on Irish connections to Spain is made transparent

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<sup>275</sup> Gibbons and O'Connor, eds., *Charles O'Connor of Ballinagare, 1710-91*, 1-23.

<sup>276</sup> Ó Conchubhair, *Dissertations on the Antient History of Ireland*, 4-8, 10-16, 23-29, 40-45, 62-64, 89, 94-97, 141-145, 153-4, 220-223.

in his final essay, a defense of Ó Flaithbheartaigh's *Ogygia* against the criticisms of British writers James Macpherson and Samuel Johnson; but also for the benefit of the diaspora. Ó Conchubhair noted that there were many written records of Irish history in the possession of monasteries and elite Irish families and, "I mention this because this circumstance the more, as some of our countrymen on the continent lie under inconveniences, from a suspicion of not having documents sufficiently authentic, for their pretensions to the distinctions made in favor of birth, in the countries of their destination." He explained that still remaining were "the genealogies of the prime Irish families to the year 1650." This was likely a reference to Irish Catholics navigating the demands of the *probanzas de limpieza de sangre* in Spain.<sup>277</sup>

Cathal Ó Conchubhair knew of the Irish diaspora intimately, indeed he had many family members on the Continent. He was the son of a Jacobite family and had relatives who served in the armies of the Catholic monarchies of Austria, France, and Spain. In fact, his maternal grandfather died fighting for the French, his brother fought for the French, and he had cousins in all three armies. His connections to the diaspora are best evinced in a letter he sent to his son, also named Cathal and living in Dublin. He explained to his son that a relative of theirs living abroad had written to him, Count Dan O'Rourke, sharing family news. Cathal the elder explained, "Capt. O'Conor wrote in favor of Mr. Hugh O'Conor (who is with me this night and sets off on Wednesday next for Dublin) to his friends in Spain." Ó Conchubhair continued to explain, "he [Hugh] thinks his exile will be more tolerable or his fortune more favorable" in Spain. "Capt. O'Conor" was a reference to Thomas O'Conor, a relative and military officer in the French Army's Irish Brigade, while Hugh O'Conor was a relative from the major branch of

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<sup>277</sup> Ó Flaithbheartaigh, *The Ogygia Vindicated*, ed. and trans. Cathal Ó Conchubhair, xxxi-xxxiv, xlvi.

the Ó Conchubhair sept.<sup>278</sup> As the second son in his family and limited by the penal laws, Hugh fled Ireland to preserve the family estate and improve his own self-interested life prospects. In exile, Hugh O’Conor became Hugo O’Conor: Brigadier-General in the Spanish army, governor of Texas, and Inspector-General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain – a major figure studied in chapter four.

## **Conclusion**

The conquest and colonization of Ireland dispossessed its native ruling class, Gaelic and Old English. Alongside New English settlers came English Common Law and English concepts and practices of property and landownership. These changes transformed the island physically, economically, socially, politically, religiously, and culturally. The conquest of Ireland and dislocation of its elite and soldiery produced an immediate diaspora; the colonization of Ireland and imposition of agrarian capitalism created a permanent diaspora, literal and figurative. Not mere passive subjects, Irish Catholics actively cultivated the making of the First Irish Diaspora in Spain through appeals to genealogy and faith, the Milesian myth and Catholicism. The history of the English colonization of Ireland offers an important, understudied chapter in the history of capitalism – that colonial-capitalism, i.e. “primitive accumulation,” “war capitalism,” or in the specificity of this example the “forging of Ireland,” produces diaspora.<sup>279</sup> It also reframes one of the enduring enigmas of Irish diasporic history.

The history of English colonialism in Ireland and the tension of the Irish diaspora’s oscillation between solidarity with subaltern peoples and assimilation into empire has led

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<sup>278</sup> Cathal Ó Conchubhair to Cathal Ó Conchubhair. 17, November 1751. Letter consulted at the O’Conor family archive at Clonalis House, County Roscommon, Ireland.

<sup>279</sup> On primitive accumulation: Marx, *Capital*. On war capitalism: Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*. On the forging of Ireland: Smyth, *Map-making, Landscapes and Memory*. See also: Linebaugh, *Red Round Globe Hot Burning*.

generations of scholars and commentators to ask, “How did the Irish become white?”<sup>280</sup> The simple and obvious answer is that the Irish were always already white, literally and discursively. As demonstrated above, Irish writers conscientiously defined themselves as an ancient, Catholic *sliocht*. English imperialists may have attempted to defamiliarize the Irish, but Irish writers themselves argued vociferously that they were Europeans, i.e. white, Christian, historically and genealogically distinct from and therefore superior to Africans and Native Americans. The racism of the Irish diaspora derived from the same cultural, material, and conceptual origins as did the rest of western European racism: Christianity and genealogical obsession; the material conditions wrought by European colonization, the transatlantic slave trade, and plantation enslavement; and the Enlightenment.<sup>281</sup> In other words, the racism of the Irish diaspora derived from Ireland: and the radicalism of Irish nationalism generative from the experience of the diaspora, literal and figurative, on the island and across the sea.<sup>282</sup>

The importance of this chapter in Irish history to the history of the Atlantic world is twofold. First, the English colonization of Ireland was an essential contribution to its emergence as an Atlantic power. Further, English imperialists developed ideas about managing their empire and its economy through direct, but by no means exclusive, engagement with the empire’s “interests” in Ireland. Second, the English colonization of Ireland engendered the Irish diaspora. This diaspora, in turn, subsequently made a substantial but understudied contribution to the Spanish Empire’s Bourbon Reforms. They did so by leveraging their historic liminality between

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<sup>280</sup> Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>281</sup> Carter, *Race: A Theological Account*. Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions*.

<sup>282</sup> Which is to say, the Irish diaspora’s Janus-Face is reflective of the condition of diaspora itself – the inability to socially reproduce one’s self or community *sans* integration into a foreign community. Class, individual agency, and ideological currents, more than national or religious characteristics, perhaps, influenced the oscillation between or divergent orientations towards radicalism and assimilation. This is a topic I hope to explore in future research, i.e. the radical Irish diaspora.

the English and Spanish empires, a liminality that honed an unusual talent at “imperial translation,” a cosmopolitanism of exile, and an exceptional familiarity with the praxis of an emerging-hegemon: The British Empire. That this diaspora translated the very ideas and practices that had caused their own dislocation is a cruel irony.



overextended territories. The question was: how could the Bourbon dynasty restore Spain to the glory of its past? For many contemporaries and most historians, the answer lay in France.<sup>284</sup>

Following the Treaty of Utrecht (1714), French administrators and experts followed Philippe, Duke of Anjou-cum-Felipe V from France to Spain where they shared their knowledge about new ideas and practices concerning naval construction, emerging sciences, and finance, among other areas of expertise. In an era of imperial emulation in which competing European states applied foreign practices to their own circumstances, few alternatives were more appealing to Spanish reformers than the Catholic and powerful France – especially given the familial connection between the Bourbon monarchies. There was, however, a danger from the perspective of Madrid in an overreliance on French expertise and military alliance.<sup>285</sup> Rather than French dependence, the Bourbons aspired to return Spain to an imagined past as master of the Atlantic and Mediterranean worlds. For this, Spanish reformers looked not only to France but throughout Europe for practices that could be applied to Spain’s circumstances. As model and specter, no state rivaled the British Empire.

The historiography on the relationship between the British and Spanish empires is increasingly “entangled.”<sup>286</sup> While traditional histories focused on the many Anglo-Spanish

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<sup>284</sup> John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989). David Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). Gabriel Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759-1808* (London: Palgrave, 2008). Allan Kuethe and Kenneth Andrien, *The Spanish Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century: War and the Bourbon Reforms, 1713-1796* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). Stanley Stein and Barbara Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000). Paquette also briefly emphasizes British and especially Italian influences on the Bourbon Reforms as well as the wider Enlightenment context but his section on British influences does not connect the Irish diaspora’s role in promoting British statecraft nor does it emphasize the importance of political economy.

<sup>285</sup> Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 46-52.

<sup>286</sup> Jorge Canizares-Esguerra, ed., *Entangled Empires: The Anglo-Iberian Atlantic, 1500-1830* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2018). Eliga Gould, “Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery,” *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (2007): 764-786.

conflicts of the early modern era or approached their combined histories comparatively, more recent scholarship has explored the myriad connections and codependencies of the Hispanic and Anglo-Atlantic.<sup>287</sup> This scholarship has underlined how statesmen and subjects in both empires often relied on each other and particularly so in the colonial periphery and especially in relation to slavery. This literature has made a significant contribution to our understanding of how empires tolerated or even relied on competitors and how they exchanged desirable goods across nominally closed markets – say, Spanish silver or British-supplied enslaved Africans. Hiberno-Spaniards offer a different perspective on the connections and relationship between the Spanish and British empires, one that contributes to this idea of entanglements while also harkening back to a previous generation of historians who focused more attention on imperial rivalries. While Hiberno-Spaniards were agents of entanglement, translating ideas and smuggling goods, they did so to empower themselves and help the Spanish Empire emulate so as to outcompete the British.

Opportunities for early modern Irish exiles were best in the Spanish Empire where the historic relationship between Irish Catholics and the Spanish monarchy enshrined special privileges for the Irish in previous centuries. Granted the status of *naturaliza* (“citizen”), *limpieza de sangre* (“purity of blood), and *Cristiano viejos* (“old Christian”) because of the “genealogical fiction” that the Irish *sliocht* (“race”) derived from Spaniards, seventeenth century Irish exiles established nodes within Spanish mercantile, ecclesiastic, and especially its military communities.<sup>288</sup> The new wave of emigration following the War of the English Succession composed a sizable number of former Irish elites and well-connected Jacobites; with claims of

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<sup>287</sup> John Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020, original 2006). Elena A. Schneider, *The Occupation of Havana: War, Trade, and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 60-1.

<sup>288</sup> Oscar Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, trans. Michael White (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010). Maria Elena Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

aristocratic pedigree and religious exile, Ireland's historic relationship to Spain, and both a deep familiarity and profound antipathy to the emergent British Empire, a cadre of Irish imperialists fixed an "Irish imperial network" within the Spanish Empire's growing bureaucracy and made significant contributions to the Bourbon Reforms both in Madrid and the colonial periphery.<sup>289</sup>

The influence of the first Irish diaspora on the Spanish Empire began following the War of the Spanish Succession and reached a crescendo during and immediately after the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). At that point, the Atlantic world stood at a historic crossroads. On one hand, Spain experienced a series of military defeats, territorial losses, and economic malaise while the British Empire enjoyed a number of victories, conquests, and a booming economy. On another, Madrid rejoiced at its vast, wealthy American empire and believed that the increasingly centralized power of the Spanish Crown would enable it to outcompete London's Parliament. On both sides – in London and Madrid – imperial elites believed that the world was changing rapidly and that the future was up for grabs. They surmised that whichever empire capitalized on this moment would become the hegemon of not only Europe or the Atlantic but possibly the entire world.<sup>290</sup>

By consequence of chance, talent, and Irishness, the three men used as case studies in this chapter were invested with significant power and influence in the remaking of the Spanish Empire at a critical juncture. Change could not and did not flow from Madrid to the rest of the empire, but those granted the coercive infrastructure of the state had more power than others. These were not great men; they were powerful men, worthy of study not because they imposed

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<sup>289</sup> Barrie Crosby, *Irish Imperial Networks: Migration, Social Communication and Exchange in Nineteenth-Century India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

<sup>290</sup> Patrick Griffin, *The Townshend Moment: The Making of Empire and Revolution in the Eighteenth-Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 8.

their will upon history but because they attempted to do so. Their visions did not come to pass, but they did engender events and processes which remade the Spanish Empire and the Atlantic world. This was the Hiberno-Spanish moment.

In 1763 King Carlos III's First Minister, economic adviser, and most trusted general were all Irish exiles: Ricardo Wall was a soldier, diplomat, and the First Minister of the empire for the decade between 1753-1763; Bernardo Ward was an economic adviser to Kings Fernando VI and Carlos III, a prominent member of the *Junta de Moneda y Comercio*, and the author of one of the most important but understudied economic treatises in eighteenth-century Spain, the *Proyecto economico* (1762); and Alejandro O'Reilly was the leading reformer of the Spanish army. The most powerful members of the first Irish diaspora, though by no means the only ones to occupy significant positions within the empire, this elite Hiberno-Spanish cadre established an Irish network within the Spanish imperial bureaucracy that excelled at translating the praxis of foreign empires, especially but not exclusively the British, and composed an influential bloc in the policy debates informing the Bourbon Reforms. Although individuals did not always agree nor did the diaspora demonstrate an entirely consistent program, Hiberno-Spaniards nonetheless pursued a program largely consistent with the politics of the deposed English king James II. They envisioned a Catholic, mercantilist, and regalist empire predicated upon a strong military made rich through the improvements of political economy.

### **Making Hiberno-Spaniards**

The place and value of Irish Catholics between the British and Spanish empires in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world is well introduced through the writings of two contemporaries, the Scottish novelist Tobias Smollett and the Italian *proyectista* Marcelo Dartini. Smollett published his famous picaresque novel and immediate best-seller *Roderick Random* in 1748.

Based on his experiences in the failed British Siege of Cartagena (1741) during the War of the Asiento (1739-1748, known in English as the War of Jenkins's Ear), he wrote the novel as a "Satire on Mankind" and the British Empire.<sup>291</sup> In chapter XLIX, the titular character is challenged to a duel by a "Milesian" named Rourk Oregan. A suitor of Roderick's mistress, Oregan breaks dual etiquette and attempts to fire at Roderick as soon as the hero arrives to the setting. Roderick maneuvers to an easy shot but spares the Irishman, realizing afterwards that Oregan's pistols were old and loaded improperly. Serving as a foil and mirror to Roderick Random, Rourk Oregan reveals that he too is as an adventurer who was previously a lieutenant in the "German" army for whom he fought against the "Turks" in the Siege of Belgrade, proven with documentation on his body; he had wished to join the British army but was unable to, implicitly because of his Catholicism, thus he determined to marry a rich woman. The conspiring and impoverished soldier is later joined by a historian, Fitz-Clabber, who "was then employed in compiling a history of the Kings of Munster, from Irish manuscripts" as well as a philosopher and politician, Mr. Gahagan, who "projected many excellent schemes for the good of his country."<sup>292</sup> Yet, Roderick wondered incredulous, "it seems these literati had been very ill rewarded for their ingenious labours: for between them both, there was but one shirt and half a pair of breeches."<sup>293</sup>

Dartini wrote his *Dialogos familiares* in 1741, seven years before *Roderick Random*, and like Smollett he was primarily interested in critiquing the empire to which he was a peripheral subject. To make his case for the economic reform of the Spanish Empire, Dartini imagined a conversation between an Irishman and Scotsman on a ship travelling from Cartagena to the

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<sup>291</sup> Tobias Smollett, *Roderick Random* (London: Penguin Books, 1995, original 1748), xii.

<sup>292</sup> Smollett, *Roderick Random*, 291-4. Quote 292.

<sup>293</sup> Smollett, *Roderick Random*, 292-3.

Bahamas and thence to London. Their conversation centered on the Bourbon Reforms and Spanish trade policy, with special attention to the British-controlled *asiento* and the value of monopolistic trading companies.<sup>294</sup> The Irish Catholic is cast as the defender of Bourbon policy and the Scottish Protestant as its critic. Their conversation is nuanced and even. The Scotsman is a South Sea Company factor in Cartagena and the Irishman a merchant, both are depicted as worldly and knowledgeable. Both men draw on written sources, practical and theoretical, to make their claims; the Scotsman criticizes Spanish policy to which the Irishman either accepts and attempts to articulate solutions or rejects the Scotsman's critique. The Irishman is cast as an astute observer of the differences between the British and Spanish empires.<sup>295</sup>

Dartini ventriloquized an Irishman to advance his own perspective on Spanish economic policy, a rhetorical device that underlines the perceived value of Irish exiles to the Spanish Empire. Smollett's stage-Irish characters subtly mask his critique of British anti-popery and Irish exclusion. Dartini's Irish character is a recognizably valuable member of the Spanish Empire, Smollett's characters are conniving and impoverished fools. These divergent representations of Irish Catholics and their perceived value to empire underscore the liminal position that they occupied between the two largest empires in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world. Colonized subjects in the British Empire, Irish Catholics were valuable subjects of the Spanish.

It was this context that made Irish exiles useful "imperial translators," a skill enhanced by a cosmopolitanism of exile honed through extensive travel and wide-ranging networks. These talents made ideal reformers for the Bourbons of Spain. To best understand how and why this happened, it is worth first explaining the making of Hiberno-Spaniards and the size and

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<sup>294</sup> Miguel Delgado Barrado, *Fomento Portuario y Compañías Privilegiadas* (Madrid: 1998), 36-9, 57, 67-70.

<sup>295</sup> Barrado, *Fomento Portuario y Compañías Privilegiadas*, 57-60.

experience of the larger diaspora to contextualize the men centered in this chapter and mitigate the limitations of this rhetorical device. Put another way, explaining the experience of the wider diaspora first will underscore the historical significance of the case studies and help them appear less coincidental.

Early modern Spain was a fiercely nativist society. The Spanish aristocracy guarded its bloodlines and trumped the supposed superiority of all things Spanish. Still, Tamar Herzog has demonstrated how Spaniards built categories of belonging and exclusion in relation to immigrants to Spain and Spanish America over the course of the early modern period, stressing that Spaniards embraced foreigners as *vecinos* (neighbors, or in this context citizens) and *naturales* (natives) if they complied with specific duties and were Catholic. These categories were mutable in some circumstances but fixed in others, for instance *vecindad* referred both to community membership and to being “civilized” and therefore justified the exclusion of *conversos* (Jewish converts to Catholicism) and Africans while allowing for the admission of foreign Catholics such as the Irish. *Naturaleza* (nativeness) conferred exclusivity in office holding and in the use of ecclesiastical benefices in Castile and then later throughout the empire. Over time, the two concepts blended and *vecindad* became a means of *naturaleza*. Herzog concludes that while Catholicism was the precondition for becoming a Spanish citizen or native it was in relation to a local community that immigrants achieved *vecindad* or *naturaleza*.<sup>296</sup> This was true for Irish exiles who relied on ingratiating themselves into Spanish communities to become full-fledged Hiberno-Spaniards.

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<sup>296</sup> Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 1-16, 119-140.

The case of the Irish in Spain also reaffirms María Elena Martínez's emphasis on *limpieza de sangre* ("purity of blood"). Integration into the community and especially the aristocracy demanded that Irish exiles submit themselves to the *probanzas de limpieza de sangre* and prove the purity of their lineage. For the Irish, they could claim pure bloodlines and even Spanish descent because of the Milesian myth that the Irish *sliocht* derived from Spain. This "genealogical fiction" enabled full Irish integration into the Spanish elite.<sup>297</sup>

Irish exiles were well suited for assimilation to Spain because they derived from a society equally predicated upon Catholicism and genealogy. Although Irish exiles ran into problems with the demands that the *probanza* system placed on written genealogical evidence given the oral nature of Irish society, the pervasive Irish focus on genealogy enabled Irish exiles to call on each other to validate genealogical claims. This is most evident in the records of the Irish College at Salamanca throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but is also clear in the various petitions of Irish soldiers and imperial officials.<sup>298</sup> For example, one early seventeenth century applicant, following the conventions of the *probanza* system, declared, "I Thomas Briones," was born in "KilKenia [sic] to John Briones and Joana Hoyne... I apply for the Irish seminary 4 August, 1600."<sup>299</sup> In other examples, the importance of written evidence to Enlightenment era and Spanish understandings of class and *raza* ("race") pushed many elite Hiberno-Spaniards into commissioning genealogies that "proved" their noble or royal lineages

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<sup>297</sup> Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*. See chapter 1 on the Milesian myth.

<sup>298</sup> At the special collections archives of Maynooth University there are thousands of Irish *probanza* petitions for the Irish College at Salamanca, dozens of which I have consulted and hundreds of which I have glanced at. They are all more or less the same in accordance with Spanish protocol: the name of an Irish exile who desired to enter the college, their place of origin and residence, and their family history with two witnesses. For more on the *probanza* process: Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 65.

<sup>299</sup> Russell Library, Papers of the Irish College in Salamanca at Maynooth College Archives. Box 1, folder 2, SP 2/12.

and their ancestors' Catholicism.<sup>300</sup> For most, however, Irishness and Catholicism were enough to integrate into Spain's ecclesiastic, military, and mercantile communities. Indeed, the constitution of the *Regimiento Irlanda* declared in 1715 that, "Since from time immemorial, the Spanish have recognized the Irish as their descendants and as such they gave them the opportunity of naturalization."<sup>301</sup>

The most common experience of Irish exiles in eighteenth century Spain was that of military service. Many of these soldiers or their relatives had fought in the War of the Two Kings or the War of the Spanish Succession, in the armies of James II, Louis XIV, or Felipe V. Initially Irish soldiers were organized into two regiments of dragoons, *Dragones de Edimburgo* and *Dragones de Dublin*, and five of infantry, later reduced to three – the *Irlanda*, *Hibernia*, and *Ultonia*.<sup>302</sup> Given that not all Irish soldiers served in Irish regiments and that not all soldiers in Irish regiments were of Irish origin, it is difficult to ascertain precisely how many Irishmen joined the Spanish army in the eighteenth century. Oscar Morales has concluded that this number was lower than it was in the seventeenth century as more Irish soldiers joined the French and even, during and especially after the American Revolution, the British army. Nonetheless, the first year we have a recorded estimate suggests an Irish presence of around 7,000 soldiers in 1768. This number declined to between 2,000 and 3,000 by 1792. It is most likely that these

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<sup>300</sup> For example: "Pedigree of O'Farrill of Glin, Co. Longford, of Killindowde, Co. Longford, and of Havanna, West Indies, c.1500 -- 1750." National Library of Ireland, Genealogical Office: Ms.162, 54-5. "Informe sobre el antiguo catolicismo de Coppinger por Padre Butler de la Compañía de Jesús," 1766, AGI, Santo Domingo, leg. 2210. Thomas "Chevalier" O'Gorman, *The Genealogy of the House of O'Reilly* (1790), accessed at Burns Library, Boston College.

<sup>301</sup> "Proposiciones que ofrece a los Reales Pies de V.M.C. el Rejimiento de Infanteria Irlandesa de Burch para entrar en su real servicio," Barcelona, 9 April 1715. AGS, GM, leg. 1815. Quoted in Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 184.

<sup>302</sup> Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 185-88. It is worth noting both that Irish soldiers did not serve exclusively in these regiments nor were these regiments exclusively Irish.

numbers were highest in the years in which there is not available evidence, the immediate aftermath of 1688 and 1703.<sup>303</sup>

Irish soldiers' participation in the War of the Spanish Succession was significant and ingratiated the Irish to the Bourbon Court in Madrid, a position further improved upon by the ambassador of the Jacobite Pretender James III to Felipe V, the Irish Catholic Toby Bourke.<sup>304</sup> Thus in 1701 Felipe V confirmed the privileges granted to the Irish by the previous Hapsburg monarchy. The most significant of these was that from 1680 which officially granted Irish exiles the same rights as Spaniards in access to military and public positions.<sup>305</sup>

Military service was the primary means by which elite Irish families assimilated into Spanish society. The preeminence of dispossessed Irish lords as officers within Irish regiments therefore not only confirmed the historic leadership and social preeminence of Irish lords but also ingratiated them within the Spanish military, permitting valued experience in warfare and leadership. It also allowed them to cultivate important connections. The privileged place of Irish lords in the Spanish military was a pattern established by the Hapsburgs in the seventeenth century and continued by the Bourbons in the eighteenth.<sup>306</sup>

These elite families patronized one another and thereby established an Irish diasporic network in the Spanish Empire. As one example, a late eighteenth century Spanish military inspector observed how the Hiberno-Spanish colonel of the *Ultonia* regiment, Juan Kindelan, favored the promotion of Antonio O'Nelly over more qualified persons. He wrote, "I am led to

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<sup>303</sup> Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 188-196; figures on 196.

<sup>304</sup> Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 179-82.

<sup>305</sup> Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 182.

<sup>306</sup> Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 5, 190-204.

observe that, more than the question of experience in his proposals, he is moved by party spirit, very common among the Irish.”<sup>307</sup>

They also claimed that they deserved their positions based on genealogical right. Kindelan himself had benefitted from the patronage of his father and in turn patronaged his own son. In 1798, now a colonel, Juan Kindelan applied for the promotion of his son, Jose Maria Kindelan y Meneses, despite his son’s lack of qualifications, explaining “he is my son; his paternal grandfather was colonel of Irlanda regiment and died as Military and Political Governor of Zamora.” The Inspector in charge of adjudicating the request, another Hiberno-Spaniard named Gonzalo O’Farrill, determined “the good service of his ancestors make him very worthy of the clemency of Your Majesty and deserving of the grace that the son be placed.”<sup>308</sup> A similar case was made in 1788 by Diego O’Reilly and in 1792 by Tadeo O’Sullivan Beare, both of whom likewise made petitions for promotion predicated upon their ancestry.<sup>309</sup> In another example, as governor of West Florida, Arturo O’Neill repeatedly requested the promotion of his brother within the military and for a position as governor of Puerto Rico.<sup>310</sup>

Such favoritism did not always foster harmony either between Irish and Spaniards or within the diaspora itself. In 1789, the Hiberno-Spanish inspector of infantry Felix O’Neill wrote to King Charles IV questioning the promotion of the unexperienced Juan Alejandro O’Reilly; the reply was simple, “It is legitimate; his [Alejandro O’Reilly’s] wife asked the favour of the

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<sup>307</sup> Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), GM, leg. 6055 (1794): Ultonia (Madrid, 20 Nov, 1794). Quoted in Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 196.

<sup>308</sup> AGS, GM, leg. 6068: Ultonia. Inspector’s opinion given in Madrid, 12 Sept. 1798. Ascent of Josef Maria Kindelan: San Ildefonso, 27 Sept. 1798. Quoted in Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 204-5.

<sup>309</sup> Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 205-6.

<sup>310</sup> Arturo O’Neill to Esteban Miró, 7 July 1784. Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Papeles de Cuba (Cuba), leg. 36, 443. Arturo O’Neill to Esteban Miró, 18 August, 1784. AGI, Cuba, leg. 36, 455.

Queen, and the King granted it.”<sup>311</sup> Military service, patronage, and support for genealogical hierarchy were means of Hiberno-Spanish assimilation and advancement within the Spanish army, aristocracy, and bureaucracy.

Not all exiles joined the army, however. Significant numbers of Irish men and women settled as subjects within Spain and made their livings in a variety of ways. This included common labor, artisans, domestic or servant labor, and professional work such as lawyers or doctors. Many of these men and women entered ecclesiastical orders, and many of the men became merchants.<sup>312</sup> The most significant concentration of non-military Irish exiles were in the Irish colleges and religious institutions throughout Spain and the merchant communities of Spain’s port cities, most of all Cadiz.

Whereas the seventeenth-century Irish colleges in the Spanish Empire played an outsized role in the ideological development of an Irish nation, the eighteenth-century colleges were primarily training grounds for Irish priests to receive an education before returning to serve parishioners in Ireland. The presence of Irish ecclesiastical training in Spain and France was common because of the prohibitions against training new Catholic priests in Ireland.<sup>313</sup> In Spain, Irish ecclesiastics received an education and training founded in theology, Latin and languages, and philosophy. Those who entered specific orders such as the Franciscans or Jesuits would have received further education and training as befit the specific goals and praxis of the given order. Upon completion of their training, most Irish ecclesiastics returned to serve Catholics in

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<sup>311</sup> AGS, GM, leg. 6032: Irlanda, fo. 269, Felix O’Neill to Jeronimo Caballero, Saragossa, 6 Oct. 1789. Quoted in Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 207.

<sup>312</sup> Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 167-234.

<sup>313</sup> Maureen Wall, “The Penal Laws 1691-1760,” in *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century: Collected essays of Maureen Wall*, ed. Gerard O’Brien (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1989), 1-60.

Ireland.<sup>314</sup> For one example typical of many, the Hiberno-Spanish priest Dionsio Doyle testified in 1785, “I, the current student of the Irish seminary, departed for the Irish mission” upon the completion of his studies.<sup>315</sup> Additionally, a significant set of Hiberno-Spanish ecclesiastics served missions in Spain’s American empire. As we shall see, Hiberno-Spanish ecclesiastical figures played important roles in the religious missions of Cuba and New Spain.<sup>316</sup>

Irish merchants were categorized as *extranjeros avecindados* (settled foreigners) from 1716 onwards and in 1718 King Felipe V declared that Irish merchants would “be treated and favoured with distinction.”<sup>317</sup> In effect, this meant they did not have to pay the same onerous taxes which many Spanish contemporaries believed harmed Spanish commerce and merchants. Thanks to such privileges, Hiberno-Spanish merchants thrived in port cities like Bilbao but especially in Andalusia and most of all the eighteenth-century entrepot of Cadiz.<sup>318</sup> The

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<sup>314</sup> Blanco White, *Autobiografía*. Eva Velasco Moreno, “Pedro Sinnot: La Obra Intelectual de un Clérigo Irlandés en España,” in García, ed., *La emigración Irlandesa en el siglo XVIII*, 229-243. For more on the Irish colleges and their intellectual ambit: Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 50-68. Gillespie and O’Húginn, *Irish Europe: 1600-1650: Writing and Learning*.

<sup>315</sup> Russell Library, Papers of the Irish College in Salamanca at Maynooth College Archives. Box 12, folder 1, SP/10/1, Leg. 10. There are dozens if not hundreds of examples of such Irish ecclesiastics training in Spain and returning to Ireland from the Salamanca College held in the archives at Maynooth University.

<sup>316</sup> For more on Irish ecclesiastics in Spain and the Irish College at Salamanca, see: Monica Henchy, “The Irish College at Salamanca,” *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 70, no. 278/9 (1981): 220-227. See also chapter 1. For more on Irish ecclesiastics in Spanish America, see chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>317</sup> Royal Decree by Felipe V, San Lorenzo, 23 October 1718, AGS, SM, Asuntos de particulares, leg. 495. Quoted in Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 259.

<sup>318</sup> Lourdes Márquez Carmona, “Irlandeses en la Carrera de Indias: Aproximación a la Presencia de la Colonia Mercantil de Cádiz (España) en el Siglo XVIII en Xalapa (México), a través de los Protocolos Notariales,” *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, 9, no. 3 (2020): 29-41. M.C. Lario, “The Irish traders in eighteenth century Cadiz,” in David Dickson, Jan Parmentier, and Jane Ohlmeyer, eds., *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Gent: Academia Press, 2007), 211-230. Manuel Fernández Chaves and Mercedes Gamero Rojas, “A description of the Irish in seville merchants of the eighteenth century by Manuel Fernández Chaves and Mercedes Gamero Rojas,” trans. David Barnwell and Carmen Rodríguez Alonso, *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* (2007), 106-111. At the Cadiz provincial archive there are significant records of the Irish presence in the port of Cadiz and province of Andalusia. For example: Libro de rentas de Eclesiásticas y comerciantes. Archivo Histórico Municipal de Cádiz (AHMC), Sección Hacienda, 163 L 6953. Records that in 1763 the Irish/English merchant community was the third largest in the city, behind only Spaniards and French traders. Moreover, see the following for an index of the wills of Hiberno-Spaniards in Cadiz, of which I have consulted dozens in person at the AHMC: Samuel Fannin, “Index of wills made by Irish residents in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz,” *Archivium Hibernicum* Vol. 69 (2016): 151-206. On Bilbao: Samuel Fannin, “Documents of Irish interest in Archivo de la Diputación Foral de Bizkaia (Bilbao) [with index],” *Archivium Hibernicum* 64 (2011): 170-193.

migration of Irish merchants to Spanish port cities increased after 1691 and, as with Irish soldiers, Irish merchants trusted and patronized one another, thereby establishing durable and effective networks to advance their shared interests. Irish merchants developed a complex and long-distance trade network between themselves throughout the Atlantic world, with Irish partners in the British, French, and Spanish Atlantic in addition to their connections in Ireland.<sup>319</sup> They did so primarily through diasporic networks of kinship and nationality, as was the case for the successful White, Plunket and Trading Company as well as the many Irish merchants in Cadiz who engaged in profitable reexport trades from Spain's American trade to Ireland, Britain, or elsewhere.<sup>320</sup> Irish merchants thrived when they could leverage their linguistic skill and access to both Spanish and British markets. They also benefitted by petitioning both Spanish and British administrators for support, protection, or privileges.<sup>321</sup> As we shall see, this ability to move between the Spanish and British Atlantic placed Irish merchants in an especially advantageous position to profit from the slave trade.

We might generalize and personalize this experience of Irish merchants through two examples. First, the case of the Butler family demonstrates extensive and profitable Irish networks in the Atlantic world. An elite Hiberno-Norman or "Old English" family, one member

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<sup>319</sup> Louis Cullen, *Economy, trade and Irish merchants at home and abroad, 1600-1988* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2012). Louis Cullen, *The Irish Brandy Houses of Eighteenth-Century France* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2000). Louis Cullen, John Shovlin and Thomas M. Truxes, eds., *The Bordeaux-Ireland letters: correspondence of an Irish community abroad* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013). Begona Villar Garcia, ed., *La emigración Irlandesa en el siglo XVIII* (Malaga: 2000).

<sup>320</sup> Maria Jose Alvarez Pantoja, "Irlandeses en Sevilla en el siglo XVIII: White, Plunket y Compania," in Begona Villar Garcia, ed., *La emigración Irlandesa en el siglo XVIII*, 19-40; Paloma Fernandez Perez, Comercio y Familia en la España Pre-industrial: Redes y estrategias de inmigrantes irlandeses en el cadiz del siglo XVIII," in Garcia, ed., *La emigración Irlandesa en el siglo XVIII*, 127-142. Cristobal Garcia Montoro, "Inversiones industriales de los Irlandeses en Malaga durante la etapa final del antiguo régimen," in Garcia, ed., *La emigración Irlandesa en el siglo XVIII*, 143-156. On transatlantic commercial networks, kinship, and the Irish presence in Spanish trading: Paloma Fernandez Perez and Juan Carlos Sola-Corbacho, "Regional Identity, Family, and Trade in Cadiz and Mexico City in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, no. 3-4 (2004): 358-385.

<sup>321</sup> Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 259-268.

of a minor branch of the Butlers from the Irish parish of Ballinakill in County Laois near the city of Kilkenny, William Butler Langton, immigrated to Cadiz at the age of 16 in 1730 where he became Guillermo. In Cadiz, he served as an apprentice among already established family members. The Butlers had mercantile networks throughout Europe – including England, Ireland, Spain, and Italy – and Spanish America – including Veracruz and Mexico City. In fact, one member of the family, Francisco Butler Ortiz, even worked for the *Casa de Contratacion* in Cadiz, which organized the monopoly of Spanish American trade, and others had organized familial-business through the *Companias Butler & Matew, Bourne & Butler* as well as the *Butler, Browne, Wadding & C.* These companies pooled capital to invest in the risk of transatlantic trade, established links in various Atlantic ports via kin and fellow Hiberno-Spaniards, and specialized in commodities such as wine or sherry, tobacco, and other Spanish or Spanish-American goods.<sup>322</sup>

Guillermo Butler Langton found employment with the *Carew, Langton & C.* merchant house in Cadiz. Three decades later, like many other Hiberno-Spaniards, he married endogamously, marrying Maria Josefa O'Callaghan in 1761 whose uncle was the *teniente general* Reynaldo MacDonell and whose brother, Julian Ramon, also made his living through Spanish American trade in Cadiz. Given that her husband was often travelling, Maria Josefa often herself negotiated or acted on behalf of her husband's commercial interests. In addition to endogamy, the Irishness of the Hiberno-Spanish community in Cadiz was demonstrated by the popularity of the image of Saint Patrick in the home of many Irish families. Despite the risks, many Hiberno-Spanish merchants made immense profits. For example, at least one member of

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<sup>322</sup> Lourdes Márquez Carmona, *La memoria de los irlandeses: Cádiz y la familia Butler* (Roquetas de Mar, Almería, Spain: Editorial Circulo Rojo, 2015), 1-134.

the extended Butler clan, Nicolas Langton, became wealthy enough to assimilate into the Spanish nobility after he passed the *probanza de limpieza de sangre* in 1769. His wealth, its origins, and the persistence of Irishness are further evinced in a surviving piece of material culture from the family, an eighteenth-century Chinese-porcelain plate painted with the family's coat of arms.<sup>323</sup> We may learn more about the personal perspective and thoughts of such diasporic, merchant Irish *emigres* from the memoir of one of the most famous Hiberno-Spaniards, José María Blanco White (c.1775-1841).

José María Blanco White's *Autobiografía* offers perhaps the most intimate or personal source into the thinking, life, and perspective of a Hiberno-Spaniard. White's *Autobiography* is a useful source into the generalized experience and networks of the diaspora – especially his youth. More often associated with his *El Español* magazine that he published in London, abolitionism, and his support for Latin American independence, Blanco White was a third generation Hiberno-Spaniard born in Seville to a merchant family based in Andalusia similar to that of Guillermo Butler Langton.<sup>324</sup>

Significantly, Blanco White began his *Autobiografía* by focusing on his family's elite genealogy and commitment to Catholicism. Analogous to many Hiberno-Spaniards keen to promote their place in Spain and defend their privileges, Blanco White explained that his ancestors were “notable persons” and “lost wealth and influence as a consequence of their adherence to Catholicism” in Ireland. Indeed, he also described his parents as “sincerely pious” and devout Catholics. The Hiberno-Spaniard identified the Cromwellian Conquest as the origins of his family's decline until his grandfather emigrated from Waterford “to escape the penal

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<sup>323</sup> Carmona, *La memoria de los irlandeses*, 89-172.

<sup>324</sup> Jesús Sanjurjo, *In the Blood of Our Brothers Abolitionism and the End of the Slave Trade in Spain's Atlantic Empire, 1800–1870* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2021), 5-46, esp. 8-12, 32.

laws.” His uncle, Philip Nangle, made a “great fortune” as a merchant in Seville, married endogamously, and assimilated into the Spanish nobility. Further evidence of the diaspora’s transnational networks, Blanco White’s father was born in Seville, spent a period of his childhood in Waterford, and then received his education in France before returning to Seville and making a living through a reexport trade with Spain, Spanish America, and England.<sup>325</sup>

For his part, Blanco White depicted his childhood as comfortable and entangled with the Irish community in Seville and Andalusia. Interestingly but not commented upon, his childhood overlapped with Alejandro O’Reilly’s governorship of the southern Spanish province. In any case, he described how he socialized primarily with other Irish migrants or their descendants who taught him English and received an education that included learning Latin, how to play the violin, and the arithmetic necessary for merchant bookkeeping before he began study for an ecclesiastic vocation. His subsequent life story was extraordinary and shaped primarily by forces beyond the purview of this study – i.e. the Age of Revolution. Nonetheless, his autobiography provides a clear, direct source on Hiberno-Spanish assimilation.<sup>326</sup>

The exact numbers are perhaps unascertainable, but it is safe to note that the presence of Irish exiles in the Spanish Empire likely numbered in the tens of thousands in the early eighteenth century, may have declined or become less visible over the course of the century, and was especially clustered in a few locations – Bilbao, Madrid, Cadiz – and institutions – the army, bureaucracy, church, and merchant houses. Within this diaspora, many thrived because of their liminal position between the Spanish and British Atlantics. This liminality also made them useful to the Spanish Crown; and it was in relationship to the Bourbon Reforms that Hiberno-Spaniards

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<sup>325</sup> José María Blanco White, *Autobiografía* (Barcelona: Linkgua, 2021, original 1830), 1-16.

<sup>326</sup> White, *Autobiografía*.

made their most significant contribution to the Spanish Empire because they were capable of translating the methods of Spain's rivals – namely but not exclusively the British Empire and political economy.

### **Emulating England: Ricardo Wall & The State**

Historians of the British Empire, the Atlantic world, and capitalism tend to recognize the Revolution of 1688 as a critical moment in the making of a “modern” English, soon-to-be British military-fiscal state. In his classic work, John Brewer demonstrated how the subsequent centralization of state power, particularly over the spheres of finance, administration, and war, contributed to the slow but steady transformation of England from one of many competing European states into an emerging global superpower. Seen from this vantage point, the British Parliament's superior ability to coerce taxation, fund a national debt, and build an effective navy help explain the empire's success.<sup>327</sup> More recent scholarship has contributed to this narrative by stressing the significance of Britain's settler-colonial empire and its mastery of the transatlantic slave trade, initiatives largely driven by non-state actors and joint-stock companies.<sup>328</sup> By way of contrast, historians tend to depict the early modern Spanish state as ineffectual and backwards.

