

FROM MUNSTER TO LA CORUÑA ACROSS THE CELTIC SEA: EMIGRATION, ASSIMILATION, AND ACCULTURATION IN THE KINGDOM OF GALICIA (1601-40)

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RESUMEN. Entre 1602 y 1608 cerca de 10.000 individuos de todos los estratos de la sociedad gaélica irlandesa predominante en el suroeste de Irlanda emigraron al noroeste de España como consecuencia de la fallida intervención militar española en Kinsale en 1601-02, lo que condujo a la consolidación de la comunidad irlandesa en La Coruña (Galicia). Esto ha permitido un análisis de la asimilación e integración de la comunidad en las estructuras civiles, eclesiásticas y reales de Galicia y de la monarquía hispánica. Los resultados muestran como la inicial introspección de la comunidad irlandesa durante la primera década dio paso a una rápida asimilación e integración en la siguiente. Al mismo tiempo, las alteradas circunstancias socio-económicas y políticas condujeron a cambios de gran alcance en las estructuras internas y los valores socio-culturales de la comunidad.

Palabras clave: emigración irlandesa, España, Irlanda, Galicia, La Coruña, asimilación, integración, Kinsale.

ABSTRACT. Between 1602 and 1608 c. 10.000 individuals from all strata of predominantly Gaelic Irish society in the south west of Ireland emigrated to the north west of Spain in the aftermath of the failed Spanish military intervention at Kinsale in 1601-02, leading to the consolidation of the fledgling Irish community in La Coruña in Galicia. This has permitted an analysis of the community's assimilation and integration to the civil, ecclesiastical and royal structures of Galicia and the Spanish monarchy. The results show how the initial introspection of the Irish community during the first decade gave way to a rapid enforced assimilation and integration during the following decade. At the same time their altered socio-economic and political circumstances led to wide ranging changes in the community's internal structures and socio-cultural values.

Keywords: Irish emigration, Spain, Ireland, Galicia, La Coruña, assimilation, integration, Gaelic Irish, Kinsale.

1. Introduction

One of the little researched areas in early modern historiography is the area related to the question of the presence and assimilation of foreign communities in European nation states, notwithstanding its obvious importance as an aid to formulating modern day policies towards emigrant communities within the European Union. Within the context of the historiography of the Iberian Peninsula, this remains a significant lacuna, even though considerable progress has been made in recent years regarding the presence of foreign groups especially the Irish within the kingdoms of the Spanish monarchy¹. Moreover, for the most part studies of the assimilation and acculturation of groups in the Iberian Peninsula have been confined to the Jewish and Moorish communities as explanations and / or justifications for their respective expulsions².

The case of the Irish at the beginning of the seventeenth century, which is the subject of a completed doctoral thesis, represented the wholesale transfer of a cross-section of a foreign population to the Iberian Peninsula³. This fact therefore distinguishes the Irish case from those of the Conversos, the Moriscos, or from other economic migrants. The resultant encounter, moreover, took on an added dimension owing to the significant socio-cultural differences that existed between the emigrating Irish elites and the host society. Besides linguistic distinctiveness, Gaelic Irish society's agnatic kinship structure set it off from the cognatic variant in use in Spain, which had repercussions for both structure and concepts of nobility, honour, and patronage. Moreover, there existed a gulf between the predominantly oral culture of the Irish elites and their Spanish counterparts.

More than any other reason the Irish emigration arose from the failed Spanish military intervention in Ireland in 1601-02, and the completion of the English conquest

1 Trabajo recibido el 22 de febrero de 2010 y admitido para su publicación el 24 de marzo de 2010. See for example RECIO MORALES, O.: *El socorro de Irlanda en 1601 y la contribución del ejército a la integración social de los irlandeses en España*, Madrid, 2002; GARCÍA HERNÁN, E.: *Irlanda y el rey prudente*, Madrid, 2003); PÉREZ TOSTADO, I.: *Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century*, Dublin, 2008.

2 PULIDO SERRANO, J.I.: *Injurias a Cristo. Religión, política, y antijudaísmo en el siglo XVII*, Alcalá de Henares, 2002; CARDAILLAC, L.: *Moriscos y cristianos. Un enfrentamiento polémico (1492-1640)*, Madrid, 1979; TUELLER, J.B: *Good and Faithful Christians; Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain*, Nueva Orleans, 2002; PERRY, M. E.: *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain*, Princeton, 2007; STEWART, D.: *Assimilation and Acculturation in Seventeenth-Century Europe - Roussillon and France 1659-1715*, Westport, USA, 1997.

3 O'SCEA, C.: *In Search of Honour and a Catholic Monarch: the assimilation and integration of an Irish minority in early modern Castile, 1601-38* (Ph. D, European University Institute, Florence, 2007).

of Ireland in 1603. As a result of the former different Spanish monarchs felt bound to protect and compensate those who had sided with the Spanish in Ireland against the English crown both before and after the battle of Kinsale in 1601⁴. In order to control this emigration the Spanish crown concentrated the Irish in royal service in Flanders, in the navy, or in La Coruña in Galicia. For these reasons this study concentrates on the Irish in royal service who were resident in La Coruña and subsequently at the court. As a consequence of their economic dependence on the Spanish crown, how members of this community made their way in Spanish society was determined almost entirely by the structures of royal power either in La Coruña or at the court.

The doctoral thesis attempts to delineate the dynamics of cultural contact in these circumstances, and to examine how the Irish minority interacted with Galician and Castilian court society. At the same time it evaluates how their socio-cultural baggage and behaviour was affected by the structures of the Spanish monarchy, and how the Irish community reformulated their identity in altered economic and socio-cultural circumstances⁵.

Nevertheless, for reasons of space this article will be restricted to those aspects relevant to the community in Galicia. The first part will deal with of the creation of the Irish community in La Coruña as a consequence of royal policy to the emigration. In contrast, the second part focuses on the interaction of the Irish community in La Coruña with the host society at a local level.

2. The Formation of the Irish community in La Coruña.

a) *The early background*

Several factors both internal and external to Galicia contributed to the presence of a fledgeling Irish community in La Coruña during the latter part of the sixteenth century.

4 O'SCEA, C.: "The significance and legacy of Spanish intervention in west Munster during the Battle of Kinsale" in O'CONNOR, T. and LYONS, M.A. (Eds.): *Irish Migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602-1820*, Dublin, 2003, pp. 32-63.

5 Throughout this *comunicacion* the terms the Old English (of the Pale and the towns), Gaelic Irish (or Old Irish), and Hiberno English will be encountered. The term 'Gaelic Irish' refers to the oldest inhabitants of Ireland i. e. those of Gaelic origin. 'Hiberno English' refers to the great noble houses of Anglo Norman origin who arrived in Ireland in the twelfth century such as the Fitzgeralds, Desmonds, Butlers and their related lesser families. The term 'Old English' or 'Old English of the Pale and towns' is used to signify the inhabitants of those limited areas of English royal jurisdiction around Dublin called the Pale or the port towns. The principal differences between the two groups of Anglo Norman origin were that the family structure and marriage patterns of the Hiberno English were frequently more akin to those of the Gaelic Irish than to those of the Old English of the Pale and towns. At the same time the great magnates of the Hiberno English were fundamentally a rural nobility as opposed to the Old English urban and gentry oligarchy who dominated the Pale and the port towns.

At an international level the union of the Castilian and Portuguese crowns in 1580 transformed Spain into an Atlantic power, thereby making the Galician coastline vulnerable to any potential attacks from any of the Atlantic powers. At the same time, Philip II's ardent defence of the Catholic faith, which brought him into increasing conflict with the English monarchy, also helped push Galicia into the forefront of the battle against the 'northern heresies' at both a military and a political level. The third element was the increasing importance of La Coruña as a naval base from the 1590s in naval operations against England, its involvement in the transfer of Spanish troops to Brittany and to Ireland in 1601. It also had to bear the brunt of the return of the Spanish Armada of 1588 and Don Juan del Aguila's returning force from Ireland in March 1601⁶.

Effectively, the extension of royal rule in Galicia, the militant religious spirit of Philip II and the Spanish Church, Spain's new found role as an Atlantic power, and the various attempts at rebellion against the English crown in Ireland from the 1570s, which had increasingly religious overtones, all combined to form important politico-religious links between Ireland and Galicia. This was first reflected in the presence of Irish ecclesiastics in Santiago de Compostela and La Coruña from the early 1580s such as the bishop of Ossory, Thomas Strong, who was auxiliary bishop of Santiago from 1586 until his death in 1601⁷. Needless to say, the high concentration of Irish ecclesiastics in Galicia could not have taken place without its active promotion by the Church and the king's ministers in the kingdom. The archbishop of Santiago and the guardian of the city's Franciscan convent played important roles in this regard. In the late-1570s the superior of the latter was Mateo de Oviedo, the future archbishop of Dublin, and emissary in Spain for the earl of Desmond⁸. Mateo de Oviedo was also active, together with the archbishop of Santiago and other Irish ecclesiastics in Santiago and Ferrol, in seeking military aid for the earl of Desmond in Galicia in 1579-80. Although the Spanish king did not openly support these activities, he did encourage the archbishop to do everything he could to make the expedition to Ireland as militarily viable as possible⁹. Thus, both the archbishop of Santiago and the Church in Galicia were characterised by a growing Counter-Reformation militancy, which actively supported Irish ecclesiastics and promoted intervention in Ireland.

6 On these aspects see SAAVEDRA VÁZQUEZ, M.C.: *Galicia en el Camino de Flandes: actividad militar, economía y sociedad en la España Noratlántica, 1556-1648*, A Coruña, 1996.

7 On many of these figures see GARCÍA HERNÁN, E.: *Irlanda y el rey...*, vol. 1, pp 88, 184.

8 GONZÁLEZ LÓPEZ, E.: "Galicia e Irlanda : Compostela e a sede metropolitana irlandesa?", *Grial*, 10, 1965, p. 407; Idem.: *Siempre de Negro: Galicia en la Contrarreforma: el reinado de Felipe II*, Vigo, 1970, p. 79; GARCÍA HERNÁN, E.: *Irlanda y el rey...*, vol. 1, p. 131.

9 AGS (Archivo General de Simancas), GA (Guerra Antigua), leg. 90, ff 149-50, archbishop of Santiago to Philip II, 11 September 1579; on the Desmond rebellion and this early Spanish intervention in Ireland see GARCÍA HERNÁN, E.: *Irlanda y el rey...*, vol. 1, pp 107-137.

This militancy was also a feature of the governors of Galicia and its naval commanders. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, first commander of the Atlantic squadron, proposed in 1575 ‘the occupation of the Scillies islands in order to establish a naval base to promote rebellions in Ireland’¹⁰. Both of the governors of Galicia from 1587 to 1606 were in the militant Counter-Reformation camp. The first of these, the marqués de Cerralbo had an Irish confessor, Father Patrick Synnott who kept him informed on events in Ireland. In 1599 his successor, the conde de Caracena recommended that Spain should help the Irish Catholics in Ireland in order to cause problems for the English crown so as to prevent their fleets raiding the Spanish coasts¹¹. At the same time the increasing importance of the growing Irish community was reflected in the attempt by English authorities to assassinate an Irish bishop in Ferrol c.1580, and in the attack by Drake on La Coruña in 1589, ostensibly according to one author to wipe out the city’s Irish community¹².

At a commercial level there also existed connections which linked trade routes to Ireland, the transformation of La Coruña’s economic activities during the opening decades of the seventeenth century, and the presence of the Irish community. The principal impetus for the city’s transformation was evidently the presence of the navy, and the setting up of foreign commercial activity in the town to cater for the navy’s needs. Certainly, in the Irish case the presence of the navy in Ferrol and La Coruña appears to have created a new trade route to Ireland, which Karin Schüller has shown represented 13% of all Irish trade to the Iberian Peninsula between 1590 and 1604¹³.

In part the development of this new trade route was related to the loss of control by English merchants of the trade route between Andalucia and Northern Europe owing to the Anglo-Spanish conflict from the 1580s on. From this decade on most of the contraband trade in Spanish and English goods went through Irish and Scottish hands¹⁴.

Certainly, up to the early 1580s most of the Irish trade to Galicia was concentrated in Bayona. Early data is not available but in 1592-3 Irish merchants from Waterford were trading in wool, hides, animal fat, pitch, furs, Irish blankets, and wooden barrels with the town¹⁵. The nature of this trade indicates that it was directed towards

10 GONZÁLEZ LÓPEZ, E.: *Siempre de Negro...*, pp 61-62.

11 GARCÍA HERNÁN, E.: *Irlanda y el rey...*, vol. 1., p. 188; DUQUE DE FRIAS: “Gobierno de Galicia por Don Luis Carillo de Toledo en tiempos del rey Felipe III. Años 1598-1605”, *Revista del Instituto ‘José Cornide’ de Estudios Coruñeses*, 8-9, 1972, pp. 63-64.

12 GARCÍA HERNÁN, E.: *Irlanda y el rey...*, vol. 1, pp.188-195.

13 SCHÜLLER, K.: *Die Beziehungen Zwischen Spanien und Irland im 16 und 17 Jahrhundert. Diplomatie, Handel und die Soziale Integration Katholischer Exulanten*, Münster, 1999, p. 83.

14 GÓMEZ-CENTURIÓN, C.: *Felipe II, La Empresa de Inglaterra y el comercio septentrional*, Madrid, 1988, pp. 163, 190, 195 y 205.

15 ARG (Archivo del Reino de Galicia), RA (Real Audiencia), caja 1237, 58.

local consumption and not towards the navy. However, sometime in the early-1580s, some of the Irish merchants in Bayona transferred the centre of their commercial activities to La Coruña, partly in order to break away from the association with English merchants in Bayona, and partly as an attempt to make inroads into the English domination of the north-south trade through control of an important centre of redistribution after the Spanish embargo of English ships in 1585¹⁶.

The principal architect of this transformation appears to have been Robert Comerford, a member of a Waterford merchant family, who later came to dominate the town's commercial life. He seems to have arrived in the early-1580s, following in his brother Nicholas's footsteps who was already resident in Lisbon c. 1577-80, and who later became unofficial adviser to the Council of War on Irish clerics in Ferrol some time during the 1580s¹⁷. This connection with the navy opened the door for Robert who by 1586 was resident in Galicia. In 1603, Robert stated that he had been employed by Philip II to seek out pilots who had good knowledge of the coasts of Ireland, England, and Flanders for the navy. Presumably, as a result of this activity, he moved to La Coruña where he was then able to expand his commercial activities. He was already living in the town with his wife and children in the *Pescadería* at the time of Drake's attack in 1589. The following year in a clear attestation of his religious orthodoxy Robert was appointed interpreter by the Inquisition in their inspections of foreign merchant ships, and in 1615 he was officially confirmed in his role as consul of the German, Flemish, Scottish and Irish nations in the town¹⁸.

The rise of Robert Comerford to a position of power and influence within the town's commercial life over a period of thirty years is a complicated story. Instead, a limited overview of his commercial activity will suffice to give an idea of his economic influence within the town. Between 1586 and 1610 he dealt in sardines, oil, and cereals. He also freighted a number of ships in the opening decade of the seventeenth century to carry cargoes of fish to Cadiz and Alicante. The Waterford merchant, furthermore, functioned as a banker giving loans to various interested parties. In 1590 he lent 350 ducats to one notary so that he could buy another notary's business¹⁹. Between 1605 and 1610 the Waterford merchant gave seven loans of between

16 DE LA PEÑA SANTOS, A.; JUEGA PUIG, J. and LÓPEZ DE GUEREÑU, L.: *Historia de Pontevedra*, A Coruña, 1996, p. 158; VELO PENSADO, I.: *La Vida Municipal de A Coruña en el Siglo XVI*, A Coruña, 1993, p. 105.

17 GARCÍA HERNÁN, E.: *Irlanda y el rey...*, vol. 1, p. 184.

18 AGS, E. (Estado), Corona de Castilla, leg. 194, memorial of Robert Comerford without date but c. 1603; AGS, E., Negocios de partes de Flandes no despachados, leg. 1773, relacion accompanying memorial of Robert Comerford, 15 February 1618.

19 VELO PENSADO, I.: *La Vida Municipal de A Coruña...*, fn. 59, p. 260.

175-1,500 reals each²⁰. On top of these were many cash payments for goods of between 400-7,000 reals. The larger amount was paid by a group of merchants in Cadiz in 1607²¹. Seven years previous to this he occurred in a list of the seventy-three richest citizens who lent money to the governor. In this list he figures as one of the town's five richest citizens, and only one of these lent substantially more than him²². In the second decade the amount of liquid cash appears to have declined as he was heavily investing in the supply of hemp along Galicia's northern coastline. Robert Comerford supplied this directly to the navy in 1592 but by 1610 his principal clients were the inhabitants of Ferrol and the other small coastal ports who presumably used it to make ropes and other related products for the navy. Thus, the Waterford merchant was effectively acting as an intermediary for smaller businesses and individuals. It would also appear as if he had a near monopoly over the supply of hemp.

From an examination of the surviving notary records it is evident that up to 1620 three of the town's notaries had two-thirds of the total business. One of these notaries was Antonio de Salcedo who in 1611 had *obligaciones* with Robert Comerford that represented 5% of his total number. By 1615 this had risen to 10%²³. Another of these notaries, Sebastian Morado, who appears to have been Robert Comerford's principal notary, had 85 *obligaciones* with him from 1605-1615. On top of these, the same notary had 30 powers of attorney, 3 contracts to freight ships, 4 house rental agreements, as well as various other commercial documents. In terms of commercial activity, the years 1608, 1611, 1613, and 1614 appear to have been particularly intense. In 1613 and 1614 he sold on average 30 quintals of hemp worth over 2,000 reals per year concentrated in the first half of each year. In 1613 he made out 34 *obligaciones* of which 18 were issued in the month of March. The same year he also sold c. 20 quintals of eel worth over 1,000 reals. His principal clients appear to have been sailors and inhabitants of the small coast towns. He also sold to members of *Real Audiencia* or undertook to sell oil or sardines for French or Irish merchants in the town or in Bilbao or Bayona. Many of the Irish merchants based in Bayona also appear to have worked for him or at least kept him in continual supply from Ireland.

Evidently, the Waterford merchant's activities would not have been possible without royal patronage. Besides the recruitment of Irish and English pilots for the

20 AHPICNC (Archivo Histórico de Protocolos Ilustre Colegio Notarial de La Coruña), protocolos nos 130, f. 209r; 131, ff97r, 154r; 133, f. 169r; 134, ff 51r, 83r; 135, f. 32r.