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<sup>327</sup> John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688-1783* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988; this perspective is echoed in the more pugnacious work of Steve Pincus: Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009). It is worth noting that other scholars emphasize the longer-term processes or particularly the English Civil Wars as equally if not more important to this development. In any case, it seems evident that in the seventeenth century the English state became less monarchical and less feudalistic. See: Geoff Kennedy, *Diggers, Levellers, and Agrarian Capitalism: Radical Political Thought in Seventeenth Century England* (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2008). Allan I. Macinnes, eds., *The British Revolution, 1629-1660* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). Ellen Meiksins Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View* (New York: Verso, 2017, original 1999), 95-121. David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). For a perspective on earlier antecedents of the peculiarities of the English Empire, see: Jessica Hower, *Tudor Empire: The Making of Early Modern Britain and the British Atlantic World, 1485-1603* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

<sup>328</sup> Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power, and the Origins of Our Times* (New York: Verso, 2010, original 1994). Vincent Brown, *Tacky's Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave War* (Harvard University Press, 2020). Trevor Burnard and John Garrigus, *The Plantation Machine: Atlantic Capitalism in French Saint-Domingue and British Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014). Richard Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1860* (New York: Verso, 2010). Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Vintage Books, 2014).

So too did contemporaries.<sup>329</sup> The reorganization of Spain's archaic institutions upon which the empire ruled was therefore foundational to the wider Bourbon Reform program. Often disregarded in extant Spanish historiography, the "forgotten" Hiberno-Spanish First Minister Ricardo Wall attempted to reform the Spanish state to make it resemble the more efficient and effective British Empire.<sup>330</sup>

The Wall ministry marked not only the beginning of a Hiberno-Spanish moment but also the critical hinge point that pivoted the Bourbon Reforms into their most ambitious phase and, specifically, committed the Spanish Empire to a reorientation that centered the "jealousy of trade."<sup>331</sup> Rather than seek territorial aggrandizement, the Wall ministry shifted Spanish imperial priorities toward expanding commerce, maximizing economic production, and securing control over Spanish American trade. In other words, the Wall ministry engendered a shift in Spanish statecraft: the adoption of mercantilist and political economic statecraft.

Ricardo Wall was born in Nantes on November 5, 1694 to exiled Irish Jacobites. His family was of "Old English" background and lived near the Irish city of Limerick for centuries. Although proving precise ancestry is impossible, there are records of the Wall family in that area having owned vast swathes of land until losing it piecemeal over the course of the English

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<sup>329</sup> Edward Corredera, *The Diplomatic Enlightenment: Spain, Europe, and the Age of Speculation* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 1-28. Corredera pushes back against this narrative; I tangentially contribute to this perspective of an 18th century Spanish resurgence against the telos of decline. On decline: Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000), 102-5. Harcourt-Smith, *Cardinal of Spain*, 3-22, 150-1. Regina Grafe, *Distant Tyranny: Markets, Power, and Backwardness in Spain, 1650-1800* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2012). J.I. Israel, "The Decline of Spain: A Historical Myth?" *Past & Present* no. 91 (1981), 170-180. Henry Kame, "The Decline of Spain: A Historical Myth?" *Past & Present* no. 81 (1978): 24-50.

<sup>330</sup> Diego Alarcía, *El Ministerio Wall: La 'España discreta' del 'ministro olvidado'* (Seville: Fundacion de Municipios Pablo de Olavide, 2006). In the first chapter of his work on Ricardo Wall's ministry, Alarcía suggests that Wall's ministry has been overlooked for reasons of Spanish nationalism; this is perhaps extendable to the wider Hiberno-Spanish diaspora and its relative obscurity. The same explanation – Spanish nationalism – may also apply to the other side, i.e. Irish nationalism shaped Irish historiography in such a way as to also discourage study into the Hiberno-Spanish diaspora.

<sup>331</sup> Istavan Hont, *Jealousy of Trade*.

colonization of Ireland. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that the Wall family participated in the Kildare Rebellion (1534–1535), the 1641 Rising, and that Wall’s father served in the War of the Two Kings (1688-1691). The Wall family were ardent and well-connected Jacobites for whom defeat in successive wars of colonization led to dispossession and exile; for an Old English family such as Wall’s this was a consequence of English anti-popery that discursively justified English colonization in Ireland and joined the Old English to the Gaelic Irish in the eyes of English policymakers and colonists. Catholicism was therefore a foundational aspect of Wall’s political and personal world, but as we shall see he and his fellow regalists preferred that the Church be subordinate to the Crown.<sup>332</sup>

Ricardo Wall’s childhood in Nantes is obscure. The city was, however, one of the most prominent ports of the French Empire, a thriving Atlantic entrepot with deep connections to both Ireland and the French Americas that was home to a sizable Irish population and a thriving commercial network. In fact, one of the wealthiest slave traders in the French Empire was the Nantes-based Irish Catholic Antoine Walsh.<sup>333</sup> Following the death of his father, Wall was reared by his uncle, a clockmaker, until his family’s connections placed him at the age of sixteen as an attendant to the Duchess of Vendome, a princess of the French Bourbon royal family whose husband the Duc de Vendome was among Louis XIV’s closest confidants and most trusted military commanders. From 1710 to 1716 Wall lived at Saint-Germain-en-Laye alongside the exiled Jacobite court and served the Duchess, living among the Bourbon and Stuart elite and

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<sup>332</sup> Hubert Gallwey, *The Wall Family in Ireland 1170 to 1970: 800-Year History of a Distinguished Norman Family* (Cork: Curragh Publications, 1970), esp. 188-191. Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall*, 44-7. On Regalism: see below.

<sup>333</sup> Randolph Cock, "Walsh, Antoine Vincent, Jacobite first Earl Walsh" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). For more on the Irish presence in France and beyond see: Thomas M. Truxes, ed., *Ireland, France, and the Atlantic in a Time of War: Reflections on the Bordeaux-Dublin Letters, 1757* (London: Routledge, 2019), esp. 10-14. Guy Saupin, "Les Reseaux Commerciaux des Irlandais de Nantes sous le Regne de Louis XIV," in *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, eds. David Dickson, Jam Parmentier, and Jane Ohlmeyer, 115-146.

coming into adulthood during the uncertainties of the War of the Spanish Succession.<sup>334</sup> The stakes and politics of the war must have made an impression on the youthful Wall.

The War of the Spanish Succession was the first of three crises in the history of eighteenth-century Spain. Indeed, such were the stakes that many contemporaries considered it a likelihood that England and France would partition the Spanish Empire.<sup>335</sup> The war was fought between two rival claimants to the Spanish Crown following the death of the childless King Ferdinand VII in 1700. Before his death, the Hapsburg monarch declared Philippe, Duke of Anjou and grandson of French King Louis Bourbon XIV as his heir, a claim that the Austrian Emperor Leopold I challenged on behalf of his son the Archduke Charles. These competing claims escalated into the first global war when the Duke of Anjou-cum-Felipe V granted the Spanish *asiento* slave trade monopoly to the French *Compagnie de Guinée* and inspired English fears of French mastery of Spanish America, thus transforming a continental war over the succession to the Spanish throne into a war over Spanish America and its markets.<sup>336</sup>

Philippe of Anjou became Felipe V and although he was a foreign prince the Spanish enthusiastically fought for him after his energetic embrace of Spanish nationalism and in defense of their empire – exempting Catalonia, a central space of conflict and civil war.<sup>337</sup> The anti-French coalition was led by Austria and the British Empire. The fortunes of war swung significantly over thirteen years but was essentially resolved when the Bourbons drove the invading Hapsburg army out of Spain and then soon after the Hapsburg claimant ascended to the

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<sup>334</sup> Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall*, 44-7. Simon Harcourt-Smith, *Cardinal of Spain: The Life and Strange Career of Alberoni* (New York: Knopf, 1944), 39.

<sup>335</sup> Harcourt-Smith, *Cardinal of Spain*, 23-35. Corredera, *The Diplomatic Enlightenment: Spain, Europe, and the Age of Speculation*, 26-30.

<sup>336</sup> Georges Scelle, *La Traite Negriere aux Indes de Castille: Contrats et Traités d'Assiento* (Paris: 1906), 114-140, 455-83.

<sup>337</sup> Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 37-46.

Austrian throne in 1711, meaning both the war had become increasingly untenable and that victory for the anti-French coalition might mean a union of Spain and Austria – almost as unappealing to the British as a Spanish-French union. In the ensuing Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Felipe V won his empire but was forced to accept the loss of territories in the former Spanish Netherlands and Italy.<sup>338</sup> The treaty further forced the Spanish into trade concessions to the nascent British Empire; most odious, this included ceding the Spanish *asiento* slave trade monopoly to the British South Sea Company. These trading concessions were in the eyes of Felipe V the means by which British merchants siphoned away the wealth of the Spanish Empire.<sup>339</sup> Therefore, the first Spanish Bourbon and his most trusted adviser, the Italian Cardinal Alberoni, embarked on a program to restore Spain to its previous status as hegemon. Thus began the Bourbon Reforms.

As it happened, Alberoni was a close confidant of the Duc of Vendome and at the recommendation of the Duchess Ricardo Wall followed Alberoni to Madrid where he served as the Cardinal's secretary.<sup>340</sup> Alberoni is an enigmatic figure in Spanish historiography, officially powerless but with privileged access to ear of Felipe V and his second wife Elizabeth Farnese.<sup>341</sup> In Wall's position as Alberoni's secretary, the Irish exile would have remained close to the

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<sup>338</sup> Harcourt-Smith, *Cardinal of Spain*, 76-107.

<sup>339</sup> Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 22-60. Adrian Finucane, *The Temptations of Trade: Britain, Spain, and the Struggle for Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010). Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000), 57-144. Stein and Stein offer a *longue durée* approach to Spain's unequal commercial treaties that underlines Spanish trading weaknesses from the peace of Westphalia (1645) to the peace of Utrecht (1713).

<sup>340</sup> Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall*, 44-7. Harcourt-Smith, *Cardinal of Spain*, 51.

<sup>341</sup> Farnese is an equally enigmatic figure, with some historians suggesting that she effectively ruled over her timid or mentally-ill husband while others argue that this perspective overstates the truth. For perspectives on the former, see: John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*. Harcourt-Smith, *Cardinal of Spain*. On the latter: Storrs, *The Spanish Resurgence, 1713-1748* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 1-16.

Bourbon dynasty, the royal court, and the affairs of state. Presumably, Alberoni's program – successes and failures – would have influenced the Irishman.

Alberoni attempted three great changes to the empire: a curtailing of British smuggling in Spanish America; a reorganization of the state; and a reform of the Crown's finances and the empire's economy. On the first matter he pursued a *détente* with the British, granting them favorable trading concessions while simultaneously rebuilding Spain's navy and establishing the first Spanish naval college in Cadiz in 1717. On the second, he endeavored to reduce the power of Spain's many governing Councils. Historically, the Council of State controlled the power to make war, peace, and alliances; the Council of Castile controlled internal administration and could nullify royal decrees; the Council of Indies ruled jointly with the king on matters of the Americas; and the Council of War controlled wartime decision-making. These Councils were created in the early sixteenth century as a means of politically subordinating the Spanish aristocracy, but by the eighteenth they had become hindrances to the alacrity Alberoni with which desired to reform the empire.<sup>342</sup>

Aristocratic Spaniards whose interests did not always align with royal or imperial ambitions traditionally dominated these councils. Alberoni pushed through significant changes to these institutions, abolishing the presidency of the Council of State, reducing the salaries on the Council of Castile, and appointing men he trusted to rubber-stamp his and the crown's decisions on each council. In their place he empowered Secretaries of State responsible to the crown. On the final matter, Alberoni reorganized state finances to cut expenses, established a universal coin to replace the empire's many distinct specie, and moved the *Casa de Contratacion de las Indias*

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<sup>342</sup> For more on the origins of these councils, see chapter 1. See also: Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions*. John Lynch, *Spain Under the Hapsburgs* (New York: New York University Press, 1984).

by which Spanish American trade was monopolized from Seville to Cadiz.<sup>343</sup> Perhaps the greatest lesson Wall may have taken from Alberoni's *de facto* ministry, however, were the disasters of an unprepared war.

Alberoni endeavored to prevent war in the belief that Spain was neither financially nor militarily prepared for a major conflict. Against his appeals, the Spanish crown invaded Sicily in 1718 to recover Italian territories lost at Utrecht. The major powers of Europe – the “quadruple alliance” of Britain, France, Austria, and the Netherlands – responded by declaring war on Spain; thus began the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718-1720).<sup>344</sup> The lessons of Spain's ignominious failures in this war may have been especially visceral for Wall who had, after enrolling in the Cadiz naval college, joined the Spanish navy and participated in the singular naval battle of the war: the Battle of Cape Passaro on August 11, 1718 in which the British destroyed Spain's recently rebuilt and costly navy. Afterwards, Wall requested a reappointment out of the navy and into the *Regimiento de Infanteria de Hibernia*. The war ended with a return to the status quo established at Utrecht.<sup>345</sup>

Defeated but still aggressive, Felipe V and his advisers invaded the strategic North African port of Ceuta in 1720. Jean Francois de Bette, Marques de Lede led the siege and appointed Wall as his *aide de camp*. This position further ingratiated Wall among the extant and emerging elite social circles in the Spanish army and bureaucracy.<sup>346</sup> Patronage begot patronage, and these connections enabled Wall to escape the dangers of soldiery for the power and civility of diplomacy and statecraft.

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<sup>343</sup> Harcourt-Smith, *Cardinal of Spain*, 136-40, 150-160. John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 76-80. Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall*, 46-7.

<sup>344</sup> Harcourt-Smith, *Cardinal of Spain*, 189-209

<sup>345</sup> Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall*, 46-7. Harcourt-Smith, *Cardinal of Spain*, 210-237.

<sup>346</sup> Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall*, 46-7.

In 1727, Wall began his diplomatic career when he accompanied the Jacobite and illegitimate great-grandson of James II, Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart, on a diplomatic mission to Poland, Prussia, and Russia on behalf of the Spanish Crown. Fitz-James Stuart, like Wall, grew up in Saint Germain-en-Laye in the immediate aftermath of the War of the English Succession among the exiled Jacobite elite and therefore may have known Wall while they were children. This diplomatic mission brought Wall throughout Europe, with stops in the capitals of Dresden, Berlin, and Saint Petersburg, thereby further introducing Wall to the cosmopolitan world of European statesmen and acquainting him with the norms of diplomacy. Long considered distant and insignificant to the Spanish, the growing importance of Central and Eastern Europe's rising powers increasingly affected the course of European wars. Not unlike the Bourbons of Spain, the monarchs of these kingdoms had recognized their comparative disadvantage and emulated the practices of their more powerful European competitors to enhance their nation's position in the world.<sup>347</sup>

Wall made a favorable impression. Fitz-James Stuart reported that Wall was well received by Czarina Catherine I of Russia, King Frederick I of Prussia who awarded Wall with the honorary Order of Generosity for which Fitz-James Stuart suggested Wall remain in Berlin as a permanent ambassador, and Fitz-James Stuart himself reported positively on Wall throughout his journal. He wrote of the Hiberno-Spaniard, "A gentleman that your majesty has learned that I love and esteem... He was a poor Irishman in the regiment of *granaderos*, condemned to death, he gave me a memorial requesting my protection to obtain from the King the life that the

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<sup>347</sup> Jonathan R. White, *The Prussian Army, 1640-1871* (New York: University Press of America, 1996). Gerhard Ritter, *Frederick the Great: A Historical Profile*, ed. and trans. Peter Paret (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974 original in 1952). E.V. Anisimov, *The Reforms of Peter the Great: Progress Through Coercion in Russia* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1993).

*Consejo de Guerra* had condemned him to lose. I request in my letter to the King this grace.”<sup>348</sup>

Wall’s rise within the empire’s elite circles was dependent upon patronage and, as we shall see, he in turn used such patronage power to help fix an Irish network within the empire upon his own ascension to the pinnacle of power. The experience and positive recommendations Wall received in his mission with Fitz-James Stuart, in addition to his linguistic skill, contributed to his most significant diplomatic appointment: the negotiation of peace between Britain and Spain to conclude the War of the Asiento (*la Guerra del Asiento*, known in English as The War of Jenkins’s Ear, 1739-48) and ambassador to London.

The Spanish and British empires were locked in near-perpetual disputes over smuggling and the seizing of trading vessels in the eighteenth century. For Madrid, the illicit trading of the South Sea Company and British merchants was the source of Spanish economic ruin; cheaper British merchandise enticed Spanish American creoles into trading with British contrabandists, which led to an outflow of specie and the encouragement of British manufactures at the expense of the Spanish national economy. This situation escalated as smuggling continued alongside Spanish seizing of British trading vessels until an incident off the Florida coast in 1731 set in motion The War of the Asiento.<sup>349</sup>

After intercepting a British trade vessel in Spanish territories, the Spanish *guardacosta* captain Juan Leon Fandino cut off the ear of the British captain Robert Jenkins. Failed diplomacy in the ensuing years led to a British declaration of war against Spain on 23, October 1739.

Primarily fought in the Caribbean, where the British hoped first to capture Havana and secondly

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<sup>348</sup> Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart, *Diario del viaje a Moscovia del duque de Liria y Xerica: embajador de España 1727-30* (Madrid: 1889), 11, 19, 63-4, 121-25, 200-1, 221, 400.

<sup>349</sup> I prefer the Spanish title for the war given that this study presents a Spanish viewpoint. Additionally, the Spanish name for the war more honestly and directly identifies the cause of the war: economic competition and the transatlantic slave trade.

Portobello or Cartagena, the Anglo-Spanish conflict was soon subsumed within the wider War of the Austrian Succession (1740-8). Despite impressive alacrity and organization, the British offensive proved incapable of occupying any of its primary targets while war dragged on favorably for France and Spain on the Continent but British blockades disrupted French and Spanish oceanic commerce and customs.<sup>350</sup> As the war increasingly became untenable for all sides, the Spanish Secretary of State, Zenón de Somodevilla y Bengoechea, the Marquess de Ensenada, sent Ricardo Wall to London on a “secret mission” to negotiate an end to the Anglo-Spanish conflict. The effort proved inconclusive but contributed to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) that ended the wider War of the Austrian Succession. Afterwards, Wall remained in London as the Spanish ambassador to the British Empire.<sup>351</sup>

The postwar situation in London was one in which Henry Pelham, First Lord of the Treasury, *de facto* Prime Minister, and his brother the Duke of Newcastle, Thomas Pelham, were able to return British politics to the Whig agenda of former Prime Minister Robert Walpole. This was a program for peace and moderation in the affairs of church and state aided by a decade of agricultural prosperity. In this context, both Britain and Spain were keen on rapprochement while the former feuded with France in an escalating cold war. This was the political context in which Wall arrived in the rapidly growing and cosmopolitan London, a city brimming with coffee houses, numerous newspapers, theaters, and a population around 750,000 by 1760.<sup>352</sup> By this point, growing British mastery of Russian, Ottoman, Indian, and Chinese trade helped bolster London’s rise over Amsterdam to become the Atlantic world’s central entrepot – trades which

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<sup>350</sup> Rubén Sáez Abad, *La Guerra del Asiento o de la “Oreja de Jenkins” 1739-1748* (Madrid: Almena, 2010).

<sup>351</sup> Diego Tellez Alarcia, “La Misión Secreta de D. Ricardo Wall en Londres (1747-1748),” *Brocar*, 24 (2000): 49-71.

<sup>352</sup> Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). Jeremy Black, *British Politics and Foreign Policy, 1744-57* (Farnham, England: Ashgate Publishing House, 2015).

relied upon Spanish silver.<sup>353</sup> British accumulation of said silver was precisely the major problem in the eyes of Madrid but the specific focus of Wall's diplomacy in London centered on the controversy over British settlements and log cutting in Spanish-claimed territories in the Yucatan.<sup>354</sup>

While serving as a diplomat in London and working to cultivate a Spanish-British *détente*, Wall also endeavored to promote a diffusion of Spanish art. These cultural productions offer a useful lens into Wall's *mentalité*. The choice of images used to represent oneself or nation were significant decisions for eighteenth-century European diplomats and elites, especially so for an Irish exile representing Madrid in London. "Enlightened" eighteenth century Europeans tended to equate particular traits and symbols with particular peoples that were then represented in myriad art forms. As an Irishman, Wall's cultural sensibilities in London may have been suspect to particular scrutiny from both English and Spanish critics. As art historian Tara Zanardi pointed out, artistic representations of the Spanish nation were far from homogenous; competing representations of Spain's national character reflected a debate over Spanishness that was to a significant extent a reaction against foreign influence.<sup>355</sup> A reading of the portrait Wall commissioned and the art he commissioned for his personal chapel in the ambassador's residence therefore provide us an important insight into the moment in which Wall lived, the cultural, religious, and intellectual movements that served as the backdrop to his political ambitions.

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<sup>353</sup> Black, *British Politics and Foreign Policy, 1744-57*, 148-50.

<sup>354</sup> Black, *British Politics and Foreign Policy, 1744-57*, 166. Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 157-183.

<sup>355</sup> Tara Zanardi, *Framing Majismo: Art and Royal Identity in Eighteenth-Century Spain* (University Park, PA: 2016), 1-7, 21-33.

Typical of many eighteenth-century elites, Wall commissioned a painting of himself while residing in London. Wall's portrait is normative of the genre. Adorned in both combat armor and fine apparel, Wall holds a sombrero in on one hand and what appears to be a letter in the other. His air is dignified, a saber sheathed upon his hip; his posture is caught between the painter and an unidentified, off-canvas personage to whom he is presumably handing the outstretched letter. Immediately behind the Hiberno-Spaniard hangs a green tapestry and beside him a red tapestry on a table, which obscures what appears to be a book, or perhaps a map, and a pen. In the distance rests a bucolic scene.



Portrait of Ricardo Wall, c. 1748-54.<sup>356</sup>

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<sup>356</sup> This painting is held at the National Gallery of Ireland and was accessed digitally at <https://www.wikiart.org/en/jean-baptiste-van-loo/portrait-of-ricardo-wall-y-devreux-prime-minister-of-spain-under-ferdinand-vi-and-charles-iii> on 10/25/2021.

The portrait was an important status symbol for European elites, a means of demonstrating and therefore cultivating social capital; they also reveal something significant about their subjects. Wall's portrait was an attempt to present himself to London society: he was noble, martial, and a man of culture willing to patronize the arts but preoccupied with the work of a diplomat. He was Irish (green) and Spanish (red). From this painting, we might gather that Wall's aspired self-image was that of an enlightened statesman.<sup>357</sup>

Obligated to pray in his home at the ambassador's residence as a Catholic in Protestant England, Wall wrote to the Italian painter Giovanni Tiepolo to commission a painting for his private chapel in August 1749. The choice of a theme for the chapel of the Spanish ambassador's residence in London was a significant political and cultural decision, a visual representation of Spanish nationalism in the capital of the empire's principal rival. Wall requested a painting of Santiago, the patron saint of Spain, a reflection of his and Spain's deep Catholicism and the intermixing of religious and national identity that had occurred in both Ireland and Spain.<sup>358</sup>

The painting arrived in London in September 1750, but Wall did not install it. There is some suggestion this was because it was potentially too martial or susceptible to Protestant critiques of Catholic idolatry in the form of the horse. Officially, the Hiberno-Spanish diplomat mismeasured. Although it appears that Wall grew apprehensive with the themes of the painting as Spain's self-presentation to England, the painting nonetheless remains a useful source into Wall's worldview given that he commissioned it, sent it to Madrid, and presumably supported Tiepolo's hiring as Court Painter while serving as First Minister.

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<sup>357</sup> Supposedly attributed to Jean-Baptiste Van Loo, the painting's origins are in fact obscure; Van Loo died before Wall arrived in London.

<sup>358</sup> Scott Eastman, *Preaching Spanish Nationalism across the Hispanic Atlantic, 1759-1823* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2012), 1-3. On Ireland, see chapter 1.



Giovanni Tiepolo, *Santiago de Compostela* (1749-50).<sup>359</sup>

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<sup>359</sup> This painting is held at the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest and was accessed digitally at <https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/saint-james-the-great-conquering-the-moors/> on 10/25/2021.

Less remarked upon than Tiepolo's more famous *Glorification of the Spanish Monarchy*, which adorns the ceiling of the Spanish Crown's throne room in the *Palacio Real de Madrid*, *Saint James of Compostella* tells us much about how Wall imagined Spanishness. In the reading of art historian Keith Christiansen, Tiepolo painted Santiago "less as a saintly figure to be venerated than as a ringing metaphor for Spain itself – a proud, victorious warrior" before whom knelt a conquered black "Moor" to be redeemed as a Christian.<sup>360</sup> As a symbol of Spain and its history, the depiction of Santiago and the conquered Moor echo the myths of Santiago, the *Reconquista*, and the conquest of the Americas. According to Christiansen, the Moor's rich clothing and blackness "intended to evoke in the minds of English viewers the riches of Spain's far-flung subject states."<sup>361</sup> The Spanish Empire of Ricardo Wall's imagination was powerful and rich, chivalrous and civilizing, national and Catholic. When Fernando VI appointed Wall First Minister on 15 May 1754, he was given the chance to make his visions for the empire a reality.

In the political histories of Spain and its empire, Wall's ministry is often ignored or given a cursory examination; it is typically depicted as insignificant or conservative, an interlude between more ambitious phases of reform. It is sometimes described as Anglophile, but this is seldom explained. It is generally overshadowed by the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) and the crisis in the Spanish monarchy when Fernando VI fell into a state of mental collapse (1756-8) before the ascension of Carlos III (1759).<sup>362</sup> This has led historians to overlook Wall's role in advancing the Bourbon Reforms in emulation of the British Empire. As the British ambassador

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<sup>360</sup> Keith Christiansen, ed., *Giambattista Tiepolo, 1696-1770* (New York: 1996), 231-33.

<sup>361</sup> Christiansen, ed., *Giambattista Tiepolo, 1696-1770*, 231-33.

<sup>362</sup> Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall*, 93-105.

Benjamin Keene reported, Wall explained to him, “Friend... I told your ministers when I left England that if I could not preserve and cultivate the scheme of politics I had learnt and adopted during my embassy, I would renounce all the employments the King’s power can confer upon me.”<sup>363</sup>

Familiar with the British Empire to an extent unmatched by previous Spanish politicians, Wall intended to outcompete the British through emulating their more efficient, powerful, and wealthy empire. He centralized state power through administrative reform, promoted the application of political-economic thought to Spanish statecraft, and pursued a diplomatic *détente* with London intended to allow Spain to invest and reform its empire before militarily engaging with the superior British. Influenced by his Irish origins, cosmopolitan experiences in Europe, and diplomatic mission in London, Ricardo Wall envisioned a Spanish Empire that emulated British policies but was regalist and Catholic.

Regalism was perhaps the singular starting point of Wall’s political vision for the Spanish Empire. As Gabriel Paquette explained, “Regalism’s core principle was the state’s pre-eminence and supremacy in relation to the Church, accompanied by its protection and support of the Church and its attendant institutions. The primary thrust of regalism was the aggrandizement of the state at the Church’s expense.”<sup>364</sup> Which is to say, regalists such as Wall believed strongly in the importance of the Church to the fabric of their society and were Catholics in their own right but when it came to matters of the state they believed the Crown ruled over everything in its dominion. Thus, Wall was himself a committed Catholic but disapproved of extra-state power and specifically the Society of Jesus.<sup>365</sup> The inroads of ecclesiastical institutions had developed

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<sup>363</sup> Keene a Fox, 5 de Octubre de 1756, TNA, State Papers, 94/153. In Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall*, 85.

<sup>364</sup> Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759—1808*, 6-9, 70-78. Quote 6.

<sup>365</sup> Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall*, 231-3.

the Spanish Empire but now siphoned away wealth from the crown and hampered economic development. Careful and in a difficult political position, Wall relied on allies Irish and non-Irish to advance his vision for the empire.

Regalism and the centralization of power were not ends unto themselves but rather “dovetailed with the Bourbon policy elite’s geopolitical and fiscal-military ambitions.”<sup>366</sup> Wall’s centralization of power was to facilitate the targeted development of Spain’s economy and colonial empire. The Hiberno-Spanish minister believed that Spain’s path to restoration lie in “the means to finally employ the attention and care to make America flourish.” Writing after the Seven Years’ War, he explained that the most pressing need for this project was to “effectively promote our navy and commerce, which is the most secure means of supporting any policy.” The key to this was addressing two major problems in Spain’s economy: a lack of trade and a want of population.<sup>367</sup> Reforming the Spanish economy was not easy, however, because as the fellow Hiberno-Spaniard Bernardo Ward observed in his 1762 manuscript the *Proyecto economico*, commerce and political economy were not “the department of a single secretary of state, nor are there ministers or advisers.”<sup>368</sup> The response from reformers like Wall was to marry royal power with political-economic reform, intending to hammer through changes to Spain’s economic foundation and administrative apparatus from the top-down.

Most pressing to the First Minister was the question of smuggling. As he complained, “if the coasts of his majesty's dominions were not guarded, they would be flooded with English contrabandists.” As it were, he regretted how the Spanish were already incapable of preventing

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<sup>366</sup> Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759—1808*, 6.

<sup>367</sup> Wall to Tanucci, 22 March 1763, AGS, *Estado*, 6.094 quoted in Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall*, 210. Wall to Tanucci, 23 August 1763. AGS, *Estado*, 6.094 quoted in Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall*, 201.

<sup>368</sup> Bernardo Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 149.

pervasive contraband trade because its navy was not large enough and because the Spanish *guardacostas* worked not for the king but were instead too often self-interested beneficiaries of smuggling. Wall believed one solution was to bypass local administrators by making the *guardacostas* royal servants.<sup>369</sup> To overcome this problem and other economic problems, the Wall ministry looked to Britain as a model to emulate.

Two members of the *Junta General de Comercio y Moneda* under Wall's ministry directly expressed support for emulating British economic practices. Francisco Craywinckel proposed his opinions on illicit trade to Ricardo Wall on November 12, 1757 and argued plainly, "Govern Spain like England in what is acceptable to the constitution and before many years it will be superior in power and wealth." Bernardo Ward agreed and his manuscripts made important contributions to the debates concerning Spanish economic and trade policies, advocating the emulation of British practices on matters from banking and trade to agriculture, manufacturing, and infrastructure.<sup>370</sup>

The question of infrastructure plagued the Spanish economy and imperial administration. It was infamously difficult to travel throughout Spain, with poor roads, difficult terrain, and a lack of adequate coaches or inns. These problems compounded Spain's poor postal service. News travelled slowly in the empire and this was a significant detriment to imperial and commercial endeavors. Wall deferred this reorganization of Spanish mail to the Hiberno-Spaniard Diego Nangle and the *proyectista* Pedro Rodriguez de Campomanes. The two men devised a series of policy-changes intended to improve Spain's postal service and mitigate fraud

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<sup>369</sup> Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall*, 218-9.

<sup>370</sup> Francisco de Craywinckel, *Utilidad que podría sacar Espana...*, *op. Cit.*, AHN, Estado, 2.927 quoted in Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall*, 211-212. Bernardo Ward, *Obra pía, y eficaz modo para remediar la miseria de la gente pobre de España* (Valencia: 1750). Ward, *Proyecto Economico*.

and crime, including the formation of the *Junta de Policia de la Renta de Correos* and the *Oficio de cartas sobrantes de las listas de Madrid*.<sup>371</sup> These organizations intended to improve communications and therefore safety, commerce, and state power.

Perhaps the most pressing question on matters of trade for Spanish reformers was the Cadiz monopoly. In the 1740s, two *proyectistas* advocated for loosening the monopoly and in the following decade a special junta discussed the problems affecting Spanish trade. In 1755, one of Wall's ministerial allies published two works that advocated for the opening of Spanish American trade to a set number of ports and the creation of joint-stock companies, a position endorsed by Campomanes and expanded upon by Ward who advocated free trade throughout the empire. One result from these debates was the formation of the *Real Compania de Comercio de Barcelona* in 1755, a royal company that granted Catalan merchants exclusive trading privileges in Puerto Rico, San Domingo, and Margarita with the support of Wall and his Hiberno-Spanish administrative assistant Diego Nangle. As Nangle argued, the Catalan economy would benefit if Barcelona were opened to Spanish America "with the condition that the ships have to be built in Spain and the manufactures from this country." He further underlined the connection between metropolitan economic development and colonial sugar-production, noting the benefits that could be had if "they could add the *asiento* of enslaved Africans to foment the production of sugar" in the three Caribbean islands. This marked an early, incomplete but significant weakening of the Cadiz monopoly and a conscientious effort to close Spanish America in order to develop Spain's national economy. As Nangle put it, "the truth wealth of the monarch is

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<sup>371</sup> Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall*, 226-231. In Spanish historiography, Campomanes is given essentially full credit for these developments for unclear reasons. The extent to which the two men worked together or Campomanes developed the ideas and plans on his own is not well documented or explained in extant literature – but Wall's appointment of Nangle and his position within the administrative bureaucracy suggests that he must have had some level of influence and likely a significant role.

dependent in proportion to the various means [he can use] to foment the industry of his vassals.”<sup>372</sup>

The second major problem affecting the Spanish Empire was its relative population scarcity. In fact, Spain experienced faster population growth than did either France or England but its population lagged both rivals and its colonial population growth paled in comparison to the rapidly expanding British colonies in North America.<sup>373</sup> This question of population and colonization was a major debate among Spanish writers and reformers in the eighteenth century. It became a commonplace to lament the loss of Spanish populations in the expulsion of Jews and Muslims from Iberia as well as in Spain’s many European wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some commentators, including the influential *proyectista* Jose del Campillo, believed that Spanish colonization in the Americas had made the peninsula weaker and less populated. Wall disagreed with this position; he was an ardent supporter of colonization schemes internal and external. As early as 1749, echoing John Cary and other British writers, Wall wrote, “I have thought on infinite occasions there could be a benefit if by enticements or other public announcement that which ever Catholic family which to come to Spain would be given land in sufficient or necessary to work for some period of years, exempted from taxes.”<sup>374</sup> Given the example of the rival British as well as his Irish compatriots in Europe, Wall was certainly

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<sup>372</sup> Nangle to Wall, 14 December 1754, *Archivo Historico Nacional* (AHN), *Estado* (E) 3.188, 396 quoted in Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall*, 220-1. The first Spanish trading companies were the Caracas Company (1728) and Havana Company (1740). Which is to say, Hiberno-Spaniards did not introduce these ideas but rather were influential supporters who made important contributions to the liberalization of Spanish American trade. It is also worth noting that although Nangle supported the Company he was, like Ward, in favor of free trade. See: Margarita Eva Rodríguez García, *Compañías privilegiadas de comercio con América y cambio político (1706-1765)*, (Madrid: Banco de España, 2005), 66-7. José Delgado Barrado, *Compañías privilegiadas y excepcionalidad canaria el proyecto de Juan Bautista Savinon (1749)*, in *XIII Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana; VIII Congreso Internacional de Historia de América*: (AEA; 1998), 1990-2002.

<sup>373</sup> Richard Herr, *Rural Change and Royal Finances in Spain at the end of the Old Regime* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 9-34.

<sup>374</sup> Quote in Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall*, 202.

predisposed to understand the value of relocating industrious and pious settlers to the empire – both in Spain and in the Americas.

Wall engendered an enduring shift of Spanish priority away from Europe and towards the Americas because he believed the Spanish American colonies were the empire's greatest, underutilized source of wealth, power, land, and labor. Wall was particularly concerned with advancing Spanish interests in North America where its claims to continental mastery were threatened most dramatically by the rapidly growing British colonies of the northeastern seaboard and to a lesser extent by the encroachment of Russian settlers in Alaska and the northwestern seaboard. For this reason and looking towards further expanding Spain's lucrative trade with China, Wall was an eager proponent of colonizing California and buttressing New Spain's northern *frontera* – for which purpose he requested a history and maps of California from the Viceroy of New Spain.<sup>375</sup>

Projects and plans were one thing, realization another. In other words, reforming an empire was not easy. The specter of war made things even more difficult. Wall assumed power on the precipice of Spain's second eighteenth-century crisis: The Seven Years' War (1756-1763). The need for continued, ambitious reform was apparent upon his ascension but the outbreak of a major war between Britain and France in 1756 added new urgency, exigencies, and demands on Spanish reformers and the Wall ministry. As with Alberoni before him, Wall believed that Spain needed to avoid an expensive war that it could not win. Instead, Spain should continue with its reform process and remain neutral. He explained that those who desired alliance, or "dependence" as he called it, with the French and war with the British, "have much

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<sup>375</sup> AHN, Estado, leg. 3001, Exp. 4, no. 15. See also: Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall*, 176-229.

to consider and see if the dangers which we expose ourselves are not in the end of greater importance than the uncertainty of obtaining the fruit of such blood and treasure that will be indispensable to pour out.”<sup>376</sup> Thus, Wall issued a formal declaration of Spanish neutrality to Spain's envoy in London, Juan Felix D'Abreu, on 4 August, 1755 and attempted to expand Spain's diplomatic presence throughout Europe.

While war raged, Wall expanded Spain's diplomatic presence. He established new, permanent ambassadors, for example, in Poland, Berlin, and St. Petersburg and negotiated commercial treaties with Prussia, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>377</sup> While expanding Spain's diplomatic missions he patronized fellow Hiberno-Spaniards when he Francisco Guillermo de Lacy y White to Stockholm (1756) and Demetrio Mahoney y Weld to the Swiss Cantons (1756) and later Vienna (1757).<sup>378</sup> It was Wall's assumption that peace and diplomacy would enable Spain to focus on economic and administrative reform and, presumably, that he could trust Hiberno-Spaniards with important diplomatic posts – both Sweden and Austria were important allies to the Bourbons in the Seven Years' War. Moreover, Wall's correspondences with Spanish diplomats display a significant interest and focus on expanding Spanish trade.<sup>379</sup> It was this desire to secure Spanish trading hegemony that led Wall to avoid war with Britain and pursuing diplomatic *détente*, intent on profiting from the war and avoiding the loss of coin, material, and men conflict would entail. This position was not politically viable for long.

Spanish tensions with the British Empire were already high at the time of Wall's rise to power. London and Madrid were at odds over the long-festering issue of British log-cutting

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<sup>376</sup> Wall to Arriaga. No date, 1756. AGI, *México*, 3.099. In Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall*, 75.

<sup>377</sup> Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall*, 176-191.

<sup>378</sup> Diego Tellez Alarcia, “Ricardo Wall, the Irish-Spanish Minister,” *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, 131-134. Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 249.

<sup>379</sup> Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall*, 215.

settlements in Central America. British colonists first began settling around the Bay of Campeche and Mosquito Coast in the late seventeenth century for the purposes of cutting the logwood, used mainly as a dye in textile production. Under the previous ministry of the Marques de Ensenada, the Spanish had ordered an immediate forced removal of British colonists around the River Valis in present-day Belize. British ambassador Keene hoped for a reversal of policy from Wall but instead the First Minister was ordered by the Crown to continue with the expulsion of British settlers, realized by January 1755. Despite Wall's misgivings, the pressure to go to war against the British was enormous and growing both internally and externally, especially after early French success conjoined with continued British transgressions in Campeche and on the seas.<sup>380</sup>

As early as 1756 pro-French Spaniards and French politicians were accusing Wall of "being sold to the English."<sup>381</sup> At the same time, the British endeavored to maintain positive relations with Madrid. In August 1757, when the war had begun poorly for the British, Prime Minister William Pitt even offered Gibraltar and a promise to meet Spanish demands on the question of British settlements on the Mosquito Shore and Bay of Honduras in return for Spain's declaration of war on France.<sup>382</sup> However, the Francophile and Anglophobic pressures on Wall were too significant. As Keene reported to Pitt, Wall "accused England of ruining the credit he might have had with the nation it we had supported him by acts of justice... that would have been warmly enjoyed for the service of both crowns notwithstanding all the suspicion of his birth and education" but given the opinions of his colleagues and the Spanish people the idea of joining the Protestant British in a war against Catholic and Bourbon France was politically

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<sup>380</sup> Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall*, 93-113.

<sup>381</sup> Keene a Fox, 5 de Octubre de 1756, TNA, State Papers, 94/153. Quoted in Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall*, 85.

<sup>382</sup> Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall*, 88-9.

impossible.<sup>383</sup> Wall himself grew frustrated with British aggressions, accusing them of having “detained, robbed, and arrested” the Spanish navy and Spanish commerce. His change in posture towards the British was vocalized to a British diplomat who reported that Wall, “totally despaired and had given up all thoughts of connecting the two courts.... [t]he conduct of Great Britain since the present war” had, Wall explained, destroyed the seeds of peace between the two mighty Atlantic empires. In 1759 the fall of Quebec, France’s failure in the Siege of Madras, and the ascension of King Carlos III shifted Spanish policy irrevocably.<sup>384</sup>

Wall still opposed Spain’s entrance in the war, believing it to be too late, unnerved by Britain’s victories around the globe, and with prescience fearing the loss of Havana.<sup>385</sup> Julian de Arriaga identified Spain’s problem in a letter to Wall in 1759, “It is impossible to maintain all of the plazas in a good state of defense. No amount of diligence, nor money to sustain the troops.... There is not a means to populate such immense territory and so in many places he who wants them will take them.”<sup>386</sup> Wall’s efforts were in vain; Spain and Britain could not come to terms on the issue of Campeche, Spain entered the Third Family Pact with Bourbon France, and by December 1761 Spanish neutrality was no longer tenable. According to the British ambassador, Wall lamented that “he had been using his utmost endeavour for six years in England and seven more in Spain to prevent a rupture between our courts.”<sup>387</sup> Spain declared war on January 15, 1762.