21 AHPICNC, protocol no. 132, f. 60r.

22 The breakdown of this loan was as follows: one person gave 1,100 reals, four gave over 700 reals, one (over 600), three (over 500), five (over 300), seven (over 200), twenty-four (over 100), twenty (less than 100). AGS, CMC 2 ep. (Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas. Segunda Época), leg. 415.

23 SCHÜLLER, K.: *Die Beziehungen zwischen Spanien...*, p. 89.

Spanish navy, he was an important link in the chain of correspondence between the governor of Galicia, the conde de Caracena and the leader of the Catholic revolt in Ireland, Hugh O'Neill during the course of the Nine Years War (1593-1603). Many letters from the governor were sent to Ireland via some of Robert Comerford's boats to France²⁴. Even after peace with England in 1604, he continued to be well regarded by the military authorities in La Coruña owing to his supply of information regarding the shipping of contraband to Galicia²⁵.

This is however only part of the overall picture. Robert Comerford also bought houses and lands in and around the town. In 1608 he bought three houses in the *Pescaderia*, and when his wife died in 1629 she left six houses in the same area to one of her daughters²⁶. Two of these daughters married two of the town's most important office holders - one married the town's *corregidor* and the other, one of its aldermen²⁷. Two of his granddaughters also married two of the town's aldermen later on in the seventeenth century. His son Jorge also inherited his position as consul for foreign nations but he also managed to have the English nation included among his responsibilities²⁸. The same son in the 1630s and the 1650s also became the only foreigner or son of one to be elected as chief steward of one the town's confraternities²⁹. The most telling evidence of Robert Comerford's influence in the town's commercial life is the fact that after his death in 1623 the volume of registers of his principal notary, Sebastian Morado, fell from an average of 305 folios per year to 150 folios for the remaining years of the 1620s and to 91 folios for the 1630s.

b) The consolidation of the Irish community

The role of La Coruña as a centre of economic re-distribution, and as a focal point for foreign political and religious exiles explains the slow but gradual increase in size of the town's Irish community. In contrast, the growth of the community

24 *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury preserved at Hatfield House* (London, 1883-1973, 23 vols.), ed., Historical Manuscripts Commission, vol. 10 (1904), p. 16; 11 (1906), pp 119-21; AGS, GA, leg. 596, memorial of Robert Comerford, 7 October 1602.

25 AGS, E., Negocios de partes de Flandes, leg. 1774, memorial of Jorge Comerford, 3 August 1619.

26 AHPICNC, protocol no. 133, ff 168r, 390r, 392r; ARG, Sección XII, caja 576, 12.

27 The dowry of 34,100 reals that he gave to his daughter Ana on her marriage to the city's *corregidor* in 1619 is testimony to his wealth at a time when a very good dowry for the daughters of Spanish merchants in Santiago was around 20,000 reals. AHPICNC, protocol no. 144, ff 121r-22v; PÉREZ GARCÍA, J. M.: "Economía y sociedad" in DOMÍNGUEZ ORTIZ, A. (Ed.): *Historia de España. 6. La crisis del S. XVII*, Barcelona, 1988, p. 306.

28 AGS, E., Negocios de partes de España, leg. 2760, memorial of Jorge Comerford, 1636.

29 AHDS (Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Santiago de Compostela), lib. 2 of Cofradías de San Nicolás (1615-85), ff 27, 58. I am grateful to María Carmen Saavedra Vázquez for this reference.

during the period 1601-06 can only be described as an explosion more akin to the boatloads of Albanians that descended on the Italian Adriatic coast in the 1990s, or that from West Africa to the Canary Islands in more recent years. In the Irish case the principal causes of the emigration from the south of Ireland to Spain were the failure of Red Hugh O'Donnell's embassy to the Spanish court in 1602, the deteriorating military situation in West Munster in the first-half of 1602 after the withdrawal of the Spanish forces from Ireland under Don Juan del Aguila, the harsh English provincial presidency in Munster from 1604-07, and socio-economic factors resulting from the end of the Nine Years War that continued at least until 1608³⁰.

More than anywhere else the brunt of Irish emigration to Spain in the aftermath of Kinsale fell on Galicia's capital, La Coruña. The arrival of Red Hugh O'Donnell, O'Sullivan Bear, and other Irish leaders who came in their wake, caused severe social, political, and financial problems for the kingdom's governor. At the same time most of the Irish immigrants who made their way to the Spanish court in Valladolid either via Galicia, Cantabria, the Basque Country or Portugal were inevitably re-directed by royal authorities to La Coruña owing to the need to resolve the Irish problem at the royal court. Effectively, not only did Irish emigration to the Spanish court in Valladolid during these years threaten to overrun the limited capacities of royal councils to deal with such an influx, but it also had a knock on effect on Galicia. The large amount of correspondence generated between the conde de Caracena and the royal councils on these matters is testimony to the extent to which the Irish immigration had become the governor's principal concern from 1601-06³¹.

Up until the summer of 1603 Irish emigration to la Coruña was effectively confined either to soldiers who had returned with Don Juan del Aguila the previous year, or with the exception of Red Hugh O'Donnell to minor lords, their leaders and families who had sided with the Spanish in Ireland. However, in 1604 the Irish emigration to Spain increased dramatically. By July some 1,700 Irish had already arrived at the court³². In April of this year the office of Protector of the Irish was set up at the court to deal with the problem relating to Irish emigration, and by late-summer the number of Irish landings along the northern coast was creating problems for the local

30 Besides Hugh O'Neill, Red Hugh O'Donnell was the other principal leader of the Gaelic Irish revolt against the English crown. On his embassy to the Spanish court see KERNEY WALSH, M.: "Aodh Rua O' Domhnaill and his mission to Spain, Jan.-Sept. 1602", *Donegal Annual*, 41, 1989, pp 96-122.

31 For a more detailed study of this emigration see RECIO MORALES, O.: *El socorro de Irlanda en 1601 y la contribución del ejército a la integración social de los irlandeses en España*, Madrid, 2002, ch. 3; O'SCEA, C.: "Irish emigration to Castile in the opening years of the seventeenth century", in DUFFY, P.J. and MORAN, G. (Eds.): *To and from Ireland: planned migration schemes, c. 1600-2000*, Dublin, 2004, pp 17-37.

32 *Salisbury*, vol. 16, 1933, pp 184-185.

authorities. At the beginning of September two boats carrying sixty and seventy Irish respectively arrived at Bayona in Galicia and at Lisbon in Portugal³³.

Prior to 1602 there were very few Irish officially serving in the kingdom's military establishment but after this date the numbers started to climb rapidly. According to financial accounts, numbers increased substantially from December 1604 when Cornelius O'Driscoll brought 250 Irish from the court. In June 1605 the number jumped to 377, and by February 1606 there were 892 persons in receipt of royal financial aid³⁴. An indication of the disproportionate dimensions of this Irish presence in contemporary terms can be seen in the fact that in December 1605 some 769 Irish were receiving financial help compared to the 979 Spanish persons on military service³⁵.

These figures are however very under representative of true numbers as they do not include those not in receipt of royal aid. As far as the Spanish crown was concerned the pensions were for the individual and his nuclear family. But from an Irish point of view they also had to maintain their extended family and vassals. This was well understood by the conde de Caracena and lies behind his plea in November 1603 to the King to make sure that the Irish pensioners were paid promptly and in full as they had no other means of support³⁶. The Irish petitioners to the crown also frequently referred to this situation. In most of the *relaciones* of Irish supplicants drawn up by the Galician authorities it is apparent that they list only the important members of Gaelic Irish nobility, and not their followers. The same can be said of the numbers of boats arriving on Spanish coasts as these only occur in official documents after the court had reached saturation point, and the migrants were causing socio-economic problems for the local authorities. The financial records of the Protector of the Irish at the court indicate that he made payments to at least 5,000 Irish immigrants from 1604-06³⁷. It is also apparent that after December 1605 no more Irish were being given financial assistance in Galicia even though the immigration continued to increase up to 1608.

The period from January 1605 through to June 1606 was the most critical period for the conde de Caracena in terms of Irish immigration. Between these dates the area between Santiago, La Coruña and Betanzos became a virtual Irish encampment

33 AGS, E., Corona de Castilla, leg. 202, Philip III to marqués de San Germain and conde de Caracena, 18 September 1604; AHN (nob), Frias, caja 69, f. 192r, Philip III to conde de Caracena, 18 September 1604.

34 AGS, GA, leg. 603, relación de lo que importa el sueldo, 21 September 1602; GA, leg. 649, relación de lo que importa el sueldo, 1 June 1605; CH (Consejo de Hazienda), leg.468, 22, relación de la gente irlandesa, 9 February 1606.

35 AGS, E., Corona de Castilla, leg. 843, relación de la gente irlandesa, 9 December 1605.

36 AGS, GA, leg. 636, conde de Caracena to Philip III, 18 November 1604.

37 On the financial cost of Irish emigration to Spain see O'SCEA, C.: "The Financial Cost of Irish Immigration to Castile and Galicia (1601-11)" in GARCÍA HERNÁN, E. and PÉREZ TOSTADO, I. (Eds.): *Irlanda y el Atlántico Ibérico: movilidad, participación, e intercambio cultural (1580-1823)* (forthcoming).

made up of Gaelic Irish nobles, soldiers, poor, and young children. By the beginning of June 1605 there were nearly 400 Irish located in and around the town. In March 1606 Betanzos municipal council complained about the imposition by the governor of a further forty Irish at the council's expense on top of the 500 Irish that they had already been lodging over a long period of time³⁸.

By 1605 as far as the conde de Caracena was concerned the only solution to the problem was to for the Spanish crown to send extraordinary financial help to Galicia, and to set up the Irish regiment in Flanders as a means of re-directing Irish military migration away from the court and Spain. Almost inevitably, by the time Philip III ordered the necessary financial aid to be sent to the governor Galicia to solve the problem relating to Irish immigration, the parameters of the problem had changed. Such was the case in August 1605 when Philip III finally nominated Hugh O'Neill's son, Henry as colonel of the Irish regiment in Flanders³⁹. By that stage renewed religious persecution in Munster led to waves of boats along the northern coast, threatening once again to overrun the limited capacity of the royal authorities to cope with the situation.

At the beginning of September 1605 the Protector of the Irish, the conde de Puñonrostro sent the conde de Caracena 146 Irish from the court in Valladolid. At the same time the former felt obliged to plead with the king "to make sufficient remedy in the ports so that they are not let in as it has been of little use what has been ordered up till now"⁴⁰. This was followed by the arrival of a boat with 160 soldiers in nearby Asturias at the beginning of October⁴¹. Between this date and the middle of November a further 139 Irish arrived from Asturias. At least 100 of these had come in two boatloads. One of these boats had set out from a fishing port in Ireland where the migrants had been compelled by force to board the Asturian boat that had gone there to fish. Most of these were poor women, and children who did not even have the money to buy supplies in order to return to Ireland. They also reported that a further five boats were at sea making for La Coruña. Given that their ship had been damaged in the stormy crossing, the Asturian *corregidor* sent them in little groups of five to walk to La Coruña⁴².

38 AMB (Archivo Municipal de Betanzos), libro de actas -hojas sueltas, leg. 3, carpeta de 1606, 23 March 1606.

39 AHN (Archivo Histórico Nacional) (nobleza), Frias, caja 68, ff 382r-83r, Andres de Prada to conde de Caracena, 31 August 1605.

40 *Que se pongan remedio bastante en los puertos porque no los dexen pasar; pues se vee lo poco que ha aprovechado lo que hasta ahora se les ha ordenado.* AGS, E., Corona de Castilla, leg. 200, conde de Puñonrostro to Philip III, 10 September 1605; E., Negociación de Inglaterra, leg. 843, ff 54-55, consulta 17 September 1605.

41 AGS, E., Corona de Castilla, leg. 200, Diego de Bacan to Philip III, 3 October 1605.

42 AGS, E., Corona de Castilla, leg. 200, Diego de Bacan to Philip III, 19 November 1605; E., Negociación de Inglaterra, leg. 843, f. 33, conde de Caracena to Philip III, 29 November 1605; E., Negociación de Inglaterra, leg. 843, relación de la gente irlandesa, 9 December 1605.

At the beginning of December the same *corregidor* was ordered to send the Irish back in the same boats which they came in, and, furthermore, to warn them that “they will neither be admitted to La Coruña nor anywhere else and that those that are in La Coruña are going to Flanders”⁴³. Significantly, the royal order of 1604 to give Irish immigrants fifty real each to return to Ireland remained in force⁴⁴. Nevertheless, despite these efforts many Irish immigrants entered Spain via France disguised as pilgrims, presumably heading for La Coruña or Valladolid⁴⁵.

The arrival of so many Irish in and around La Coruña had inevitable repercussions in terms of public order and social control in an area noted for its food supply problems. On the one hand the Spanish crown felt it had an obligation towards soldiers and members of the Irish nobility. The case in regard to women, children, and the elderly (*la gente inutil*) was another matter. In the Irish case this group represented nearly 50% of the the total numbers of Irish immigrants. The presence of large numbers of *gente inutil* caused problems of social control for the Galician governor, and created a moral-religious dilemma for the Spanish king and the Irish nobles in La Coruña. At one stage both the king and the council of State considered the forcible repatriation of this group back to Ireland, which in turn created moral and spiritual dilemmas for the king and the council. In many ways the discussion regarding the theological validity of sending children back to certain persecution in Ireland covered much the same ground as similar discussions held in the council of State about the expulsion of Morisco children in 1609⁴⁶. Although never carried out, it does appear to have finally persuaded Philip III to provide the necessary finances to resolve the problem of the cost of Irish emigration to Galicia.

In normal circumstances the Spanish crown was in perpetual financial debt to the governor of Galicia, which meant that the latter had to rely on his own personal resources, and failing that on the Church and the local population. As a last resort he could obtain funds from the kingdom's *servicio de millones* but only with the king's prior approval. In the case of Irish immigration to Galicia it is clear that the conde de Caracena effectively kept the Irish nation alive either via his own network of financial resources, or by moving them around between La Coruña, Santiago de Compostela and

43 *Si viniere a los puertos de este principado mas gente de esta la hagais volver a su tierra en los mismos navios que viniere aperbiendoles que no seran admitidos en la coruña ni en ninguna otra parte y que a los que quisieren servir en la guerra acuden a flandes*. AGS, E., Corona de Castilla, leg. 202, Philip III to Juan de Bacan, without date but c. December 1605.

44 AGS, E., Corona de Castilla, leg. 202, Philip III to Juan de Cardona y los corregidores de las Quatro Villas y Vizcaya, 24 November 1604.

45 AGS, E., Corona de Castilla, leg. 200, Juan de Cardona to Philip III, 24 October 1605.

46 AGS, E., Negociación de Inglaterra, leg. 843, f. 118, Conde de Caracena to Philip III, 30 December 1605.

Betanzos. Yet, by mid-1605 even the conde de Caracena was no longer able to financially maintain the Irish. In July of the same year he sent his *contador* to the court in order to hasten things up but as the secretary of the council of War noted “from what I have been able to understand that until the silver fleet arrives no other provision will be possible, and so it will be of no use his staying here, and that therefore it would have more effect his returning refreshed rather than have him remaining”⁴⁷.

It was only in January 1606 that Philip III was finally convinced of the need for extraordinary measures to break the self-perpetuating cycle of events. Faced with a repeat of another year of mounting salaries, the impoverishment of Galicia by the Irish, and “to stop the flow of more [Irish] coming”, he gave the governor permission to take 30,000 ducats from the *sisas de millones* of Galicia⁴⁸. Yet it was April before this money was released to the Galician paymaster. In the short term, the decision was already too late as the governor’s extreme financial plight had already spilled over into nearby Santiago. At the beginning of April the conde de Caracena put the aldermen of the city council for refusing to release 2,000 ducats from the *sisas de millones* that he had requested⁴⁹. The attitude of the city council was in many ways a reflection of the impact that the heavy cost of maintaining the Irish had had in Galicia. This impact was best seen in terms of the various extraordinary instalments taken by the governor from the *sisas de millones* of the principal Galician cities between 1603 and 1607. Out of a total of 284,400 ducats handed over during these years, 110,000 came from Santiago, 84,000 from Orense, 28,500 from Betanzos, 24,700 from La Coruña, and c. 17,000 from Tuy and Lugo. In 1603-04 the yearly average for Galicia stood at around 30,000 ducats. In 1605 it increased dramatically to 41,000 before doubling to nearly 100,000 in 1606. By 1607 it had dropped back slightly to 90,000⁵⁰. The relationship between this massive increase and the presence of the Irish is more than clear.

In the end, as mentioned above, it was the perpetual state of crisis relating to the *gente inutil* together with the magnet effect that the presence of the Irish lord, O’Sullivan Bear and the two companies of Irish soldiers had on further Irish im-

47 *A lo que e podido penetrar hasta que vengan los galeones de la plata no se podra hazer otra provisiony assi no servira de nada su estado aqui para entonces hara mas efecto volviendo de refresco que en quedandose.* AHN (nob), Frias, caja 68, ff 382r-383r, Andres de Prada to conde de Caracena, 31 August 1605.

48 *Atasar la corriente de que vengan mas.* AGS, CH, leg. 468, f. 22, cédulas to pagador de Galicia, 18 February 1606, 5 April 1606; E., Negociación de Inglaterra, leg. 843, consulta, sobre proveer dinero para el despacho de los irlandeses que hay en La Coruña, 18 March 1606.

49 AHUS (Archivo Histórico de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela), Municipal, libro de consistorios 12, f. 17v, 14 April 1606.

50 These sources are to be found in AGS, CMC 2 ep., leg. 415; CMC 3 ep. (Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas. Tercera Época), leg. 654.

migration that eventually persuaded Philip III to adopt the extraordinary financial measures that resolved the crisis. Only when this happened was it possible to get the main body of Irish soldiers on their way to Flanders, and give many of the *gente inutil* the means either to return to Ireland or go to Flanders. In the end, the Irish who were left in the kingdom had two different destinies. On the one hand, the nobles who had pensions from the king went on to form the nucleus of the Irish community in La Coruña. At the same time, the poor, the elderly, and some 60-70 children were to be divided among the prelates of Galicia for the care of their souls. The King, furthermore, ordered that those who were not suitable for military service or who did not wish to return to Ireland, should be given lands to work in the estate of the conde de Monterey in northern Galicia⁵¹. Finally, in terms of numbers, it is possible to estimate that at a minimum 10,000 Irish arrived in Spain from 1602-07, the majority of whom at one point or the other spent time in Galicia.