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<sup>383</sup> Quote: Keen to Pitt, 26 September, 1757, TNA, *State Papers*, 94/156 in Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall*, 90.

<sup>384</sup> Wall to Abreau, 1 February, 1758, AHN, *Estado*, 4.279-1. “detener, robar y arrestar los navíos españoles.” Quoted in Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall*, 94. Cosne to Pitt, 23 April, 1758, TNA, *State Papers*, 94/157. Quoted in Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall*, 95. Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall*, 92-5.

<sup>385</sup> Bristol to Pitt, 6 November 1760, TNA, *State Papers*, 94/162. Ossun to Choiseul, 21 January 1760, AE Paris, *Correspondance politique, Espagne*, 537. Both in Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall*, 108-9.

<sup>386</sup> Arriaga to Wall, s.f. [but from 1759], AGI, *Mexico*, 3.099. Quoted in Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall*, 109.

<sup>387</sup> Bristol to Egremont, 11 December 1761, TNA, *State Papers*, 94/164. Quoted in Alarcia, *El Ministerio Wall*, 123-4.

With alacrity, the British captured Havana and Manila that same year and the Bourbon monarchies of Spain and France were forced into the humiliating Treaty of Paris (1763). This defeat and the unquestioned ascension of the British Empire shocked an already reforming Bourbon Spain into even greater and more experimental reform, but the groundwork for the post-war reforms was laid during the Wall ministry. As First Minister, Wall expanded the administrative capacity of the Crown and empowered secretaries directly responsible to the king; experimented with and promoted political economic and mercantilist reforms; and shifted Spain's focus from Europe to the Americas. Ricardo Wall's ministry, then, marked not a hiatus of the Bourbon Reforms but the fixing of an Irish imperial network, the beginning of a Hiberno-Spanish moment that would crescendo in the years to follow, and a watershed after which the Spanish Empire was committed to both centralizing regalism and commercial liberalization.

### **Translating Political Economy: Bernardo Ward & The *Proyecto Economico* (1762)**

Historians of the Bourbon Reforms have identified a series of economic writers known as *proyectistas* as significant contributors to the debates that informed Spanish imperial policy in the eighteenth century. Collectively described as political economists, these reformers promoted the emulation of foreign trade and economic policies to improve Spain's struggling national economy. Increasingly, Spaniards were aware that it was English, Dutch, and French manufacturing capabilities that explained Spain's economic dependence on northern Europe. They sought to remedy this situation through a series of proposals. Despite the well-known importance of *proyectistas*, historians have hitherto missed the significance of one of the most

influential of these writers: the Hiberno-Spaniard Bernardo Ward.<sup>388</sup> Indeed, Ward effectively translated the language of political economy to Spanish thought and policy, or imperial praxis.

Bernardo Ward was born in Ireland before he “came to reside in Spain,” where he “studied the political state” of his new home.<sup>389</sup> In 1750 he finished his first treatise, *Obra pía, y eficaz modo para remediar la miseria de la gente pobre de Espana* (“pious work, and the efficient means to remedy the misery of Spain’s poor”). This treatise, seemingly influenced by the English political economist John Cary and his *Essay on the State of England*,<sup>390</sup> insisted on helping the poor not through charity or Church alms but with productive employment through a series of “*Hermandades*,” or “brotherhoods,” which would spread knowledge, design improvements, and employ the poor to address the rampant “idleness” which deleteriously affected Spain’s national economy. Not unlike Wall, Ward located Spain’s economic backwards in the Church’s pervasive economic power and identified its charities as a contributing factor to Spanish “idleness.” For further improvement, Ward proposed a tour of Europe to conduct economic espionage on behalf of the Spanish.<sup>391</sup> King Fernando VI agreed and sent Ward on a

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<sup>388</sup> Ward is mentioned in a few works on the Bourbon Reforms but his proposals are never explained or contextualized. He is almost entirely absent from extant literature with the exception of brief mention in Alarcia, *El ministerio Wall and Paquette, Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759-1808*. No extant source I am familiar with evinces an extended analysis of the *Proyecto* or connects how his proposals mirrored Spanish policy after 1763. David Brading suggests that Ward’s *Proyecto* is a near copy of Jose del Campillo y Cosio’s *Nuevo Sistema de gobierno economico para la America* (1743), but although they are similar and Ward may have agreed with much of it, the works are nonetheless significantly different and Ward’s explicit primary inspiration was British writers and imperial praxis. David Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico 1763-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 25. So too does Mónica Ricketts. Mónica Ricketts, *Who Should Rule? Men of Arms, the Republic of Letters, and the Fall of the Spanish Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 44. The best extant examination of Ward’s influence is found in: Stanley Stein and Barbara Stein, *Apogee of Empire: Spain and New Spain in the Age of Charles III, 1759-1789* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 2003), but Stein and Stein do not investigate the work thoroughly in their text nor connect it to British political economy nor the wider Hiberno-Spanish diaspora.

<sup>389</sup> Bernardo Ward, *Proyecto Económico*, 3-7.

<sup>390</sup> John Cary, *An essay on the state of England in relation to its trade, its poor, and its taxes, for carrying on the present war against France* (Bristol: 1695).

<sup>391</sup> Bernardo Ward, *Obra pía, y eficaz modo para remediar la miseria de la gente pobre de España* (Valencia: 1750).

four-year mission “for the purpose of commerce, [thus] he could propose means of perfecting Spanish industry.”<sup>392</sup>

In his writings, Ward claimed that he travelled through France, the German states, Switzerland, Italy, Holland, Britain, Ireland, Sweden, Poland, and as far as Moscow.<sup>393</sup> Upon his return to Madrid in 1754, Fernando VI placed Ward on the *Junta de Comercio y Moneda* where he participated in the debates that led to the first major shift in Spain’s agricultural policies: the partial opening of the grain trade in 1756.<sup>394</sup> Then, six years later, he completed his *magnum opus* to reform the Spanish economy and state, the *Proyecto economico* (1762).

Like many writings on reforming the Spanish Empire, Ward’s *Proyecto* began by declaring the certainty of the empire’s revival. For Ward, as with most reformers, this was inevitable given the great source of latent wealth the empire possessed in its vast American empire. In addition to its great mineral and agricultural wealth, Ward made the point that Spanish America’s vast market for manufactured goods was “the great advantage” and argued that, “if we extend this trade to the point we can, without anyone able to hinder us, [it] will be the richest and most abundant.”<sup>395</sup> Synchronizing with the perspective of Wall, Ward believed that control of the Spanish American consumer market was the empire’s key to economic hegemony. The issue was, however, pressing. As he warned, “That which should stimulate us the most... is the reflection that if we do not take measures to advance our interests, we do not only deprive ourselves of new benefits, but also may still lose those which we have.”<sup>396</sup> The specter of the

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<sup>392</sup> Ward, *Proyecto económico*, 3-7.

<sup>393</sup> References to various nations that Ward travelled to are scattered throughout the manuscript. For example, one section on the importance of trees for agriculture, building, and naval construction makes brief mention of observations on woodlands in Moscow. Ward, *Proyecto económico*, 82.

<sup>394</sup> Richard Herr, *Rural change and royal finances in Spain at the end of the old regime*, 1-36.

<sup>395</sup> Ward, *Proyecto económico*, XIII.

<sup>396</sup> Ward, *Proyecto económico*, XVIII.

British Empire and its designs on Spanish America loomed large in the imagination of Madrid's elite and imperial administrators; and Irish familiarity with British praxis appeared valuable.

The *Proyecto* presented the “practices of the most knowledgeable nations in Europe” as followed from his instructions from King Fernando VI, “to carefully observe the practices that produced the most power, wealth, and happiness in a nation.” It was an archetype project of imperial emulation. In this endeavor, Ward's first priority was translating the praxis of British political economy. As Ward explained, “based on certain facts and documents... will be born the science of political calculation, which the English call Political Arithmetic, and which is the true foundation of success in the most important matters of state.”<sup>397</sup> Ward boasted that he was most familiar with the copious writings of English political economists, a central component to his claim of authority.<sup>398</sup>

Among those writers, Ward was most likely referencing the work of the English doctor, polymath, and colonial-surveyor William Petty and the merchant and writer John Cary when he translated the English “science” of statecraft. Completed in 1676, historians consider Petty's *Political Arithmetick* the first theoretical work of political economy.<sup>399</sup> Cary's *Essay on the State of England*, meanwhile, was the most influential political economic tract at the turn of the eighteenth century.<sup>400</sup> In his text, Petty promoted economic improvement through state data gathering and analysis, new administrative structures, emulation of foreign and particularly Dutch trade and economic practices, state manipulation of demography, and the privileging of

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<sup>397</sup> Ward, *Proyecto economico*, VVIII, XXV.

<sup>398</sup> Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 31-2.

<sup>399</sup> Ted McCormick, *William Petty And the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). See also chapter 1.

<sup>400</sup> Sophus Reinert, *Translating Empire: Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011). See also chapter 1.

practical needs over theoretical conjecture.<sup>401</sup> On this last point it is significant that Petty developed his ideas while directly engaging in the Cromwellian land confiscations that attempted to remake Ireland once-and-for all into a new England, exemplified more directly in his *The political-anatomy of Ireland* (1691).<sup>402</sup> For his part, Cary advanced many of the same basic proponents, e.g. empirical study and imperial promotion of trade, but also promoted mercantilism, plans to employ the poor, and colonization and enslavement. Petty's and Cary's ideas shaped English statecraft and inspired subsequent English writers in the eighteenth-century, the political economists who influenced British trade policy.<sup>403</sup>

Agriculture was the primary practical focus of the *Proyecto*, followed by manufacturing. This conformed to basic contemporary precepts on the primacy of agriculture to the state and wealth. Where Ward differed was in arguing in favor of emulating specifically British agricultural practices. As he put it, "I would appear incredible, if I told the advantageous effects that I have seen resultant in the various parts of England, and Ireland in the means of improving the land." He later claimed, "One cannot deny the English the glory of having been the ones to most improve this science... with effects so visible to all of Europe, that many want to follow their example."<sup>404</sup> Ward's claims were not bluster, English agriculture was extraordinarily

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<sup>401</sup> McCormick, *William Petty*, 8-9, 135-47, 169, 175-85.

<sup>402</sup> William Petty, *The political anatomy of Ireland with the establishment for that kingdom when the late Duke of Ormond was Lord Lieutenant ... : to which is added Verbum sapienti, or, An account of the wealth and expences of England, and the method of raising taxes in the most equal manner* (London: 1691).

<sup>403</sup> On mercantilism and political economy more generally: Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind, *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and its Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 8-17. An older but useful overview is presented in: John Kells Ingram, *A History of Political Economy*, 49-52, 81-158 (London: A & C. Black, 1923). For a comparative perspective on political economy, physiocrats, and France, see: Liana Vardi, *The Physiocrats and the World of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Istvan Hont, *Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005). Paul Cheney, *Revolutionary Commerce: Globalization and the French Monarchy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010). Generally, extant historiography over-emphasizes France as mirror and rival to Britain. I am implicitly arguing that Spain more so than France presented an economic threat to Britain and, combined with the Hiberno-Spanish diaspora, offers an alternative history to modernity.

<sup>404</sup> Ward, *Proyecto*, 5, 73, 75-6, 79, 88.

productive in the eighteenth century and Irish agricultural production grew tremendously over the course of the century. Such agricultural and pastoral wealth secured the British Empire's finances, led to tremendous population growth, and encouraged the production of manufactured and luxury-goods from increased consumptive demands.<sup>405</sup>

The explanation for this given by contemporaries stressed the improvement of land, but such improvement depended first upon colonization, enclosure, and commercialization. Ward's agricultural recommendations advocated for the colonization of unoccupied lands, the destruction of commons and common rights, and the liberalization of agricultural trade.<sup>406</sup> On colonization he celebrated the potential contributions of Catholics under Protestant rule who might be enticed to settle unimproved or colonial land for the Spanish similar to Protestant settlers in the British Empire, with specific support for Catholic Irish and Bavarian settlers, among others.<sup>407</sup> Colonization and the improvement of fallow land were thus preeminent to Ward's program, but they were only the basis for agricultural wealth and not its realization. For that, Spain need emulate Irish and British economic societies and empirically study agricultural practices.

Economic societies were clubs of men who invested their time and money in the improvement of their economic productivity. The first such organization was the Dublin Society for improving Husbandry, Manufactures and other Useful Arts founded in 1731.<sup>408</sup> Ward drew directly from the Dublin Society to make his arguments. In Ward's opinion, these organizations were key to agricultural improvement because they promoted empirical analysis. Although these

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<sup>405</sup> Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism*, 50-70, 81.

<sup>406</sup> Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 70-94.

<sup>407</sup> Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 58-70.

<sup>408</sup> James Livesey, "The Dublin Society in Eighteenth-Century Irish Political Thought," *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 3 (2004): 615-640.

societies had spread elsewhere, “No such establishment is equal to the Dublin Society in Ireland, which extends its concern to all of the domestic interests of the nation.” Because the Dublin Society was founded on the principles of political economy, “this society has achieved improvements concerning agriculture, manufactures, and other matters of their inspections, which it communicates to the public.” As a result of their public discourse, “the spirit of improvement has spread throughout the nation... [improvement] has become the occupation of nearly every individual in the kingdom.”<sup>409</sup>

In Ireland, the improvement of agriculture naturally led to the growth of manufacturing. As an example, Ward emphasized the significant growth of flax and linen production in Ireland.<sup>410</sup> He celebrated the efforts to improve the land, seeds, water, and spinning practices related to the cultivation and spinning of flax. According to Ward, the Anglo-Irish achieved manufacturing productivity through “admirable dissertations... that form a body of excellent economic doctrines.” Among these dissertations Ward referenced, he perhaps meant Cary’s two treatises on the Irish linen trade among other publications.<sup>411</sup> In either case, he celebrated consequence of this was the transformation of a “lazy” nation into an “industrious” nation and subsequently great wealth.<sup>412</sup> The dramatic increase in wealth and productivity in Britain and Ireland in the eighteenth century was, he explained, “the natural effect of a nation truly political, and a zealous government” worthy of emulation.<sup>413</sup>

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<sup>409</sup> Ward, *Proyecto*, 27-30.

<sup>410</sup> W.H. Crawford, “The Evolution of the Linen Trade in Ulster Before Industrialization,” *Irish Economic and Social History* 15 (1988), 32-53.

<sup>411</sup> John Cary, *On the Linen Trade in Ireland* (London: 1698). John Cary, *Some Considerations relating to the linen manufacture in the Kingdom of Ireland* (London: 1704).

<sup>412</sup> Ward, *Proyecto*, 27-30. He elaborate more on promoting textile production in a subsequent chapter. See especially: Ward, *Proyecto*, 35-8. For more on his agricultural recommendations, see: Ward, *Proyecto*, 58-94.

<sup>413</sup> Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 92-4.

Contemporary political economists perceived textile manufacturing as crucial to the economic success of a nation. Ward explained the history of Spain's declining textile industries and connected this to the rise of English and Dutch manufacturing. His solution was the same as with agriculture: "Let us follow their plans, imitate their models, and I assure you that Spain will be the most powerful monarchy in Europe."<sup>414</sup> Though he referenced the practices of many nations, his program focused largely on British models. Among the problems he believed Spain need address were: customs duties that favored foreign merchants; a lack of infrastructure; over burdensome taxes; the lack of available credit and the lack of a national bank; the entrenched power of guilds; and the general disorganization of Spain's economy. Among the most thorough sections of the *Proyecto* are Ward's discussions of Spain's need for new roads, canals, port, and mailing infrastructure which he explained impeded Spanish economic competitiveness.<sup>415</sup> He further advocated for manufacturing as a secondary economic activity for households, as was custom in Britain and Ireland.<sup>416</sup> These practices would promote industry and production, but Ward also emphasized that an empire needed commerce to turn sources of wealth into its possession.

The supremacy of British merchants in the Atlantic led Ward to argue in favor of adopting British trade policies and reworking extant commercial treaties. The standard for Ward's trade policy was the English Navigation Act of 1660. This policy reserved all trade between English colonies and Europe to English subjects. It also demanded certain colonial products, like tobacco and sugar, be imported first to England and then reexported to Europe and elsewhere in the empire.<sup>417</sup> In Ward's analysis, the Navigation Act explained England's trading

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<sup>414</sup> Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 104.

<sup>415</sup> Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 33-57, 130-146.

<sup>416</sup> Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 105, 108, 114-5.

<sup>417</sup> Larry Sawers, "The Navigation Acts Revisited," *Economic History Review* 45 (1992): 262-3.

hegemony and large navy; these acts closed the English Empire to foreign economic competition but opened trade between the colonies and the metropole, which Ward believed had stimulated the English economy and shipbuilding. Correspondingly, he argued that Spain should do the same by ending the Cadiz monopoly and “open American trade with Spain entirely.”<sup>418</sup>

Among Bourbon reformers it was a commonplace to emphasize that the empire’s vast American possessions were the most important potential source for imperial resurgence. The key for Ward, as with most *proyectistas*, was ending the pervasive smuggling that plagued Spanish trade. Ward believed that opening Spanish American trade to all of Spain would “remove forever... that stone of scandal, which has cost so many complaints and troubles, and sometimes bloody wars; I mean, illicit trade, which other nations do in our indies.” Opening Spanish America to Spaniards and closing it to foreigners in actuality rather than merely in law would “foment manufacturing and the internal trade of the kingdom, it will infinitely improve our agriculture and all types of industry.”<sup>419</sup> Spanish America was, after all, the largest consumption market in the Atlantic world.<sup>420</sup> If the Spanish could close their colonial markets and emulate British policies, the empire would inevitably replicate the success of the British on a far grander scale and thus restore Spain to its proper place as the hegemon of the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Europe.

The second half of the *Proyecto* was an argument to the importance of Spain’s American empire and a series of specific proposals for its improvement. To improve its economic value, Ward argued what was needed first were political-economic inspections of the colonies and the creation of a system of *intendencias*, officials directly responsible to the Crown for a series of

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<sup>418</sup> Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 119-121, 135, 191-3.

<sup>419</sup> Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 41-2, 231.

<sup>420</sup> Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 228.

policing, military, and economic power. First utilized in Colbert's reorganization of seventeenth century France, the intendants were to improve Spain's colonial wealth through "finding the best sugar plantation models among foreign colonies."<sup>421</sup> They were generally designed to be "in charge of the economic government," improvers of the "utility" of native subjects, and presiders over the "trade, politics, and care" of enriching the royal treasury.<sup>422</sup> Directly responsible to the Crown, these officials would ideally bypass the rampant corruption in Spanish America.<sup>423</sup>

This centralization of Crown power was necessary not merely because the empire was missing out on potential wealth but because of the predations of the British Empire. The arguments in favor of economic reform ultimately rested on an argument of military weakness and the need for militarization. Ward warned about the British colonies that bordered Spanish America which "have militias and independent companies capable of conquests as we have seen." Most worrisome were the colonies that bordered the Gulf of Mexico. The empire needed to station more troops, but this was unfeasible so long as it was too expensive. Ward believed the ultimate solution was to open Spanish American trade which he saw as a panacea for promoting economic development, thus affording an enlarged military presence.<sup>424</sup> The fate of empire relied upon adequate funds for war.

The manuscript was completed and circulated in 1762 during the Ministry of Hiberno-Spaniard Ricardo Wall and just two years after the ascension of the most ambitious and cosmopolitan Bourbon monarch, Carlos III. The manuscript made an important contribution to the debates that led to the *comercio libre* decrees of 1765 and the *pragmatica* of the same year,

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<sup>421</sup> Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 271.

<sup>422</sup> Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 247-256, 261-3.

<sup>423</sup> Kenneth J. Andrien, "Corruption, Inefficiency, and Imperial Decline in the Seventeenth-Century Viceroyalty of Peru," *The Americas* 41, no.1 (1984): 1-20.

<sup>424</sup> Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 278-84.

the spread of economic societies throughout the empire, the forming of a national bank in 1782, and the employment of intendancies and visitor-generals to Spanish America after the Seven Years' War. Ward's influence on Spanish economic thought within and beyond the state is further attested to by its publication in 1779 and his popularity among readers of the Madrid Society, Spain's preeminent economic society, where his writings were second only to Campomanes, the *proyectista* generally considered most significant to the Bourbon Reforms and previously Ward's secretary.<sup>425</sup> If, as historian Pamela Voekel has suggested, the Bourbon Reforms were essentially a method of social engineering, the sublimation of holy sin into secular crime, these impulses derived from English political economy and Bernardo Ward translated this conceptual genealogy to the *proyectista* debates of the eighteenth century.<sup>426</sup>

Perhaps Ward's immediate impact was any influence the writer may have had on the first general-visitor after the Seven Years' War, the Hiberno-Spanish general Alejandro O'Reilly. It is unclear if O'Reilly read the *Proyecto* but we shall see in the following chapter how his writings and recommendations evince familiarity and agreement with much of Ward's political economic thought.<sup>427</sup> Contemporaneous to Ward's economic mission and Wall's diplomatic missions, O'Reilly rose through the ranks of the Spanish military to become the empire's preeminent reformer and imperial translator; unlike Wall or Ward, however, O'Reilly translated Prussian

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<sup>425</sup> Robert Shafer, *The Economic Societies in the Spanish World (1763-1821)* (Syracuse: 1958), 10. On Ward's influence on Campomanes: Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 50. Ricardo Calle Saiz, "Bernardo Ward," *Diccionario Bibliografico electronico de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Accessed 01/06/2022. Stanley Stein and Barbara Stein, *Apogee of Empire*.

<sup>426</sup> Pamela Voekel, "Peeing on the Palace: Bodily Resistance to Bourbon Reforms in Mexico City," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 5, no. 2 (1992): 183-208.

<sup>427</sup> One important exception is on the matter of slavery. Ward believed that Spain was already naturally wealthy enough and had a large enough population that slavery was unnecessary, that instead the empire should better utilize its native American subjects and improve their situation as opposed to importing enslaved Africans. O'Reilly, demonstrated in the next chapter, was adamant that the expansion of African slavery was essential to Spanish wealth. For more on Spanish political economy and slavery: Luis Perdices de Blas and Jose Luis Ramos-Gorostiza, "Slavery and the Slave Trade in Spanish Economic Thought, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," *History of Economic Ideas* 23, No. 2 (2015): 11-40.

rather than British military praxis but his skill at this task derived, like many of his fellow Hiberno-Spaniards, from the cosmopolitanism of exile. If, as Wall and Ward both understood, the fate of the Spanish Empire depended, ultimately, on its military prowess, then the translation of the most effective and modern military praxis was essential to the empire's resurgence.

### **Alejandro O'Reilly and the Military Revolution**

From the sixteenth through the eighteenth-century, Europe underwent something of a "military revolution" in which a constant state of warfare catalyzed a remaking of European states, armies, and societies. As it were, the Spanish Empire had first led and then fell behind military innovation in the early modern period.<sup>428</sup> What had been the most formidable army in Europe in the sixteenth century had become a perennial loser by the eighteenth. In such circumstances, the new Bourbon dynasty was keen to promote militarization and the improvement of its forces, and this demanded an openness to foreign praxis. A beneficiary of Irish patronage within the empire and talented, the Hiberno-Spaniard Alejandro O'Reilly travelled extensively throughout Europe before he led the reform of Spain's army on the eve and in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War.

Born in the parish of Moylagh in County Meath in 1723, Alejandro O'Reilly and his family were participants in the late migration from Ireland in the decades following the War of the Two Kings (1688-1691). In the genealogy he commissioned from a fellow diasporic Irishman, the French soldier Thomas "Chevalier" O'Gorman, O'Reilly claimed his descent traced back to the O'Reilly kings of the early modern Irish kingdom of East Breifne,

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<sup>428</sup> Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). See also: Armstrong Starkey, *War in the Age of Enlightenment, 1700-1789* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003). Manuel-Reyes Garcia Hurtado, *Soldados de la Ilustración: El ejército español en el siglo XVIII* (Coruña, Spain: Universidad de Coruña Servizo de Publicaciones, 2019, original 2012).

encompassing the counties of Meath and Cavan.<sup>429</sup> His ancestors had fought in the 1641 rebellion and resultant War of the Three Kingdoms (1641-1653) and the War of the Two Kings. In fact, his grandfather had served in the Irish Parliament of 1688 and organized a cavalry regiment in King James II's army in which O'Reilly's father had also fought. Although the O'Reillys were on the list of gentlemen exceptions in the Treaty of Limerick (1691) that allowed them to own weapons, the defeat of the Catholic cause foreclosed hope for a reversal of the land confiscations that had dispossessed the O'Reilly sept from their historic homeland and social prominence.<sup>430</sup> The penal laws enacted in the early decades of the new century further limited the horizon for Catholics. Finding even the rapidly expanding Dublin too limiting, the O'Reilly family migrated to Spain in 1731 when Alexander O'Reilly was eight years old.<sup>431</sup>

Three years later, Alejandro O'Reilly entered the army alongside his two brothers, joining the majority and historically Irish *regimiento irlandés de Hibernia*. Given the importance of patronage within the Spanish Empire and the Irish diaspora, it is not surprising that the promotion of his eldest brother, Domingo, provided the young Alejandro with his first source of patronage. The three O'Reillys first fought in the Italian campaigns of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-8). For his service, Alejandro's eldest brother Nicholas was made a captain in 1745 and served as the aide-de-camp to the regiment's general, Reinaldo MacDonell. Commendable service in war and proximity to patronage power led to Alejandro's promotion to captain also in the year 1745.<sup>432</sup> By the conclusion of the war, Alejandro O'Reilly was well

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<sup>429</sup> O'Gorman, *The Genealogy of the House of O'Reilly*.

<sup>430</sup> *An alphabetical list of the names of all such persons of the popish religion within the Kingdom of Ireland, who have licences to bear or carry arms* (Dublin: Andrew Crook, 1705). Accessed at Malden Library, Malden, MA.

<sup>431</sup> Oscar Recio Morales, *Alejandro O'Reilly, Inspector General: Poder militar, familia y territorio en el reinado de Carlos III* (Madrid: 2020), 40-3.

<sup>432</sup> Morales, *Alejandro O'Reilly, Inspector General*, 60-2.

regarded and well connected; but his trajectory changed irrevocably thanks to the patronage of Ricardo Wall.

In 1756 the Atlantic world erupted in a war for hegemony between France, England, and their respective allies throughout Europe, the Americas, Africa, and even India and Southeast Asia. As discussed above, the First Minister Ricardo Wall believed Spain's interests lie in avoiding this costly war, which he believed Spain could not win. Thus, he resisted the pressures for Spain to enter the war because the Spanish military was backwards, unprepared, and lacked adequate funding. This war, however, presented the Spanish with opportunities to prepare for future engagements. One of which was to learn and then emulate the successful military tactics of European rivals.

The practice of noblemen and generals observing the military of other European armies was commonplace in eighteenth century Europe. In this period, military observers functioned to compare one's own army to that of other European states for emulating worthwhile ideas and practices. As he put it, O'Reilly desired to undertake such a sojourn because it was "indispensable to the development of an officer to see the maneuvering of armies, and with knowledge of the terrain, to study the ideas and dispositions of the generals." Deeming such an opportunity valuable to the Spanish army, Ricardo Wall successfully solicited permission for his fellow Hiberno-Spaniard Alejandro O'Reilly to conduct such a tour from King Fernando VI. In July 1758, O'Reilly left Spain for Vienna.<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>433</sup> Alejandro O'Reilly to King Fernando VI. "Instrucción que deberá observar D. Alejandro O'Reilly, sargento mayor del regimiento de infantería de Hibernia, durante el tiempo que se mantega en los ejércitos de Alemania, adonde pasa con Real permisión, para enterarse de su gobierno, moviemientos y operaciones," 17 June 1758. AGS, GM, leg. 179 supl. Quoted in Morales, *Alejandro O'Reilly, Inspector General*, 72.

Upon arrival, O'Reilly was incorporated as an *Estado Mayor* in the Austrian service under General Leopold Joseph von Daun, of whom O'Reilly wrote favorably. O'Reilly's incorporation into the Austrian service was made easier with the support of Karl O'Donnell, a high-ranking Hiberno-Austrian general. In his position, O'Reilly participated in, observed, and wrote to Madrid about the Austrian army. He was particularly impressed with its discipline, which he believed followed from proper leadership. Yet even more impressive to the Hiberno-Spaniard, and indeed all of Europe, was the discipline of Austria's enemy: Prussia.<sup>434</sup>

Perhaps no force in Europe rivaled the discipline and effectiveness of the Prussian army. Whereas seventeenth century warfare was defined in large part by siege warfare and field combat defined by cavalry, pikemen, musketeers, and rudimentary artillery, which together attempted frontal assaults and efforts to punch holes in the enemy's line, changes to military tactics and technology over the course of the century elevated the importance of artillery and guns at the expense of cavalry and pikemen. By the eighteenth century, more effective artillery and the flintlock musket changed formation tactics and led to the popularization of the infantry line. European armies often organized their infantry in lines of men, three-persons deep, and fire in turns upon the enemy. This newer form of warfare demanded complex movements and coordination; according to one historian, "the key to success in a linear formation was precision in movement.... Marching, drill, and discipline became the three key factors in this process."<sup>435</sup> Under successive militaristic and ambitious rulers, the Prussian army transformed from a peripheral force circa 1688 into what was perhaps Europe's most feared army by the conclusion of the Seven Years' War precisely because of its organization, efficiency, and discipline.

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<sup>434</sup> Morales, *Alejandro O'Reilly, Inspector General*, 68-75.

<sup>435</sup> White, *The Prussian Army, 1640-1871*, 13-51. Quote 51.

Following the War of the Spanish Succession, the Prussian King Frederick II charged his most trusted commander, Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, with reforming and expanding the kingdom's army. Leopold made three direct interventions: he first commissioned the invention of a metal ramrod, which increased the speed with which soldiers could reload their muskets, then he introduced the concept of "in-step marching" for battlefield maneuvering, and thirdly he introduced a regularized uniform for the Prussian soldiers. So enthused with the results, Frederick II wrote a field manual for his commanders with standard rules and regulations for marching soldiers. The king considered the manual and its secret tactics so important that the revelation of its contents was a crime punishable by execution. These changes to the Prussian army formed the foundation of its prowess on the field of battle during the Seven Years' War in which Alejandro O'Reilly witnessed Prussian military effectiveness firsthand.<sup>436</sup>

In the European theater of the Seven Years' War, Prussia stood alone against the combined forces of France, Austria, Russia, and Sweden. Its only major ally was the British Empire, divorced as it were from the Continent. Undeterred, Frederick II preemptively invaded Austrian Saxony on August 30, 1756. It was in this Austrian-Prussian conflict that O'Reilly spent the bulk of his mission and came to admire the Prussian military. Among the most impressionable events in O'Reilly's estimation was the ability of Frederick II to escape and regroup following defeats at Kolin in Bohemia (June 8, 1757), Olomouc in Moravia (May 4 – July 2, 1758), and Hochkirch in Saxony (October 14, 1758). Even in defeat, O'Reilly marveled at "The order with which the Prussians march, the rapidness of their movement, and the valor of

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<sup>436</sup> White, *The Prussian Army*, 63-71.

their initial attack is admirable, as also the ease and promptness with which they deploy their artillery.”<sup>437</sup>

As with the Austrian army, O’Reilly credited Prussian success to Prussian leadership – and specifically that of Frederick II who himself commanded the Prussian army and had dedicated much of his life to the art of warfare. O’Reilly believed the presence of the king, his fortitude and bravery, and his own skill as a tactician and commander made a significant contribution to the effectiveness of the Prussian army. After a brief stop in Paris and a short time with the French army, O’Reilly returned to Spain in December 1759. When O’Reilly returned to Spain, he was among the most fervent supporters of “*prusiomania*,” or the emulation of Prussian military tactics. Having witnessed these tactics first hand, O’Reilly was uniquely well suited to translate Prussian praxis to Spain.<sup>438</sup> At near the same time, a new and ambitious monarch ascended the Spanish throne intent on restoring Spain to its glorious past; and at his urging Spain belatedly joined the war raging throughout the Atlantic basin.<sup>439</sup>

Carlos was born in Madrid in 1716 as the fifth son of Felipe V and with the support of his mother Elisabeth Farnese, Duchess of Parma, Carlos became the Duke of Parma and later King of Naples which were subordinate possessions of the Spanish Empire. After twenty-five years in Italy, Carlos III ascended the Spanish throne on 10 August 1759. He brought him with not only decades of experience as a ruler but also a coterie of Italian experts, a cosmopolitan and militarist outlook, and a profound antipathy for the English. Carlos’s ambition for reform and his trust in

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<sup>437</sup> Morales, *Alejandro O’Reilly, Inspector General*, 74-80. Quote 75.

<sup>438</sup> Morales, *Alejandro O’Reilly, Inspector General*, 75-6.

<sup>439</sup> Morales, *Alejandro O’Reilly, Inspector General*, 80-87.

foreign experts helped contribute to O'Reilly's meteoric rise to become the king's most trusted general and among his most prominent advisers.<sup>440</sup>

With the support and patronage of his Hibernian Regiment commanders Olivero O'Gara and Felix O'Neill, First Minister Ricardo Wall, in addition to his decades of service and time studying military praxis abroad, O'Reilly was well connected, talented, and uniquely familiar with the most successful military tactics of the era. Thus, when Carlos III began his review and reform of the army, Ricardo Wall forwarded to the *Junta de Constitucion y Ordenanzas del Ejercito* many of O'Reilly's reports and recommendations. His reports amounted to "an ambitious modernization of the tactics, timing, maneuvers, weapons handling, and formations" of the Spanish army through reference to his observations of the Austrian, French, and especially the Prussian armies.<sup>441</sup> The *Junta de Ordenanzas* approved O'Reilly's suggestions and recommended them to Carlos III. The king then took it upon himself to observe an exercise of O'Reilly's program. Impressed, he named O'Reilly as the first *Ayudante General* of Infantry. After receiving the monarch's approval, O'Reilly toured Catalonia and Zaragoza to instruct Spanish militias and soldiers in the new methods of Prussian-style drilling and discipline. Then Britain declared war on January 4, 1762.

Upon entering the war, the Spanish invaded British-allied Portugal and Ricardo Wall appointed O'Reilly as a brigadier; under the leader of Spain's armies, the Conde de Aranda, the Hiberno-Spanish general commanded the troops intended to capture Porto. Despite early success against a phantom Portuguese force, O'Reilly and the Spanish were forced to withdraw from Portugal within a year following Spain's disastrous defeat at Havana (1761) and the ensuing

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<sup>440</sup> Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Carlos III y la España de la Ilustración* (Madrid: 2020, original 1988).

<sup>441</sup> Morales, *Alejandro O'Reilly, Inspector General*, 88.

peace settlement at Paris (1763). For his personal success in the war and with the support of Ricardo Wall, O'Reilly was promoted once more, this time to the highest grade of Field Marshall. One of the final acts of the Wall ministry was his endorsement of O'Reilly, which historian Oscar Recio Morales has suggested was a decision to push for O'Reilly's *prusiomania* reforms throughout the empire.<sup>442</sup>

## Conclusion

It is a common refrain when commenting on the Treaty of Paris (1763) to remark that France traded an island for half a continent. Less often is it observed that Spain traded a city for a colony. Whereas the French had traded New France for Guadeloupe because of its immense wealth in sugar and enslaved workers, the Spanish traded Florida for Havana because of the city's importance as an entrepot and fortress to the empire. Additionally, both Madrid and Havana held out hope that Cuba might be reformed to resemble the sugar-plantation colonies that dominated the rest of the Caribbean. To prevent British claims and compensate their Spanish allies, the French ceded Louisiana to Spain in the Treaty of Fontainebleau (1762).

This change on the maps of Europe relocated the center of European imperial rivalry in North America from the French/British borderland in the Ohio Valley to the Spanish/British borderland in the Gulf Coast. As Wall noted, "It is without doubt that the major advantage the English win from Florida is the extent to which it grants navigation of the Gulf of Mexico.... Louisiana can compensate in part for the loss of Florida, but it will never be equivalent." Further, he worried how English industry in developing Carolina and Virginia may also lead to the rapid development of Florida but noted, "This same industry we could introduce to Louisiana."<sup>443</sup>

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<sup>442</sup> Morales, *Alejandro O'Reilly, Inspector General*, 90-99.

<sup>443</sup> Wall a Tanucci, 28 de Diciembre de 1762. AGS, Estado, 6.093

After 1763, the Spanish Empire of Carlos III, influenced by the ministry of Ricardo Wall and in accordance with the recommendations of Bernardo Ward, focused on and experimented with the Gulf Coast borderlands – the space from Texas to Florida and inclusive of Cuba – precisely because this was a space of relative economic underdevelopment and imperial confrontation with the expanding and menacing British Empire. To ceremoniously retake Havana and begin the most ambitious phase of the Bourbon Reforms in Spanish America, Carlos III appointed the Conde de Ricla as the governor of Cuba and Alejandro O'Reilly as the General-Visitor to the island. O'Reilly was to report directly to the king and how to improve the island's administration, defenses, and economy – or, its political economy. In the ensuing decade, O'Reilly and a network of fellow Hiberno-Spaniards would play an instrumental role in reconquering and reforming Spain's Gulf Coast colonies.

## **Part II**

### *The Gulf*

### Ch. 3 Slavery, Political Economy, & *La dominacion Irlandesa*: Cuba, 1714-1766

“The rise and fall of mercantilism is the rise and fall of [plantation] slavery.”<sup>444</sup>

From June 29 until July 7 1763, the Hiberno-Spanish general Alejandro O’Reilly, Conde de O’Reilly, negotiated the withdrawal of the British army from Havana with the British general of Dutch descent George Keppel, Lord Albemarle. It was an event of historic and poetic significance worthy of John Copley and Benjamin West or Giovanni Tiepolo and Francisco de Goya’s recreation, but we will have to imagine it ourselves. Given the contemporary artistic norm of condensing events into readable representations, such a painting would likely combine the events – arrival, negotiation, departure – into one dramatic act that centered the “great men.” In the middle of the painting would stand O’Reilly and Keppel. Behind them we might see a host of onlookers: workers enslaved and free, priests, elite *Habaneros*, merchants, and both British and Spanish soldiers. Given the artistic taste for exoticism in the form of American produce, there would also likely appear representations of Cuba’s fecund agricultural wealth in the form of tobacco and sugar. The two generals would likely appear armed, dignified, and fraternal, performing masculine and elite expectations of honor and martial deportment.

The immediate observation would be the tension between a departing but victorious British army and the ceremoniously arriving Spanish. Is our imagined painting to be read as a celebration of a great British victory in its most successful war to date? Or, as the triumphant

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<sup>444</sup> Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020, original 1944), 109.

restoration of Spanish rule and the celebrated beginning of the Bourbon Reforms in Spanish America?

An erudite observer may also note the synchronicity of O'Reilly and Keppel's meeting, both of whom were in the positions they were – the generals responsible for taking and then retaking the most important entrepot in the Americas on behalf of the Atlantic's two largest empires – as a direct consequence of the same event. They were literal and historic descendants of the War of the Two Kings (1688-1691). The Hiberno-Spaniard's grandfather was a Member of Parliament in the 1688 Irish Parliament and a cavalry officer in King James II's army while the Dutch-Briton's grandfather was the closest confidant of the Prince of Orange. Seventy-three years previous, their grandfathers had fought on opposing sides in the deciding Battle of the Boyne (1690) in which William of Orange effectively secured the Anglo-Dutch Revolution of 1688.

Perhaps the foreignness of the event's two "great men" discouraged national artists to immortalize the most significant event of the most significant war in the eighteenth-century. In any case, the story behind the meeting is straightforward if circuitous: The War of the Two Kings secured and expanded the Dutch-inspired reform of the British Empire and produced an Irish diaspora that would later lead a British-inspired reform of the Spanish Empire. This diaspora made its most significant contributions to the Bourbon Reform program in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War and in the Gulf Coast borderlands. In the heat of Havana's summer, O'Reilly and Keppel personified the world historic significance of 1688 and 1763: The remaking of the English and Spanish Empires, Dutch and Irish reformers, revolution and diaspora.



Dominic Serres, *The Capture of Havana, 1762, Taking the Town, 14 August*.<sup>445</sup>

One of the most significant components of the British Empire's emulation of the Dutch was the importance of controlling the transatlantic slave trade and emulating Dutch sugar plantation slavery. Keen observers, then, might also note the presence of sugar and enslaved Africans in our imagined painting and the connection between the expansion of Cuban plantation slavery, the British occupation of Havana (1761), and the Bourbon Reforms. In the eighteenth-century sugar became the most profitable cash crop in the Atlantic world, produced through the labor of thousands of enslaved Africans enclosed within the plantation system. The profits

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<sup>445</sup> Dates: 1765-70. Held at the British National Maritime Museum. In this painting of the British conquest, one can see the role of Havana as fort and harbor as well as its notable size. Accessed digitally at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dominic\\_Serres\\_-\\_The\\_Capture\\_of\\_Havana,\\_1762,\\_Taking\\_the\\_Town,\\_14\\_August.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dominic_Serres_-_The_Capture_of_Havana,_1762,_Taking_the_Town,_14_August.jpg) on 06/30/2022.

derived from plantation agriculture and the transatlantic slave trade made the Caribbean the Atlantic world's center of capital accumulation and imperial fortification.<sup>446</sup> Except for Cuba.<sup>447</sup>



Dominic Serres, *The Piazza at Havana*.<sup>448</sup>

The role of slavery in the Bourbon Reforms is a subject of growing historical interest. Historians have highlighted the unequivocal growth in Spanish slaving in the eighteenth-century and particularly after the British occupation of Havana while stressing that this was a process

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<sup>446</sup> Trevor Burnard and John Garrigus, *The Plantation Machine Atlantic Capitalism in French Saint-Domingue and British Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018). Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (New York: Verso, 2010). Brown, *Tacky's Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave-War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020).