3. The Irish community in La Coruña between resistance and assimilation (1602-38)

a) Composition and Principal Characteristics

All told, once the problem regarding Irish emigration ceased, the Irish community in La Coruña numbered c. 300-500 individuals or c. 70-90 families c. 1606-40. Besides the important figure of Domnall Cam O'Sullivan Bear who resided in Santiago, or to a lesser extent that of the lord of Castlehaven, Denis O'Driscoll who continued to reside in La Coruña, the remainder of the Irish community consisted of a high number of small or middle-ranking families from the Gaelic Irish or Hiberno English lordships of West Munster such as the McCarthy Reagh, the McCarthy Mór, the McCarthy of Muskerry, the O'Sullivan Bear, the O'Sullivan Mór, and the earl of Desmond. These were supplemented by a number of Old English families from various parts of Munster such as Comerford, Plunkett, Archer, and Conway.

For the most part, there existed a relationship between the geographical origins of the emigrants and events in Ireland⁵². Although the devastation of Munster in the

51 AHN (nob), Frias, caja 69, f. 256r, Philip III to conde de Caracena, 27 march 1606; Frias, caja 69, ff 282r-283r, relación de las cosas que se dan por memoria al señor Don Diego de las Marinas, 27 May 1606.

52 On the Munster Irish background see BUTLER, W. F.T.: *Gleanings from Irish History*, London, 1925; MCCARTHY, D.: *Life and Letters of Florence MacCarthy*, London, 1867; NICHOLLS, K.: "The Development of Lordship in County Cork, 1300-1600" in O'FLANAGAN, P. and BUTTIMER, C. (Eds.): *Cork : history & society : interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county*, Dublin, 1993, pp 157-21.

aftermath of the Nine Years War played a big role in pushing many to emigrate, the most significant relationship is to those areas of Munster that had either been the property of those involved in the Desmond rebellions (1569-73, 1579-83) against the English crown, had suffered land confiscation in their aftermath, or had suffered land intrusion on the part of English undertakers or other Gaelic Irish lords during the changeover to English forms of inheritance after 1605.

The most characteristic feature of this community was that its members performed service in the city's garrison or in one of the Irish infantry companies in the navy. Thus many of the first generation of arrivals such as Dermot Conry alternated between La Coruña, Lisbon or Cadiz⁵³. Many of the sons of the first generation can also be found serving in the same companies. The brother of Philip O'Sullivan Bear was killed fighting the Turks in the Straits of Gibraltar⁵⁴. In 1621 the son of the youngest brother to the Lord of Castlehaven, was captured on the galleon el Rosario when it was surrounded by eleven Turkish ships along with many members of its Irish infantry companies⁵⁵. In the same engagement, the son of the lord of Baltimore, captain Cornelius O'Driscoll was slain along with many other Irish from the city. Many of these Irish captives spent from two to ten years in captivity before being ransomed. Thus, captivity or high mortality was a feature among many of the male members of the community. The wills made by Irish testators in the city also bear witness to the high male mortality rate as almost invariably the male grantees were leaving wives behind.

The downside of royal service in either the navy or the army was the dependence on the irregular payments from the king for economic survival. Soldiers or pensioners could go years without being paid anything other than the *socorros* or small scale financial aid given to soldiers in order to survive. In 1664 Leonor O'Sullivan, brother to Philip O'Sullivan was still waiting to be paid some 24,000 reals which was due to her as heir to her parents' services even though they had been dead over forty years.⁵⁶ This precarious financial situation is again underlined in all the Irish wills as all the testators were leaving overdue back-pay as inheritance to their heirs, to repay their debts, or to pay for their funeral expenses.

These irregular payments, nevertheless, only served to make a bad situation worse for the Irish lords. As it was, the loss of their Irish estates meant that the eco-

53 For examples of these see the many Irish memorials in AGS, GA, legs. 840, 847, 871, 907, lib. 103, f. 56rv.

54 AHPICNC, protocol no. 301, f. 166r.

55 This was Florence O'Driscoll, son to Cornelio. Several of his memorials can be found in AGS, GA, legs. 919, 920.

56 AHPICNC, protocol no. 648, ff 40r-42v.

conomic basis of the network of obligations which kept them in power was now gone. The result of this situation was that the transfer of the same ruling elite to Spanish dominions, and the granting to them of a royal wage instead of their traditional income, could not but fundamentally alter the network of obligations on which their power had been formerly based. It is not surprising that in their attempts to maintain their traditional power over vassals that concerns about economic matters loomed large. A very high proportion of the memorials sent to the Council of State and of War deal with requests for prompt financial payments. In January 1608 O'Sullivan Bear informed the Council of State that many of his vassals had died in La Coruña because he did not have the means to maintain them. Almost ten years later he was still trying to get 1,841 escudos that he had paid in 1606 to some of his vassals as part of their royal wages in order to get them on their way to Flanders⁵⁷.

Given the difficulties in obtaining royal payments for even the more important members of the community, most members of the community had to resort either to borrowing or to obtaining a second source of income. The evidence from the Irish wills in the city shows that there was considerable borrowing of money from other members of the community⁵⁸. Amounts borrowed varied considerably from three reals to 1,000 reals with the majority being between 30-100 reals. The men borrowed from other men or women but the women tended only to borrow from other women. In forty-four cases the loans were from Spanish residents, sixteen from members of the Gaelic Irish community, and only three of them were members of the Old English of the Pale and towns. Financial loans from Spanish individuals, who were mostly merchants, bakers, and butchers, only occurred among the more integrated testators. Irish women however tended to have more debts with the local population than did Irishmen. Among the first generation of Irish residents debts with other Irish residents accounted for almost one-third of the total number. On the contrary among those of the second generation debts with other Irish or non-Spanish represented a very small minority of the total⁵⁹.

Besides loans between members of the community, the other principal sources of credit were the Irish colleges and Irish or Spanish merchants. Although it does not emerge in the wills, the family of Robert Comerford appears to have played an important role in providing a banking service to various members of the Irish com-

57 AGS, E, Negocios de partes de España, leg. 2744, memorial of O'Sullivan Bear, 10 January 1608; E, Negocios de partes de España, leg. 2749, memorial of O'Sullivan Bear, 15 February 1617.

58 For many of these wills see O'SCEA, C. (Ed.): "Irish Wills from Galicia, 1592-1666", *Archivum Hibernicum*, 56, 2002, pp 73-131.

59 By second generation is meant those Irish who were less than fourteen years of age on arrival in Spain. This generational difference in terms of behaviour will be very apparent in other areas of this article.

munity. In 1616 he had 720 reals belonging to the earl of Desmond in his possession. The same merchant appears to have provided the ransom for two members of the Irish community who had been captured by the Turks in 1620. Sixteen years later his son Jorge was still owed three years back rent for the house of Leonor McSweeney⁶⁰. The Irish colleges in Santiago and Salamanca also provided a banking service to many members of the community. In the first decade of the seventeenth century the college in Salamanca provided various sums to important members of the Irish exile community. In 1616 the rector of the college in Santiago had 6,000 reals belonging to the earl of Desmond in his possession. However, except for members of the Old English of the Pale and towns and the Hiberno English communities, this banking service ceased after 1613 owing to the controversial takeover by the Old English Jesuits of the Irish college in Santiago⁶¹.

One of the most traditional means of interpreting the integration of foreign minorities that has been adopted by historians is the examination of birth and marriage registers. Certainly, based on an examination of the town's registers it would appear that the Irish community in La Coruña barely amounted to 1% of the total population⁶². Yet it is very evident from other sources that the size of the Irish community in Galician capital was considerably greater than what appears in the parish registers. This situation was in part due to the failure to maintain the registers fully prior to the 1630s but also due to the fact that Irish migrants were unfamiliar or maybe unwilling to register their children's births in a parish environment. Even the high ranking or important Gaelic Irish or Old English members of the community only registered 50% of their children's births. Presumably, many of the town's Irish priests and friars would have baptised the Irish children, but did not register them in the local parishes. Notwithstanding these limitations, it is possible to gain insights into the Irish pattern of behaviour in terms of intermarriage and integration.

Based on the parish registers there were sixty-three Irish births between 1603 and 1642, divided up by decade into twenty-three (1603-12), twenty-two (1613-22), eleven (1623-32), and seven (1633-42)⁶³. An examination of this data shows that there existed

60 AGS, E, *Negocios de partes de España*, leg. 2753, memorial of Thomas Hogan, 4 August 1626; *ibid*, memorial of Florence O'Driscoll, 2 September 1626; O'SCEA, C.: "Irish Wills from...", nos. 2, 11.

61 RLM (Russell Library Maynooth), SA (Salamanca Archives), S. 22/1; O'Scea, *Irish Wills from Galicia, 1592-1666*, no. 2.

62 SCHÜLLER, K.: "Inmigrantes irlandeses en España en la primera mitad del siglo XVII: condiciones básicas para una integración", in VILLAR GARCÍA, B. (Ed.): *La emigración irlandesa en el siglo XVIII*, Málaga, 2000, pp 216-218; SAAVEDRA VÁZQUEZ, M.C.: *Galicia en el Camino de Flandes*, pp 225-251.

63 This survey and other data presented below is based on the town's registers for the four parishes. AHDS, San Nicolás, libro de bautismos no. 1(1603-49), San Jorge libro de bautismos y casamientos

a pronounced endogamy over the whole period. In forty-nine of the sixty-three Irish births both parents were Irish. At the same time godparenting practices represented a continuation of customs brought by the migrants from Ireland at least during the first decade with both godparents being Irish in 71% of the cases and both parents and godparents being Irish in 59% of cases. On the other hand where one of the parents were non-Irish, a Spanish godparent was more likely especially where the mother was Irish. Only in four cases were there Irish godparents where both parents were Spanish.

In general, at least up to 1620 Irishmen did not act as a godparent to more than two children except where a political statement was being made. Irish women on the other hand appear to have been freer to choose. At least five of the women were godparents on more than four occasions, and two of them served in that capacity at least seven times. Among the women two of the Irish Dominican tertiaries, Catalina Lynch, wife to Robert Comerford, one of the latter's daughters, and one of the McCarthys acted most often as godmothers. Certainly, among the upper sections of the community there existed a political element to the nomination of godparents that was sometimes reciprocated and sometimes not.

On the other hand, as one moves away from the principal figures in the community, the pattern of nominating godparents altered. On the side of the godfather there was a mixture of established figures within the community but of lesser standing than the top echelon, and other members of the community of clearly inferior rank to the child's parents. The side of the godmother, in contrast, was represented in many cases by the daughters of the leading families or by members of the Irish Dominican nuns in the city.

Overall, the most striking feature of the nomination of godparents was the fact that none of them was directly related by blood to the parents. Thus no aunts or uncles were named as godparents though sometimes a brother and sister, or a husband and wife were nominated. Effectively, the naming of godparents continued in terms of maintaining the kinship structure of Gaelic Irish society which had in many cases political undertones. Thus intermarriage and godparenting practices only served to reinforce the very strong endogamy that was such a feature of the community in the first decade of the seventeenth century. This situation was further reinforced by the close proximity in which the community lived as shown by the fact that over two-thirds of the baptisms were registered in the two parishes of the *Pescadería*. Similarly nearly all the rent agreements involving Irish individuals were located in the same part of the city.

no. 1 (1602-40), Santa María del Campo, libro de bautismos no. 1 (1589-1643), libro no. 2 (1644-50), Santiago, libro de bautismos no. 1 (1601-36), libro no. 2 (1636-1716).

b) Assimilation, Resistance and Transformation

From the beginning of the second decade of the seventeenth century the very pronounced endogamy as outlined started to break down. This manifested itself in terms of godparent practices, intermarriage, religiosity, and the acquisition of literacy among members of the Irish community. The significantly altered patterns of behaviour were a direct consequence of severe criticisms on the part of elements of Spanish society concerning the introspective nature of the Irish communities in the Iberian Peninsula. Most of these changes occurred mainly in the decade 1610-20, which ushered in a period of religious intolerance towards any form of heterodox Catholicism following on from the expulsion of the Moriscos. This same decade was also characterised by the duke of Lerma's gradual loss of power and influence over Philip III. Added to this were the renewed Irish emigration to the court between 1610 and 1614, an unspoken identification of the Irish and the Moriscos, and the beginnings of negotiations for the Spanish Match with Charles Stuart from 1616. Certainly, it is clear that the duke of Lerma encouraged the creation of a climate of anti-Irishness at the court and maybe also in Galicia, as a means of countering the movement of most of the Irish at the court to the anti-Lerma faction after 1611. In Galicia this was reflected in the attempt by the governor, Luis Enriquez to clear out all Irish pensioners from La Coruña's garrison c. 1610-11, the controversy regarding the Irish college in Santiago 1613-17, and the altered behaviour of the Irish as a group during the second decade.

At an official level the governor of Galicia claimed he needed to reduce the mounting costs of maintaining the Irish pensions at a time of economic cutbacks and military reform. The governor, Luis Enriquez, considered that only nine or ten of the principal Irish would not be able to return to Ireland in safety. The rest he considered had had no lands to lose and would return to Ireland if they were paid up to date. In the Governor's eyes they were useless "as some of them did not understand the language and others because they were vassals and relations [of these lords] avoided following any order that was given to them". According to the Governor's secretary there had been much murmuring of discontent among the Irish pensioners even during the governorship of the conde de Caracena. Many of them, he stated, were willing to sign a petition asking the king to let them go but were afraid to sign it in case the king did not ultimately pay them⁶⁴.

⁶⁴ *Porque unos por no entender la lengua y otros porque son deudos y parientes, se librande qualquiera ordenes que se les dan.* AGS, E, Corona de Castilla, leg. 225, ff 387-88, Luis Enriquez to Philip III, 20 October 1610; E, Corona de Castilla, leg. 225, ff 387-88, el contador Manuel de Espinosa to Philip III, 11 October 1610.

Between the end of October 1610 and all through 1611 the governor of Galicia together with other councillors in the council of State advised the king on various occasions to free the necessary finances in order to pay off most of the Irish in La Coruña. At the same time the governor of Galicia cut off financial aid to the Irish college in Santiago, temporarily, as a means of putting pressure on the Irish community⁶⁵. At various times during 1611 Philip III ordered that the Irish in Galicia should be paid off, but as with the conde de Caracena, the crown's finances moved several months behind events in Galicia. Certainly up until October of that year the crown still intended to pay off most of the Irish in La Coruña⁶⁶.

Another factor that forced a deferral of any possible return to Ireland was the ambition of Irish lords to negotiate a restitution of their lands from the king of England. In reality this meant the intervention of Philip III on their behalf through the offices of the Spanish ambassador in London. Nevertheless, most of this represented fair words with little real royal implication on the part of the Spanish crown especially after March 1612 when the crown effectively shelved the tentative plan to marry the Infanta to one of the sons of James I by announcing the marriage of one of Philip III's daughters to one of the heirs of the French royal family⁶⁷. More than likely, both the latter event and the removal of Philip III's wife in 1611 as a focal point of opposition to the duke of Lerma ended to all intents and purposes the governor's plans to clear out all the Irish pensioners from the garrison of La Coruña.

The other element that impacted on the community in La Coruña was the takeover by the Jesuits of the Irish college in Santiago in April 1613. In the eyes of the Gaelic Irish this college constituted a reward for the services of the lords of West Munster on the Spanish side in 1601-02. It was thus seen as an attack on this privilege. Worse still it was not handed over to the Spanish Jesuits but to the Old English Jesuits with whom the Gaelic Irish had already been in dispute concerning the Irish college in Salamanca in 1603 and 1608. There is little doubt that the Old English Jesuits took advantage of the pro-Jesuit leanings of the governor of Galicia, and the absence of the traditional protectors of the Gaelic Irish community - the conde de Caracena and the conde de Puñonrostro. O'Sullivan Bear, moreover, considered that the justification for its takeover was a mere pretext, and that other motives lay behind

65 AGS, E, Corona de Castilla, leg. 225, ff 387-88, el contador Manuel de Espinosa to Philip III, 11 October 1610.

66 AGS, E, España, leg. 2641, consulta, 30 March 1611; E, Corona de Castilla, leg. 235, consulta, 21 June 1611; E, Corona de Castilla, leg. 232, duke of Lerma to presidente de Hazienda, 15 October 1611.

67 RODRÍGUEZ-MOÑINO SORIANO, R.: *Razón de estado y dogmatismo religioso en la España del XVII*, Barcelona, 1976, p. 42.

this event⁶⁸. Certainly, one can say that the loss of this college was a casualty of the spirit of anti-Irishness prevalent in the court, and of the attempts on the part of the Jesuits to control the Spanish educational system. The principal reason though was that it represented an attempt by the duke of Lerma to punish the Gaelic Irish faction at the court for having gone over to the anti-Lerma opposition. More importantly, it marked a watershed in the relationship between the Gaelic Irish and the Old English in Galicia and at the court.

From the middle of the second decade there was a noticeable increase in the presence of Irish individuals as godparents at Spanish baptisms or in the presence of Spanish at Irish baptisms. Although numerically small these occurrences did represent important elements of the community. Examples of these were that of Thady O'Driscoll, eldest son to the lord of Castlehaven who married into one of the important local families in 1615, and the marriage of the daughter of Robert Comerford to the town's *corregidor* in 1619. In both cases there were noticeable increases in the numbers of Spanish godparents at the births of their children. At the same time a conscious attempt was made to hold Irish or Irish-Spanish christenings in the parishes of the *ciudad alta* during the second decade. The decision to baptise their children in these parishes clearly implied a conscious decision to assimilate with the city's royal, municipal and ecclesiastical authorities, a situation underlined by the fact that only one Irish baptism was registered in these parishes prior to 1618.

These first tentative attempts at greater integration with Corunese society were also reflected in the religiosity of Irish immigrants, which took on many of the manifestations of orthodox Spanish Catholicism. Certainly, the existence of an Irish Catholic subculture in the city is implicit in the low level of birth registration, and may, also, have been partly behind the criticisms of the governor Galicia. These changes were reflected in participation in confraternities and in other religious events, as well as a close association with the Dominican order.

This link with the Dominican Order was reflected in a variety of ways. One of the most obvious was the setting up of a community of Irish *beatas* of the Dominican Third Order in the *ciudad alta* near to the governor's palace in 1613. Although the motivations of the individuals involved is unknown, it was partly to resolve the problems related to the fate of the nobles' unmarried daughters, and partly to give a religious focus to members of the Gaelic Irish community, given that the traditional link with the Irish college in Santiago had been broken as a consequence of its takeover

68 AGS, E, Negocios de partes de Flandes no despachados, leg. 1773, memorial of O'Sullivan Bear, undated but c. 1614-15.

by the Old English Jesuits in 1611-13. Certainly, the association with the Dominicans would have protected the *beatas* against any charges of religious heterodoxy.