<sup>447</sup> Cuba and specifically Havana were exceptionally wealthy but this wealth derived largely from commerce, provisioning, and defense contracts rather than plantation slavery.

<sup>448</sup> Dates: 1765-1770. Held at the British National Maritime Museum. Note the orderly depiction of the British occupation, presence of Jesuits and an African woman, and the represented wealth of Havana embodied in its architecture and the large *plaza*. Accessed digitally at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dominic\\_Serres\\_the\\_Elder\\_-\\_The\\_Piazza\\_at\\_Havana.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dominic_Serres_the_Elder_-_The_Piazza_at_Havana.jpg) on 06/20/2022.

engendered from both the metropolitan center and the colonial periphery. This literature has been slower to explain why and how Spanish slavers and administrators embraced plantation slavery when they did. This chapter uses Cuba, the most striking and successful Spanish colony to transition to a plantation slavery economy in the empire, to argue that the planters' and the crown's shared interest in wealth and political-economy drove their desire to emulate plantation practices common elsewhere in the Atlantic world; and that Hiberno-Spanish slavers' familiarity with and access to the world of British slaving enabled them to translate said access to Cuba.

The historiography of Cuban slavery typically identifies one of two events as key catalysts in the transformation of Cuba into a sugar-producing and slave-consuming island: the British occupation of Havana (1761) and the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804).<sup>449</sup> Historians acknowledge that the British occupation and the Spanish response after the Seven Years' War led to a discernable uptick in slaving activity on the island and that the Haitian Revolution created a vacuum in the Atlantic world system's sugar economy while dispersing French planters, the settling of the latter in Cuba and the opportunity of the former spurring a meteoric transformation of a Cuba already trending towards a plantation economy. In contrast, this chapter excavates earlier antecedents and favors viewing the transformation of Cuban slavery over time. After providing a *longue duree* introduction to the history of slavery in the Hispanic and Anglo-Atlantic worlds and the place of the Irish in the Caribbean, it demonstrates how Irish slavers

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<sup>449</sup> Moreno Fraginals, *El ingenio: Complejo económico social cubano del azúcar* (Barcelona: 2001), 15–25. Elena Schneider, *The Occupation of Havana* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018). Kuethe and Andrian, *The Spanish Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century*, 5-7. Johnson, *The Social Transformation of Eighteenth-Century Cuba*, 11. Allan Kuethe, *Cuba, 1753-1815: Crown, Military, and Society* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986), ix, 26. Ada Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). Ada Ferrer, *Cuba: An American History* (New York: Scribner, 2021).

were key agents in the introduction of plantation praxis, access to British slaving markets, and the technology and capital necessary for sugar plantation agriculture to Cuba.

### **Spanish Slavery, British Slavery**

Slavery was ubiquitous in the Spanish Empire, plantation slavery rare until the late eighteenth century. The Spanish Empire, described by one Marxist historian as the “highest stage of feudalism,” was a tribute-demanding empire in the Americas; or, in the categorization of Giovanni Arrighi, it was a “territorial” empire. That is, the Spanish Empire was not organized around the conquest of trade but of land, labor, specie, and habits.<sup>450</sup> As pertains to the history of slavery, this meant that Spanish slavery was shaped in large part by the demands and expectations of the Catholic Church as well as the interests of the Spanish crown.<sup>451</sup> This began to change in the eighteenth century when Irish exiles played an important role in Spain’s emulation of British political economic statecraft in an effort to emulate and surpass British economic hegemony in sugar and slavery.<sup>452</sup>

The legal system of Spanish slavery rested on the thirteenth century *Las Siete Partidas del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio*, which codified Roman and Christian slaving law in Castile, declaring the practice a necessary evil and recognizing the humanity, if circumscribed, of the enslaved. Based on Roman precedent and the demands of the Catholic Church, the enslaved

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<sup>450</sup> Pierre Villar, “The Times of Don Quixote,” *New Left Review*, 68 (1976), 59-71. Quoted in Robert Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 129. Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power and the Origins of our Times* (New York: Verso, 1994), 28-35, 41-3.

<sup>451</sup> Herman Bennett, *Africans Kings and Black Slaves: Sovereignty and Dispossession in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

<sup>452</sup> Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*. Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Vintage, 2014), 29-82. David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 210-223. On the comparison between Spanish and British slavery, see the introduction’s discussion of the Tannebaum Thesis and Eric Williams. For more on the origins of Spanish enslavement of Africans, the role of Catholicism in Iberian slavery, and the first extended European encounters with West Africa: Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves*.

could, for example, protest unjust treatment. They were also guaranteed the right to marry and maintain a family.<sup>453</sup> Unlike most of Europe, slavery persisted in Iberia into the early modern era and Iberians were familiar with Africans and sugar cultivation. The enslavement of conquered Native Americans and the contemporary literature this produced is well known to historians, most famously in the personage of Bartolomé de las Casas and his crusade against indigenous enslavement as well as his toleration for African enslavement until late in his life. Despite the prohibition against indigenous enslavement with the “New Laws” of 1542, the enslavement of Native Americans remained pervasive throughout Spanish America.<sup>454</sup> Africans and African slavery, too, were always-already present in Spanish America but in relatively small numbers, perhaps 15,000 total for all of Spanish America in 1550. Enslaved Africans largely worked as servants, masons, carpenters, washerwomen, cooks, and in other craft and service sectors or as royal slaves in the construction of fortifications but also in limited numbers on plantations.<sup>455</sup>

Early Spanish colonists attempted to establish sugar plantations akin to those they were familiar with in the Mediterranean and Atlantic islands but were met with frustrating conditions that ultimately discouraged plantation agriculture.<sup>456</sup> Most plainly, the cost was enormous.

Initially reliant on Indian labor, Spanish planters preferred Africans to Native Americans because

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<sup>453</sup> Herbert Klein, *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 59-85. Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves*.

<sup>454</sup> Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 49-54, 134-37, 150-2. Nancy van Deusen, *Global Indios The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015). Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2016).

<sup>455</sup> Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 127-136.

<sup>456</sup> The history of Atlantic sugar plantation agriculture has its origins in the Mediterranean world and early Portuguese plantations first on the Atlantic islands and later in Brazil. See: Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*. Stuart Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). For more on African participation and power in the slave trade: Herman Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves: Sovereignty and Dispossession in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

of their unfamiliarity with the land and each other, therefore their discouraged ability to flee or rebel and greater resistance to disease; but the expense of importing enslaved Africans, dangers of privateering predations, and the costs of the technology necessary for sugar production were significant. The Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) compounded these problems, historically barring Spain from involvement in West Africa and thus the transatlantic slave trade. Would-be Spanish slavers were reliant on the *asiento* contract system in which the Spanish Crown granted a foreign entity, initially Portuguese traders, the sole right to trade enslaved Africans in the Spanish Empire.<sup>457</sup>

Despite initial start-up costs and the immense risks involved, there existed for a short while a Spanish sugar production economy but by the end of the sixteenth century this trade had become negligible and Spanish authorities shifted their economic focus to the booming silver mines of New Spain and Potosi. Indeed, the Spanish *Carrera de las Indias*, or fleet system, in which convoys of Spanish ships sailed between Spain's monopolistic American-trading entrepot of Seville and its conveniently well-located Caribbean entrepot of Havana to transport goods and specie securely, discouraged the trade and therefore production of commodities like sugar.<sup>458</sup> Despite the absence of a plantation economy, however, slavery was extensive throughout the empire.

Mexico City was the capital of African slavery in the Spanish Empire and indeed the Atlantic world in the seventeenth century. 268,600 enslaved Africans were forcibly relocated to Spanish America between 1595-1640<sup>459</sup> and according to a 1640 census the population of

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<sup>457</sup> Linda Newson and Susie Minchin, *From Capture to Sale: The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

<sup>458</sup> Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 136-8.

<sup>459</sup> Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 138-40.

Africans in New Spain was 35,089 and included another 116,529 African creoles, most of who were concentrated in Mexico City.<sup>460</sup> As historian Herman Bennett has underlined, the nature of Spanish rule in Spanish America, a complex matrix between creoles, crown, and church, meant that the experience of the African diaspora in New Spain was more complex than mere enslavement. Put another way, the place of Church and crown interests vis-à-vis Spanish creoles limited the domination of enslaved Africans and opened other avenues for identity-formation beyond the chains of slavery, principally through Christianity and diasporic linkages.<sup>461</sup> This religious dimension of Spanish slavery differentiated it from Dutch, British, and French slavery. Similar to Mexico City, in 1650 there were 20,000 Africans in Spanish America's second administrative capital, Lima, of which a tenth were free.<sup>462</sup> This is to say, slavery was extensive in Spanish America – both indigenous and African – but was of a different form than the plantation slavery most often associated with other parts of the Americas. Only in Cuba did a Spanish colony develop a robust plantation economy and that did not occur until three centuries after initial Spanish colonization.

As was the case with most European slaving colonies, Cuban colonists enslaved the indigenous *Tainos* before the combination of disease and overwork devastated their population and pushed Spanish creoles to seek alternative sources of coerced labor: enslaved Africans.<sup>463</sup> African slavery in Cuba in the sixteenth century focused on the making and maintenance of fortifications, for which the Spanish Crown owned around 200 Africans, and in artisan or

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<sup>460</sup> Herman Bennett, *Colonial Blackness: A History of Afro-Mexico* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 59.

<sup>461</sup> Herman Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003). Bennett, *Colonial Blackness*.

<sup>462</sup> Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 140-144.

<sup>463</sup> Klein, *Slavery in the Americas*, 131-3.

servicing sectors. It was common for the enslaved, after completing their required labor, to also perform their own labor or establish their own petty businesses, such as street food, taverns, and other services. Early Cuban slavery was overwhelmingly urban and focused in Havana, with small numbers of enslaved Africans working on small-scale farms and ranches around the entrepot. In the 1590s, during the temporary union of Spain and Portugal, the importation of enslaved Africans grew rapidly in Spanish America and, correspondingly, there emerged a modest sugar industry in Cuba. As a result, the colony's population in 1610 – 20,000 – was half composed of enslaved Africans, although most of the enslaved did not work on plantations but rather continued to labor in fortifications, domestic labor, and artisan industries. The plantations, moreover, were small in scale compared to those that would develop throughout the Caribbean in the proceeding century. In 1602, for example, the largest sugar mill on the island contained 31 enslaved workers and in 1610 there was no more than 25 such mills, none of which owned more than 40 enslaved Africans and totaling no more than 400 enslaved workers. Significantly, manumission was expensive but possible.<sup>464</sup>

As in New Spain, Spanish Crown and Church authorities in Cuba took seriously the responsibility of converting enslaved Africans to Catholicism; masters did or did not as individuals, but the importance of Catholic instruction was at least in theory significant to Spanish slavery and indeed justified the condition of enslavement to begin with.<sup>465</sup> Further, also as in Mexico, Christianity provided Africans a spiritual salve and a means for creating social linkages through baptism, godparents, marriage, and other sacraments and aspects of Catholicism

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<sup>464</sup> Alejandro de la Fuente, *Havana and the Atlantic in the Sixteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 170-8.

<sup>465</sup> Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves*, esp. 70-4.

even when they utilized Spanish and Christian institutions to reproduce African cultural and social practices.<sup>466</sup> A desire to proselytize did not, however, infer esteem for Africans on the part of the Spanish. On the contrary, it was inherent to Spanish justifications for the imagining of African inferiority.

The Spanish concept of *limpieza de sangre* (“purity of blood”) was an important antecedent to racialization. Rooted in anti-Semitism and the Spanish crusade against the Islamic kingdom of Granada, this ideology of blood purity presupposed a superiority of Spanishness, aristocratic pedigree, and Catholicism and located this superiority in social reproduction. Perhaps not a modern concept of “race,” this ideology nonetheless followed Spaniards to America and helped constitute a discursive figuration of blackness that equated black skin with servitude, paganism or Islam, and inferiority.<sup>467</sup> It was, however, the transatlantic emergence of the plantation and black enslavement that fixed the position of Africans in America as inherently subordinate in the imagination of European colonists as reified in a series of regulations debarring Africans, free and enslaved, from a number of practices and privileges in Cuba as elsewhere in the Spanish Empire and Atlantic world.<sup>468</sup>

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<sup>466</sup> Fuente, *Havana and the Atlantic in the Sixteenth Century*, 160-78.

<sup>467</sup> Maria Elena Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2008). J. Kameron Carter, *Race: A Theological Account* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves*.

<sup>468</sup> Fuente, *Havana and the Atlantic in the Sixteenth Century*, 178-185. This perspective echoes Ira Berlin’s argument that, “New World slavery did not have its origins in a conspiracy to dishonor, shame, brutalize, or reduce slaves on some perverse scale of humanity – although it did all of those at one time or another. The stench from slavery’s moral rot cannot mask the design of American captivity: the extraction of labor that allowed a small group of men to dominate all. In short, if slavery made *race*, its larger purpose was to make *class*.” Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 5. It also dovetails with Eric Williams’s perspective: “Negro slavery, thus, had nothing to do with climate. Its origin can be expressed in three words: in the Caribbean, Sugar; on the mainland, Tobacco and Cotton... Sugar, tobacco, and cotton required the large plantation and hordes of cheap labor... The victims were the Negroes in Africa.” Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 17-18. That said, it is critical to incorporate Herman Bennett’s analysis of African sovereignty in Africa: Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves*.

In contrast to Spanish America, the English Crown was relatively less involved in American colonization until the seventeenth century and, for their part, English colonists in suitable climates were quick to adopt plantation agriculture. English colonization in the Chesapeake coincided with English colonization in Ireland, both efforts conceived as means of enriching a nascent English Empire in order to outcompete the hegemonic Spanish. The foundational colonies of English slavery were Virginia, first colonized in 1607, and Barbados, first colonized in 1627. Neither colony were intended to become slavocracies, but that was precisely what happened. As the now familiar story goes, the first recorded enslaved Africans purchased in mainland English North America arrived via Dutch merchants in 1619.<sup>469</sup> Near the same time, an English colonist named John Rolfe smuggled a strain of the addictive tobacco plant from Spanish Trinidad that was sweeter than the native Virginian strain.

The plant proved immensely popular in England and the colony subsequently developed a boom-and-bust plantation economy built, at first, upon the labor of indentured servants. More profitable and exploitable, enslaved Africans replaced indentured servants as the primary source of coerced labor on Virginian plantations which, in turn, led to a rigid, racialized system of African enslavement codified in a series of statutes over the course of the seventeenth century that reified the condition of slavery in the social reproduction of African women. That is to say, the legal code of English slavery made blackness the signifier of enslavement and the condition inheritable.<sup>470</sup>

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<sup>469</sup> John Thornton, "The African Experience of the '20. and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia in 1619," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (1998): 421-434. Linda Heywood and John Thornton, "In Search of the 1619 African Arrivals: Enslavement and Middle Passage," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 127, no. 3 (2019): 200-211.

<sup>470</sup> Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 223-229. Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, & Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996). Allison Games, *The Web of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 117-146.

The Barbados sugar-plantation economy was the crucible of English slaving wealth. Geographically blessed, Barbados was easily defensible and well suited for plantation agriculture. Similar though on a greater magnitude than Virginia, Dutch slave merchants and slavers familiar with sugar plantation agriculture in Brazil introduced the technology, techniques, and enslaved labor necessary for sugar cultivation to Barbados in the late 1630s and early 1640s. What was a population of merely 6,000 in 1638 – including 2,000 indentured servants but only 200 enslaved Africans – grew rapidly in ensuing decades to such an extent that by 1653 there was a population of 20,000 enslaved Africans to 8,000 indentured servants and 10,000 white colonists producing a large and profitable amount of sugar sold to a seemingly insatiable English market. In the following decades, the Barbados colonial assembly codified slavery legislation similar to those established in Virginia, entrenching racialized slavery in the English plantation zone that stretched from Barbados to Virginia.<sup>471</sup>

As in the metropole so as in the colonial periphery: England looked to the Dutch first to emulate and then replace. By the 1640s, Dutch traders had a near monopoly on the carrying trade of the Atlantic world, had wrested control of the transatlantic slave trade from the Portuguese, and were the most technically advanced in the technologies and practices of plantation slavery. Dutch traders reaped enormous profits in supplying English slavers with enslaved laborers and conducting a wide, transoceanic trading system; this wealth frustrated and allured English imperialists, merchants, and planters.<sup>472</sup>

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<sup>471</sup> Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 229-232, 234-5, 250-60. Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972).

<sup>472</sup> Christian J. Koot, *Empire at the Periphery: British Colonists, Anglo-Dutch Trade, and the Development of the British Atlantic, 1621-1713* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 4-5, 9-12, and especially the first two chapters, 17-86. Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century*, 130-62.

By the post-English civil war era, the English slaving colonies in the Leeward Islands and Barbados were the empire's most valuable possessions, home to a growing and lucrative sugar production economy; but the Atlantic shipping trade remained in Dutch hands, including the immensely profitable transatlantic slave trade.<sup>473</sup> The more assertive Restoration English state endeavored to close English markets and expand English control of transatlantic commerce through the passage of the Act of Trade and Navigation (1660) and the Staple Act (1663). These laws stipulated that all English colonial trade be shipped on English ships and routed through England, regulations that English merchants believed would protect profits in the ship-building, freight, commissions, and insurance industries that co-developed with the sugar boom. Growing tensions between the two northern European empires erupted into the second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-67) after skirmishes in West Africa over access to enslaved Africans became an Atlantic-wide war.<sup>474</sup>

English victory in this conflict and in the third Anglo-Dutch (1672-4) war effectively secured English mastery of the transatlantic slave trade and propelled English shipping and commerce to a preeminent position in the Atlantic world. It also secured a consistent, secure, and profitable access to enslaved labor for rapidly expanding English colonies. To organize this trade, in 1672 King Charles II approved the chartering of a joint-stock company that monopolized English slaving: The Royal African Company (RAC). At the founding of the company, English slave-merchants controlled 33% of the transatlantic slave trade; by 1683, they controlled 74% of the trade. From 1672 until its dissolution in the 1720s, the company imported nearly 150,000 enslaved humans from Africa to British colonies in the Americas. No single

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<sup>473</sup> Koot, *Empire at the Periphery* 88-90.

<sup>474</sup> Koot, *Empire at the Periphery*, 89-95. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 30-37.

institution enslaved and transported more Africans across the Atlantic in the history of transatlantic African enslavement.<sup>475</sup> Thus were established the foundations of eighteenth-century British slaving: As Richard Dunn put it, “Slavery in the English islands was ruthlessly exploitative from the outset, a device to maximize sugar production as cheaply as possible. And it was nakedly racial, for only Africans and Indians were enslaved. The 17<sup>th</sup> century English sugar planters created one of the harshest systems of servitude in Western history.”<sup>476</sup> It was also lucrative.

Upon wresting control of the slave trade from the Dutch and outcompeting the French, however, the RAC was defeated by English slavers and merchants clamoring for a liberalization of the slave trade. In the aftermath of the Anglo-Dutch Revolution of 1688, the English Crown ended the RAC’s monopoly on trade with West Africa in 1698 and opened the slave trade to all British merchants. This led to an even greater uptick of slaving in the British Atlantic, with the number of slaving voyages increasing from an average of 23 voyages a year between 1673-1688 to an average of 77 annually between 1714-1729. As one historian has explained, “The expansion of the slave trade that resulted from the demise of the Royal African Company led to an enlargement of the sugar and tobacco industries, which the British government taxed.... This increase represented more than thirty thousand pounds of additional customs revenue for the state per year and almost four million pounds.”<sup>477</sup> Precisely because of its value to state coffers and promotion of English trade and domestic manufacturing, the transatlantic slave trade and

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<sup>475</sup> William A. Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672-1752* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 11. See also: Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 254-6.

<sup>476</sup> Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 224

<sup>477</sup> Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt*, 16-37.

English slaving-colonies were the essential jewels of an emerging Anglo-Atlantic economy and rising British Empire. In the eighteenth century, nowhere was more important or lucrative to the empire than Jamaica.

Between 1661 and 1710, the English, British after 1707, colonies in the Americas imported over 336,000 enslaved Africans; of this number, 160,548 were destined for Jamaica with the majority forcibly relocated after 1691.<sup>478</sup> Jamaica's enslaved population grew from 40,000 Africans in 1700 to 122,000 by 1750. Correspondingly, the number of sugar mills on the island grew from 150 to 525, producing a fourfold increase in sugar production with export profits from the island rising from 325,000 pounds to 1,025,000 pounds over the same period. . In the words of one contemporary, it was the enslaved Africans "by whose labours and industry almost alone, the colony flourisheth, and its productions are cultivated and manufactured." The profits were enormous but because the efficiency of the system demanded a violence so extreme that it was deadly, the system was unsustainable. The garrison-plantation colony of Jamaica depended on the transatlantic slave trade, resembling a capitalistic dependence on the market for social reproduction.<sup>479</sup>

That is to say, British mastery of the transatlantic slave trade via mercantilist-imperialism first and liberalization second jointly enabled an explosive growth in sugar and slaves throughout the British Atlantic but especially Jamaica; and this wealth and its attendant industries were crucial to British economic and maritime hegemony in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the trade of enslaved Africans was a major

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<sup>478</sup> Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*, 48, 208.

<sup>479</sup> Patrick Browne, *The Civil and Natural History of Jamaica in Three Parts* (London: Browne, 1756), 9. Quoted in Brown, *Tacky's Revolt*, 53. Brown, *Tacky's Revolt*, 51-6. Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 389-90, stats 403-405. Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century*, 163, 204, 211

topic of Parliamentary and political economic debate – recognized as essential to the power and wealth of the empire.<sup>480</sup> It was precisely this wealth and power that reforming Spaniards and Cuban planters wanted to emulate – and that Hiberno-Spanish slavers were uniquely capable of translating.

### **Irish Servants, Irish Slavers**

The place of the Irish in the seventeenth century Caribbean reflected that of the Irish in seventeenth-century Europe: colonized subjects of the English Empire whose Catholicism enabled them to find refuge in French or Spanish territory. The liminality of the Irish was perhaps even more pronounced in the colonial periphery where exigencies of empire demanded local deviance from imperial norms. In a polyglot space with many peoples and states, the liminality of the Irish helped them thrive on the corners and between the margins of Europe's American empires. As the English then British Caribbean matured and developed its plantation economies at the turn of the century, Irish access to this world made them even more valuable. Although most Irish transplants, indeed most people free and unfree who migrated to the Caribbean, died soon upon arrival, those who either survived indenture or came voluntarily were often able to exist or even thrive with a low profile; but opportunities were far greater for Irish Catholics in the Spanish Empire than the English.

As mentioned above, English plantation labor originally relied upon indentured servitude. Largely taken from the uprooted masses of the English countryside and indignant urban dwellers, this population of mostly men served a master for a period of 5-7 years in exchange for passage across the Atlantic and a post-servitude grant of land. As this system developed and the demand

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<sup>480</sup> Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt*.

for labor increased, poor Irish peasants or those captured in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1641-53) were deemed especially useful and particularly exploitable. Indeed, Irishmen were a disproportionately large demographic of servants throughout the English Caribbean and laws there targeted Irish servants with particularly harsh restrictions and punishments.<sup>481</sup> For example, in Barbados Irish Catholic priests were forbidden to settle on the island and Irishmen who arrived without indenture were often instructed to indenture themselves or quit the colony. The indentured who remained were frequent targets of imprisonment, harsh corporal punishment, or banishment.<sup>482</sup>

English anti-papery justified these laws, reflected in the legitimate and imagined paranoia in English colonial correspondences about the loyalty of Irish Catholics and the specter of Irish-African solidarity.<sup>483</sup> As it were, Irish servants did indeed flaunt English authority or their masters' power. In Barbados in 1665, for example, a group of Irish servants and enslaved Africans were "out in rebellion in the Thicketts and thereabout... making a mockery of the law" and plundering nearby estates.<sup>484</sup> The colony's governor responded with a series of laws to restrict Irish mobility and the risk of revolt: Irish servants were required to carry a pass from their master if they were not on their master's plantation, Irish vagrants were subject to

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<sup>481</sup> Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 316-7. Hilary Beckles, "A 'riotous and unruly lot': Irish Indentured Servants and Freemen in the English West Indies, 1644-1713," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (1990), 503-22. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 68-70. Jenny Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans, and the Construction of Difference* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2013). Jenny Shaw and Kristen Block, "Subjects without an Empire: The Irish in the Early Modern Caribbean," *Past and Present*, no. 210 (Feb 2011): 33-60.

<sup>482</sup> Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 512-3. Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean*.

<sup>483</sup> Beckles, "A 'riotous and unruly lot': Irish Indentured Servants and Freemen in the English West Indies, 1644-1713," 504-5. Owen Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed English America in the Age of the Glorious Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

<sup>484</sup> Minutes of the Barbados Council, Nov. 6, 1655, Box I2, no. i, Davis transcripts, also Lucas MSS, Reel i, fols. i6i-i62; *ibid.*, July 15, 1656; *ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1657; *ibid.* Quoted in Beckles, "A 'riotous and unruly lot': Irish Indentured Servants and Freemen in the English West Indies, 1644-1713," 515-6.

immediate arrest, and Irishmen on the island were barred from purchasing weapons. These laws culminated with the Master and Servant Code of 1661 that defined the Irish as “a profligate race” at risk of “joining themselves to runaway slaves.”<sup>485</sup> Yet, these fears outstripped reality.

Irish servants may have fraternized with the enslaved and participated in small-scale acts of resistance against particularly harsh masters, but never did Irish servants join with enslaved Africans in a revolt against English rule or the institution of slavery.<sup>486</sup> Servitude was never enslavement. Instead, the questionable loyalty of Irish subjects, perhaps worsened by such laws, made them strategically risky to English interests in the Caribbean and potentially valuable to England’s rivals.<sup>487</sup> Indeed, rather than revolt with the enslaved, the Irish were far more likely to cast their lot with other Europeans as exemplified when Irish servants and freemen rebelled against English rule in St. Kitts and Montserrat when war was declared between England and France in 1666 and helped the French briefly conquer the English territories and did so again in 1689.<sup>488</sup>

For those who survived indenture, freedom most often meant existence as smallholders. This typically meant ownership of a small patch of land where one would cultivate foodstuffs and perhaps a cash crop such as tobacco or indigo in small quantities with, perhaps, the coerced labor of one or two enslaved Africans. Over the course of the seventeenth century, as plantation

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<sup>485</sup> Beckles, “A 'riotous and unruly lot': Irish Indentured Servants and Freemen in the English West Indies, 1644-1713,” 516-7.

<sup>486</sup> Beckles, “A 'riotous and unruly lot': Irish Indentured Servants and Freemen in the English West Indies, 1644-1713,” 517. Natalie A. Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1660-1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Donald Akenson, *If The Irish Ran The World: Montserrat, 1630-1730* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997).

<sup>487</sup> Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*. Jenny Shaw and Kristen Block, “Subjects without an Empire: The Irish in the Early Modern Caribbean,” 33-60.

<sup>488</sup> Beckles, “A 'riotous and unruly lot': Irish Indentured Servants and Freemen in the English West Indies, 1644-1713,” 517-20.

agriculture intensified, smallholders of all backgrounds were pushed out of the picture. For some, post-indentured servant life meant becoming masters in their own right and owning a plantation and human beings coerced to labor upon it. The wealth and opportunity this presented for otherwise marginalized subjects of the English Empire attracted voluntarily Irish migrants throughout the English Caribbean, but for reasons of historical chance this pattern was most substantial on the island of Montserrat – the “Irish” colony of the English Empire where a sizable population of Irish Catholic slavers developed a small but robust plantation economy alongside their English counterparts.<sup>489</sup>

The island of Montserrat was a small and mountainous colony with an unusually high number of Irish settlers and slavers. Many of these Irish colonists were descendants of the forcibly indentured servants expelled from Ireland in the aftermath of the Cromwellian Conquest; many others were voluntary migrants in search of wealth and religious freedom. A peripheral colony, the Irish Catholic presence in Montserrat was denigrated but tolerated. Most were small-scale farmers who grew subsistence and small-scale cash crops, many owning small numbers of enslaved Africans. Some were large plantation owners.<sup>490</sup>

The place of Irish Catholics in the English Caribbean was for the most part one of degraded servitude. On the periphery, however, they might find pockets of privilege and participate in the imperial economy’s most lucrative and brutal sectors: slavery and sugar. Their opportunities were far greater, however, if they translated their access to British slaving to their conquerors’ principal rival in the Americas: Spain.

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<sup>489</sup> Akenson, *If The Irish Ran The World*. Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1660-1776*.

<sup>490</sup> Akenson, *If The Irish Ran The World*. Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1660-1776*, especially 64-96. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 9.

## Translating Slavery: The *Asiento*, The Society of Jesus, and Cuba

If the English state had waged war to conquer Dutch slaving markets then so too was it propelled into war to open Spanish American markets. Generally considered a dynastic war, the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) was perhaps more accurately a war for control of Spain's American colonies and commerce.<sup>491</sup> Indeed, the war officially began when England and the Netherlands declared war on France in support of the Austrian claimant after Felipe V granted the *asiento* monopoly to the French *Compagnie de Guinée* and inspired fear of a French-dominated Spanish American commerce.<sup>492</sup> Although Felipe V retained his empire, the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) ceded Spain's *asiento* to the British South Sea Company. Conceding this lucrative trade and correspondingly access to the Spanish American economy was not, however, an easy or straightforward diplomatic process. It demanded careful translation and negotiation; not coincidentally, the Irish smuggler and slaver Manuel Manasses Gilligan was an important negotiator in the *asiento* concession.

The negotiations to end the War of the Spanish Succession centered to a significant extent around the question of the Spanish *asiento*. After years of contentious warfare and negotiations, the British sent Lord Lexington to Madrid as the official representative of the crown and parliament but he relied on Gilligan as a secret envoy, go-between, and advisor. Gilligan established himself previous as a sugar planter in English Barbados where he smuggled between English and Spanish America before relocating to Danish St. Kitts and naturalized as a Dane during the War of the Spanish Succession to continue smuggling between Spanish and

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<sup>491</sup> John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1702-1808* (Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell Publishing, 1994), 37-46.

<sup>492</sup> Georges Scelle, *La Traite Negriere aux Indes de Castille: Contrats et Traités d'Assiento* (Paris: 1906), 114-140 for French-Spanish negotiations and transatlantic context; 455-83 for English responses and the origins of the War of the Spanish Succession.

English colonies. Arrested for this activity, he won his appeal in England and returned to conducting trade between the English Caribbean and the mainland of Spanish America. He appears to have also been previously involved in the Spanish American slave trade through involvement in the Portuguese era of the *asiento*. In other words, he was valuable to British officials and Lexington precisely because of his linguistic and imperial liminality, which is to say his familiarity with the language and practices of British and Spanish slaving. For his role in the negotiations, he secured himself a 7.5% share of South Sea Company profits.<sup>493</sup> In any case, the completed negotiations stipulated that the South Sea Company would transport 4,800 enslaved Africans annually for thirty years, opened a series of ports to the company including Portobello, Cartagena, Buenos Aires, and Havana, and allowed for an annual fair at Portobello that allowed the company to trade British merchandise freely in addition to enslaved Africans.<sup>494</sup>

Despite Spanish misgivings about the treaty and concession, the opening of Spanish America to British slaving promised to fill a desire in Spain's colonies for enslaved labor. While the Spanish American economy stagnated in the second half of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, English and French colonies in the Caribbean thrived with burgeoning plantation economies. Even as early as 1713, the Cuban economy paled in comparison to neighboring British Jamaica and French Saint-Domingue. Of the three Greater Antilles islands, Cuba was the largest, perhaps most naturally fertile, and endowed with the best harbor in the

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<sup>493</sup> Scelle, *La Traite Negriere aux Indes de Castille*, 528-9; for more on the *asiento* negotiations more broadly: *ibid*, 528-543. His will suggests that he was rich: "Will of Manuel Manasses Gilligan, Widower of Island of Barbados, West Indies." 25 Feb. 1729, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PROB) 11/627/415. The National Archives (Kew). On his 7.5% share: Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 235-8. The origins and precise details of Gilligan's role in these negotiations is murky. The only connection observable is his shared Jacobitism with Lord Lexington and his experience in sugar and Spanish slavery. Thomas refers to Gilligan as "mysterious."

<sup>494</sup> Thomas, *The Slave Trade*, 230-40. Koot, *Empire at the Periphery*, 196; Koot refers to Gilligan as an Englishman but all other sources refer to him as an Irish Catholic. Finucane, *The Temptation of Trade*, 23-5.

Americas; yet it was the most economically underdeveloped from the perspective of slavers and merchants, despite the fact that Havana was the largest city in the Caribbean.<sup>495</sup> The South Sea Company and Cuban planters, then, had a shared interest in supplying Cuba with large numbers of enslaved Africans. For this endeavor, the company hired the Montserrat based Irish slaver William Farrell-cum-Ricardo O’Farrill y O’Daly.<sup>496</sup>

The precise details of his origins and time in Montserrat are unclear, but Ricardo O’Farrill was the son of Irish migrants from County Longford who settled in Montserrat and established a profitable plantation estate with connections to the transatlantic slave trade. He lived previously in the island’s town of Kinsale before the South Sea Company appointed him as company factor in Havana.<sup>497</sup> His instructions from the company were clear: “to take special care of what Negroes come to your hands for the Company’s account... You are to sell for ready money as much as possible.... You are to keep a regular and exact account of what negroes come by each ship, how many Men Women Boys and Girls and their ages and how they are disposed of to whom and at what price.” The company also instructed O’Farrill to learn Spanish and ingratiate himself to the Cuban elite, but expressly forbid forming intimate relationships; on marriage the company explained, “[we] strictly prohibit your so doing.”<sup>498</sup>

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<sup>495</sup> On the economic development of Saint-Domingue and Jamaica, see: Burnard and Garrigus, *The Plantation Machine*.

<sup>496</sup> I have been unable to ascertain why the company hired O’Farrill, whose Catholicism should have excluded him from employment. We might postulate a plausible connection to Gilligan, perhaps a feigned conversion to Anglicanism, or assume that the company was willing to look the other way in the name of profit.

<sup>497</sup> Francisco Xavier de Santa Cruz y Mallén, *Historia de familias cubanas*, vol. VII (Havana: Editorial Hércules, 1940), 335. Thomas, *The Slave Trade*, 237, 301.

<sup>498</sup> “Instructions given by this court of directors of [illegible] and company of Great Britain -- Trading to [illegible] To Mr. Richard Farrill Mr. Wargent Nicolson Zarfoso, and Mr. John gazzard.” South Sea Company House, London. June 12 ,1718. British Library. ADD MS 25563, 372-8

The Havana that Ricardo O’Farrill arrived to in 1715 was the largest city in the Caribbean, the third largest in the Americas, and the primary trading hub and fortress of Spanish America. The city’s economy revolved around Havana’s role in the Spanish *flota* system by which all trade to and from Spanish America was channeled between the entrepots of Seville from 1503 then Cadiz after 1717 and Havana. Its economy otherwise focused on hides and tobacco production. Unlike the peripheral town of Kinsale, Montserrat, Havana bustled with trade and shipping to and from all parts of the Atlantic world and beyond, full of exotic and valuable trade goods such as Chinese porcelain, Central American cacao, Mexican or Peruvian silver, and tobacco from Cuba itself, among much more.<sup>499</sup> The city was, in other words, rich in trade and specie, inspiring fantasies of fabulous wealth in London among the South Sea Company’s bureaucrats and investors– especially after English traders introduced large numbers of enslaved Africans to catalyze a Spanish sugar economy mastered by English merchants and capital.<sup>500</sup>

Ricardo O’Farrill shared these ambitions and the conviction that Cuba was destined to become a sugar-producing island; he was intent on making this a reality and profiting from it himself. In his estimation, Cuban planters desired the wealth of sugar production but had been forced to abandon the cultivation of sugar in favor of tobacco for a want of access to enslaved Africans. As such, he predicted to his bosses in London that the demand of the *Habanero* planters could consume over one thousand Africans a year if the company could supply that many enslaved Africans.<sup>501</sup> This was no easy task.

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<sup>499</sup> Schneider, *The Occupation of Havana*, 63-110.

<sup>500</sup> Finucane, *The Temptations of War*, 21-29.

<sup>501</sup> South Sea Company House to Mr. Farrill. 30 April 1718. British Library ADD MS 25563, 313-4. South Sea Company House to Mr. Wooldbridge. 8 May 1718. British Library ADD MS 25563, 330-2.

While British merchants were preeminent in the transatlantic slave trade, their mastery was far from complete or absolute. Circumscribed by the currents of the ocean and the West African polities that controlled the supply of enslaved workers, to say nothing of competing merchants and destinations for the enslaved, the South Sea Company could never fulfill the obligations to Spanish America that it assumed in the Treaty of Utrecht. The challenge may have been especially difficult for O’Farrill, unusual in the fact that he was the only company factor at his post for the first three years of his factorship. This meant that O’Farrill was responsible for organizing the coming and going of slave ships to Havana, the seasoning and sale of enslaved Africans, and the record-keeping necessary for eighteenth century merchant activity and company work – i.e. the work of three men in the normal functioning of the company.<sup>502</sup> On the other hand, this also granted O’Farrill unusual freedoms and power, investing the Irishman with near uncompromised administration of the Cuban slave trade – so long as he remained on good terms with his Spanish hosts.

The threat of war was a constant source of anxiety for planters and merchants throughout the Atlantic world but particularly so for commercial enterprises entangled with multiple empires. The South Sea Company, in other words, was exposed to substantial risks in the case that Britain and Spain resumed war; and so too were its factors. Spanish discontent with the Treaty of Utrecht and dissatisfaction with the South Sea Company and its contributions to British smuggling were open secrets and known to the company.<sup>503</sup> On July 30, 1718, the company warned O’Farrill “we are under great apprehension of a war with Spain.” As such, they

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<sup>502</sup> For more on the experience of the enslaved, the process of *asiento* importation of Africans, and the functioning of the South Sea Company, see: Gregory O’Malley, *Final Passages: The Intercolonial Slave Trade of British America, 1619-1807* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 62-70, 74-8, 219-251.

<sup>503</sup> South Sea Company House to Mr. William Farrill. 31 October, 1717. British Library ADD MS 25563, 168-9.

instructed O'Farrill to load the next cargo ship with as much “money, fruits, and effects you possibly can” and ordered him to reroute his shipping from Cadiz to Barbados or Jamaica while keeping his motivation and activities secret.<sup>504</sup> In the previous months, Spain landed armies in Sardinia and Sicily, territories lost at Utrecht. When diplomacy failed to resolve the matter, the major powers of Europe – the “quadruple alliance” of Britain, France, Austria, and the Netherlands – declared war on August 2, 1718. Upon the resumption of war with Britain, Spanish officials in Cuba seized all South Sea Company goods and initially arrested O'Farrill but later set him free: The status of an intermediary was inherently precarious in a world of empires.<sup>505</sup>

It could also be lucrative. During the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718-20), Spanish authorities permitted O'Farrill to trade between Jamaica and Cuba to provide the island with much needed access to grain. This trade provided the Irish factor with a handsome profit and further expanded his contacts on both islands. After the war, he appears to have continued this trade clandestinely or perhaps with a winking acceptance from local British and Spanish officials. In either case, he conducted a profitable smuggling trade in grain and enslaved humans between the two islands.<sup>506</sup> He further leveraged his access to both markets to trade enslaved

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<sup>504</sup> South Sea Company House to Mr. Richard Farrill and Mr Wargent Nicholson. 30 July 1718. British Library ADD MS 25563, 407. Note: the above evident inconsistency with O'Farrill's name perhaps hints at an alias to secure initial employment.

<sup>505</sup> Court of Directors to Thompson, Pratter & Hazelwood, February 2, 1717/18; and Court of Directors to William Farril, June 5, 1718, Add MS 25563, BL. It appears O'Farrill's arrest may also have been connected to his smuggling during the 1717 Tobacco Revolt. See: Andrew Rutledge, *Enemies Bound by Trade: Jamaica, Cuba, and the Shared World of Contraband in Atlantic Empires, 1710-1760*. Ph. D Dissertation (University of Michigan: 2018), 66-76. For more on Spain and the War of the Quadruple Alliance see: Christopher Storks, *The Spanish Resurgence, 1713-1748* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

<sup>506</sup> Rutledge, *Enemies Bound by Trade*, Ph. D Dissertation, 66-76.