The wills made by Irish testators from the second decade on are also testimony to the importance of the link with the Dominicans. By and large Irish testators preferred to be buried in the Dominican convent and in a habit of the same order, notwithstanding that the evidence from Ireland at the beginning of the seventeenth century or from Madrid later in the same century shows a clear preference for the Franciscan Order. The particularly strong attachment of the Irish to the Dominicans can be partly explained in terms of their adoption of Spanish Catholic orthodoxy. At the same time however their religious behaviour conforms much more to the figures for military personnel in the garrison in La Coruña during the same period⁶⁹. Overall, the evidence indicates that the Irish nobles serving in the city adopted many of the religious preferences of their military comrades, which in many cases appears to have passed on to their wives. This is indicative that a very high level of acculturation at a devotional level took place among the Irish in the city.

Even among members of the non-military community, the link with the Dominican Order was also evident. The previously mentioned Waterford merchant, Robert Comerford his wife Catalina, two of his daughters, and one granddaughter were buried in the same tomb at the foot of the altar of San Pedro Martir in the church of the convent of St. Dominic in the *ciudad alta*. His wife, furthermore, used to lend an image of St. Catherine of Siena, another martyr, to the Dominic convent every year for the celebration of her feast day in the same chapel. Both Catalina and her granddaughter set up mass foundations. In the case of the former it was stipulated these masses were to be said on the feasts of St. Peter the Martyr and of St. Catherine of Siena⁷⁰. In the case of the Comerfords it is clear that their manifestations of religious orthodoxy formed part of the need to attain and maintain their economic and social standing in the city.

In overall terms, the religious practices of both Irish men and Irish women share similarities and differences. Many of the elements in common, such as burial in convents, the wearing of habits, and membership of confraternities, were also the same elements that they shared with their fellow Spanish neighbours. On the other hand,

69 For a detailed study of Irish religious practices in the city see O'SCEA, C.: "The devotional world of the Irish catholic exile in early-modern Galicia, 1598-1666" in O'CONNOR, T. (Ed.): *The Irish in Europe, 1580-1815*, Dublin, 2001, pp 27-48; on the religiosity of the members of the garrison in La Coruña see SAAVEDRA VÁZQUEZ, M. C.: "Algunos rasgos del comportamiento religioso de los militares españoles en época austriaca: el ejemplo de La Coruña", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma (Historia Moderna)*, 7, 1994, pp 279-81.

70 ARG, Archivos Privados, Colección Vaamonde Lores 'A', leg. 4 (2) no. 6; AHPICNC, protocol no. 310, ff. 21r-22v.

the principal differences were the financial donations to charitable and religious institutions on the part of the men, and the devotion to masses for saints on the part of the women. Nevertheless, the numbers of masses requested by the Irish pales enormously compared to Spanish figures. The 100 masses requested by Catalina Lynch, who was one of the richest members of the Irish community in La Coruña, is dwarfed by the 8,000 masses of the marqués de Caracena, or the 3,000 of the son of O'Sullivan Bear in 1654⁷¹. Thus, it is apparent that some of the more interior elements of Irish religious devotion did not alter even after many years living in the city.

Although there were significant differences between the heterodox Catholicism of the Irish and that of the more orthodox Spanish version, there existed an even greater gulf between Irish oral culture and the written culture of Spanish royal bureaucracy. On arrival in Spain many immigrants of noble origin were shocked to be asked for papers proving who they were or their services to the Spanish crown. Certainly, during the first few years of contact with Spanish bureaucracy Irish migrants demonstrated little grasp of the value of royal documentation, though this gradually changed over time. In the opening years of the seventeenth century, most Irish memorials were sent unaccompanied, or at most with one or two testimonials. By the end of the second decade, certainly among members of Irish nobility, there was a big increase in the number of testimonials. In 1622, the nephew of Florence McCarthy Reagh sent an authorised copy of a letter sent by Philip III to his father in 1602, nine testimonials of the most top ranking Irish nobles and clergy in exile, a sworn notarial statement testifying to his legitimacy, and the death certificates of his mother and sister along with his petition. Even more indicative of the evolution of the importance of papers for Irish petitioners was the inclusion in many of these memorials of the ubiquitous phrase 'as is shown by my papers'⁷².

A similar, though much more dramatic, evolution was also apparent in terms of basic literacy. Out of one sample of about 163 men and women between 1580 and 1638 c. 87% of those who could not sign their names were concentrated in the first two decades. In gender terms 0% of women and 77% of men were able to sign up to 1613. However, a generational analysis shows that only 55% of the first generation were able to sign their names. In comparison, nearly 100% of the second generation were able to sign, regardless of gender. This revolution in terms of women's literacy is even more striking when one considers that most Spanish contemporaries actively

71 AHPM, protocol no. 2.678, ff 198r-209r; 6.956, ff 578r-597r.

72 AGS, GA, Serv. Mil, leg. 18, 216, servicio militar of Florence McCarthy, 1622; for an example of this phrase see AGS, E, Negocios de partes de España, leg. 1991, memorial of Patrick Wall, 25 May 1604.

discouraged women from learning to write⁷³. Overall, the pattern of occupations indicates that basic Irish literacy was heavily concentrated among those who had access to some form of education, involvement with languages or papers, or were members of the noble-military caste.

In terms of language ability knowledge of spoken Spanish among Irish immigrants was restricted to members of the Irish merchant communities and to the limited number of Irish pensioners in royal service at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Thus, Ireland's trade with Spain and the fallout from Tudor encroachment were the primary factors behind the limited acquisition of spoken Spanish among Irish emigrants. In the case of the former, this was limited to one or two individuals in the principal Spanish ports such as La Coruña, Bilbao, Bayona, Lisbon, and Cadiz who acted as official interpreters for Irish, Scottish and English merchants. Furthermore, the need to present written accounts in Spanish to the local authorities for tax purposes was an additional spur to learn the language. For this reason, one Limerick merchant family sent their twelve year old son to his uncle in Bilbao in 1606 in order to 'learn how to read, write and count in Spanish'⁷⁴.

The scarce knowledge of spoken Spanish very much came to the fore during Irish emigration to the kingdom of Castile in the opening decade of the seventeenth century, which became particularly acute in regard to chaplains for Irish soldiers or for the Irish at the court. Although never stated, the use of Gaelic became to be regarded by the Inquisition with equal suspicion as Arabic. Hence the continual presence of Inquisition approved Irish chaplains at the court on a permanent basis throughout the seventeenth century⁷⁵. The standard of some of this Spanish at least during the first decade does not appear to have been very high. In 1605, the governor of Asturias could not understand the papers brought by the captain of an Irish company nor the Spanish of the Irish Franciscan interpreter, who he had brought along with him⁷⁶.

Overall, the period from 1580-1611 was characterised by the limited intrusion of Spanish as a spoken language among Irish immigrants beyond very restricted circles. Long-term permanence in Spanish dominions and the need to conform to the norms of royal bureaucracy, however, altered the limited penetration of spoken Spanish among these immigrants. This change became most noticeable in the interaction

73 For a detailed analysis of Irish literacy in La Coruña see O'SCEA, C.: "En Busca de Papeles: la transformación de la cultura oral de los inmigrantes irlandeses desde La Coruña hasta la Corte" in GARCÍA HERNÁN, E. et al. (Eds.): *Irlanda y la monarquía hispánica: Kinsale 1601-2001. Guerra, política, exilio y religión*, Madrid, 2002, pp 359-380.

74 AGS, CC (Cámara de Castilla), leg. 1116, petition for naturalisation papers of Stephen England, 1622.

75 AGS, E, Corona de Castilla, leg. 199, Council of State to Inquisitor General, 9 April 1604.

76 AGS, E., Corona de Castilla, leg. 200, Diego de Barcan to Philip III, 3 October 1605.

with royal councils and with the system of public notaries. In a Galician context the most common legal documents used by the Irish were powers of attorney and wills. For the most part Irish immigrants who made grants of the former documents can be divided into three categories: men who spoke Spanish, could sign their own names, and were unable for multiple reasons to go to court to deal with administrative matters; women of the first generation who were unable to sign their own names, and less likely to speak Spanish; and a number of men of the first generation who were characterised by their relatively advanced age, their inability to sign their names, or to speak Spanish. Among those grantees who could sign their names, there was an almost equal generational division, and most could also speak Spanish⁷⁷. On the other hand the receivers of the powers of attorney were all able to sign their names, speak Spanish, and presumably write in Spanish according to the terms of these legal documents. In the case of women who represented 25% of the receivers of these legal documents, the indisposition of their husbands, either through widowhood, prison sentence, absence at court or in royal service, was the principal motive behind the granting of these documents⁷⁸.

Side by side with the acquisition of spoken and written Spanish by Irish immigrants, there also existed corresponding language loss. Although many individuals such as O'Sullivan Bear's wife and her brother spent decades living in Spain without ever learning to speak its language, significant numbers began to use Spanish to varying degrees in preference to their language of origin. This is in part reflected in the presence of witnesses to Irish wills and powers of attorney in La Coruña. In those cases in which the grantee possessed no spoken Spanish, all of the witnesses were Irish with one of them inevitably acting as interpreter in an informal capacity. This contrasts with the increasing presence of Spanish witnesses where the Irish grantees had attained spoken fluency in Spanish. Thus, all the witnesses in 1617 at one notarial transaction for a non-Spanish speaking brother and a sister were Irish. In 1626, the Irish captain Bernard O'Kelly, who at times acted as an interpreter, made a donation to his daughter at which all the witnesses were Spanish. Many other Irish transactions, on the other hand, reflected the varying degrees of Spanish language penetration in the presence of both Irish and Spanish witnesses.

The negative effects of this language shift were also reflected beyond the community in La Coruña. O'Sullivan Bear, on at least one occasion, requested the return of his son from the court to La Coruña owing to his loss of Irish. Nor was this

77 O'SCEA, C.: "En Busca de Papeles..." pp 374-75.

78 See for example AGS, CC, leg. 994, memorial of Juana O'Falvey, 1 October 1611; GA, leg. 833, memorial of Juana O'Falvey, 14 May 1618.

an isolated incident. In the 1640s, the writers of the *Commentarius Rinuccinianus* remarked about the frequent loss of Irish that was evident among the sons of Irish immigrants on their return to Ireland. Not all of this was due to the influence of the host society. Part of it was a conscious preference for learning continental European languages at the expense of Irish, brought on by the evident advantages that language acquisition gave. In one such case, the students of the Irish college in Santiago made a formal complaint against its Jesuit administrators outlining how they were deliberately prevented from having contact with Spanish people in order to learn their language properly. This was done, according to the students, to prevent them from complaining and to make them more subject to the Jesuit authorities⁷⁹.

Among the immigrants in Spanish service, this problem regarding language shift became more acute in the second generation, which was reflected in the making of conscious attempts to maintain the language in exile. One such case was that of O'Sullivan Bear's son who on his return to Ireland in 1648 could speak and write perfect Irish, notwithstanding the fact that he had spent all his adult life in Spain. More significantly, the extreme reluctance of significant numbers of the first generation to learn Spanish also meant that Irish was deliberately retained as the principal means of communication between the two generations. The existence of more Irish speaking families in some cases and of Spanish speaking ones in others meant that an uneven penetration of Spanish or resistance of Irish would have existed. In the light of this situation, only the passing on of members of the first generation would have broken this language link. One such case was that of Terence McSweeney, who in 1623 petitioned to be transferred from an Irish company to a Spanish one in Flanders, owing to the fact that 'he cannot speak Irish as he has been brought up since he was a child in Spain and only knows the customs and manners of Spanish companies in which he has always served'⁸⁰.

In terms of literacy, and language acquisition one can say that contact with the royal administration and the system of public notaries radically altered certain aspects of Irish oral culture especially across the generational and gender divide. The principal cause of this change was the need to adapt to the structures and norms of royal bureaucracy and the system of public notaries for economic survival. This process was however accelerated in the decade after the expulsion of the Moriscos during

79 O'SCEA, C.: "En Busca de Papeles ...", p. 376; O'FERRAL, R. and O'CONNELL, R.: *Commentarius Rinuccinianus, de sedis apostolicae e legatione ad foederatos Hiberniae Catholicos per annos 1645-9*, Dublin, Ed. Stanislaus Kavanagh. 1932-49, 6 vols., vol. 6, p. 201; RIVERA VÁZQUEZ, E.: *Galicía y los Jesuitas*, A Coruña, 1989, p. 430.

80 O'SCEA, C.: "En Busca de Papeles...", p. 372; AGS, E, Negocios de partes de España, leg. 1854, memorial of Terence McSweeney, 28 June 1623.

a period of low tolerance of the norms and behaviour of foreign minorities. In a Galician context this can be most forcibly seen in the six-fold increase in the number of Irish powers of attorney in the second decade, and in the making of wills.

The final element, which in many ways goes to the heart of many of the above outlined aspects, is that concerning the transformation of Irish family and kinship structure. Both the evidence from Ireland and from Spain demonstrates that Gaelic Irish kinship was defined by three important elements : close communal residence, its judicial functions, and its agnatic structure i. e. both inheritance and kinship was calculated in the father's line only. Effectively, the Gaelic Irish kingroup constituted a community of brothers. The example of the O'Driscolls in La Coruña shows that the typical kingroup consisted of about 70 persons living in close residence to each other when everyone was present.

Both Irish wills and other financial donations in Galicia during the opening decades of the seventeenth century indicate that this kingroup extended vertically from grandfather to grandson, and horizontally to first cousins once removed. Proportionally, the biggest beneficiaries of these donations were daughters, sons, cousins, nieces, brothers, sisters, and nephews in that order. In general, one can say that the Gaelic Irish made concerted attempts to maintain the economic resources either within the direct nuclear family or among cousins. Moreover, few donations were made to wives, sisters, sister-in-laws, and nieces since these were considered in Gaelic Irish eyes as being the responsibility of the maternal kin.

The nature of this kinship also dictated to a large extent the post-Kinsale emigration to Spain and the rest of Europe as the desire to be with one's own extended family, or kingroup is a constant theme in the surviving documentation. In 1610, one Irish noble woman, Elena O'Donoghoe requested to move her pension, and that of her daughter, from La Coruña to Antwerp in Flanders as "she has many relatives and vassals in those states who serve Your Majesty, captains and pensioners and if that was not possible let it be ordered to change their places to this courtand not to have them placed in the garrisons of Galicia where they have no relatives, cognates, nor affines"⁸¹. What lay at the centre of the kinship based migration was its role in exerting control over followers and dependant kingroups, thereby, maintaining Irish lords at the centre of economic, social, and political power.

81 *Porque en aquellos estados tienen muchos de sus parientes y vassallos que sirven a Vuestra Magestad de capitanes y quando en ello no hubiere lugar sea servido de mandar mudar sus placas a esta corte y no embiar a Galisia entre gente de guerra en donde no tienen parientes ni deudos que vuelva por ellas.* AGS, E, Negocios de partes de Flandes, leg. 1751, memorial of Elena O'Donoghoe, 17 July 1610.

Nevertheless, in the long-term Gaelic Irish family and kinship structure was slowly undergoing change in altered socio-economic and judicial circumstances. In the first place, the immigrants' altered economic situation had implications for family size, marriage and birth patterns. Second, the judicial functions of the kingroup lost a lot of their validity in continental European urban settings under the aegis of centralising early-modern states.

But without doubt the most important influence was that of the Castilian legal system in terms of inheritance as its legal code stipulated that property be inherited downwards through the legitimate or illegitimate descendants to the fourth or fifth generation before passing out to the collateral branches of the family. This, clearly, conflicted with the periodic redistributions of land to the various transversal stems, all too evident, in Gaelic Ireland. However, for most Irish emigrants and their families, possession of services to the Spanish crown served as a replacement for lost property and lands in Ireland. As a consequence, rights to the inheritance of the individual's service papers became of fundamental importance. Without these, the heirs could not claim any reward for their parents or relatives past services to the Spanish crown. Furthermore, in the absence of male descendants these were passed on to widows, sisters, and daughters. For the Gaelic Irish the legal stipulations concerning these inherited services had an even further distorting effect as this meant that the services of parents, uncles, and ancestors were calculated in cognatic terms and not agnatically as was the norm in Gaelic and parts of Hiberno-English Ireland.

At the same time the Irish community in La Coruña like other Irish European communities had to resolve the problem of the lack of prospective partners especially for Gaelic Irish daughters. The crux of the problem was that daughters were considered, as in all agnatic systems, as a loss as marriages outside the group were considered as weakening the agnatic strength and honour of the group. For this reason there were no marriages of Gaelic Irish women to non-Irish before 1640. Certainly, if the ratio of men to women, apparent in a number of case studies, occurred also in the majority of families who emigrated, then the choice of prospective female partners would have been very limited. A more vigorous enforcement of the Church's decrees on intermarriage, which were largely ignored in Gaelic Ireland, would also have further reduced the circle of potential spouses.

The case of the O'Driscolls in La Coruña shows that faced by halved birth-rates between generations, few second generation marriages, a higher birth ratio of boys to girls, a higher male mortality rate, and a low incidence of religious vows, the younger branches carried out a conscious policy of non-marriage in order to ensure the survival of the most senior lines. Moreover, the survival of the most senior lines was clearly a question of honour, which only permitted the marriage of its eldest

sons, and did not permit religious vocations for its younger members as an alternative family strategy.

Clearly, then, in the light of these circumstances the Gaelic Irish family would not have been able to survive in the long term. The changes in Gaelic Irish kinship structure were reflected in many different ways. Among these were the incorporation of wives, sons, and daughters as executors of wills; the nomination of women as direct heirs; the nomination of blood related aunts and uncles as godparents as opposed to clientship based choices; the very large decrease in donations to cousins or nieces; the first marriages of the sons of Irish lords to Spanish individuals; intermarriages between the Irish ethnic groups of the second generation; and a higher male mortality rate that was creating predominantly all-female communities.

4. Conclusion

The Irish community in La Coruña owed its origins partly to the development of new trade routes between Ireland and Galicia during the late-sixteenth century, but also owing to the parallel European wide confessionalism during the reigns of Philip II and Philip III. The community was consolidated as a result of the failure of Spanish intervention in the south west of Ireland in 1601-02. Furthermore, the completion of the English conquest of Ireland in 1603 ensured the permanence of the Irish community in La Coruña.

The principal characteristic of this community during the first decade of the seventeenth century was its introspection, which only broke down in the following decade in a very accelerated manner owing to the identification of the Irish with the Moriscos. From this point on the greater integration and assimilation of the community to Galician and court society became apparent in terms of involvement with ecclesiastical, royal, and civil institutions. At the same time the inability to re-create Irish immigrant society in identical socio-economic, legal and political circumstances to the society of origin led in the long-term to the transformation of Irish family and kinship structures from a predominantly agnatic system to a cognatic one based on the Castilian model.