Africans for payment in sugar or tobacco that he resold from either the Spanish to the British, or vice versa, for higher personal and company profits.<sup>507</sup>

Despite his predictions of an annual consumption of over 1,000 enslaved Africans, O’Farrill was only able to coordinate the sale of a total 1,418 Africans in his first seven years from 1715-1722.<sup>508</sup> Notwithstanding the fact that this was a paltry number compared to expectations, it nonetheless marked a significant number compared to previous slaving in Cuba and for the individuals enslaved and their families. It also garnered O’Farrill a fortune that enabled him to buy sizable tracts of land around Havana. What made O’Farrill unusual as a company factor was not his smuggling or profiteering, however, but his decision to forego the role of intermediary for that of a Spanish subject.<sup>509</sup>

In 1720, after the war had ended, the South Sea Company fired O’Farrill. He had ignored their letters for two years and broken their rules against Catholicism and marriage.<sup>510</sup> By the time they sacked him he had already *de facto* quit the company and was busy running his own enterprises and ingratiating himself among the creole elite of Havana. That same year he married

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<sup>507</sup> Court of Directors to Mr. Thompson Gratter and Hoselwood, July 12, 1717. Add Ms 25563, BL.

<sup>508</sup> Court of Directors to William Farril, April 30, 1718, and Directors to Dudley Woodbridge, May 8, 1718, Add Ms 25563, BL. Ascertaining the details of the slave trade and experience of the enslaved is a challenge inherent to the imperial archive, but in one letter we get a small glimpse of the Africans that O’Farrill traded. In a letter to another company employee, John Woolbridge, the company instructed Woolbridge to steer a significant number of enslaved Africans to O’Farrill and Havana. It also enumerated a list of ships and their contents for which Woolbridge was responsible, 11 ships and 3640 enslaved Africans with the place of origins of the enslaved for each ship – primarily the Gold Coast and Whydah. South Sea Company House to Mr. Wooldbridge. 8 May, 1718. British Library ADD MS 25563, 330-2.

<sup>509</sup> Court of Directors to William Farril, April 30, 1718, and Directors to Dudley Woodbridge, May 8, 1718, Add Ms 25563, BL. Court of Directors to Mr. William Farrill. October 31, 1717. Add Ms 25563, BL. For more on the price of land and plantations in Havana, see: Mercedes Garcia Rodriguez, “Ingenios Habaneros del siglo XVIII: Mundo Agrario Interior,” *América Latina en la Historia Económica* 26 (2006), 48, 55. O’Farrill was not the only factor to leave the company and the British Empire, the Cartagena factor John Burnet also became a Spanish subject. Burnet did not, however, marry into the local aristocracy or establish himself as a major plantation owner. Finucane, *The Temptations of Trade*, 81-3.

<sup>510</sup> “Instructions given by this court of directors of [illegible] and company of Great Britain -- Trading to [illegible] To Mr. Richard Farrill, Mr. Wargent Nicolson Zarfoso, and Mr. John Gazzard.” June 12, 1718. Add Ms 25563, BL. Court of Directors to Mr. Richard Farrill and Mr Wargent Nicholson. July 30, 1718. Add Ms 25563, BL.

Maria Josefa de Arriola y Garcia de Londono, whose father was the head of the Royal Treasury in Cuba and the founder of Havana's shipyard – a match made possible because of O'Farrill's wealth, Catholicism, and Irish-based claims to *limpieza de sangre*.<sup>511</sup> For an Irish Catholic, the life of a Hiberno-Spaniard was safer and more promising than one of an intermediary.

After naturalizing as a Spanish subject in 1722, O'Farrill transferred his belongings – including over 200 enslaved Africans and the materials necessary to build a sugar plantation – from Jamaica to Havana. In 1723 he and his friend, the fellow advocate for Cuba's transition to a sugar-plantation economy and a Havana Councilman, Sebastian Calvo de la Puerta, received permission to establish a sugar plantation in southeastern Havana. O'Farrill obtained a second sugar plantation sometime thereafter.<sup>512</sup> These were among the earliest large-scale sugar plantations on the island and provided the economic basis for the O'Farrill dynasty.

At a time when sugar production was not common on the island, O'Farrill served as a translator between the world of British slaving and Cuba. Rather than remain as an intermediary or, as London may have hoped, use his position to advance the interests of the British Empire, O'Farrill decided to become a Spanish subject and translate sugar slaving practices to Cuba.<sup>513</sup> He introduced the capital, enslaved labor, and knowledge necessary to establish his own plantation complex. Leveraging his Irishness, he translated familiarity with British practices to Cuba and amassed enough material and social capital to establish one of the wealthiest and most

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<sup>511</sup> Xavier de Santa Cruz y Mallén, *Historia de familias cubanas*, vol. VII 54, 334-336. O'Farrill commissioned an Irish antiquarian to complete a genealogy of his family to prove his ancient, Catholic, noble lineage: "Pedigree of O'Farrill of Glin, Co. Longford, of Killindowde, Co. Longford, and of Havanna, West Indies, c.1500 -- 1750." National Library of Ireland, Genealogical Office: Ms.162, 54-5. For more on *limpieza de sangre*, see: Martinez, *Genealogical Fictions*.

<sup>512</sup> Serrano and Kuethe, "La familia O'Farrill y la élite habanera," 204-5. For more on South Sea Company and Spanish socialization, see: Finucane, *The Temptations of Trade*, 53-5.

<sup>513</sup> Finucane, *The Temptations of Trade*, 2, 10, 16, 32-4.

powerful plantation dynasties in eighteenth-century Cuba. The O’Farrill dynasty was a multigenerational sign to the Havana elite of the riches promised by emulating British plantation-capitalism and slave trading.<sup>514</sup> Indeed, his son Jose O’Farrill y Arriola further entrenched family connections to the Cuban elite through marriage, volunteered to serve during the War of Jenkins’ Ear (1739-1748), and continued to prosper as a large sugar estate magnate.<sup>515</sup> Jose O’Farrill y Arriola was not just exemplary of the Cuban elite but among its most powerful members.

If the South Sea Company was one key institution in the translation of plantation slavery and the O’Farrill’s a key conduit to the world of British slaving turned *Habanero* elite, then the Society of Jesus and the Hiberno-Spanish Jesuit Tomas Butler were another. Whereas Ricardo O’Farrill leveraged his unusual access to both the Spanish and British empires as an Irish Catholic, Butler drew on the Jesuits’ vast, transnational experience in slaving throughout the Atlantic world to promote the Society’s religious program and enrich the Cuban mission. At least initially, Butler’s Irishness was key to the expansion of Cuban slavery not because of his access to the British Empire *per se* but rather because it honed the cosmopolitanism of exile that endowed Butler and his compatriots with a particular skill at applying new ideas and practices – praxis – in the management of enslaved Africans. As we shall see, however, his ability to translate between Spanish and British interests was indeed essential during the British occupation of Havana and its aftermath.

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<sup>514</sup> Serrano and Kuethe, “La familia O’Farrill y la élite habanera,” 203. The O’Farrill family remained wealthy and powerful until the Cuban Revolution and their familial mansion in Havana, built in the 1790s sugar boom, remains standing and is in operation as a state hotel. On their marriages and militia involvement: AGI, Cuba, leg. 1234. AGS, GM, leg. 7261, AGS, GM, leg. 7269.

<sup>515</sup> Jose Manuel Serrano Alvarez and Allan J. Kuethe, “La familia O’Farrill y la élite habanera,” in Julian B. Ruiz Rivera and Manuela Cristina Garcia Bernal, eds., *Elites Urbanas en Hispanoamérica* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2005), 203-212. Schneider, *The Occupation of Havana*, 92, 204-8.

The Spanish Crown permitted the Jesuits to establish a college in Havana on December 19, 1721 and the society appointed Tomas Butler to lead the mission.<sup>516</sup> Born in Ireland, Butler was one of hundreds if not thousands of Irish exiles who entered international and Spanish Catholic institutions. After travelling to New Spain, he entered the Jesuit Order in 1749 and began a year of study in Mexico City. The next year the Society sent him to Havana as the head of the Jesuits' mission on the island and the president of its San Jose College in Havana; in these positions he was also the primary overseer for the Jesuits' three sugar plantations.<sup>517</sup> In addition to Butler's studies in economics, math, and science, the Hiberno-Spanish Jesuit likely drew on the Society's plantation experience in New Spain to improve those he oversaw in Cuba.<sup>518</sup> Among the books Butler was likely familiar with was the *Instrucciones a los hermanos jesuitas administradores de haciendas*. Published sometime between 1725-1750 in New Spain, this book was written based on the Society's experience running *haciendas* in New Spain and was intended as a manual for similar Jesuit enterprises elsewhere. It circulated precisely at the time that Butler was studying in Mexico City. Given that the Society placed him in charge of their Cuban plantations, it is perhaps safe to assume that he was familiar with the publication. In any case, the *Instrucciones* provide a glimpse into the workings of Jesuit plantations.

The *Instrucciones* blended the ecclesiastical and economic mission of the haciendas, emphasizing the importance of conversion alongside profit making. After each workday, the enslaved were supposed to be congregated for religious instruction. Weekly Mass attendance was

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<sup>516</sup> David Sweet, "Black Robes and 'Black Destiny': Jesuit Views of African Slavery in 17th-Century Latin America," *Revista de Historia de America* 86, vol. 3 (1978), 87-133. Brendan J.M. Weaver, "Rethinking the political economy of slavery: the hacienda aesthetic at the Jesuit vineyards of Nasca, Peru," *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 52, no. 1 (2018): 117-133. Jorge Salcedo, SJ, "Cuba," in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester, SJ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 210.

<sup>517</sup> Rodriguez, "Los ingenios azucares de la compania de Jesus en Cuba: 1720-1767," 1429-31.

<sup>518</sup> Rodriguez, "Los ingenios azucares de la compania de Jesus en Cuba: 1720-1767," 1430.

mandatory. The author of the book argued that material abundance would follow from the cultivation of souls as much as of sugar. It therefore prescribed a series of regulations to promote the Jesuits' expectations of Christian deportment and morality, particularly concerning the observance of Christian ritual, marriage, and sexuality, before focusing on the practicalities of managing sugar production.<sup>519</sup> While evidence is lacking for the precise regimes and practices of the three plantations Butler oversaw, it might be safe to conclude that his management followed from these instructions and centered a combined religious-economic mission.

The largest of the plantations Butler oversaw was named *San Ignacio de Río Blanco* and located on the outskirts of Havana. Established in 1758, it was among the most valuable estates in Cuba and the home of 242 enslaved Africans. Butler's translations of Jesuit experience with modern technology and techniques made the plantation exceptionally efficient and profitable. It also helped introduce these systems to Cuba.<sup>520</sup> By the eve of the Seven Years' War, the Society had become among, if not the, largest slave owner on the island and primary producer of sugar.<sup>521</sup>

The wealth that plantation capitalism promised made enslavement a primary concern for imperial administrators in London and Madrid as well as creole elites in Havana. Conflicts over smuggling and slavery fueled a series of imperial conflicts between the Spanish and British empires in the eighteenth-century. In 1748, the conclusion of War of Jenkins' Ear ended the South Sea Company's *asiento*; but it was the Seven Years' War and the British occupation of

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<sup>519</sup> John Tutino, "Capitalism, Christianity, and Slavery: Jesuits in New Spain, 1572–1767," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 8, no. 1 (2020): 28-35.

<sup>520</sup> Rodriguez, "Los ingenios azucares de la compania de Jesus en Cuba: 1720-1767," 1430.

<sup>521</sup> Mercedes Garcia Rodriguez, "Los ingenios azucares de la compania de Jesus en Cuba: 1720-1767," *XVI Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana* (2004), 1429-1445.

Havana that compelled the Crown into ambitious reform and an emphatic embrace of plantation slavery.<sup>522</sup>

By the eve of the Seven Years' War, there already existed a growing slavery-plantation economy in Cuba centered around sugar production that was, in no small part, made through Hiberno-Spaniards whose access to foreign ideas and practices invested them with the knowledge and resources necessary to establish thriving sugar plantations on the island. There already existed, moreover, a large demand among the *Habanero* elite for greater access to enslaved Africans and a growing interest in sugar cultivation. The war itself did not create but rather accentuated this demand, both among the Cuban creole elite and, for the first time in Spanish history, from a conscientious policy-change in Madrid towards a significant state investment in the empire's slaving economy and sugar-production. The British occupation of Havana (1761) during the war was an important acceleration of this process, and it was dependent upon Hiberno-Spanish translators.

### ***La dominación Irlandesa?***

Spain entered the Seven Years' War belatedly in 1761 because of events internal and external. Internally, the ascension of Carlos III (1759) placed a new, ambitious and Anglophobic monarch on the throne. Externally, the string of French defeats in North America terrified Spanish elites fearful of British hegemony in the Americas. When war appeared and then became inevitable between Britain and Spain, Havana quickly became the principal objective of the British Empire and its merchant class. The well-prepared British invasion force set sail for Havana before the Spanish governor of Cuba even knew that war had been declared, a reflection

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<sup>522</sup> Finucane, *The Temptations of Trade* 113-139. Schneider, *The Occupation of Havana*, 9.

of the inferior information infrastructure of the Spanish Empire and the organizational capabilities of the British. While the British had failed at Cartagena in the previous war and Havana was considered an even more fortified possession, a combination of poor preparations, lackluster leadership, and inferior fighting capabilities meant that the British siege succeed after two months and for the first and only time in the city's history, Havana fell to an outside invader.<sup>523</sup> Cuban historians describes this period as "*La dominación Inglesa*," but if the British dominated the island militarily, Hiberno-Spaniards dominated it economically.

After the British captured Havana on August 13 of 1762, Tomas Butler became the key liaison between British slaving merchants and Havana's slavers. His ability to literally translate English contributed to his value as a negotiator between elite creole and British interests; the Jesuits' own vast investments in human beings, moreover, made him a striking if unusual representative of Cuban planters.<sup>524</sup> Furthermore, as with O'Farrill, Butler's position as a powerful intermediary between Cuba and the world beyond the Spanish Empire invested him with material and social capital.<sup>525</sup> He was therefore well positioned for his role as an intermediary. His Irishness, moreover, made him a convenient *liaison* for Cuban creoles wary of criticism for collaborating with the enemy.

During the occupation, Butler personally purchased 395 enslaved Africans, the most among any Cuban, and focused on those with previous experience in sugar cultivation. He also facilitated the sale of hundreds more to Havana's elite, including to Jose O'Farrill y Arriola.<sup>526</sup> In

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<sup>523</sup> Schneider, *The British Occupation of Havana*, 17-62, 114-162.

<sup>524</sup> Schneider, *The Occupation of Havana*, 203-5.

<sup>525</sup> Rodriguez, "Los ingenios azucares de la compania de Jesus en Cuba: 1720-1767," 1429-32. Schneider, *The Occupation of Havana*, 203-5.

<sup>526</sup> Serrano and Kuethe, "La familia O'Farrill y la élite habanera," 205.

addition to consumers of enslaved Africans, Hiberno-Spaniards were also important to the introduction of enslaved labor to the island during and after the occupation. Arriving on the heels of the British occupation, the Hiberno-Spanish slave merchant Cornelio Coppinger quickly ingratiated himself among the Creole elite – thanks to his Irishness, support of Butler, and connections to the wealthy slaver Juan de Miralles.

Cornelio Coppinger was born in Ireland and appears to have been one of the many relatively wealth middle class Catholic merchants on the island until he was forced to flee his home because he had hid a Catholic priest in his house against the prohibitions of the anti-Catholic penal laws. Thereafter, like many of his compatriots, he relocated to Spain and settled in Alicante where he worked as a merchant. There, he met Juan de Miralles who would become a close friend and long-term business associate. Miralles himself had already relocated to Havana where he became an active, early sugar plantation master and advocate for elite slaving interests in Cuba. For his part, Coppinger opportunistically jumped at the opportunity to leverage his business contacts in the Spanish and Anglo-Atlantics to serve the shared interests of British slavers and Cuban planters: acquiescence through access to wealth in the form of enslaved Africans. As with Butler, his Irishness made him a convenient go-between for both the British and Spanish keen to avoid charges of disloyalty.<sup>527</sup>

After a six-month occupation, the war ended and Havana was returned to the Spanish in exchange for Florida in the Treaty of Paris (1763). Spain's failures in the war, in Havana and

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<sup>527</sup> "Carta del Jesuita Thomas butler," Dec. 12, 1763, C.M. Perez, no. 26, fol. 15 Biblioteca Nacional de Jose Marti (BNJM). Juan Tomas Butler and [illegible] to the Conde de Riela. September 15, 1764. AGS, SSH leg. 2342. Expediente de información y licencia de pasajero a Indias de Cornelio Coppinger, natural de Irlanda, a La Habana. AGI, Contratacion, leg. 5510. See also: Patricia Riles Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 40.

Portugal, shook the empire and its elite. This was the second major crisis to affect the Spanish Empire in the eighteenth-century and, even more than the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13), this conflict exposed the relative weakness and inefficiencies of the Spanish Empire vis-à-vis the now unquestionably ascendant British. The response in Madrid was quick and ambitious but also careful and calculated. The crown was eager to explain its failures and find a scapegoat, and was incensed at creole cooperation with the British in Havana. To restore order and make a show of force, Carlos III dispatched an army to ceremoniously retake the city and begin the Bourbon Reforms in Spanish America. He sent Alejandro O'Reilly as second in command for this mission and as a "general-visitor"<sup>528</sup> responsible directly to the king. The "Enlightened Despot" charged the Hiberno-Spaniard with touring the island and reporting directly to him on how best to improve its defenses, administration, and economy; or, its political-economy.<sup>529</sup>

With the support of the Hiberno-Spanish First Minister of the empire, Ricardo Wall, Carlos III tasked the Hiberno-Spanish general Alejandro O'Reilly and the new governor of Cuba Ambrosio de Funes Villalpando, the Conde de Ricla, with adjudicating culpability for the city's fall to the British and then spearheading a dramatic reorganization of the island. Cuba was the first and most successful site of radical Bourbon-era reform in Spanish America, the reforms on the island later serving as a model for the rest of the empire. Because the Conde de Ricla fell ill, much of the responsibility for reorganizing the island fell on O'Reilly's shoulders. According to Ricla, Butler was his and O'Reilly's key interlocutor and source of intelligence.<sup>530</sup> Although the

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<sup>528</sup> The idea of intendants, as discussed in chapter 2, dates back to Jean Colbert and seventeenth century France. The timing and choice of O'Reilly as "general-visitor," immediately after the circulation of the *Proyecto economico*, during the first ministry of Ricardo Wall, might, however, suggest an Irish influence on the decision.

<sup>529</sup> Secret instructions for Ricla, March 29, 1763, AGI, SD, leg. 1211. Royal order, Apr. 16, 1763, AGI, SD, leg. 1211. AGI, SD, leg. 1586. See also: Kuethe and Andrien, *The Spanish Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century*, 236-243.

<sup>530</sup> Conde de Ricla to Marques de Esquilache. December 14, 1763. AGS, Cuba, leg. 2342.

precise details and conversations were not recorded, it is likely that O'Reilly and Butler's shared Irishness established a baseline of trust and skill in facilitating the translation of Crown and elite colonial interests. In any case, O'Reilly and Ricla used Butler to communicate with the local elite on the Crown's intentions for higher taxation, militarization, and vague intentions to reform Cuba's trading privileges.<sup>531</sup> These negotiations were inextricably linked to enslavement.

After the immediate responsibilities of retaking the city, O'Reilly and Butler organized a meeting in the fall of 1763 of thirty members of the local elite at the Field Marshall's home in Havana's fashionable *plaza nueva*. These men "represented the heart of the Havana elite," and of them twenty-three were sugar planters – including Jose O'Farrill.<sup>532</sup> Unfortunately, the planning and conversations before, during, and after the meeting were not recorded. Still, it is evident that O'Reilly and Ricla used Butler to intimate the Crown's disposition towards liberalizing Cuban trade, especially regarding plantation agriculture and slavery. Ricla reported that Butler explained the Crown's need for increased taxation to support Cuba's defenses and suggested that Madrid was prepared to grant "advantageous concessions to improve the island."<sup>533</sup> Butler could only be vague because the Crown awaited O'Reilly's report on the island for its final decision.<sup>534</sup>

O'Reilly's tour and report of the island were in many ways a realization of the Hiberno-Spanish *proyectista* Bernardo Ward's recommendation for surveys of the empire's American

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<sup>531</sup> Allan J. Kuethe and G. Douglas Inglis, "Absolutism and Enlightened Reform: Charles III, the Establishment of the Alcabala, and Commercial Reorganization in Cuba," *Past & Present* 109 (1985), 124.

<sup>532</sup> Kuethe and Inglis, "Absolutism and Enlightened Reform: Charles III, the Establishment of the Alcabala, and Commercial Reorganization in Cuba," 124.

<sup>533</sup> Alejandro O'Reilly to Arriaga, Apr. 1, 1764, Archivo General de Simancas, Hacienda, 2342, fol. 330r. Conde de Ricla to Marques de Esquilache. Havana, 14 December 1763. AGS, *Papeles de Cuba* (Cuba), Leg. 2342. Johnson, *The Social Transformation of Eighteenth-Century Cuba*, 35.

<sup>534</sup> Kuethe, *Cuba, 1753-1815*, 54. No. 7 "Contiene copia de consulta al señor [illegible] con presupuesto de lo que puede producir a la Real Hacienda, comprando los azúcares de cuenta de Su Majestad con ventaja a los amos de los ingenios que van nominados y a los de España." 1763. AGS, Cuba, leg. 2342. Conde de Ricla to the Marques de Esquilache on 14 December, 1763. "Documentación sobre la expulsión de las jesuítas y la administración de sus bienes," 1767–1768, AGI, Cuba, leg. 1098.

colonies.<sup>535</sup> Though there is no clear evidence that O'Reilly read Bernardo Ward's *Proyecto economico*, it appears plausible that a major imperial official and fellow Hiberno-Spaniard may have conversed with or read Ward's work while the two men resided in Madrid and lived within its elite social circles and Irish network. In any case, O'Reilly's report parroted the language of political economy in its secular-outlook, focus on trade and production, and embrace of social engineering.<sup>536</sup>

He embarked on the tour sometime in December of 1763 intending to include "all of the significant tobacco plantations" and major towns in Cuba, but his first priority was the organization of local militias. As explained in Ward's *Proyecto* and recognized by O'Reilly, one of the reasons the British Empire had been so effective at mobilizing its military forces during the Seven Years' War was because of the extensive organization of militias among its colonial populations. With colonial defense entrusted to colonists, the Spanish army could better launch offensive operations in the Americas.<sup>537</sup> O'Reilly organized militias in Bayamo, Puerto del Príncipe, Trinidad, Santo Espíritu, pueblo nuevo y el Cayo, and Santiago de Cuba in addition to his reorganization of the Havana militia.<sup>538</sup> Successful militias, however, depended upon adequate numbers of colonists.

A significant portion of O'Reilly's report was dedicated to the promotion of colonial migration. Connected closely to his proposal for a rotation of regiments every three years, O'Reilly believed that introducing European soldiers to Cuba would "introduce... in this island

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<sup>535</sup> Bernardo Ward, *Proyecto Economico* (Madrid: 1777, manuscript 1762), 247-256, 261-3.

<sup>536</sup> Don Alejandro O'Reilly to the Marques de Esquilache. December 8, 1763. AGS, Secretaría y Superintendencia de Hacienda (SSH), leg. 2342. The exception is on the matter of slavery itself, which Ward opposed. Ward, *Proyecto economico*.

<sup>537</sup> Bernardo Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 278-284.

<sup>538</sup> Alejandro O'Reilly to the Marquess to Esquilache. December 8, 1763. AGS, SSH, leg. 2342.

one thousand families” every three years implicitly implying that the soldiers would either bring families with them or marry local Cuban creoles. Moreover, these soldiers would inculcate their children with a “spirit of war” that would make them effective defenders of the island. He also emphasized that “foreign” regiments would be especially beneficial. As he noted, “The English have populated their colonies, more with foreigners than with [English settlers].” As an example, he highlighted Germans in British North America who “have served very well in their military expeditions, and their labor has improved the produce and happiness of the colonies to the great benefit of the English.” Thus, Spain ought to emulate the British and promote the migration of foreigners who would bring valuable skills, money, labor, and manpower to the Spanish Empire.<sup>539</sup> If the migration of white colonists was crucial to the defense of the colony, O’Reilly perceived the importation of enslaved Africans as indispensable to its economic development.

The demand for enslaved labor was O’Reilly’s primary economic concern.<sup>540</sup> Enslaved labor was necessary according to O’Reilly because of the immeasurable potential profitability of increased tobacco and sugar production. On sugar, he wrote, “the sugar mills deserve all of the King's attention.” He further noted that although Cuban sugar was superior to its competitors, the British and French out-compete Spanish sugar because “they have cheaper clothes and [enslaved Africans], they sell their sugar easier.” On Tobacco, O’Reilly postulated that production would increase if the Crown provided tobacco planters with an enslaved worker “for two, or if possible, three years” in exchange for payment in kind. In either case, for tobacco and sugar, the problem facing Cuban planters was the scarcity and costs of enslaved labor.<sup>541</sup>

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<sup>539</sup> Alejandro O'Reilly to Don Julian de Arriaga. April 1, 1764. AGS, SSH, leg. 2342.

<sup>540</sup> Alejandro O'Reilly to Don Julian de Arriaga. April 1, 1764. AGS, SSH, leg. 2342.

<sup>541</sup> Alejandro O'Reilly to Don Julian de Arriaga. April 1, 1764. AGS, SSH, leg. 2342.

The expansion and liberalization of the trade in enslaved persons was therefore singularly important in O'Reilly's report. He wrote, "the happiness of this island depends most on the introduction" of enslaved Africans. This was so potentially lucrative, he explained, that the Crown should even open the trade in enslaved persons to foreign merchants. He argued that the wealth generated from increased enslaved labor would infinitely outweigh the income lost from opening the trade in enslaved persons to foreigners and dropping costly tariffs on enslaved persons. To further profit and secure continued access to enslaved labor, he also advocated schemes to promote marriage and childbirth among enslaved African women. Lastly, because liberalizing trade in enslaved persons would enrich Cuba's colonial population it would also endear creoles to the Crown.<sup>542</sup>

While O'Reilly advocated for imperial policy changes that would stimulate sugar production, Hiberno-Spanish slavers continued to play important roles in the expansion of the slave trade in Havana. The demand for labor in the reconstruction and expansion of Havana's fortifications pushed Ricla to sell an asiento contract to Cornelio Coppinger. Coppinger's commercial relations in the British Atlantic promised a continuation of privileged access to the transatlantic slave trade for Cuban planters.<sup>543</sup>

Coppinger's connection to Miralles, the support from Butler in "verifying" his Catholicism and lineage, the presumed support of O'Reilly, and his own wealth and contacts as a merchant won Coppinger a contract for importing 3,000 enslaved Africans to Cuba from the Conde de Ricla in 1765.<sup>544</sup> Like O'Farrill before him, Coppinger did not reach these high

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<sup>542</sup> Alejandro O'Reilly to Don Julian de Arriaga. April 1, 1764. AGS, SSH, leg. 2342.

<sup>543</sup> Juan Tomas Butler and [illegible] to the Conde de Ricla. September 15, 1764. AGS, SSH leg. 2342. See also: Schneider, *The Occupation of Havana*, 250.

<sup>544</sup> Del Tribunal a la ciudad de la Habana. August 10, 1763. AGI, SD, 2210: Sobre asiento de Negros, 1763-1814.

expectations, but he did import roughly 2,000 of the estimated 4,359 enslaved persons imported to the city between 1765 and 1767. In that time, he used Jamaica as a staging ground, storing station, and a source of knowledge about British plantation practices; married into the Havana aristocracy, marrying the daughter of the head of the Board of Finance; and amassed a fortune, establishing a second Hiberno-Spanish planters' dynasty on the island.<sup>545</sup>

In the fall of 1765, new taxes on Cuban creoles went into effect before the Crown received O'Reilly's report and therefore before it had enacted any final decisions on reforming Cuba's trading privileges. Through Butler, the local elite of Havana requested a meeting with the Conde de Ricla. Instead, Ricla sent O'Reilly and the royal accountant, José Antonio Gelabert, to meet with forty-seven members of the Havana elite. Astutely, O'Reilly and Gelabert opened their account books to those attended to demonstrate the necessity of higher taxation. From this meeting a committee of the local elite delivered a formal petition to Ricla expressing their desired reforms. The document closely resembled O'Reilly's report, suggesting a close collaboration between O'Reilly and the local elite likely mediated by Butler.<sup>546</sup> With the help of Hiberno-Spanish translators, Cuban creoles and Crown representatives had reached the same conclusion for the reform of Cuba: expand enslavement to fund militarization. As one historian

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<sup>545</sup> Though difficult to track across the Atlantic, Coppinger was evidently born in Cork, lived in Dublin and Lisbon as a merchant, and then settled in Alicante before rushing to Havana after the British conquest. His commercial activity is also challenging to track, but there is evidence that he had significant commercial connections in the Anglo-Atlantic. See: Rafael Nieto y Cortadellas, *Genealogías habaneras, vol. 1* (Madrid: Asociación de Hidalgos a Fuero de España, 1979), 215-219. "Ship Registers for the Port of Philadelphia, 1726-1775," in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 26, no. 3, 392-3. "Informe sobre el antiguo catolicismo de Coppinger por Padre Butler de la Compañía de Jesús," 1766, AGI, SD, leg. 2210. Torre, *La pérdida de la havana y las reformas borbónicas en cuba* (1760-1773), 223. Schneider, *The Occupation of Havana*, 250. The commissions for enslaved persons granted to Coppinger and reports on execution of commissions regarding the asiento are recorded in a series of letters from various persons, including the Conde de Ricla, see: AGI, SD, leg. 2210. Nikolaus Böttcher, "Trade, War and Empire: British and North-American Merchants in Cuba, 1762-1796," *Böttcher/Hausberger, Geld und Geschäft*, 181-2. Xavier de Santa Cruz y Mallén, *Historia de familias cubanas*, vol. VII 108-113.

<sup>546</sup> The petition and O'Reilly's recommendations were so similar that one scholar has suggested it was calculated as such: Torre, *La pérdida de la havana y las reformas borbónicas en cuba* (1760-1773), 248.

observed of Cuba's changing place in the empire and economic transformation, "imperial rivalry and profit motive often proved indistinguishable."<sup>547</sup>

King Carlos III issued the *comercio libre* in 1765, a significant series of changes to Cuba's place and privileges in the empire. The Crown did not embrace everything that Bernardo Ward, Alejandro O'Reilly, or Cuban creoles suggested, but it was a significant liberalization of Cuban commerce. It broke the Cadiz monopoly by opening Cuba to trade with eight Spanish ports as well as many Caribbean colonies. These reforms further abolished income tax on properties and offered tax respites for tobacco and sugar planters. More significant, the empire also abolished the import duties on enslaved persons and replaced it with a smaller tax, reaffirmed the exemption of import duties for Cuban sugar, and lowered sugar export duties. Overall, the policies encouraged the expansion of enslavement and sugar production in Cuba. As one scholar noted, "that these policies helped Spain.... Stimulate the sugar industry seems indisputable."<sup>548</sup>

### **Conclusion: Capitalism & Revolt**

After repeating his Cuban mission in Puerto Rico alongside his associate the Hiberno-Spanish military engineer Tomas O'Daly, the latter remaining there and establishing another Hiberno-Spanish plantation dynasty, Alejandro O'Reilly left Cuba in 1765 to return to Madrid.<sup>549</sup> One year later, a major revolt shook the Spanish capital – the *Motín de Esquilache*. This revolt

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<sup>547</sup> Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759-1808*, 119.

<sup>548</sup> Royal Cedula and instruction, and royal order. San Lorenzo, October 17, 1765. AGI, Santo Domingo, leg. 2188. Kuethe, *Cuba, 1758-1815*, 71-4.

<sup>549</sup> For more on the O'Daly dynasty: Juan Carrillo de Albornoz y Galbeño, "Thomas O'Daly," *Diccionario biográfico de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Accessed 03/01/2022. URL: [dbe.rah.es/biografias/69490/thomas-odaly](http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/69490/thomas-odaly); Jorge China, "Spain is the merciful heavenly body whose influence favors the Irish": Jaime O'Daly y Blake: Enlightened Foreign Immigrant, Administrator and Planter in Late Bourbon-Era Puerto Rico, 1776-1806," *Tiempos Modernos* 25, no. 2 (2012), 2-33.

has received significant but targeted historical attention. Typically, the event is isolated from Spanish America and seen solely as a Spanish affair. However, the *Motín* was a consequence of the same economic impulses that transformed the Cuban economy: the adoption of political economy and emulation of English agricultural practices.

Historically, the Spanish grain trade was under royal control and regulated with a system of price controls (*tasa de granos*) to maintain public order, a function devolved to town councils throughout the peninsula. The *tasa* fixed the price of bread to the costs of grain and transportation. Further Spanish precedent maintained grain stores in most locales in case of famine or hardship. The trade of grain within Spain was illegal until modest reform under Fernando VII in 1756-7 opened internal and external grain trading in circumscribed instances.

The Church further circumscribed Spanish agriculture; in Castile, the Church owned 14.73 percent of land and produced upwards of 24.12 percent of agricultural foodstuffs. In addition to its tithes and secular estates, the Church may have controlled upwards of nine-tenths of the market in Castilian grain. As Bernardo Ward argued in his *Proyecto economico*, implicitly echoing the history of Henry VIII's dissolution of English monasteries, these Church-controlled limitations on free trade and private enterprise depressed the productivity of Spanish agriculture and discouraged Spanish commerce. As he explained, "the best way to foment agriculture is to facilitate the harvester to enrich himself... In this we can safely followed the example of the English... The great maxim from which they have derived their advantages has been free trade in grain."<sup>550</sup> Intent on enriching his dominion, Carlos III not only liberalized Cuban trade in sugar

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<sup>550</sup> Bernardo Ward, *Proyecto economico*, 87-8, 92-3.

and slavery with his 1765 *Comercio Libre* but he also liberalized Spanish agriculture with the *Pragmatica* of July 11, 1765.<sup>551</sup>

This new order attempted nothing short of an entire reorganization of Spanish agriculture. It established free internal trade in grain and abolished price controls, effectively granting total freedom to Spanish merchants and large estates despite stipulations that attempted to mitigate such power. Monopolies, companies, and guilds relating to the grain trade were outlawed.<sup>552</sup> It is not too much of a stretch to suggest that Carlos III, conceivably influenced by the *Proyecto* among other *proyectista* proposals, attempted to transition Spanish agriculture from a feudal to a capitalist organization. His timing was abysmal.

The disruptions engendered by such dramatic change were compounded with a poor harvest. Enforcement of mechanisms designed to mitigate hardship and hoarding, the creation of public grain stores and the opening of merchant accounts, were often flouted or impossible to organize. The effect of these changes, apparently at odds with Carlos III's expectations, matched the historic experience of England's transition to capitalist-agriculture: immiseration of smallholders, growing vagrancy, and the empowerment of large estates, the owners of which began hoarding grain in expectation of higher prices under the new free trade regime. In the winter of 1765-6, that was precisely what happened. The cost of bread and grain soared throughout Spain. In response, Spanish commoners revolted throughout the peninsula, first and most spectacularly in Madrid on March 23, 1766 when 10,000 Spaniards, "a monstrous crowd of

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<sup>551</sup> Laura Rodriguez, "The Spanish Riots of 1766," *Past & Present* 59, no. 3 (1973): 117-146.

<sup>552</sup> Rodriguez, "The Spanish Riots of 1766," *Past & Present* 59, no. 3 (1973): 117-146

the lowest classes... without permanent residence” revolted.<sup>553</sup> Yet, the *Motín* was more than mere bread riot.

It was, in fact, a response to a prohibition on traditional long capes and broad-brimmed hats; though it is worth noting that this attire was targeted because it aided theft, but the demands of the crowd also expressed xenophobic backlash at Carlos III's cosmopolitan court. Among the demands of the crowd was that all crown ministers be Spaniards, and chief among their targets was *Motín*'s namesake the Italian Secretary of the Treasury and Minister of War the Marquis de Esquilache who the crowd believed responsible for the change in grain regulation as well as the prohibition on traditional attire. Indeed, the riot began with a march on Esquilache's home and, later, the crowd marched on the home of Alejandro O'Reilly and demanded the resignation of all foreign administrators as part of their nativist backlash.<sup>554</sup>

The next day both the numbers and violence of the crowd grew, with upwards of 30,000 people in a city of around 150,000 attacking city lights, coaches, buildings, and even royal guards stationed in the city. Carlos III responded that day with concession, directly appealing to the crowd from his palace balcony and promising a reduction in bread prices, a reversal of the prohibition against capes and sombreros, and the retirement of Esquilache. That night he fled the city with his Italian minister, secretly retiring to the royal palace in Aranjuez in fear for their lives. This, in addition to a subsequent mobilization of Spanish soldiers, only made matters worse. The rioters demanded the king's return and a general pardon.<sup>555</sup>

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<sup>553</sup> Quote: “Discurso histórico sobre al alboroto acaecido en Madrid el domingo de Ramos, 23 de Marzo de 1766,” B.N., MS. 18090. Quoted in Rodriguez, “The Spanish Riots of 1766,” *Past & Present* 59, no. 3 (1973): 11. For an elaboration on the theory that the motin was essentially a response to a subsistence crisis see: Pierre Vilar, “El motin de Esquilache y las crisis del antiguo régimen” *Revista de Occidente* 107, vol. 2 (1972): 199-249.

<sup>554</sup> Oscar Recio Morales, *Alejandro O'Reilly, Inspector General: Poder militar, familia y territorio en el reinado de Carlos III* (Madrid: Silex Universidad-Historia, 2020), 133. John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 261-70.

<sup>555</sup> John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808*, 261-70.

In the chaos, and with the monarch absent, the Conde de Revillagigedo organized a *junta* of military leaders to install order in the city that included Alejandro O'Reilly, who he appointed to ensure the security of the royal palace and monarch. O'Reilly cautioned against the immediate return of the king and called for the movement of six or eight regiments of infantry and two of cavalry into Madrid to secure order. With such a large show of force, O'Reilly believed the *Motín* would end “without shedding a drop of blood.” As a result of the *Motín*, the presence of Spanish soldiers in Madrid increased permanently from around 3,000 to 7,500; and, for his expertise in Prussian military praxis, role in the reform of Cuba, and role in securing order in Madrid, Carlos III named Alejandro O'Reilly the Inspector-General of Spanish infantry throughout the empire, the most important post in the Spanish military.<sup>556</sup>

The targeting of Esquilache and timing of the *Motín* has led some historians, and indeed some contemporaries, to credibly question if this was an engineered or manipulated riot, from either French, Church, or aristocratic Spanish interests. Yet, although Carlos III conceded to the rioters' demands, he later revoked the concessions with the exception of Esquilache's retirement. The riots in Madrid may have partially derived from conspiracy, but the bread crisis itself helps explain why the riots spread throughout Spain and included upwards of 70 distinct riots.<sup>557</sup>

Food “riots” were customary in England and increasingly Ireland in the eighteenth century, an almost expected response to the vagaries of capitalist-agriculture and the demands of a “moral economy.” In fact, the same year as the *Motín* there occurred extensive food riots in England that figured as the paradigmatic example of E.P. Thompson's famous reading of English

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<sup>556</sup> Morales, *Alejandro O'Reilly Inspector General*, 133-41. Quote: “Alejandro O'Reilly to the Marquis de Grimaldi,” March 25, 1766. Archivo General de Simancas, GM, Suplemento, leg. 578. Quoted in Morales, *Alejandro O'Reilly Inspector General*, 139. On becoming Inspector-General: AGI, IG, 1885

<sup>557</sup> Rodriguez, “The Spanish Riots of 1766,” *Past & Present* 59, no. 3 (1973): 117-146

food riots and the moral economy.<sup>558</sup> In Spain, such disturbances had been unknown since the sixteenth century. This was perhaps because Spanish agriculture had remained essentially feudal in social organization until Carlos III's agricultural reforms. This is evidenced with how the rebels were consistent throughout Spain in articulating that their dissatisfaction was with the high price of grain or bread and specifically the abolition of a just, fixed price which commoners self-identified as responsible for hoarding, rising prices, and immiseration. The Spanish Crown and its local officials responded with investigations and arrests, an expansion in policing, and the coerced admission of beggars and vagrants into either poor houses or the Spanish military. Officially, however, Carlos III and his ministers believed – or found it convenient to believe – that the Society of Jesus was culpable for the disturbances.<sup>559</sup>

In 1767, Carlos III banished the Society of Jesus from the Spanish Empire. Tomas Butler was forced to leave Cuba, and the Jesuits' estates were confiscated.<sup>560</sup> As Butler left, O'Reilly returned. Carlos III selected the Hiberno-Spanish general to put down another rebellion effecting the empire, a French creole rebellion against Spanish rule in the recently acquired colony of Louisiana.

Back in Havana for ten days, O'Reilly organized an army and got married. He married Rosa de Las Casas, the sister of his close friend and the future governor of Cuba Luis de Las

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<sup>558</sup> E.P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past & Present* 50, vol. 1 (1971): 76-136. Dale Edward Williams, "Morals, Markets and the English Crowd in 1766," *Past & Present* 104, vol. 3 (1984): 56-73. On Ireland: James Kelly, *Food Rioting in Ireland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Moral Economy and the Irish Crowd* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017)

<sup>559</sup> Rodriguez, "The Spanish Riots of 1766," *Past & Present* 59, no. 3 (1973): 117-146. See also: Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Carlos III y la España de la Ilustración* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2020, original 1988), 104-158.

<sup>560</sup> "Documentación sobre la expulsión de las jesuitas y la administración de sus bienes," 1767-1768, AGI, Cuba, 1098. For more on the expulsion of the Jesuits and its longer historical antecedents and context, see: Dale K. Van Kley, *Reform Catholicism and the International Suppression of the Jesuits in Enlightenment Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 165-195.

Casas, and involved himself in the production of sugar in Havana, purchasing his own plantation. By the end of the century, the O'Reilly and O'Farrill dynasties were among the ten richest families in Cuba who "monopolized Havana society and government for more than a century" while the Coppinger dynasty became a wealthy slaving family with important militia and government positions. As translators of slavery, political economy, and imperial praxis, Hiberno-Spaniards help explain how the Cuban economy transformed into a sugar-plantation and enslavement machine over the course of the eighteenth century.<sup>561</sup> Although extant historiography sometimes depicts the *Motín* as a brake on the Bourbon Reforms, in fact the secularization of the Spanish and Spanish American economy in pursuit of profit – its emulation of British political economy – continued unevenly but unabated.<sup>562</sup>

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<sup>561</sup> Franklin Knight, "Origins of Wealth and The Sugar Revolution in Cuba, 1750–1850," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, (1977), vol. 57(2), 237. Without presenting his evidence, Thomas claims that the Coppingers were the richest Irish slavers in Cuba. Thomas, *The Slave Trade*, 301.

<sup>562</sup> Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 261-70. Allan J. Kuethle and Kenneth J. Andrien, *The Spanish Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century War and the Bourbon Reforms, 1713-1796* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 269. Stanley Stein and Barbara Stein, *Apogee of Empire: Spain and New Spain in the Age of Charles III, 1759-1789* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004), vii-ix.

## **Ch. 4 Reforming The Borderlands: Hiberno-Spanish Imperialists in New Spain, Louisiana, & Florida, 1765-1795**

“When Chinese demand for silver revived around 1700, an eighteenth-century acceleration of capitalism combined rising American silver production and dynamic Atlantic trade in sugar, slaves, textiles, and more.... Then the 1790s began a time of wars and revolutions in Europe and the Atlantic world.”<sup>563</sup>

The Kingdom of New Spain was the richest, most populous colony in the Spanish Empire. The silver mined from its northern region supplied the Spanish crown with 250 million pesos from 1760 and 1810 and was, arguably, the key source of specie for the entire Atlantic, perhaps even global, world system. Built upon the Spanish conquest of the Mexica Empire (1519-21), New Spain witnessed precipitous population decline in the seventeenth century alongside a lull in silver production but in the eighteenth the colonial-kingdom experienced something of a resurgence. Its capital, Mexico City, was a metropolis of near 100,000 inhabitants that dwarfed the largest British and French cities in the Americas. Its wealth derived principally from the agricultural estates known as *haciendas* throughout the fertile lands of the Valley of Mexico and the Bajío, large-scale textile production, and the copious mineral wealth in silver mined in northern New Spain. It was the “fiscal jewel” of the Spanish Empire, but in the second half of the eighteenth century growing predations from enemies indigenous and European threatened the integrity of the colony and thus the empire itself.<sup>564</sup>

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<sup>563</sup> John Tutino, *Making a New World: Founding Capitalism in the Bajío and Spanish North America* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 9.

<sup>564</sup> Carlos Marichal, *Bankruptcy of Empire: Mexican Silver and the Wars Between Spain, Britain, and France, 1760-1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 18. John Tutino, “Globalizing the Comanche Empire,”

As with Cuba, securing and enriching this domain, and ridding it of its notorious corruption, were essential objectives of King Carlos III and his advisers following the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Although the colony appeared to be rebounding from its previous depression, its demographic growth paled in comparison to the rapid expansion of British colonies on the northeastern seaboard of the continent. The growth of these colonies in conjunction with Britain's impressive military victories in the Seven Years' War placed newfound emphasis on securing New Spain from encroachment, invasion, and conquest. The problem for Madrid was that the territory it claimed bordering the British Empire, the Spanish Gulf Coast and New Spain's *frontera*, was not Spanish in any real sense but rather "native ground."<sup>565</sup> In the areas surrounding Spanish Louisiana and Florida, the Creek Nation was the preeminent polity alongside the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw while in northern New Spain the Apache and, increasingly, the Comanche ruled the plains.

Following imperial officials in Madrid, we might imagine the region as one vast borderland that stretched from Texas to Florida. Less so than in Madrid or Cuba, in this space Hiberno-Spaniards proved useful not so much because of their ability to apply British imperial praxis – though, as we shall see, some did indeed attempt to do so – but more often because their linguistic skill, military backgrounds, and liminality helped them thrive in a polyglot space of diverse peoples and polities. On the borderlands, Hiberno-Spaniards more closely resembled "cultural brokers"<sup>566</sup> who were well suited to serve the interests of the Spanish Crown.

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*History and Theory* 52, no. 1 (2013), 67-74. David Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico 1763-1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971). Tutino, *Making a New World*.

<sup>565</sup> Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

<sup>566</sup> Daniel Richter, "Cultural Brokers and Intercultural Politics: New York-Iroquois Relations, 1664-1701," *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (1988): 40-67.

From 1767-1776 Hugo O’Conor led the reorganization of Texas and the Interior Provinces, leading a war of expulsion and enslavement against the Apache while Hiberno-Spanish writers made important contributions to the intellectualization and historicization of New Spain and its northern *frontera*. From 1768-9, O’Conor’s cousin Alejandro O’Reilly and a coterie of Hiberno-Spaniards put down a French creole rebellion in Louisiana, established Spanish rule and contact with the region’s native American polities, and reorganized the colony’s defenses, administration, and economy. When thirteen of Britain’s North American colonies rebelled in 1776, war between Spain and Britain became inevitable. The Spanish invaded and reconquered Florida, afterwards governed by Hiberno-Spaniards presumably because of their English language skill. As governor of West Florida (1781-1793), Arturo O’Neill led Spanish efforts to negotiate an alliance with the Creek vis-à-vis encroaching American colonists. Collectively, these men and the attendant Hiberno-Spaniards with them made a significant contribution to Spain’s colonial resurgence in North America; but it proved ephemeral.

Historians tend to view late eighteenth-century North America with a teleological assumption about the relationship between post-Seven Years’ War reform and the coming, first, of the American Revolution and later the Latin American Independence movements.<sup>567</sup> As a result, there are implicit assumptions that North America was destined to become Jefferson’s “Empire for Liberty,” which pervade extant historiography and occlude the importance of the

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<sup>567</sup> For prevailing accounts on the inevitability of revolution and, implicitly, American hegemony: Bernard Bailyn, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953). Kathleen Duval, *Independence Lost: Lives on the Edge of the American Revolution* (New York: Random House, 2015). In colonial Latin American historiography, the Gulf Coast is almost entirely absent from most accounts of the Spanish Empire’s collapse. For example: David Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

late Spanish colonial period. This has obfuscated the significance of the Bourbon Reforms to the history of the Gulf Coast and wider Atlantic world.

Indeed, Hiberno-Spaniards and the Bourbon Reforms began and accelerated the processes that transformed the borderland into a kingdom of cotton: scientific and historic mastery, settler-colonialism, and plantation slavery. Eventually, the wider Bourbon Reform program collapsed under the pressures of its own contradictions, the French Revolution, and Napoleon's conquest of Spain; but the reforms' consequences in North America engendered the processes that transformed the greater Gulf Coast – Texas, Louisiana, Florida, and Cuba – into the world's capital of sugar, cotton, and slavery.

### ***La Frontera de Nueva España: Encountering, Conquering, & Historicizing***

After having served in Portugal and then Cuba under his cousin Alejandro O'Reilly, the Hiberno-Spaniard Hugo O'Conor arrived in Veracruz in March 1765 to help lead the emulation of O'Reilly's *prusiomania* reforms in New Spain. Upon arrival, the Viceroy Marques de Cruillas requested O'Conor to visit him in Mexico City where the viceroy then appointed O'Conor to a brief military post in Guanajuato before the Minister of the Indies Julian de Arriaga promoted him to lieutenant colonel and the viceroy reassigned him to "urgent duties" in the northern colony of Texas.<sup>568</sup> What O'Conor may have thought about New Spain upon his arrival is lost to the historical archive, but we might glean something significant about how Hiberno-Spaniards and *peninsulares* viewed the colonial-kingdom through the writing of a contemporary merchant-scholar, the Hiberno-Spaniard Pedro Alonso O'Crouley y O'Donnell.<sup>569</sup>

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<sup>568</sup> Hugo O'Conor, *The Defense of Northern New Spain: Hugo O'Conor's report to Teodoro de Croix, July 22, 1777*, ed. and trans. Donald C. Cutter (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1994), 1-15.

<sup>569</sup> O'Crouley was not the only Hiberno-Spanish merchant active in New Spain; perhaps in the future I might be able to research more into the Irish merchants in Veracruz.

The eighteenth century was an era of growing travel, trade, study, and cultural exchange – an age of “Enlightenment.” Although much scholarship on the Enlightenment remains tethered to Europe, recent literature has begun recentering the Enlightenment as an Atlantic-wide phenomenon in which the Americas provided inspiration, challenge, and contributions.<sup>570</sup> Contemporaries and historians alike traditionally depicted Spain as backwards in these endeavors.<sup>571</sup> Similarly, Ireland and Irish Catholics have been considered peripheral to the Enlightenment.<sup>572</sup> These characterizations follow a persisting view of Catholicism and Catholics as antagonistic towards empiricism and the Enlightenment that does not necessarily hold up to historical scrutiny. More recent scholarship has underlined the significant and numerous scientific expeditions conducted throughout the Spanish Empire in the eighteenth century, a literature that has dovetailed with recent work on the Enlightenment to connect science with empire.<sup>573</sup>

Numerous state-sponsored and individual initiatives drove a growing interest in Spain’s vast empire, its peoples and history, flora and fauna, and potential wealth. Spaniards and Irish, like their fellow Europeans, were increasingly interested in knowing, categorizing, and mastering their environments and empires. Alonso O’Crouley’s *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain* was an archetype of the Enlightenment era genre of travel writing that combined proto-

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<sup>570</sup> Caroline Winterer, *American Enlightenments: Pursuing Happiness in the Age of Reason* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016) See also: David Graeber and David Wengrow, *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2021).

<sup>571</sup> David Brading, *The First America: The Spanish monarchy, Creole patriots, and the Liberal state 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 422-46.

<sup>572</sup> Michael Brown, *The Irish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).

<sup>573</sup> On the Catholic Enlightenment: Ulrich Lehner, *The Catholic Enlightenment: The Forgotten History of a Global Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). On the Spanish Empire and Enlightenment: Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions & Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2001). Jeffrey Alan Erbig, *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Meet: Border Making in Eighteenth-Century South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020). Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). Gabriel Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and Its Empire, 1759–1808* (London: Palgrave, 2008).

anthropological observation with natural history.<sup>574</sup> As a Hiberno-Spaniard writing about the Spanish Empire, moreover, O’Crouley was perhaps uniquely well suited to defamiliarize that which both creoles and *peninsulares* took for granted about their imperial domain. This source, then, offers us a useful introduction to New Spain’s history, its contemporary situation, and an example of how Hiberno-Spanish merchants and writers contributed to the economic and intellectual mastery of the Spanish Empire.

Alonso O’Crouley was a second generation Hiberno-Spaniard born in Cadiz in 1740, his mother was from Ballymurphy in County Clare and his father from the city of Limerick. At the age of nine, his parents sent Alonso to study in France with Augustinians in Senlis and after his schooling he embarked on a career as a merchant. At some point, he settled in Cadiz. In 1764, O’Crouley received a royal license to travel and trade in New Spain. A prominent and wealthy member of the Irish merchant community in the Andalusian port, O’Crouley traveled between the Iberian port and Veracruz numerous times between 1764 and the publication of his *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain* in 1774. A decade later, he married a fellow Hiberno-Spaniard, Maria Power, and in 1794 he published an inventory of his private collections: thousands of Greek and Roman coins, paintings by Van Dycke, Rubens, and Velazquez, among others, geological specimens, and a rich library of books. A merchant, natural historian, and antiquarian, O’Crouley belonged to the *Real Academia de Historia*, *Real Sociedad Vascongda*, *Real Sociedad Economico Matritense*, and even corresponded with the Society of Antiquaries of Edinburgh.<sup>575</sup> He was, in other words, a quintessential “enlightened” merchant-scholar who built

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<sup>574</sup> Pedro Alonso O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans Sean Galvin (Los Angeles: John-Howell Books, 1972, original 1774).

<sup>575</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, vii-xi.

a fortune with his privileged trading opportunities and curious about the colony from which his wealth derived.<sup>576</sup>

Simultaneous to O’Conor’s mission, O’Crouley arrived in a New Spain under reform. He described the colony as undergoing significant reforms, writing of a robust plan for the “pacification of the princes harassed by Indians, improvement of the judicial system, new revenues and taxes, regulations governing mines, tobacco, pearl fisheries, and many other things.”<sup>577</sup> It was also a time of secularization and militarization, with the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 and an increased military presence and demand for militia participation in the colony. That is to say, this was the highpoint of the Bourbon Reforms in colonial Mexico. As one preeminent historian of New Spain has suggested, “In some sense, the Bourbon dynasty reconquered America.”<sup>578</sup> Or, as another prominent historian put it, “Spain’s Bourbon reformers, like their enlightened counterparts elsewhere in Europe and America, hoped to bring about progress by applying the methods of science to society.”<sup>579</sup> As the Crown attempted to assert greater control of its most important and lucrative possession, *peninsulares* such as O’Crouley also became interested in better acquainting themselves with New Spain. In this second encounter between Spain and Mexico, as we might call it, both state and non-state actors endeavored to familiarize Spaniards with New Spain to maximize their ability to profit from and master the colonial-kingdom.

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<sup>576</sup> I have not been able to dive deep enough into the Cadiz provincial and municipal records (nor Veracruz or Mexico City) to ascertain his precise trading activity, incomes, and wealth – or, even, what he traded precisely and to where. I suspect a smuggling trade with Ireland and Britain but would have to conduct future research to know.

<sup>577</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, viii.

<sup>578</sup> Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, 25-30. Quote 30.

<sup>579</sup> David Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 2.

Typical of contemporary travel writing, O’Crouley explained that he began reading histories of New Spain “with the purpose of spending my leisure moments in pleasantly interesting manner and in order to acquire a better knowledge of this Kingdom” until he realized that the extant histories were inconsistent and wanting. Having produced his own work to correct this problem, he hoped that “He who applies himself seriously to the subject will find some measure of enlightenment.”<sup>580</sup> The ensuing *Description* blends history, geography, racist and racialized proto-anthropology, entomology, zoology, and botany. The sections dedicated to Mexica and indigenous Amerindians before contact depict Native Americans favorably but paternalistically, typical of Enlightenment era infantilization of conquered non-Europeans. The conquest was, he explained, “a happy day for Spain and much more so for the Indians, who with the loss of their earthly empire were on the threshold of the Heavenly Kingdom.”<sup>581</sup>

From the conquest and pre-contact history of Mexico, O’Crouley jumped to the colonial-kingdom’s contemporary situation. He estimated the population to be just over 7 million people of which 646,570 were Spaniards, 2,586,280 *castas*, and 3,879,420 Indians before presenting a series of *casta* painting representations. As Ilona Katzew explained, *casta* paintings emerged in eighteenth-century New Spain as a unique art form that depicted and categorized the various interracial families and their progeny in New Spain. Inherent to the genre was a celebration of *peninsular* and white Spanish or Spanish-descended men at the pinnacle of a racial and gender hierarchy.<sup>582</sup> Or, as O’Crouley put it, “It is known that neither Indian nor Negro contends in dignity and esteem with the Spaniard; nor do any of the others envy the lot of the Negro, who is

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<sup>580</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, xvii-xviii.

<sup>581</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, 15.

<sup>582</sup> Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). See also: Magali Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

the ‘most dispirited and despised.’” The “stigma” of those who were “contaminated with the Negro strain” was, he explained, permanent; but the children of Spaniards and Indians could, after a few generations, be restored to a proper Spanish lineage.<sup>583</sup> *Raza* was not race, *casta* was not caste; but they did prefigure hierarchies in New Spain and the Spanish Empire that privileged white Christians, the aristocracy, and men.

From humans thence to flora and fauna, O’Crouley spent significant effort describing and categorizing what he saw. In addition to his naturalistic curiosity, the plants and animals of New Spain may have appeared especially significant to O’Crouley and his presumed readership given that it was the commodification of these plants and animals from which he and his fellow merchants derived much of their wealth. Thus, he presented extended descriptions and illustrations of the major foodstuffs and cash crops of New Spain, such as cacao, vanilla, avocado, birds, and animals.<sup>584</sup>

The *Description* evinces widespread reading, observation, and travel. After describing the history, flora, and fauna of New Spain, O’Crouley then provided a description and maps of its major cities, including Mexico City, Puebla, Valladolid, Oaxaca, Acapulco, and Veracruz, among others, describing their layout, features, and churches.<sup>585</sup> His observations on Mexico City emphasized the changing nature of the colonial capital and the impact of the ongoing Bourbon Reforms to the urban life of the city. As he noted, “Its streets are handsomely laid out... Although the land on which the city was founded is marshy, hard work and skill have overcome the dampness that would naturally have made it uninhabitable.... Improvements have been made,

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<sup>583</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, 19-21.

<sup>584</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, 23-8.

<sup>585</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, 29-49.

however, under the administration of the Marques de Croix. A new method of paving has been introduced.”<sup>586</sup>

Founded as Tenochtitlan by the Mexica in the fourteenth century, the city in the middle of Lake Texcoco had long been the heart of Mesoamerican trade and imperial administration but in the eighteenth century it grew and commercialized rapidly.<sup>587</sup> The city grew so tremendously, in fact, that Spanish administrators embarked on an ambitious land-reclamation project to expand the city and protect property from periodic flooding.<sup>588</sup> Home to an estimated population of 98,000 people and 84 churches, Mexico City was the largest and wealthiest city in the Americas and the center of Spanish imperial administration in North America.<sup>589</sup> The defense of New Spain was, therefore, the paramount objective of Bourbon imperial administrators who feared Apache raiding might compromise the northern mines that supplied Mexico City with its riches in silver. Thus, the importance of the *presidios*, or military-clustered settlements often attached to Franciscan missions, which scattered the amorphous “*frontera*” of northern New Spain.

Beginning with Los Aldaes in present-day Louisiana, near Natchitoches, O’Crouley explained how “the Franciscan missionaries look after the parishes,” of “newly converted Indians” but noted that, “when some Indians join a mission, making their peace with it, others run away, either to resume their idolatries or to join with other bands.”<sup>590</sup> Elsewhere, in El Paso, “There is a large population of Spaniards and mestizos because it is on the border of New Mexico where fairs are held.... It is also here that captives who have been ransomed from the

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<sup>586</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, 29.

<sup>587</sup> For more on the long history of Tenochtitlan and the Mexica Empire: Camilla Townsend, *The Fifth Sun: A New History of the Aztecs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

<sup>588</sup> Vera Candiana, *Dreaming of Dry Land: Environmental Transformation in Colonial Mexico City* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014).

<sup>589</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, 30-1. For more on the wealth of Mexico City and New Spain, see: Tutino, *Making A New World*.

<sup>590</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, 49-50.

heathen tribes are sheltered and instructed in the mysteries of the Faith.”<sup>591</sup> While El Paso was a sizable presidio with eighty soldiers, the others – Janos, Coro de Guachi de Fronteras, San Felipe de Guevavi, etc., -- were smaller, and thus “are painfully aware of having to be always on the alert, from dread of the crafty and deceitful Apache Indians.” As it were, the Spanish Empire had struggled for centuries to secure its control of this vast region east-west from roughly Louisiana to New Mexico and north-south from Texas to Nueva Vizcaya.<sup>592</sup>



Major roads, settlements, and presidios in New Spain, c. 1764.<sup>593</sup>

<sup>591</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, 51.

<sup>592</sup> New Mexico was perhaps the most secure of these colonies but had a turbulent history of mixed colonial success. See: Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came The Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

<sup>593</sup> Luis Arnal, “El Sistema Presidial en el Septentrion Novohispano, Evolucion y Estrategias de Poblamiento,” *Revista Electronica de Geografia y Ciencias Sociales* 10, no. 218 (2006), 741-98. Accessed 03/24/2022: <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/sn/sn-218-26.htm>

It was, instead, definitively “Native Ground” where the Apache dominated for decades – until the emergence of a new, powerful indigenous polity – the Comanche.<sup>594</sup> At the time of O’Crouley’s writing, Apache raiding continued to disrupt northern New Spain and frustrate Spanish efforts to colonize and Christianize the region. As the Hiberno-Spanish merchant noted, “The Spaniards are constantly being assaulted at the most solitary places on the road. The Apaches, having killed and robbed, retreat to their impenetrable mountain ranges, taking with them horses and captives.”<sup>595</sup>

The Chiricahua mountain range in present-day southeastern Arizona was a home and highway for the Apache, who were familiar with its geography and dangers, and rumored to be rich in silver and gold. O’Crouley claimed that the Apache “occupy the highest lookout points [in the mountains] in order to watch for carelessness on the part of the Spaniards and fall upon them.... They are a bold tribe and artful in the way they handle their arms.... The many runaway Indians, deserters from the Faith, who live amongst them are the greatest cause of harm to us.”<sup>596</sup> It was this situation, persisting and growing Apache raiding in northern New Spain, that prompted the most significant Spanish effort to conquer and colonize the region in the aftermath of the Seven Years’ War.

O’Crouley’s final chapter presented a recognition that things were changing in New Spain. After the Seven Years’ War, “It was realized by the administration that, on the one hand, help in time of war was far away, and that, on the other, it was necessary to push back the wild Indians from the frontier and to have a sizable force of soldiery capable of repelling an

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<sup>594</sup> Duval, *Native Ground*. Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009). Julianna Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderland* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

<sup>595</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, 52.

<sup>596</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, 52.

invasion.”<sup>597</sup> Further, “The coming of the Visitador-General, Galvez... brought about many changes in the branches of the Royal exchequer, and new taxes that caused much discussion; but I understand that these were necessary to meet the expenses occasioned by the arrival and organization of the armed forces.” Although militarization was expensive, “It is not possible to deny or conceal the extraordinary wealth of the mines.”<sup>598</sup> Yet, this wealth, although a considerable contribution to the empire, remained less than it might be. As O’Crouley put it, “In spite of the great advantages possessed by this Viceroyalty as one of the richest, one sees here and there, as a result of the very large population or of a natural disinclination for work, much misery and nakedness, common in the lower class and among many handicraftsmen and labourers.... But the chief cause of want is that the wealth does not circulate but is held by only a few and, with the holdings of the Church, makes everything subject to mortmain.”<sup>599</sup> He concluded thus, “These are the lands that have lavished their opulence on Europeans, providing a flourishing commerce, and helped enterprise to supplant the poverty of the fields. Many come here to wash their hands with silver and trample gold under feet.”<sup>600</sup>

In a final analysis, the *Description* presented a curious mixture of Enlightenment era travel-writing, racialized and racist anthropology and history, and naturalistic curiosity combined with a political economic critique of New Spain and an account of the ongoing Spanish-Apache war. In that sense, it was, like much contemporary Enlightenment writing, a conscientious contribution to Spanish imperial ambitions and a potent example of Hiberno-Spanish skill at imperial translation, in this case between the metropole and New Spain. From his account, we

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<sup>597</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, 117.

<sup>598</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, 118-9.

<sup>599</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, 118-9.

<sup>600</sup> O’Crouley, *A Full Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Sean Galvin, 121-2.

might gather how *peninsulares* viewed New Spain and grasp the situation in which Hugo O’Conor assumed control of Spain’s war against the Apache.

The Apache had stymied Spanish colonial ambition in the northern New Spain borderland for centuries. As one historian put it, “No other Indians so successfully resisted Spanish penetration in North America. No other Indians so completely wrested the offensive from the *conquistadores*.”<sup>601</sup> With new, *prusiomania*-inspired military techniques and discipline, Madrid and Mexico City hoped, O’Conor and the Spanish might finally vanquish the Apache and thereby secure the integrity of New Spain and pave the way for an expansion of Spanish colonization and Christianization. The Hiberno-Spaniard’s first task, however, was to reassert Crown authority and justice over a territory notoriously plagued by corruption.<sup>602</sup>

In the fall of 1765, the Viceroy Marques de Cruillas selected O’Conor for “urgent duties” in the northern province of Texas. Reportedly, there was rampant corruption in the region and there had even been a skirmish between two different Spanish militia units. Upon his arrival at the San Agustin de Ahumada Presidio, O’Conor arrested the acting commander of Spain’s army and militia in the region, Marcos Ruiz, on the charge that he had been embezzling funds destined for presidio supplies and soldier pay. Secretly, O’Conor had also been charged with investigating the reported rancor between the governor of Texas, Angel Martos y Navarrete and the captain of the San Agustin de Ahumada presidio, Rafael Martinez Pacheco. Their dispute had been so significant that it had led to an attack on the Orcoquisac presidio that had resulted in its destruction. Perhaps even worse, the viceroy believed Navarrete to be engaged in illegal

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<sup>601</sup> Max Moorhead, *The Apache Frontier: Jacobo Ugarte and Spanish-Indian Relations in Northern New Spain, 1769-1791* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968).

<sup>602</sup> On corruption in New Spain more generally and the evolution of the concept in the Spanish Empire: Christoph Rosenmüller, *Corruption and Justice in Colonial Mexico, 1650–1755* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

smuggling with French, indigenous, and British traders. O’Conor concluded his report on the corruption and state of Texas in June 1767 and sent it to the new Viceroy of New Spain, the Marques de Croix. As a result, Navarrete was removed from his post, his goods confiscated, and O’Conor was named governor of Texas. While corruption had plagued the northern borderlands, the major problem inhibiting Spanish power in the region was the preeminence of the Apache. Spanish Texas had long been a peripheral and poor colony where, according to one contemporary, “the continued hostilities of the northern Indians and the crafty treachery of the Apaches” inhibited colonial development, conversion, and prosperity.<sup>603</sup>

Put another way, Hugo O’Conor’s mission was to finally defeat and dislocate the Apache so that Spanish colonization might continue unimpeded. His program for doing so, as we shall see, in many ways resembled the British model of settler-colonial conquest and displacement in Ireland and North America. Although O’Conor does not explicitly state this, we might assume his familiarity with British imperialism inspired his systematic attempt to dislocate the Apache for the purpose of settling Spaniards and converted Native Americans akin to the dispossession and attempted relocation and “transmutation” of Irish Catholics and English settler-colonialism in North America.<sup>604</sup>

To counter this problem, the same year O’Conor was named governor of Texas, the Marques de Rubi began a Crown-sponsored inspection of northern New Spain similar to

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<sup>603</sup> Antonio Bonilla, “Brief Compendium of Texas History, 1772 (An Annotated Translation,)” ed. and trans. Elizabeth Howard West and Marques de Altamira, *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, 8, no. 1 (1904): 62. For more on O’Conor’s life before Texas, see: Mark Santiago, *The Red Captain: The Life of Hugo O’Conor, Commandant Inspector of the Interior Provinces of New Spain* (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1994), 1-22. For more on Texas and Apache and Comanche raiding, see: Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*. esp. 119-121. Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*. Weber, *Bárbaros*, 75.

<sup>604</sup> On Ireland, see chapter one. On the interconnected experiences of English colonialism: Allison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). On the distinction of English settler-colonialism and its relationship to land: Allan Greer, *Property and Dispossession Natives, Empires and Land in Early Modern North America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

O'Reilly's inspection of Cuba. Rubi concluded his tour at Los Adaes in September 1767 where O'Conor then resided as governor. Evidently, Rubi and O'Conor agreed upon Rubi's conclusions regarding the state of northern New Spain and the remedies to address Apache raiding: the need for improved, relocated presidios and uncompromising warfare.

As governor, O'Conor relocated the Texas capital to San Antonio and embarked on an ambitious plan to conquer the borderland and pacify the Apache.<sup>605</sup> Thus, he led a Spanish expedition against the Apache in December 1767 that led to a confrontation with a larger Apache host along the Guadalupe River. Supposedly outnumbered 20 to 300, but perhaps buttressed with uncounted indigenous allies, O'Conor and the Spanish forced the Apache to retreat after killing 20 of them. In so doing, O'Conor reportedly "made himself an object of fear to the savages, who know him by the name of the *Capitan colorado* ('red captain')." <sup>606</sup> Despite this, and his boasts to the viceroy, another contemporary and fellow Hiberno-Spaniard concluded, that although he "proved of great value in the restoration of order in the province [and] he displayed many worthy and estimable qualities, he did not succeed in restoring peace to the province.... He did what he could, but because he lacked the necessary means... he accomplished little."<sup>607</sup> O'Conor retired from his post as governor in 1770 and returned to Mexico City.

The following year, the Viceroy Marques de Croix appointed O'Conor to a new position in the empire: the commandant inspector of the Interior Provinces. This position invested O'Conor with the military command of a vast new administrative jurisdiction intended to

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<sup>605</sup> O'Conor, *The Defenses of Northern New Spain*, 15-17. Fray Juan Agustín Morfi. *History of Texas, 1673-1779*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. Carlos Eduardo Castaneda (Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1935) 415-447. Bonilla, "Brief Compendium of Texas History, 1772 (An Annotated Translation,)" ed. and trans. Elizabeth Howard West and Marques de Altamira, 3-78.

<sup>606</sup> Bonilla, "Brief Compendium of Texas History, 1772 (An Annotated Translation,)" ed. and trans. Elizabeth Howard West and Marques de Altamira, quote 62. O'Conor, *The Defenses of Northern New Spain*, 15-20.

<sup>607</sup> Morfi. *History of Texas, 1673-1779*, 416.

facilitate the Hiberno-Spaniard's renewed offensive against the Apache. The Interior Provinces was a newly designated territorial space of New Spain that included Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya, the Californias, Nuevo Mexico, Nuevo Santander, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, and Texas. O'Connor's responsibilities were established in a proclamation announced in 1771 by the viceroy of New Spain that endorsed the earlier report of the Marques de Rubi and his plans for "the line of the frontier," or a wall of presidios. In order to protect the "lives and estates" of borderlands subjects "from the insults of barbaric nations" and to "reduce them to society and teach them the true religion," the Viceroy Marques de Croix intended to remedy the "grave situation" in which "barbaric nations infest" the region and quickly secure their "pacification."<sup>608</sup> In his capacity as Inspector-General, the Hiberno-Spaniard led Spain's war against the Apache from 1771-1776.

The viceroy tasked O'Connor with relocating and constructing a line of fifteen presidios 100 miles apart from the Gulf of California to the Gulf of México in order to cordon off New Spain from the Apache raiders. O'Connor was further instructed to conduct war against the Apache in the region.<sup>609</sup> Over the next four years, O'Connor set about his order to establish and reestablish Spanish presidios across the Interior Provinces while conducting small-scale military operations to secure the land necessary for fortification-construction and settlement. It was not so

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<sup>608</sup> Juan Agustín Morfi, *Relación geográfica e histórica de la provincia de Texas, 1673-1779* ed. Guadalupe Curiel (México City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2010), 272-3. Mark Santiago, *The Red Captain*, 22-25. Carlos Francisco de Croix, 1st Marquess of Croix. *Reglamento e instrucción para los presidios que se han de formar en la línea de frontera de la nueva España*. 1772. AGI, Indiferente General (IG), leg. 1885. A note on Morfi and the English/Spanish versions: I preferred using the Spanish edition but lost it during a move and then began using the English translation; hence the citation of both versions in different places.

<sup>609</sup> Carlos Francisco de Croix, 1st Marquess of Croix. *Reglamento e instrucción para los presidios que se han de formar en la línea de frontera de la nueva España*. 1772. AGI, IG, leg. 1885

easy. He complained that the Apache had “overrun” the Interior Provinces and “were daily extending their evil control through plundering and murder.”<sup>610</sup>

Hugo O’Conor began his first expedition against the Apache in December 1772, moving north and west from Monclova with 300 soldiers and culminating in El Paso. Along the way, he ordered the relocation and construction of many presidios along the Rio Grande.<sup>611</sup> O’Conor’s war and fort construction saw some successes and received praise from the viceroy, but Apache raiding continued almost unabated.<sup>612</sup> Many raids were coordinated and launched from the Bolsón de Mapimí, a large and geographically hard to reach basin south of the Rio Grande and in what is today northern Mexico. The basin’s challenging terrain had long provided a useful base for Apache raiders, and so O’Conor planned an encirclement and assault on the basin in August 1773. Although the expedition had only limited success engaging mobile Apache raiders, this offensive dislodged the Apache from the region and led to the construction of two presidios at its northern entrance to secure control of the basin.<sup>613</sup>

In September 1775, with most of the presidio construction complete or in progress, including the founding of Tucson, O’Conor intensified Spain’s war against the Apache. He led a multipronged assault of near 2,000 soldiers and Native allies from different locations to converge upon Apache camps. The expedition culminated in a large attack near El Paso and, in total, fifteen engagements killed 132 Apache warriors, took 104 captives, and stole roughly 2,000

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<sup>610</sup> Hugo O’Conor, “The Interior Provinces of New Spain: The Report of Hugo O’Conor,” in Mary Lu Moore, Delmar L. Beene, and Hugo O’Conor, “The Interior Provinces of New Spain: The Report of Hugo O’Conor, January 30, 1776,” *Arizona and the West* 13, no. 3 (1971), 272. Morfi, *Relación geográfica e histórica de la provincia de Texas*, 273-78.

<sup>611</sup> O’Conor, *The Defenses of Northern New Spain*. See also: Santiago, *The Red Captain*, 44-52.

<sup>612</sup> Antonio Bucareli to Jose de Arriaga. February, 24, 1773. AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara (AG), leg. 513 no. 792. Santiago, *The Red Captain*, 49-51. Brian Delay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-México War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 12.

<sup>613</sup> Hugo O’Conor, “The Interior Provinces of New Spain: The Report of Hugo O’Conor,” 274.

horses and mules as well as large quantities of food and hides. O’Conor planned a second large-scale assault that launched on September 14 in 1776 and converged to surround a Mescalero Apache host between the Rio Grande and Pecos River. The Apache fled northeast and ran into a large, hostile Comanche force that decimated the Apache. After this expedition, O’Conor resigned his position because of poor health and believing himself to have succeeded in “pacifying” the northern *frontera*.<sup>614</sup>

Not unlike Spenserian and early modern English writings about the “wild Irish,”<sup>615</sup> Hugo O’Conor believed that the Apache were *indios bárbaros* who refused to become “civilized” and therefore had to be “exterminated” through warfare, enslavement, and forced migration.<sup>616</sup> While O’Conor may have disagreed with the former, it seems that he may have drawn on the historic experience and memory of English colonialism in Ireland as applied to Spanish circumstances. Reminiscent of the Cromwellian forced migrations, he argued that the Spanish should divide the hundreds of captured Apache into small groups and disperse them throughout the Windward Islands as slaves: “only then will we see our frontier free of our enemies.”<sup>617</sup> Instead, hundreds of

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<sup>614</sup> Hugo O’Conor, “The Interior Provinces of New Spain: The Report of Hugo O’Conor,” 272.

<sup>615</sup> See chapter 1.

<sup>616</sup> For more on the distinction between “civilized” and “barbaric” Native Americans in Spanish colonial thought, see: Weber, *Bárbaros*.

<sup>617</sup> Hugo O’Conor to Antonio Bucareli. March 8, 1774. Archivo General de la Nación, México (AGNM), Provincias Interiores, leg. 154 quoted in Paul Conrad, *Captive Fates: Displaced American Indians in the Southwest Borderlands, Mexico, and Cuba, 1500-1800* (Ph.D dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2011), 218-219. See also: Paul Conrad, *The Apache Diaspora: Four Centuries of Displacement and Survival* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021). Mark Santiago, *The Jar of Severed Heads: Spanish Deportation of Apache Prisoners of War, 1770-1810* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 47-8. Weber, *Bárbaros*, 150. That the Irish experience was one of indentured and the Apache one of enslavement is of course a significant difference in historical experience but that the imperial strategy in both cases was to relocate undesired populations to labor on plantations in the Caribbean is clear enough.

Apache were relocated to Mexico City and many thence to Havana, where they labored on the fortification projects that O'Reilly had begun in 1763.<sup>618</sup>

Inspector-General O'Conor claimed that his expeditions were successful. In his final report, he boasted that he had established all fifteen presidios which “runs from sea to sea,” with an effective force of 1,144 Spanish soldiers and Native allies and which had successfully opened communications between the previously isolated colonies of Texas, Coahuila, Nueva Vizcaya, Sonora, California, and Nueva Mexico. Meanwhile, “The Enemy have been driven from the extensive area they once held... and compelled to seek refuge in the small area left to them between the Rio Rangde del Norte and the Rio Colorado.”<sup>619</sup> It is true that O'Conor's tenure led to a significant expansion of presidios and a handful of successful attacks on Apache camps that led to the relocation and enslavement of hundreds of Apache. On the other hand, his uncompromising warfare may have merely contributed to escalating conflicts while failing to secure Spanish colonial dominion.<sup>620</sup> In 1777 the Irishman received his desired relocation from the *frontera* when he was appointed governor of the Yucatan where he served until his death in 1779.

The following year, a Hiberno-Spanish friar embarked on a tour of the *frontera* alongside O'Conor's replacement and, afterwards, wrote an influential history of Texas. Juan Morfi was a second-generation Hiberno-Spaniard, born in Oviedo around 1735. In 1760 at the age of 25, he entered the *Convento Grande de San Francisco* in Mexico City after having arrived in New

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<sup>618</sup> Conrad, *Captive Fates*, Ph.D dissertation, 235-241. For a more updated account of this migration and the experience of the Apache, see: Paul Conrad, *The Apache Diaspora: Four Centuries of Displacement and Survival* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021), esp. 141-168.

<sup>619</sup> Hugo O'Conor, “The Interior Provinces of New Spain: The Report of Hugo O'Conor,” 274-5, 278-280

<sup>620</sup> Weber, *Bárbaros*, 67-76.

Spain between 1755-6. The following year, 1761, he was ordained as a friar and began teaching theology at the *Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* and the *Convento Grande* before he accompanied Teodoro de Croix on his expedition through the Interior-Provinces in 1777-8 and kept a diary, his *Diario y Derrotero (1777-1781)* of their expedition through the present states of Mexico, Hidalgo, Queretaro, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Aguascalientes, Zacatecas, Durango, Coahuila, California, New Mexico, and Texas. Afterward, he began writing his *Relación geográfica e histórica de la provincia de Texas o Nuevas Filipinas: 1673-1779*.<sup>621</sup> That is to say, if O’Crouley introduced New Spain to a Spanish audience and O’Conor led the empire’s war against the Apache, then Morfi provided a spiritual and historical recording, interpretation, and justification of Spanish imperial dominion; because eighteenth-century Spanish imperialists believed history to be the preeminent didactic teacher, his writings were sent to the Crown alongside de Croix’s report.<sup>622</sup> Juan Morfi departed Mexico City with de Croix on August 4, 1777.

The *Diario* records Morfi and de Croix’s travels throughout northern New Spain and the Interior-Provinces, noting the towns they visited, the topography and climate, the people they conversed with, the archives and documents he consulted for his *historia*, the economic activity of the various regions, and their interactions with Native Americans. For example, on January 3 in 1780 he recorded a number of Apaches “making fun of the inhabitants”<sup>623</sup> in an unspecified town in New Mexico and then described Apache raids on January 5, 6, and 7 which resulted in the theft of horses and mules.<sup>624</sup>

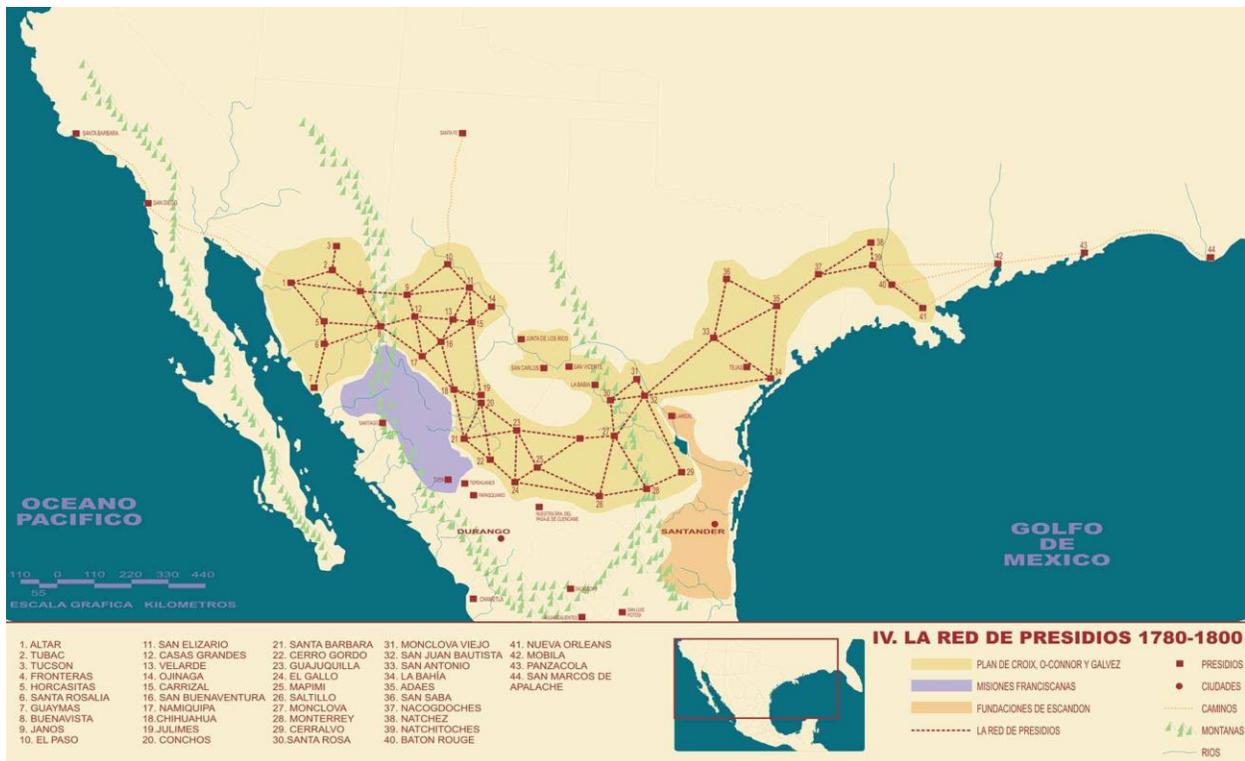
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<sup>621</sup> Juan Agustín Morfi, *Diario y Derrotero (1777-1781)*, ed. Eugenio de Hoyo and Malcolm McClean (Monterrey: Biblioteca del Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, 1967). Morfi, *History of Texas, 1673-1779*, 15-20.

<sup>622</sup> Morfi, *Diario y Derrotero (1777-1781)*, xi-xii. On history and the Bourbon Reforms: Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759-1808*, 45-55.

<sup>623</sup> A slightly awkward translation: “*haciendo burla a los vecinos*.”

<sup>624</sup> Morfi, *Diario y Derrotero (1777-1781)*, 336-7. Quote 336.



Presidios in northern New Spain, c. 1780.<sup>625</sup>

After completing the tour and returning to Mexico City, Morfi began writing his history of Texas. Learned governors and administrators considered the knowledge of history and its peoples essential for proper policy. It was also a method of imperialism in itself, the control of narratives about the past a means of justifying conquest and erasing peoples.<sup>626</sup> To best improve Texas and make it a Spanish space, then, a knowledge of its history and a narrative buttressing Spanish interests was essential. Put simply, like much contemporary historical writing, the *Relación geográfica e histórica* was a tool for empire.

<sup>625</sup> Arnal, "El Sistema Presidial en el Septentrion Novohispano, Evolucion y Estrategias de Poblamiento." Accessed 03/24/2022: <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/sn/sn-218-26.htm>. The increased number of presidios, i.e. scale of militarization, after O'Conor's time as governor and general-visitor is evident compared to the previous map.

<sup>626</sup> On history and colonialism in colonial America, see: Jorge Canizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002). For a comparative take on historical writing and colonial wars in New England, see: Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Vintage, 1999). For more on cultural imperialism generally: Edward Said, *Orientalism*. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*.

If O’Crouley described the kingdom and O’Conor attempted to extend its domain through conquest and social engineering, then Morfi’s *historia* offered the final piece to a British-like settler-colonial scheme. New Spain, as described by O’Crouley, was populous and rich but its northern *frontera* was not. Morfi lamented, “The entire European population of so vast and fertile a province is reduced to the villa of San Fernando, which together with the presidio of San Antonio de Bexar, constitutes a town so miserable that it resembles a most wretched village,” which he estimated to have a population of around 2000 inhabitants inclusive of Christianized Native Americans.<sup>627</sup> The implicit conclusion is that Spain needed to settle these regions with Spaniards or Christianized Native Americans.

Morfi’s writings presented a complex mosaic of the region’s indigenous peoples, presenting both those he considered “civilized” and friendly to Spanish rule as well as those who continued to stymie Spanish imperial ambition. He described the Karankawa as “vile” and “cowardly,” the Attacapas in Louisiana as people who “have no fixed home; they do not cultivate the soil,” and the Ais he claimed “show no inclination to work, not did they ever give ear to the teachings of our doctrine.” While presenting a perspective of Spanish and European superiority, Morfi also highlighted the complex relations and ongoing circumstances of many regional native polities. For example, he observed of the Bidai that they had been “greatly weakened and their number reduced by the last epidemic... Their friendship with the Apache-Lipans is of long standing, a fact that makes it necessary to treat them with caution.” This epidemic, he noted, also affected the “Texas” natives, e.g. the Adaes and Hasinai, who were “very friendly to the Spaniards.” Some of the region’s indigenous peoples were, then, for Morfi, reconciled and on a

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<sup>627</sup> Morfi, *History of Texas, 1673-1779*, 79.

path to Christianization and civilization while others rejected Spanish norms; most troublesome, however, were those who not only rejected Spanish practices but threatened the colonial enterprise itself. In his description of the Toavayas and Wichita he combined all three, writing positively of them but denigrating their religious practices in a manner common for European observers, “They have little or no religion, the ridiculous superstitions with which they regard the fire being the only observable manifestation of this kind.” More significant, he claimed that their “advantages are offset by the enmity of the Osage, who wage constant war against them; the fear of the Apache, who threaten them at all times; and the treachery of the Comanche.”<sup>628</sup> In what the Spaniards called northern New Spain, these three indigenous polities were the actual power brokers.

Morfi’s *historia*, in other words, presented the land and peoples of Texas as subjects ripe for Spanish mastery with only a few problems having inhibited Spanish colonization. Namely, he decried the power and presence of the Osage, Apache, and Comanche. As Morfi explained, the Comanche were “far superior to all the others in the number of warriors, the extent of the lands they occupy.... They have attacked us fiercely in New Mexico and Texas, but nothing can compare with the mortal hatred they feel for the Apaches.” Morfi may have presented the various indigenous peoples akin to the land and animals of the region – i.e. subjects for the Spanish to master – but his depiction inadvertently paints a complex mosaic of indigenous politics and warfare in Texas and its environs, noting how “all the preceding nations, including the Tonkawa and the Comanche, are irreconcilable enemies of the Apache and Osage.”<sup>629</sup> Belying his own

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<sup>628</sup> Morfi, *History of Texas, 1673-1779, vol. 1*, 79-88.

<sup>629</sup> Morfi, *History of Texas, 1673-1779, vol. 1*, 88-92.

sense of cultural superiority, these observations underline how dependent Spanish colonization was on indigenous support and simultaneous confrontations between and among Native polities.

The *historia* subsequently provided a history of Spanish and French colonization efforts in Texas before culminating with a chapter entitled, “Last Attempt to Congregate the Apaches: The San Saba Mission, 1756-1766” and the final, “The inspection of Rubi and the attempted reorganization of the province, 1765-1779.” The major event of the former was an attack on the San Saba mission. Attempting to subdue the Apache through conversion, the Spanish agreed to establish a presidio for the Apache in Apache territory in 1758 but the various “northern Indians” responded to this change in Spanish policy with an attack on the Spanish settlement of San Saba. This attack led to a failed Spanish counter-appraisal and the *nortenos* “harassed the entire province with their hostilities.” As Morfi argued, the passion of self-interest among Spanish officials, ecclesiastics, and settlers, “irritate[d] the nations of the north by the favors shown to the Lipans, giving the latter an opportunity to fool us. Both the first and the second were emboldened in their contempt for us, our unwise policy making them believe we feared them. The new missions were destroyed, the hostility of the nations of the north continued, the Lipans did not cease in their depredations, and the province was thrown into turmoil by the Spaniards themselves.” The frustrations along the *frontera* then resulted in the afore-discussed disorder when Governor Don Angel Martos y Navarrete attacked the presidio of San Agustin de Ahumada over a personal feud with the presidio captain, Rafael Pacheco, and O’Conor’s appointment to restore order and take command of the borderland.<sup>630</sup>

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<sup>630</sup> Morfi, *History of Texas, 1673-1779*, vol. 2, 353-405.

The final section of the *Historia* hints at the larger enemy that haunted Spanish imperial imagination: England. According to Morfi, beginning at least in 1777, English traders “introduced themselves” to Texas via the Mississippi River and, “By offering the natives a trade more profitable than that enjoyed at Natchitoches, the English were rapidly gaining the good will of the Indians and endangering the safety of the entire province.”<sup>631</sup> This situation, simultaneous to the escalating rebellion in British North America, shifted the focus of Madrid and Mexico City away from the *frontera* and to the Gulf Coast. Morfi’s history concluded with a description for new plans to once more attack and eradicate the Apache but ends abruptly because the friar passed away before completing his work.

The *Historia*, we might conclude, was an effort to write a historical narrative that Spaniards could use and be inspired by, or as Morfi put it, “*regard for the truth* requires that events should be described as they are; those that are good, for our edification, and those that are bad that they be remedied in the future.”<sup>632</sup> This imagined past-future of Spanish mastery in Texas and beyond did not come to pass. The Apache raids were indeed curtailed, but by the Comanche and not the Spanish. Upon the outbreak of the fourth Anglo-Spanish War of the eighteenth century in 1779, northern New Spain remained a native ground.<sup>633</sup>

### **Atlantic Crossroads of Empire & Slavery: Governor O’Reilly in Spanish Louisiana**

Underappreciated historiographically because of its small demographic presence and underdeveloped economy, Louisiana’s geographic situation made it an important strategic

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<sup>631</sup> Morfi, *History of Texas, 1673-1779*, vol. 2, 426

<sup>632</sup> Morfi, *History of Texas, 1673-1779*, vol. 2, 404. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>633</sup> DuVal, *Native Ground*. Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*. Pekka Hämäläinen, *Comanche Empire*. Conrad, *The Apache Diaspora*, esp. 79-168.

consideration to the Spanish Empire after the Seven Years' War.<sup>634</sup> This was particularly true given its place neighboring the British colonies of Georgia and West Florida and Madrid's expectation that renewed war with Britain was inevitable. After decades of economic floundering and limited colonization under French rule, despite the best French efforts to link the port with Saint-Domingue and the Caribbean, the new Spanish rulers, Carlos III and his advisors, were intent on transforming the underdeveloped but potentially vital space into a thriving and "mature" or "creole" colony made rich through plantation enslavement and settler-colonialism.<sup>635</sup> Put another way, if Louisiana occupied a "crossroads" geographically in the Atlantic world, then the O'Reilly governorship marked a temporal crossroads in the history of Louisiana and the Bourbon Reforms that accelerated the expansion of slavery and colonization, the material foundations of racialization, while preparing the territory for war with Britain. To achieve this desired transformation, Carlos III entrusted O'Reilly with a similar mission to that which he had performed in Cuba: reconquer and reform.

After assuming the colony from France, the Spanish Crown and its administrators were intent on preparing Louisiana for war and improving its economy. A revolt among French creoles, however, stymied these plans. To restore order and reorganize the colony, Carlos III called upon his most trusted general – Alejandro O'Reilly. In O'Reilly's opinion, the colony

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<sup>634</sup> For more on Louisiana's place in Atlantic and Continental historiography: Cecile Vidal, ed., *Louisiana: Crossroads of the Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 1-17.

<sup>635</sup> Cecile Vidal has persuasively argued that New Orleans was always a "Caribbean port," entangled with racism and slavery; be that as it may, demographically and economically the city remained peripheral and the wider colony of Louisiana underdeveloped until the Spanish period. See: Cecile Vidal, *Caribbean New Orleans: Empire, Race, and the Making of a Slave Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), esp. 1-42. Vidal also argues convincingly that New Orleans was a racialized society beginning in the French period; this is compelling but the effort to locate a genesis of racialization in New Orleans perhaps obfuscates the change over time in racial politics that accompanied successive French, Spanish, and American sovereignty and slavery within a wider Atlantic context that increasingly hardened hierarchical divisions and dehumanized Africans and their descendants.

provided “indisputable boundaries which in time of peace to prevent any advance by another nation. It keeps illicit traders away from the whole frontier of Mexico, and makes impossible the influence which they might secure over many indians on the frontier of Mexico.”<sup>636</sup> His governorship of Louisiana is best understood as steering the colony away from the previous French-model based on alliance and exchange and towards emulating a British model of settler-colonialism and plantation slavery.<sup>637</sup> That is to say, O’Reilly and Carlos III hoped to reorient Louisiana from Canada to the Caribbean. As a result, in its thirty-year Spanish period, Louisiana received the largest state subsidy in the empire and O’Reilly spearheaded a political and economic – or, political-economic – reorganization of the colony.<sup>638</sup> There was only one problem: its inhabitants were uninterested in Spanish rule.

In 1768, French creoles rebelled against Spanish rule and expelled the Spanish governor, Antonio de Ulloa. To restore order in New Orleans, reorganize the colony, and prepare it for war, Carlos III named Alejandro O’Reilly the governor-general of the colony and charged him with putting down the revolt in 1769. Alejandro O’Reilly left Spain for Havana in late May and arrived on June 24. In Cuba, he organized an army and ten days later over 2,000 soldiers on more than 20 ships departed for New Orleans. On July 27, after arriving to the mouth of the Mississippi River, four leading French creoles met with O’Reilly aboard his ship. O’Reilly

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<sup>636</sup> Alejandro O’Reilly to Jerónimo Grimaldi. September 30, 1770 AGI, Santo Domingo (SD), leg. 86.

<sup>637</sup> Daniel Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992). Gilbert Din, *Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves: The Spanish Regulation of Slavery in Louisiana, 1763-1803* (College Station: University of Texas A&M Press, 1999). Cecile Vidal, ed., *Louisiana*. This is not to suggest that the French Atlantic was not devoid of plantation slavery, of course, but to underline that France’s mainland North American colonies developed in a historically distinct way that discouraged this practice in contrast to mainland British North America and Spanish Louisiana.

<sup>638</sup> John Preston Moore, *Revolt in Louisiana: The Spanish Occupation, 1766-1770* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State university Press, 1976), 219. Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759-1808*, 118.

believed their purpose was to gauge the strength of his army, but vocally they appealed to the Field Marshal for leniency. O'Reilly expressed a discomfort with bloodshed but concluded, "It is not possible for me to judge things without first finding out about the prior circumstances."<sup>639</sup> Colonial revolt was a grave affront that the Crown would not countenance.

The Spanish expedition arrived in New Orleans on August 18 and performed a ceremonial retaking of the city akin to that which O'Reilly led in Havana six years previous. In the city's main plaza, the Spanish and French soldiers formed a square within which O'Reilly presented King Carlos III's orders for the French Governor Charles Aubry to evacuate the city. Aubry placed the city's keys at O'Reilly's feet and the French and Spanish officers entered the town Church and sang *Te Deum*.<sup>640</sup> The next day O'Reilly requested a report on the revolt from Aubry. From Aubry's account, O'Reilly levied his accusations on the presumed guilty party. After arresting the suspected ringleaders, O'Reilly met with the local merchants to assuage their concerns about the Crown's intentions and extended a general clemency to the rest of the city. The accused were convicted in October. Five participants were executed, five imprisoned in Havana, and twenty were exiled from the colony.<sup>641</sup>

With the colony secured from internal enemies, O'Reilly's second focus became its defense against the British Empire. Word of British military activity in West Florida, drilling exercises and the construction of forts, worried imperial administrators in Madrid and O'Reilly in New Orleans. As the trials over the revolt unfolded, O'Reilly worked on inspecting the colony's

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<sup>639</sup> "Cartas de Alejandro O'Reilly a Julian de Arriaga," August 31, 1769. AGI, SD, leg. 1221.

<sup>640</sup> "Cartas de Alejandro O'Reilly a Don Julian de Arriaga." August 31, 1769. AGI, SD, leg. 1221.

<sup>641</sup> Francisco Domingo Joseph Bouligny y Paret, "Memoria de Francisco Bouligny." August 21, 1769. Tulane Louisiana Research Collection (TLRC hereafter). Collection 600: Kuntz Collection. II Spanish Colonial Period, 1769-1782. Box 3. Moore, *Revolt in Louisiana*, 199. Alejandro O'Reilly to Julian de Arriaga. August 31, 1769. AGI, SD, 1221, no. 2

defenses. He personally toured a number of forts and sent engineers to inspect more distant ones. He ordered that many of the colony's fortifications be abandoned in favor of concentrating troops and resources in New Orleans. As in Cuba, he also organized a series of militia units. Given the proximity of Louisiana and British North America, it was presumed that the Gulf Coast borderlands would become an important theater in the next Anglo-Spanish war.<sup>642</sup>

Any such future war would, to a considerable degree, be determined by the allegiances of the borderland's Native American nations. In fact, beyond limited settlements surrounding New Orleans, the vast "colony" of Louisiana was in fact "Native ground."<sup>643</sup> To translate Spanish interests to the many nations that lived in the Mississippi Valley, O'Reilly sent two Hiberno-Spanish soldiers, Eduardo Nugent and Juan Kelly, into the interior of the continent. He instructed these men to communicate Spanish rule and express a desire for friendship with the many nations that lived in the Mississippi Valley. They were also instructed to report to him on the colony's defenses, settlements, peoples, and economy.<sup>644</sup>

On October 29, O'Reilly held a congress between himself and the region's Native nations in New Orleans. Similar to the ceremonious retaking of the city from France, this congress was a ritual of translation. Although the details of which nations and the names of their leaders were not recorded save one exception, O'Reilly claimed that he received the "loyalty of all the *indios* who live within sixty leagues" of New Orleans and we might assume this meant there were representatives from the Creek, Atakapa, Caddo, Choctaw, and other nations. In the ceremony,

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<sup>642</sup> Moore, *Revolt in Louisiana*, 220-222

<sup>643</sup> DuVal, *Native Ground*. Vidal, ed., *Louisiana*, 1-17.

<sup>644</sup> Alejandro O'Reilly to Julian de Arriaga. October 17, 1769 AGI, SD, 80-1-7. Alejandro O'Reilly to Jerónimo Grimaldi. December 10, 1769. AGI, Santo Domingo, 86. Alejandro O'Reilly to Julian de Arriaga, Dec. 29, 1769. AGI, Santo Domingo, leg. 80. Eduardo Nugent and Juan Kelly to Alejandro O'Reilly. Jan. 14, 1770. AGI, Cuba, leg. 2357.

the various native leaders laid down their weapons, saluted the Field Marshal, blessed him, and smoked with O'Reilly. Then followed speeches from both Spaniards and natives. One leader of the Muskogean Bayogoula reportedly asked if the Spanish would be supportive allies like the French had been, to which the other native leaders expressed their mutual interest in the question. O'Reilly explained that the French and Spanish were kin and that their relationship to the Spanish would remain the same as it had been with the French. He then gave the leaders gifts and medals before concluding the congress with a military drill.<sup>645</sup>

Although O'Reilly reported on this meeting in glowing terms and with satisfaction, his writing evinced an underestimation of the importance of adequate gift giving to retain the alliance of the region's Native American polities akin to simultaneous British failures at maintaining indigenous allies in the territory they assumed from France in the Great Lakes region.<sup>646</sup> O'Reilly seemed to have believed that gifts of ceremonial medals were sufficient and that Spanish military prowess alone would secure their acquiescence, remarking that after the military drill the natives in attendance, "The *indios* so admired and appreciated [the drill] that they looked at each other as if shocked by the novelty."<sup>647</sup> Yet, such was the apparent dissatisfaction that even British officials noticed the wariness with which Creek, Choctaw, and other nations engaged the new Spanish presence. For instance, the British governor of West Florida wrote, "the savages are not pleased with the rigid behavior of the Spanish and [I] believe

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<sup>645</sup> Alejandro O'Reilly to Julian de Arriaga. October 17, 1769. AGI, Santo Domingo, leg. 80.

<sup>646</sup> Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, original 1991).

<sup>647</sup> Not a precise translation: "Fueran los Indios tan admirados y agradecidos que se miraban unos a otros como estancado la novedad." Alejandro O'Reilly to Julian de Arriaga. October 17, 1769. AGI, Santo Domingo, leg. 80.

after we once hold a congress with the Choctaw Indians and other tribes on the Mississippi we should have nothing to fear from their influence.”<sup>648</sup>

Another important means of translating good will between peoples in Louisiana was the exchange of enslaved people. The enslavement of Native Americans, often captured in war and then resold or gifted, was common among native and European peoples alike. The transfer and capture of captives was a form of reciprocity and kinship making. It was also a form of war and bondage. This form of enslavement was most often used for purposes of the domestic or in facilitating the region’s exchange economy in contrast to plantation enslavement.<sup>649</sup>

Believing this widespread form of slavery anathema to Spanish interests and less profitable than Caribbean-style plantation slavery, O’Reilly’s legal and economic reforms intended to replace the former with the latter. Indeed, indigenous enslavement was illegal but widespread in the Spanish Empire.<sup>650</sup> Therefore, he banned the practice and ordered surveys of all enslaved Native Americans in Louisiana with their value. The surveys were completed, though most likely underreported, but there is no indication that the enslaved were freed.<sup>651</sup> It seems most likely that O’Reilly decided it was not worth alienating French creoles or

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<sup>648</sup> Elias Dunford to Brigadier General Haldeman. March 9, 1770. Elias Dunford Papers (1770). Tulane University Special Collections.

<sup>649</sup> James Brooks, *Captives and Cousins Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slavery in New France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014). Alejandra Dubcovksy, “Defying Indian Slavery: Apalachee Voices and Spanish Sources in the Eighteenth-Century Southeast” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 75, No. 2 (2018), 295-322 On Spanish enslavement of native Americans more broadly: Andres Resendez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in Americas* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2016).

<sup>650</sup> Resendez, *The Other Slavery*. For more on the nature of indigenous enslavement in the Gulf Coast region: Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*.

<sup>651</sup> Proclamation by O’Reilly, Dec. 7, 1769 in Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794: The Revolutionary Period, 1765-1781*. Vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: U.S Government Printing Office, 1949), 125-6. Indian Slaves at Ste. Genevieve. May 28, 1770. in Kinnaird, ed. *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, vol. 3, 167-170. Piernas to Unzaga. July 8, 1770. in Kinnaird, ed. *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, vol. 3, 171-178. Alejandro O’Reilly to Luis de Unzaga, April 2, 1770. AGI, Cuba, leg. 174.

neighboring native nations. Still, to replace indigenous with African enslavement and enrich the colony, the Hiberno-Spaniard executed a number of economic reforms.

Governor O'Reilly believed the goodwill of merchants and planters was important for a colony reliant on trade and plagued by smuggling and necessary to outcompete British merchants in the region. The promotion of mercantile interests, in other words, key to the economic growth of the colony and therefore also its defenses. With these things in mind, the Hiberno-Spaniard permitted the colony's inhabitants to continue trading with the French colony of Saint-Domingue and recommended that Louisiana be opened to free trade within the empire. On that note, he successfully lobbied for Louisiana to have special free trade privileges with Cuba, the Windward Islands, and Spain, which he believed would stimulate trade in cash crops and enslaved Africans. As he postulated, free trade between Cuba and Louisiana would "develop greatly" the sugar mills of Cuba while also stimulating Louisiana's economy.<sup>652</sup>

To further promote the colony's economy, and again resembling his experience in Cuba, O'Reilly argued in favor of promoting European migration to Louisiana. White settlers, he believed, were essential to the economic development and profitability of the colony – especially given its proximity to the growing British colonies on the eastern seaboard. He therefore advocated for the promotion of European immigrants to Louisiana, suggesting German Catholics, Canary Islanders, and Spaniards. In the ensuing years, the white population of the colony grew from 6,540 to 13,076 from 1771 and 1785. Simultaneously, the population of

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<sup>652</sup> Antonio Bucarelli to Alejandro O'Reilly. January 27, 1770. Louisiana Government Records, 1770-1791. Tulane Special Collections, LARC. Bouligny y Paret, "Memoria de Francisco Bouligny." August 21, 1769. Collection 600: Kuntz Collection. II Spanish Colonial Period, 1769-1782. Box 3, Tulane Special Collections. Alejandro O'Reilly to Gregorio Munian. August 31, 1769 AGI, SD, leg. 87. Alejandro O'Reilly to Julian de Arriaga. October. 27, 1769 AGI, SD, leg. 80.

enslaved Africans grew from 4,519 to 16,248. These numbers in 1785 marked, according to one historian, “a significant demographic watershed” in the colonization of Louisiana and the expansion of plantation enslavement. Correspondingly, the production of cotton, tobacco, and sugar emerged as increasingly important commercial crops to the Louisiana economy.<sup>653</sup>

Alejandro O’Reilly left Louisiana and Spanish America in 1770 to return to Spain as the empire’s most celebrated military leader. A handful of Hiberno-Spaniards remained in New Orleans where, as in Cuba, they acculturated into local society. In fact, O’Reilly’s replacement Esteban Miro married an Irish Catholic woman named Celestina Macarty whose father had been a “wild goose” in the French army stationed in Illinois before moving to New Orleans. Another Franco-Irish Catholic woman Margaret O’Brien married the Anglo-Irishman Oliver Pollock and, on his conversion to Catholicism, the two naturalized as Spaniards and played a significant role in Spain’s negotiations with the nascent United States during the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783). Still a third, Mauricio O’Conor, was promoted to subtenant of infantry in the German Coast militia in 1779.<sup>654</sup>

Meanwhile, O’Reilly’s reform of Cuba and Louisiana, which is to say his emulation of British imperial practice to promote settler-colonialism, armed militias, mercantilist free trade within the empire, and plantation slavery, became the model for the Bourbon Reforms in Spanish America. His reforms were emulated throughout the empire. Moreover, having militarized and remade Louisiana to resemble Britain’s mainland colonies, Madrid appeared ready to confront its

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<sup>653</sup> On the 1771 numbers: Census of Louisiana, Sept. 2 1771: AGI, Cuba, leg. 2357. Kinnaird, ed. *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, vol. 3, 196. On the later numbers and emergence of sugar and cotton: Daniel H. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 107-115, 278-280. Schneider, *The Occupation of Havana*, 253.

<sup>654</sup> “Memorial del Sargento Mayer del batallón Don Esteban Miro por el cual solicita Real Licencia para contraer matrimonio con dona Celestina Macarty.” No. 284: 124/328; 95. Louisiana Government Records, Tulane Special Collections LARC. Bernardo de Gálvez to José de Gálvez. May 27, 1779. No. 2: 323;122. Louisiana Government Records, Tulane Special Collections LARC. On Pollock and O’Brien: DuVal, *Independence Lost*, 35-43.

nemesis once more. As O'Reilly put it, "Our great distrust of war" and hopes for peace depended on, "our preparations. The great effect that they have already had in Paris and London is widely observed and everywhere it is said that never has such vigour been witnessed."<sup>655</sup>

### **Reconquering Florida, Enclosing Republicanism**

In 1775, rumor and intrigue spread throughout Europe concerning the reported buildup of a large invasion force in the Spanish port of Cartagena. There, upwards of 26,000 men and near 250 ships gathered in the Mediterranean port under the organization and leadership of Alejandro O'Reilly. The outbreak of the American Revolution in British North America rose the specter of a Spanish attack on the British. A popular, annual British periodical edited by Edmund Burke, the *Annual Register*, reported, "The tribe of politicians... predicted danger to more than one of [Spain's] neighbors.... These preparations were so mighty, that they might well alarm any of those who supposed themselves liable to be their object."<sup>656</sup> Such was the significance and intrigue of this invasion force that it inspired a prophecy from the Irish poet Sean Mac Cathalin, who imagined that O'Reilly would lead the Spanish army to liberate Ireland.<sup>657</sup> Instead, the largest expedition in Spanish military history up to that point embarked for Algiers.<sup>658</sup>

It was the greatest defeat of Alejandro O'Reilly's career, effectively ending his long tenure as *de facto* first general of the Spanish Empire. The Siege of Algiers (1775) was intended as a means to subdue the Barbary pirates, retaliate for the Algiers-allied Moroccan Siege of Melilla (1774) in which the Hiberno-Spaniard Juan Sherlock led a successful defense of the

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<sup>655</sup> O'Reilly to Bucareli. 24 November 1770. AGI, Mexico, leg. 1242

<sup>656</sup> *The Annual Register* (1775), 143.

<sup>657</sup> Sean Mac Cathail, "Trath dom ag smaoinreamh ar chriochaibh an tsaoil seo" UCD Ferriter Ms 4, p. 288 quoted and translated in Vincent Morley, *Irish Opinion and the American Revolution, 1760-1783* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 109.

<sup>658</sup> Bilbano Torres Ramirez, *Alejandro O'Reilly en las Indias* (Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos: 1969), 9-14.

Spanish enclave,<sup>659</sup> and secure a base for attacking Gibraltar. Instead, the Siege proved disastrously ill prepared, plagued by disagreements between O'Reilly and his Spanish subordinates, and poorly executed.

Contemporary nativist Spanish publications mocked and lampooned the Irishman, with one writing, "An Irishman... managed to send an expedition that has been the loss of all of the flowers of Spain... without caution or talent."<sup>660</sup> So extensive was the backlash that one English travel writer recorded an event in Valencia in which, "hundreds of boys got together, and, having divided their numbers into an army of Christians, and one of Moors, pitched upon the lame, deformed son of a French barber, to personate O'Reilly... the infidels obtained a complete victory; and a court-martial was held upon the Christian commander. He was found guilty of cowardice and mismanagement, and condemned to be whipped."<sup>661</sup> This defeat and its backlash prompted Carlos III into retiring the Hiberno-Spanish general.

Still keen to make use of his military talents, the Crown appointed O'Reilly as the governor-general of Andalusia in 1777 and from the provincial capital of Cadiz the Hiberno-Spaniard helped organize Spain's preparations for the Fourth Anglo-Spanish War (1779-83) of the eighteenth-century. O'Reilly strategized with Jose de Galvez, the new commander of Spain's army who had served under O'Reilly at Algiers, and may have also met with Arturo O'Neill, the commander of the *Regimiento Hibernia* under Galvez and who had also served in the failed siege. This time, the Spanish hoped to besiege and recapture Gibraltar from the British. Spain officially declared war in June 1779 and initiated a ten thousand soldier-strong blockade of

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<sup>659</sup> Arian Collins, *The Sherlocks of Ireland and Wales* (Bordertown Publishing: San Diego, 2011), 52.

<sup>660</sup> "Nuevo libro tomo primero, compendio de toda las obras que han salido en Alabanzas del señor Conde de O'Reilly," 1775. MSS 723 ms. Volume concerning A. O'Reilly, 1775. Folder 1 NORC. Slightly awkward translation of the poetic Spanish: *la perdicion de toda la flor de Espana*.

<sup>661</sup> Henry Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain, in the Years 1775 and 1776*, vol. 2 (1776), 227-8.

Gibraltar while the crown instructed Bernardo de Galvez, governor of Louisiana, to conquer West Florida. When the Siege of Gibraltar faltered, Madrid shifted its primary focus to the Gulf Coast and Caribbean.<sup>662</sup>

To a significant extent, the British war-effort in the Gulf Coast was dependent on indigenous allies and especially the Creek Nation. Their tenuous alliance with the Creek relied on the cultural broker Alexander McGillivray, a man of mixed Scots and Creek ancestry whose father had been a wealthy plantation owner in Georgia and whose mother was a member of the powerful Wind clan among the Creek. Reared as a young child among his mother's family, Alexander had spent much of his youth on his father's plantation. Both of sides of his family predisposed McGillivray to support the British war effort against the encroachment of Georgian settlers into Creek territory and the ravages of American revolutionaries who attacked the estate of his loyalist father. Because McGillivray had access to the wealth of the British Empire and key support among some segments of the Upper Creek, he quickly emerged as an important political leader of the Upper Creek and liaison between them and the British. Thus, British General John Campbell convinced McGillivray to help in the British defense of Pensacola. Preoccupied with concerns elsewhere, however, the British war effort in the Gulf Coast was disorganized to the point of alienating Creek soldiers. The Spanish marched steadily on Baton Rouge, Manchac, and Mobile, taking all three forts. Despite McGillivray's efforts, many Creek abandoned the British and some even joined the Spanish.<sup>663</sup>

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<sup>662</sup> Oscar Recio Morales, *Alejandro O'Reilly, Inspector-General: Poder militar, familia y territorio en el reinado de Carlos III* (Madrid: Silex, 2020), 376-8. DuVal, *Independence Lost*, 114-147.

<sup>663</sup> Bernardo de Galvez, "Bernardo de Gálvez's Combat Diary for the Battle of Pensacola, 1781," Maury Baker and Margaret Haas, ed. and trans., *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (1977): 176-199. Duval, *Independence Lost*, 75-134.

Pensacola was the primary objective of the Spanish, capital and key to West Florida. Unlike the British forces in the area, Galvez received reinforcements in February from Spain via Havana – including Arturo O’Neill’s *Regimiento Hibernia*; and on March 9, 1781, the Siege of Pensacola began. On May 10, the Spanish captured the West Florida capital and thereby effectively reconquered Florida and secured the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>664</sup>

Officially, because of his valor and successes during the siege but perhaps more likely because of his English-language faculty, Galvez appointed Arturo O’Neill as the governor of West Florida after the conquest. Over the next decade, O’Neill’s Irishness and liminality facilitated his communications with McGillivray. Both McGillivray and O’Neill were intermediary political representatives of wider polities and both able to speak and write English; their shared liminality and Celtic-fringe backgrounds facilitated negotiations between the two on behalf of the Spanish Empire and Creek Nation, negotiations that resulted in an alliance between the two polities. That is, while the Creek intended to protect their homeland and McGillivray aspired to remake the Creek like European nations, the Spanish and O’Neill saw the Creek as a convenient buffer to prevent American colonial encroachment that might imperil Spain’s precarious but critical outposts in the Gulf Coast.

The Spanish conquest of Florida and American independence ratified in the Treaty of Paris (1783) jointly reconfigured the political situation of the Gulf Coast. The ostensible limitation on American colonial settlement west of the Proclamation Line was void, the British expelled from the region. The historiography of the Gulf Coast after 1783 is treated almost as

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<sup>664</sup> Duval, *Independence Lost*, 114-222. Galvez, “Bernardo de Gálvez’s Combat Diary for the Battle of Pensacola, 1781,” Maury Baker and Margaret Haas, ed. and trans., 176-199.

nothing but prelude to the Cotton Kingdom.<sup>665</sup> In fact, however, recast from the perspective of Madrid, 1783 marked a highpoint in Spain's imperial resurgence in colonial North America and the Gulf Coast was a space destined for Spanish dominion. To realize these ambitions, the Spanish Empire would have to maintain friendly relations with indigenous peoples and polities of the region, especially the powerful Creek Nation. Capable of speaking English with his fellow intermediary, the Hiberno-Spaniard Arturo O'Neill was ideally suited to negotiate such an alliance.

Alexander McGillivray wrote to Arturo O'Neill on the first day of the New Year in 1784. Before the United States Congress had even ratified the Treaty of Paris, McGillivray condemned it, protesting that the British had "No right to transfer us both their former protection to any power whatever contrary to our inclination and interests." He further explained, "We certainly as a free nation have a right to choose our protector." He then intimated that the Spanish would benefit from such an arrangement.<sup>666</sup> O'Neill felt similarly. In fact, in a letter he wrote previous to the governor of Louisiana, Esteban Miro, the Hiberno-Spaniard explained, "it appears, to me convenient to maintain the friendship of said McGillivray as well as various other creoles in these nations and like the English marry and have children with the *indios*, with attention to the good will it will insure in the trade and affection of the *indios* who are at present aversely opposed to the name 'American.'"<sup>667</sup> Precisely because both men spoke English and occupied liminal but powerful positions within their societies, the Hiberno-Spaniard Arturo O'Neill and

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<sup>665</sup> Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2017). Jack Davis, *The Gulf: The Making of An American Sea* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2017). Duval, *Independence Lost*.

<sup>666</sup> Alexander McGillivray to Arturo O'Neill, Jan 1 1784. AGI, Cuba, leg. 36, No. 145, paginas. 909-910.

<sup>667</sup> Arturo O'Neill to Esteban Miro, Oct. 19 1783. AGI, Cuba, leg. 36, No. 104, paginas 857-8.

the Scots-Creek Alexander McGillivray were able to translate the language and interests of their polities. On this basis, they negotiated an alliance between the Spanish and Creek intended to secure Creek independence and thus the integrity of the Spanish Gulf Coast vis-à-vis the expanding Americans.

McGillivray put the matter and the stakes plainly. In one letter to Governor O'Neill, he warned that American settlements would grow rapidly "and once they are settled it will be a work of time and expense to crush them." McGillivray explained that if the Spanish provided the Creek with adequate gifts of trade goods and arms, the Spanish would receive in return a "powerful barrier in these parts adjacent the ambitious and encroaching Americans."<sup>668</sup> He then explained that because the indebted United States had to raise taxes, disgruntled American farmers and soldiers were settling around the Mississippi River where they intended to establish "a western independency."<sup>669</sup> For the Spanish and the Creek, preventing this expansion of American colonialism was essential. O'Neill endorsed McGillivray's position when he forwarded the Creek leader's letter to Miro.<sup>670</sup>

McGillivray attempted to underline the urgency and contingencies of the moment through reference to wider developments. He explained to O'Neill that the British, "thought proper to alter the Boundary Lines of Canada from that laid down in the Treaty of peace and have attained the forts of Detroit, Niagara and all the other forts on the lakes." The British were reinforcing their positions and supporting the "Northern Nations" who "have received hostilities against the Americans with great uproar." He then explicitly explained that if the British continued to

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<sup>668</sup> Alexander McGillivray to Arturo O'Neill, Jan. 1 1784. AGI, Cuba, leg. 36, no. 145, pag. 909-910.

<sup>669</sup> Alexander McGillivray to Arturo O'Neill, Jan. 1 1784. AGI, Cuba, leg. 36, no. 145, pag. 909-910.

<sup>670</sup> Arturo O'Neill to Esteban Miro, Jan. 21 1784. AGI, Cuba, leg. 36, no. 145, pag. 907

support the “Northern Nations” and the Spanish continued to support the southern nations, then there will “always be a great check to the [United] states in preventing their ambitious designs of possessing themselves of all the western countrys [sic].” McGillivray believed this was the best means “to see the Americans kept within their boundary.”<sup>671</sup>

The matter was pressing for McGillivray and the Creek, Georgian settlers continuously encroaching on their lands. McGillivray explained to O’Neill that the Creek had done all they could to secure peace but that Georgian settlers continued to “usurp” their land and hunting grounds; and, as such, the Creek were keen to ascertain how the Spanish would respond.<sup>672</sup> As it were, Georgian settlers were indeed encroaching on Creek territory in the extremely fertile Oconee Valley, which was a major hunting ground of the Creek and, in the words of one historian, “the most important piece of real estate in the region.”<sup>673</sup>

Throughout 1785 and 1786, O’Neill and McGillivray negotiated the securement of arms and gifts for the Creek and to bolster the defense of West Florida with each other and their respective polities.<sup>674</sup> The political organization of their societies, however, frustrated the efforts of both men; in differing ways, the bureaucratic and absolutist Spanish Empire and the decentralized Creek *talwas* (towns) that controlled foreign policy independently limited the ability of either O’Neill or McGillivray to direct the response of their compatriots and respective polities.<sup>675</sup> As it happened, McGillivray was unable to command total support from the Creek

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<sup>671</sup> Alexander McGillivray to Arturo O’Neill, 8 Nov. 1785. AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 37, 212-3

<sup>672</sup> Esteban Miro to Arturo O’Neill, Abril 20 1786. AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 37, pag. 977.

<sup>673</sup> Haynes, *Patrolling The Border*, 1-11; quote 11.

<sup>674</sup> Arturo O’Neill to the Conde de Galvez, sept. 24 1786. AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 37, no. 20, pag. 101-2. Arturo O’Neill to Esteban Miro, 16 de Abril, 1784. AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 36, pag. 664-668. Arturo O’Neill to Esteban Miro, 17 de Abril 1784, AGI, *Cuba*, Leg. 36, 673. Arturo O’Neill to Esteban Miro, June 8 1784. AGI, leg. 36, pag. 683. Arturo O’Neill to Esteban Miro, June 7 1784. AGI, leg. 36, pag. 685. Arturo O’Neill to Josef de Gupeleta, Oct. 6 1783. AGI, leg. 36, no. 95, pag. 834. Arturo O’Neill to Esteban Miro, Oct. 19 1783. AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 36, no. 104, pag. 857-8.

<sup>675</sup> For more on the Creek Nation and its political organization: Steven Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004). Kevin Kokomoor, *Of One Mind and Of One*

and especially the Lower Creek while O’Neill found that his superiors were hesitant to risk open hostilities with the United States.

O’Neill’s superior, the governor of Louisiana Esteban Miró, wrote to O’Neill to affirm the Spanish policy of informal support in this “delicate” matter. He explained that they “could not openly attack” the Americans, instead the empire intended to diplomatically and economically pressure the United States to halt colonizing Georgian land and to relinquish its claim on the disputed Creek lands between the 32nd parallel and the 31st parallel.<sup>676</sup> Instead, O’Neill procured five thousand pounds of gunpowder and ten thousand bullets for McGillivray and granted the Creek leader a personal monopoly on trade with the Spanish colony.<sup>677</sup> With Spanish munitions and weapons, Creek soldiers and other allied Native Americans raided Georgian settlements in the Oconee River Valley in the years 1782-1787 with significant success. In one example, McGillivray boasted to O’Neill about a Chickasaw raid that killed seven American colonists and halted the construction of a fort on their territory. McGillivray celebrated to O’Neill how “This will be a warning to them how they go about building forts.”<sup>678</sup> This was especially significant for the Creek and allied Chickasaws because, as one Creek explained to the British previously, the Creek “look upon the Words Fort and Slavery as synonymous Terms,” seeing the former as a precursor to the latter.<sup>679</sup>

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*Government: The Rise and Fall of the Creek Nation in the Early Republic* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019).

<sup>676</sup> Esteban Miro to Arturo O’Neill, Abril 20 1786. AGI, Cuba, 37, pag. 977

<sup>677</sup> Arturo O’Neill to Conde de Gálvez, Sept. 24 1786. AGI, Cuba, leg. 37, no. 20, pag. 101-2.

<sup>678</sup> Alexander McGillivray to Arturo O’Neill. July 25, 1787. AGI, Cuba, leg. 37. For more on how American fortification projects inspired Creek and Chickasaw raids, see: Haynes, *Patrolling the Border*, 148-171.

<sup>679</sup> Daniel Pepper to Governor Lyttelton, 30 November 1756. *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, Colonial Records of South Carolina*. 2 vols. Edited by William L. McDowell, Jr. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1958), 2: 295-297. Quoted in Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 29.

In limited peace talks, Georgian state officials made punitive demands and coerced concessions from a few Creek leaders who lacked the power to negotiate on behalf of the entire Creek Nation. The ensuing and illegitimate Treaty of Shoulderbone (1786) ceded land in the Oconee Valley to the state of Georgia. These transgressions pushed most Creek *talwas* into war over the course of the decade.<sup>680</sup> As McGillivray put it, the Creek fought to “repel those invaders of our Lands to drive them from their encroachments & fix them within their proper limits.”<sup>681</sup>

The Creek launched numerous raids on Georgian settlers, seizing and destroying property and increasingly attacking settlers themselves in the years 1787-1790. Among the many raids that Georgian newspapers described, one report claimed that a Creek war party had driven Americans away from Chickasaw lands and killed the influential Georgian state Indian agent William Davenport, who had previously convinced many Chickasaws and Creeks to collaborate and remain peaceful with Georgian settlers. In another instance, McGillivray claimed to have directed 500 to 600 Creek soldiers to “ravage the settlement of Cumberland and destroy their plantations” in early August in response to Georgian attacks near the Cherokee River.<sup>682</sup>

Meanwhile, the United States floundered. As McGillivray previously noted, the British remained in the Ohio Valley and were supplying Native American nations there with arms. Furthermore, the United States faced a constitutional crisis, on which topic the Spanish ambassador in Philadelphia, Diego de Gardoqui, relayed his opinion that, “Because of the lack of executive power, all of the states are in a delicate and confused state.”<sup>683</sup> National American

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<sup>680</sup> Haynes, *Patrolling The Border*.

<sup>681</sup> Quote in Haynes, *Patrolling The Border*, 107.

<sup>682</sup> Esteban Miró to Arturo O’Neill, April 20, 1786. AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 37. Arturo O’Neill to Esteban Miro. June 20, 1786. AGI, *Cuba*, 37. Arturo O’Neill to Esteban Miro. July 21, 1786. AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 37 Haynes, *Patrolling the Border*, 134-6. Claudio Staunt, *A New Order of Things* 137-140.

<sup>683</sup> Diego Gardoqui to Vicente Manuel de Zespedes. April 26, 1787. AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 37.

political leaders dreaded a war with either, or worse both, Britain and Spain and their Native American allies. Federalists feared that a single state, such as Georgia, might draw all thirteen states into a war. In fact, this was the topic of Alexander Hamilton's first three letters in the *Federalist Papers*.<sup>684</sup> To make matters worse for the United States, Spain closed the Mississippi River to American trade in 1784, which threatened the integrity of the union. In closing the Mississippi, the Spanish closed the only viable trade connection of American colonists in the Trans-Appalachian West to the rest of the Atlantic world, thus pitting eastern and western American interests against one another. It was an auspicious time for the Creek Nation to conduct their war against the state of Georgia; but precisely when they needed Spanish aid the most, the Spanish reneged on their alliance.

Arturo O'Neill was unable to meet the demands of McGillivray and other Creek soldiers for sufficient guns and ammunitions. His Spanish superiors, moreover, were unwilling to provide O'Neill with more resources.<sup>685</sup> The Spanish were not only failing as proper allies, however, they were also actively advancing the exact activity that led the Creek to make war with the Americans: colonization and slavery. While the Creek waged an anti-colonial war against Georgia, Spanish imperial agents were attempting to win over American colonists, building fortifications, and expanding their plantation-enslavement economy.

As early as January 22 in 1782, King Carlos III announced special commercial policies for West Florida and Louisiana. He explained that their position, "the industry of its inhabitants, the fur trade, with the great number of heathen indian nations surrounding them, and the export

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<sup>684</sup> Alexander Hamilton, *The Federalist Papers* (New York: Dutton/Signet, 2012, originals 1787-8).

<sup>685</sup> Arturo O'Neill to Esteban Miró. March 8, 1787. AGI, Cuba, leg. 37. Esteban Miró to Arturo O'Neill. March 27, 1787. AGI, C, leg. 37. "Relación de la pólvora." Arturo O'Neill to Esteban Miró. September, 1787. AGI, Cuba, leg. 37.

goods produced by their land that are suitable for the European trade, require a regulation adjusted to these particular circumstances.” To promote growth in these sparsely populated colonies, Carlos III granted a ten year window in which their inhabitants were allowed to trade with French colonies, the fur trade with Native Americans was given a ten year exemption on mercantilist duties, and he introduced “an absolute exemption from the duties on [Africans] introduced into these provinces” obtained from any “friendly or neutral colonies.”<sup>686</sup> In other words, the Spanish Crown and its administrators were intent not on any benign alliance with the Creek but on mastery of the Gulf Coast and the expansion of Spanish colonization and plantation slavery. O’Neill’s letters to Miró and other Spanish officials are filled with reports on the defenses of Pensacola and Mobile and the need to improve their fortifications. He constantly requested more money, arms, ammunition, and soldiers as well as engineers to improve the defenses of West Florida, requests that were granted in 1787.<sup>687</sup> O’Neill’s negotiations with McGillivray, in other words, were purely opportunistic.

At the same time as the Creek were at war to prevent the encroachment of American colonists, the Spanish Gulf Coast, particularly the Natchez area, experienced a boom in tobacco production, increasing from 127,366 pounds in 1778 to over 2 million pounds in 1788.<sup>688</sup> So

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<sup>686</sup> Commercial Privileges Granted to Louisiana and West Florida, January 22, 1782. Bancroft Library, XIV, note 20. In Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794, Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1945), II (Washington: 1949), 1-5.

<sup>687</sup> Arturo O’Neill to Esteban Miró. February 16, 1787. AGI, *Cuba*, 37. Arturo O’Neill to Esteban Miró. March 8, 1787. AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 37. Esteban Miró to Arturo O’Neill. March 27, 1787. AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 37. A series of letters in 1787-88 from O’Neill to Miró reported on the state of West Florida’s forts and munitions, such as: “Informe de estado de defensas y forts.” AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 37. “Relación de la Tablazón, clavazón, y piola o mellan que se necesita para la reedificación de los Fuertes de Pensacola” March, 1788. AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 37.

<sup>688</sup> Brian E. Coutts, “Boom and Bust: The Rise and Fall of the Tobacco Industry in Spanish Louisiana, 1770–1790,” *Americas* 42, no. 3 (1986), 293-306. For more on colonial population growth, see above. See also: On the 1771 numbers: Census of Louisiana, Sept. 2 1771: AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 2357. Kinnaird, ed. *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, vol. 3, 196. On the later numbers and emergence of sugar and cotton: Daniel H. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 107-115, 278-280.

extensive was the growth in tobacco cultivation that by 1790 there were large surpluses of Louisiana-produced tobacco in both New Spain and Seville. The previous economic policies of O'Reilly were bearing fruit, the economy of the Spanish Gulf Coast boomed and the population of white colonists and enslaved Africans grew significantly. In fact, many planters "had speculated heavily in the purchase of new slaves to open new acreages of cultivation."<sup>689</sup>

Although most of this expansion occurred technically in Spanish Louisiana, the Spanish Gulf Coast colonies were connected and the Creek most certainly would have noticed this explosive growth when they travelled to both Pensacola and especially to New Orleans.

Perhaps most damning were Governor Miró's efforts to win over American settlers to the Spanish Empire. Simultaneous to supporting the Creek anti-colonial war, Miró was encouraging American colonization so long as settlers pledged allegiance to the Spanish Empire. The most infamous development of this Spanish policy was the Wilkinson Conspiracy. In the summer of 1787, the famous American general turned adventurer James Wilkinson travelled to New Orleans and met with Governor Miró. Wilkinson presented himself, somewhat like McGillivray, as an exaggeratedly important military and political leader in Kentucky and proposed a plan to wrest Kentucky and settlers in the unorganized territory of Franklin in present-day Tennessee from the American union. In a memorial he wrote to explain his plans, Wilkinson described how rapidly the population of American settlements were growing but how dissatisfied they were with what they perceived to be the eastern bias of the Continental Congress and state governments. He postulated, "the evident consequence of this will be a distinct confederation of the western inhabitants" and that the navigation of the Mississippi River was "object on which all their hopes of temporal happiness rest," and therefore they would naturally "attach"

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<sup>689</sup> Coutts, "Boom and Bust," 307.

themselves to Spain. Fearful of the growing population of American colonists along the Mississippi and in the disputed territories between the 35th and 31st parallels, Miro jumped at this intriguing prospect.<sup>690</sup>

If the Spanish were keen to manipulate a fragmented political situation then so too were Creek actors capable of finding alternative allies. A number of Creek leaders, including McGillivray, met a British boat off the coast of East Florida full of gifts and led by another Scots-Creek leader, William Augustus Bowles. Rumors travelled rapidly throughout the region, and O'Neill received reports that McGillivray and the Creek were planning to attack Pensacola to replace the Spanish presence with a British enclave that would more advantageously support their war effort. These reports contained allegations that many Creeks were frustrated at exorbitant trading prices in Pensacola and, even, that "the Spanish and Americans have made an alliance, and that they were now one." Most damning, O'Neill believed that McGillivray had spread this rumor. Given Miró's intriguing with Wilkinson, there was more than a little truth to it. Spanish officials such as O'Neill responded to these reports with indignation and reproach but, from the Creek perspective, O'Neill and the Spanish had failed the Creek as trustworthy allies.<sup>691</sup>

McGillivray articulated his perspective "with extreme concern" to O'Neill on August 22, 1788. He denied that he had any intention to attack Pensacola or engage in hostilities of any kind with the Spanish. He explained that he had only accepted a gift of arms and ammunition to support the Creek war effort against the Americans. He alluded to the specter of unruly

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<sup>690</sup> William R. Shepherd, "Wilkinson and the Beginnings of the Spanish Conspiracy," *The American Historical Review*, 9, mo. 3 (1904), 497-500. David Narrett, "Geopolitics and Intrigue: James Wilkinson, the Spanish Borderlands, and Mexican Independence," *William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (2012), 106-7.

<sup>691</sup> Arturo O'Neill to Esteban Miró. July 23, 1788. AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 37. Arturo O'Neill to Esteban Miró, August 28, 1788. AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 37. Arturo O'Neill to Esteban Miró. September 10, 1788. AGI, *Cuba*, leg. 37

republicans and the dangers of non-monarchical rule and further noted, “Our war with the Americans will continue as I do not believe it is the [Spanish] King’s desire that we shall make peace with giving up our country and ourselves to the Americans, and I am resolved either to save my country from them or to perish with the whole nation.” He concluded by beseeching O’Neill to trust him and resume their former “confidence and harmony.” O’Neill did not respond for months and instead secretly began preparing the defenses of Pensacola in anticipation of a Creek or British assault.<sup>692</sup> The alliance had collapsed, and the Spanish halted their gifts to the Creek.

Without Spanish aid, and with less than hoped for from the British, the Creek were unable to maintain their war effort. Creek raiding declined in 1789 until it virtually ceased in 1791. Without anywhere else to turn, even McGillivray entertained American overtures and negotiations. He eventually agreed to journey to the American capital, New York, in 1791 to conduct diplomatic negotiations with President George Washington, although Washington did not dignify McGillivray with a meeting but instead negotiated by proxy. O’Neill and Miro sent the Hiberno-Spaniard Carlos Howard to New York as a spy to report on these negotiations, which culminated in the Treaty of New York (1791) – the first treaty the United States ever negotiated under the Constitution of 1787. The treaty ceded the Oconee Valley land. The failure of the war, this about face, and the secret provisions of the treaty that enriched McGillivray eroded his leadership among the still deeply divided Creek Nation. Raiding resumed in significant numbers in 1793-4 but then declined again and essentially halted by 1800 and

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<sup>692</sup> Arturo O’Neill to Esteban Miró. July 23, 1788 leg. 37. Arturo O’Neill to Esteban Miró, August 28, 1788. AGI, Cuba, leg. 37. Arturo O’Neill to Esteban Miró. September 10, 1788. AGI, Cuba, leg. 37

McGillivray retired his plantation estate near Mobile in Spanish Louisiana.<sup>693</sup> In late December 1792, O'Neill was relocated as the governor of the Yucatan. McGillivray died soon thereafter in 1793 – the same year the cotton gin was invented. In 1795, Spain relinquished its claim to the disputed territories in which the Creek Nation lived, marking the definitive end of the Spanish-Creek alliance that had already crumbled. Within a decade Spanish sovereignty in the Gulf Coast evaporated.

## **Conclusion**

In the aftermath of the Seven Years' War, the Spanish Crown embarked on a robust reorganization of its empire. This process was arguably most experimental and successful in the Gulf Coast borderlands. This was not a coincidence. In the eyes of Madrid circa 1763, the future of North America was destined to remain a Spanish dominion; but this future depended on securing and expanding Spanish colonial settlements. The success of the British colonies on the northeastern seaboard and of the British Empire in the Seven Years' War drove Spanish Crown into a radical reform of its American empire – centralization, increased taxation, and militarization. The British settlements provoked fear but also offered a model to emulate, and keen Hiberno-Spanish imperialists were eager to promote this vision for the Spanish Empire. Hiberno-Spanish liminality enabled them to thrive in borderland spaces, act as intermediaries, translate British imperial praxis or leverage their access to both the British and Spanish Atlantic world, negotiate with intermediaries, and contribute to the late eighteenth century Spanish Empire's resurgence in North America.

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<sup>693</sup> Colin Calloway, *The Indian World of George Washington: The First President, The First Americans, and the Birth of the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 347-377.

At moments, this project of Spanish resurgence appeared effective. From 1767-1777, the Spanish appeared to be winning their war with the Apache and thus securing Northern New Spain from obtrusive, costly, and dangerous raiding while potentially opening the interior of northern North America and a secure route to Spanish California. Roughly simultaneous, the Spanish assumed sovereignty of Louisiana and began remaking the colony to more closely resemble the other slaving colonies in the plantation littoral. The outbreak of the American Revolution presented the empire with an opportunity to avenge its losses in the Seven Years' War. In 1783, after the reconquest of Florida, the Spanish Empire appeared ascendant in the Americas once more. The empire stretched at least in theory from Patagonia to Alaska, the Atlantic to the Pacific. To a significant extent, Hiberno-Spaniards had played a critical role in this resurgence precisely because of their skill at imperial translation and their liminal position, both of which helped them thrive in polyglot borderlands.

This understudied episode in Gulf Coast history captures the essence of the Bourbon Reforms in Spain's imperial periphery – an application of British-inspired political economy to the governing of Spanish colonies for enriching the empire via colonization and plantation enslavement. It also underlines the central contribution of Hiberno-Spaniards to the reform movement.

Alonso O'Crouley, Hugo O'Conor, and Juan Morfi represented three pillars of eighteenth-century Spanish imperialism: commercial, martial, and ecclesiastic. Their contributions to Spanish mastery, literal and intellectual, of New Spain were significant. O'Crouley's *Description* familiarized Spanish peninsulares with the richest dominion in the empire. O'Conor's war against the Apache momentarily extended Spanish sovereignty in northern New Spain and the region's rich silver mines, the empire's most important source of

wealth. Morfi's writings offered didactic histories on the proper management of empire while erasing the histories of the region's Native Americans – both essential features of colonialism.

Alejandro O'Reilly's governorship of Louisiana engendered a significant change in Spanish imperial policy and the history of the Gulf Coast. As regards the former, O'Reilly recommended and secured unusual trading privileges for a Spanish colony intended to advance an aggressive scheme of settler-colonialism and plantation enslavement. His economic policies and plans for relocating settlers to the peripheral colony proved effective, marking a crossroads in the history of slavery and colonization in the Gulf Coast that set the region on a path that transformed a "Native Ground"<sup>694</sup> into a slaving plantocracy. So, too, did his preparations for war contribute to Spain's reconquest of Florida in the American Revolutionary War.

Arturo O'Neill governed the peripheral but geostrategically vital colony of Spanish West Florida during a period that might be considered the highpoint of Spanish mastery in North America. As with other Hiberno-Spaniards, his Irishness honed an adroit skill at imperial translation that made him an ideal intermediary between the Spanish and the Creek as negotiated via his fellow intermediary Alexander McGillivray. Capable of communicating to each other in English, O'Neill and McGillivray negotiated an alliance intended to secure Creek sovereignty and Spanish mastery of North America. The eventual failure of this alliance exposed the hubris of Madrid, O'Connor, O'Reilly, and O'Neill.

Obsessed with their imperial rivals in the Atlantic world, namely the British Empire, the Spanish crown, its administrators, and Hiberno-Spaniards failed to recognize the power and

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<sup>694</sup> Duval, *Native Ground*. Note: Duval wrote about the Osage who lived mostly in what is today Oklahoma but I am applying her terminology of a "native ground" in contrast to White's "Middle Ground," because the Gulf Coast circa 1763 more closely resembled the former.

significance of North America's Native American polities. Whether they considered them *bárbaros* or "docile," the Spanish misunderstood and underestimated Native political autonomy. The consequences proved dire: the antagonism of the Apache and Comanche as well as the alienation of the Gulf Coast Native polities both contributed to the collapse of Spanish North America. Repeating the mistake of their own colonizers, Hiberno-Spaniards were adroit at translating between empires and intermediaries, creoles and crown, but failed to seriously consider the agency and prowess of Native Americans and, as we shall see, of enslaved Africans.

## Conclusion

## Capitalism, Racism, & Diaspora

“The Irish question is therefore not simply a question of nationality, but a question of land and existence.”<sup>695</sup>

- Karl Marx

“When, however, I defend the Irish cause I shall not fail to point out that the Irishmen have been hereditary and historical enemies of black folk, with a few fine exceptions.”<sup>696</sup>

- W.E.B. Du Bois

“I’ve said this before now  
You said I was childish and you’ll say it now  
Remember what I told you  
If they hated me they will hate you  
...  
Remember what I told you  
If you were of the world they would love you.”<sup>697</sup>

- Sinead O’Connor

When the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) broke out in nearby French Saint-Domingue, the Hiberno-Spanish governors Sebastien Kindelan y O’Regan in Santiago de Cuba and José Coppinger in Bayamo were quick to recognize the potential advantage of relocating French planters to Cuba. Despite the perceived risks of relocating potentially subversive Africans, both free and enslaved, the Hiberno-Spanish governors worked to relocate hundreds of French planters and Africans from Saint-Domingue to eastern Cuba in the waning years of the Haitian Revolution.<sup>698</sup> That is to say, second-generation Hiberno-Spanish planters and imperial

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<sup>695</sup> Karl Marx, “On the Irish Question,” (1867).

<sup>696</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois to D. J. Bustin, March 30, 1921. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries

<sup>697</sup> Sinead O’Connor, “Black Boys on Mopeds” (1990).

<sup>698</sup> Ada Ferrer, *Freedom’s Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 151-2. On transoceanic diasporic linkages in the African Atlantic during this time, see: Julius Scott, *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution* (New York: Verso, 2020). This is the research I was conducting when the Covid pandemic curtailed my research; I hope to continue research into their governorships and roles in relocating planters and Africans from Saint-Domingue in Cuban and Spanish archives.

administrators were quick to recognize the Janus-face of diaspora: its capacity to make and un-make empire.

Long connected to the transatlantic radicalism of the 1790s and the French Revolution, more recent scholarship has emphasized the African and diasporic-dimensions of the Haitian Revolution. Building on C.L.R. James's classic account, *The Black Jacobins*, recent scholarship has emphasized how African traditions and diasporic linkages overcame the "social death" of enslavement; that is, common cultural, religious, linguistic, and political organization or rituals, as in the case of voodoo, enabled the large-scale solidarity and organization to make revolution possible.<sup>699</sup> Formerly the wealthiest colony in the world via the capitalistic sugar and slavery economy, the first successful slave revolt in Atlantic history transformed Saint-Domingue from a "plantation machine"<sup>700</sup> into the first black republic in the Americas. It was an epochal event in the making of modernity, a beacon of freedom to the African diaspora and a haunting force in the accelerated racialization and violence of nineteenth century enslavement. This event and the Hiberno-Spanish role in promoting Cuba's economic transformation perfectly encapsulated the differences and divergent histories between the Hiberno-Spanish and the African diaspora: whiteness and assimilation in contrast to enslavement and revolt.

Among the immediate effects of the Haitian Revolution on the Atlantic world was the disruption to sugar production it engendered. French Saint Domingue had been the largest producer of sugar and coffee in the Atlantic world, and then Haitian revolutionaries burned the

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<sup>699</sup> C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989, original 1938). David Patrick Geggus, *Haitian Revolutionary Studies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), especially 55-98. Carolyn Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1990). Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

<sup>700</sup> Trevor Burnard and John Garrigus, *The Plantation Machine: Atlantic Capitalism in French Saint-Domingue and British Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

plantations upon which they and their kin had suffered for generations. A protracted struggle, the revolutionary conflict endured for over a decade between the years 1791 and 1804 before the revolutionaries won their independence and abolished enslavement. This decade of insurgency created an opportunity for Cuban planters and the Spanish crown.

One grandson of Ricardo O’Farrill, Sebastian Nicolas Calvo de la Puerta y O’Farrill the Marques de Casa-Calvo, offers a keen insight into Spanish designs to profit from the Haitian Revolution. Calvo de la Puerta y O’Farrill was among the most powerful and wealthiest planters on the island, a member of the city’s governing *cabildo*, and served in the Spanish war effort on the island of Hispaniola to defend neighboring Spanish Santo Domingo and, perhaps, conquer French Saint Domingue.<sup>701</sup> The third-generation Hiberno-Spaniard arrived to Hispaniola in the summer of 1793. At that time, numerous African leaders had joined the Spanish army, including Jean Francois and Toussaint L’Ouverture and with their aid the Spanish conquered the northern French town and fort Fort-Dauphin, renamed to its Spanish name Bayaja and today Fort-Liberté on January 29, 1794. The Spanish commander Joaquin Garcia Moreno named Calvo de la Puerta y O’Farrill acting governor of the occupied town. For a moment, it appeared as if the Spanish might conquer part of the island. Then Toussaint L’Ouverture made his famous volte-face when he switched sides from the Spanish to the French Republic after the French governor of Saint Domingue Léger-Félicité Sonthonax declared the abolition of enslavement in the northern province in August 1793 and then the French National Convention abolished enslavement throughout the empire in February 1794.<sup>702</sup>

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<sup>701</sup> On his wealth and social status: Ferrer, *Freedom’s Mirror*, 39.

<sup>702</sup> Geggus, *Haitian Revolutionary Studies*, 119-136.

When black soldiers won the initiative back from Spain and began pushing the Spanish out of Saint Domingue, and with disease increasingly incapacitating Spanish forces, the Hiberno-Spanish naval commander Antonio O'Carroll encouraged Calvo de la Puerta y O'Farrill to relocate to a more hospitable climate. The situation was untenable for the Spanish, the self-emancipated black soldiers inspired, more numerous, and fighting for their freedom against death or re-enslavement. The Spanish war effort against the revolutionary French Republic in Europe and against the revolutionary Haitians in the Caribbean became increasingly untenable, and in peace negotiations the Spanish ceded Santo Domingo to the French and evacuated Hispaniola. The Marques de Casa-Calvo returned to Havana in 1795.<sup>703</sup>

The Havana that Calvo de la Puerta y O'Farrill returned to was booming and bustling with trade and commotion. It was also home to his family, an ailing mother, two brothers, and extended kin and cousins. Almost immediately after the outbreak of conflict in Saint Domingue, Havana's planter class began expanding their production and trade of sugar and slaves to fill the void engendered by the Haitian Revolution. Between 1791 and 1820 the city doubled in population and the number of sugar mills in its environs grew from 237 in 1792 to 416 in 1802. By 1820, the island was "indisputably the world's largest producer of sugar."<sup>704</sup> The men of the O'Farrill clan were among the planters who profited most from this dynamic situation. Sebastian's older brother Francisco, the Conde de Buena Vista, was himself a powerful and wealthy planter who had journeyed to Madrid for medical support but also to directly lobby

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<sup>703</sup> Gilbert Din, *An Extraordinary Atlantic Life: Sebastian Nicolas Calvo de la Puerta y O'Farrill, Marques de Casa-Calvo* (Lafayette: University of Louisiana Press, 2016), 129-167. To what extent Calvo de la Puerta y O'Farrill considered himself "Irish" or of Irish-descent is unclear, but he remained close to cousins throughout the empire, including Gonzalo O'Farrill, and remained in contact with other Hiberno-Spaniards such as the O'Reilly dynasty (and in fact O'Farrill had served under Alejandro O'Reilly in Louisiana), his own family, O'Carroll, and presumably others. Din, *An Extraordinary Atlantic Life*. Din does not explore O'Farrill's Irish or Hiberno-Spanish connections despite acknowledging a handful of fellow Irishman in Cuba and the Spanish Empire.

<sup>704</sup> Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror*, 17-44, quote 36.

Spanish administrators to liberalize the Cuban trade in sugar and slaves before returning to Havana around the same time as his brother. Sebastian's younger brother, Nicolas, had published regularly in the Havana periodical *Papel Periodico* which was dedicated to agricultural science and machinery and both Nicolas and Sebastian belonged to the *Sociedad Economica de Amigos del Pais* of which Nicolas served as director. In fact, his plantation *La Holanda* was perhaps the largest and most mechanized on the island.<sup>705</sup>

The extent to which these later generations of Hiberno-Spaniards considered themselves Irish or of Irish-descent is gleaned in their persisting networks of patronage and kin and in limited surviving material culture. For example, in 1792 the O'Farrill and O'Reilly dynasties intermarried when Pedro Pablo O'Reilly de Las Casas married Maria Francisca Calvo de la Puerta y Aparicio del Manzano – the son of Alejandro O'Reilly as well as the nephew of then governor of Cuba Luis de Las Casas and the great-granddaughter of Ricardo O'Farrill, respectively.<sup>706</sup> Around the same time, a cousin of the Calvo de la Puerta branch of the O'Farrill clan purchased the land, materials, and labor necessary to build a regal mansion in the oldest district of Havana, the still-standing *Palacio O'Farrill* with green and Irish motifs.<sup>707</sup>

Given his experience in Hispaniola and as an officer in the local militia, the new Cuban Governor the Marques de Someruelos appointed Sebastian Calvo de la Puerta y O'Farrill as the interim governor of Louisiana and West Florida in September 1799. Having participated in

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<sup>705</sup> Din, *An Extraordinary Atlantic Life*, 170-4.

<sup>706</sup> Din, *An Extraordinary Atlantic Life*, 171. Din recognizes that both families were of Irish-background but does not thoroughly explain or investigate this.

<sup>707</sup> The mansion is today a state-run hotel. It is unclear when and how the mansion was decorated or what motifs were contemporary and which might be tourist-attractions, but the presence of an old image of the O'Farrill family tree suggests a diasporic memory of Irish-descent among the O'Farrill's.

Alejandro O'Reilly's reconquest of Louisiana in 1769, Calvo de la Puerta y O'Farrill was familiar with the colony when he returned three decades later. Or, so he may have thought.

The New Orleans he arrived to was much different from the one he had known as a young man. From a population of about 3,000 in 1769 the New Orleans had grown to a small city of 15,000 while the colony's population of white settlers had grown from roughly 11,000 to 50,000 over the same period. Correspondingly, tobacco and cotton production via enslaved plantation labor boomed. The port of the Mississippi River bustled with growing trade to and from North American ports such as New York, Charlestown, and Baltimore as well as Havana, Port Royal in Jamaica, Cadiz in Spain, and Veracruz in New Spain. This growth appeared as indisputable evidence that the empire's experimental reforms were successful in making Louisiana resemble the slavocracies that dotted the plantation littoral and thereby fueled a growth in trade, prosperity, and population that would buttress the defense of the colony, New Spain, and the empire. So, too, however, did this invite a "common wind" of revolt; or at least its specter. In 1795 Spanish officials uncovered what appeared to be a significant slave conspiracy, resulting in the execution of twenty-eight enslaved Africans suspected to have organized the planned rebellion. To mitigate the dangers of slave revolt during the uncertainties of the Haitian Revolution and the "common wind" of radicalism, imperial officials imposed a short-term ban on the transatlantic slave trade in Louisiana until Governor Calvo de la Puerta y O'Farrill resumed the trade in 1800 soon after taking office.<sup>708</sup>

As with O'Neill in West Florida before him, the pressures of American colonizers and their "unwarranted ambitions," indigenous politics, and British intriguing defined Calvo de la

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<sup>708</sup> Din, *An Extraordinary Atlantic Life*, 180-207. Scott, *The Common Wind*. On the growth of Louisiana: Daniel H. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*, 107-115, 278-280

Puerta y O’Farrill’s governorship. Fearful of the encroaching Americans, he proposed two solutions to his superior, Cuban governor the Marques de Someruelos: granting land to European settlers to colonize the colony and investment in its defenses.<sup>709</sup> If his predicament and proposals were similar to those of O’Neill, so too were his foes.

In 1799, William Augustus Bowles escaped Spanish imprisonment and returned to the Gulf Coast where he intended to rally Creek support to his leadership and British supplied-aid via the Bahamas. In April 1800, Bowles gathered a contingent of Creek warriors, attacked the Spanish fort of San Marcos, and captured it after a five-week siege. Although the Spanish recaptured the fort, the incident attests to the extent to which Spanish sovereignty remained circumscribed in the Gulf Coast. Although Louisiana and West Florida had both grown and prospered in the three decades of Spanish rule, much of the interior of the continent remained “Native Ground.”<sup>710</sup> Spanish efforts to expand settlement and commerce into the interior of Louisiana were stymied by the Osage, Creek, and other indigenous peoples and polities. So, too, did the specter of British-invasion loom over Calvo de la Puerta y O’Farrill, who feared a British invasion of Louisiana via Canada after the outbreak of the eighteenth century’s Fifth Anglo-Spanish War in 1796.<sup>711</sup> The feared invasion did not happen; instead, after a brief stop in Mexico City, Calvo de la Puerta y O’Farrill retired as governor and returned to Havana, his family, and his sugar estates in 1802.<sup>712</sup>

While Sebastian Nicolas Calvo de la Puerta y O’Farrill governed Louisiana, the Hiberno-Spaniard Sebastian Kindelan y O’Regan governed Santiago de Cuba and the eastern half of the

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<sup>709</sup> Casa Calvo to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, New Orleans, October 8, 1800, AHN, Est. Leg. 3888 quoted in Din, *An Extraordinary Atlantic Life*, 183-4.

<sup>710</sup> Duval, *Native Ground*.

<sup>711</sup> Din, *An Extraordinary Atlantic Life*, 169-192.

<sup>712</sup> Din, *An Extraordinary Atlantic Life*, 209-214.

island. There, the exigencies and opportunities of the Haitian Revolution drove Kindelan y O'Regan to relocate thousands of French planters to Cuba in the hope that they might begin afresh and renew their slaving-and-sugar enterprises within the Spanish Empire.<sup>713</sup> The relocation of these planters to Cuba and the disruption to the Atlantic world's sugar economy transformed Cuba into the world's capital of sugar production – via enslaved labor. In the late 1790s, then, the Spanish Empire appeared ascendant; the Bourbon Reforms successful; and Hiberno-Spaniards critical to Spain's imperial resurgence, most of all in the greater Gulf Coast borderlands. As it happened, however, the radical currents that fed the Haitian and French Revolutions, and that so terrified Alejandro O'Reilly's eulogist Manuel Gil, eventually found their way to the shores of Spanish America and contributed to the empire's demise.

While Cuba prospered, the rest of the Spanish Empire began to disintegrate. The pressures of Napoleon's conquest of Spain, growing creole patriotism, the fate and agency of myriad individual historical actors, and backlash to the Bourbon Reforms spurred the Latin American independence movements of the early nineteenth century.<sup>714</sup> Louisiana was not lost to rebellious enslaved Africans, Bowles and the Creek, the Osage, the British, or even, at least immediately, the Americans. Instead, the pressures of the French Revolutionary Wars led to The Third Treaty of San Ildefonso (1800) and the return of Louisiana to France before Napoleon sold it in the Louisiana Purchase (1803) to the United States.<sup>715</sup> In Chile, the Hiberno-Spaniard Bernardo O'Higgins, son of the former Chilean governor and Viceroy of Peru Ambrosio O'Higgins, was an important independence leader and became the nation's first president,

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<sup>713</sup> Ada Ferrer discusses Kindelan y O'Regan and his efforts to do so but does not underline or explore his Irishness or the diasporic, "translation" angle I emphasize. Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror*.

<sup>714</sup> On the Irish presence in Latin American independence movements: Tim Fanning, *Paisanos: The Irish and the Liberation of Latin America* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018).

<sup>715</sup> Din, *An Extraordinary Atlantic Life*, 209-214.

serving from 1819-1823.<sup>716</sup> The same year that O'Higgins was deposed in a conservative coup, the last viceroy of New Spain, Hiberno-Spaniard Juan O'Donoju, signed the Treaty of Córdoba (1823) effectively recognizing Mexican Independence. In Cuba, the Spanish Empire and Hiberno-Spanish diaspora persisted. Elsewhere, they collapsed.

The collapse of the former has occluded the history of the latter, but together the history of the Bourbon Reforms and the Hiberno-Spanish diaspora offer historians a critical chapter in the history of the Atlantic world.

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In Old Havana, on the corner of the city's oldest town square, the *plaza de armas*, Calle O'Reilly meets calle Cuba Tacon. There rests a plaque commemorating the Irish diaspora and its relationship to Cuba and the anti-colonial movement, "Two island people in the same sea of struggle and hope." If one then follows calle Cuba Tacon past the sixteenth century *Castillo de la Real Fuerza* and *Parque Luz Caballero*, one passes calle Chacon on their left. Taking that left, one comes across the Palacio O'Farrill at the next intersection, between calle Chacon and calle Cuba. Within a fifteen-minute walk stand three monuments to the Irish diaspora in Cuba: a plaque dedicated to Irish participation and solidarity with the twentieth century's global anti-colonial struggle, a street named after the architect of Cuba's post-1763 reform to make the island resemble Jamaica and Saint-Domingue, and a 1790s mansion built off the wealth that enslaved workers made through the sugar they produced.

The Hiberno-Spanish presence in Cuba continued into the nineteenth century, uniquely, and included both elite and common experiences with, for example, governors of the island, the

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<sup>716</sup> In either another project or another chapter of the hoped-for monograph, I would like to explore the Bourbon Reforms and the Hiberno-Spanish diaspora in Chile and especially the O'Higgins family.

afore-discussed Sebastián Kindelán y O'Regan (1822-3) and Leopoldo O'Donnell (1843-1848) in addition to the Coppinger, O'Farrill, and O'Reilly planters' dynasties. Indeed, while the British spearheaded an anti-slave trade crusade, the Hiberno-Spaniard Juan Bernardo O'Gavan was one of three Cuban representatives to the governing 1821 Spanish Cortes at which he argued emphatically in favor of Spain's continuing of the slave trade.<sup>717</sup>

He argued, without irony, that Spanish slavery was beneficial to the enslaved. He wrote, "our special laws highly favor the good treatment and the freedom of the blacks," who, if not for enslavement, "would be indomitable wild beasts in Africa" but instead, "learn and practice among us the precepts of the religion of peace, love, and sweetness." Second, he explained that the "happiness and even the existence of the island of Cuba" depended on the slave trade because "without the arms of the Africans that are needed for the cultivation of these immense territories, there would be a vast desertion within a few years" which would only benefit "the eternal enemies of our agricultural and commercial prosperity."<sup>718</sup> His final argument in favor of maintaining the slave trade and slavery rested on the specter of Haiti. He warned, "I will repeat the words a French politician of our time, lamenting the fortune of the island of Santo Domingo... He said: 'These errors spread all the more easily... when these remote and wretched places have not been well known.'"<sup>719</sup> Alejandro O'Reilly, Carlos III and his other ministers, and Cuban planters colluded to transform Cuba after the Seven Years' War into a plantocracy. They succeeded to such an extent that by 1821 Cuban elites and policymakers in Madrid, linked once

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<sup>717</sup> Jesus Sanjurjo, *In The Blood of Our Brothers: Abolitionism and the End of the Slave Trade in Spain's Atlantic Empire* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2021), 39-44.

<sup>718</sup> Juan Bernardo O'Gavan, *Observaciones sobre la suerte de los negros del áfrica, considerados en su propia patria, y trasplantados a las antillas españolas: y Reclamación contra el tratado celebrado con los Ingleses* (Madrid: 1821), quotes 9, 11.

<sup>719</sup> O'Gavan, *Observaciones sobre la suerte de los negros del áfrica*, 12.

again by a Hiberno-Spaniard, could not conceive any alternative to the perpetuation of the slave trade or plantation enslavement.<sup>720</sup>

When the Irish abolitionist Robert Madden toured Cuba between the years 1836-9, he visited the sugar estate of “the Conde de O’Reilly,” named *Alexandria* after Alejandro. This Conde de O’Reilly lived in absentee from his property, in the more urbane Havana. His estate, according to Madden, was “splendid, and on an immense scale,” though the Conde had apparently fallen into debt. Still, the plantation complex was home to 102 enslaved Africans, producing “1,000 boxes of sugar” in the previous sugar harvest.<sup>721</sup> In the nineteenth century, such planters and the enslaved humans they owned made Cuba the world’s capital of sugar production. Across the Gulf of Mexico, the American South and Mississippi Valley became the world’s capital of cotton.

The Hiberno-Spanish diaspora and the Bourbon Reforms engendered the processes that transformed the region into the Atlantic world’s center of slavery, capital accumulation, and the African diaspora: settler-colonialism, plantation slavery, and capitalism. In Madrid, Irish exiles’ translation and promotion of political economic statecraft made a significant contribution to the Spanish Empire’s embrace of capitalistic agricultural, slaving, and trade policies at the critical post-Seven Years’ War juncture. On the colonial periphery, their access and familiarity with the British Empire helped them to promote the emulation of British colonization and slaving praxis and thrive in liminal borderland spaces. Taken together, the first Irish diaspora and the Bourbon

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<sup>720</sup> With a few exceptions, on the history of abolitionism in Spain and Cuba see: Sanjurjo *In The Blood of Our Brothers*, esp.5-46. Interestingly, the aforementioned Hiberno-Spaniard Blanco White was perhaps the earliest significantly effective voice in promoting abolitionism in Spain.

<sup>721</sup> Richard Robert Madden, *The Island of Cuba: Its Resources, Progress, and Prospects, Considered in Relation Especially to the Influence of Its Prosperity on the Interests of the British West India Colonies* (London: 1849), 167-8.

Reforms remade and enriched Spain's Gulf Coast colonies, enhancing Madrid's power and wealth; in so doing, they may have accelerated the very processes that led to the empire's demise. Yet, while the Spanish Empire collapsed, the changes begun by the Bourbon Reforms and Hiberno-Spaniards laid a foundation for the Gulf Coast and Cuba's transformation in the nineteenth centuries into the world's capital of slavery.

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