



THE ENGLISH AND IRISH OF ALICANTE AND CARTAGENA DURING THE WARS OF SUCCESSION OF MONFERRATO AND AUSTRIA (1628-1748)

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Abstract

The importance of the penetration of the English in the Spanish Mediterranean of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was noticed only in Alicante by Martínez Ruiz and Gauci, but denied to Cartagena de Levante, so this text will demonstrate the results of research on its installation in Cartagena and in Benicarló and Vinaroz, ports in the north of the Kingdom of Valencia, whose merchants had commercial relations with those of Alicante and Cartagena, due to the traffic and transport of wine. A fundamental point has been the archival and heuristic methodology, since both the study of the Board of Dependencies and Foreign Businesses in Madrid, as well as that of the Consulate and Commercial Court of Valencia, have allowed an account of the directions and flows of the commercial business and litigation derived from the merchants of the different populations mentioned.

Key Words

Historia Moderna de Europa - Historia Moderna de España - Historia Social - Historia Económica - Metodología Archivística - Heurística

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LOS INGLESES E IRLANDESES DE ALICANTE Y CARTAGENA ENTRE LAS GUERRAS DE SUCESIÓN DE MONFERRATO Y AUSTRIA (1628-1748)

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Resumen

La importancia de la penetración de ingleses en el Levante mediterráneo español de los siglos XVII y XVIII fue advertida sólo en Alicante por Martínez Ruiz y Gauci, pero negada para Cartagena de Levante, por lo que en este texto se dan a conocer los resultados de una investigación sobre su instalación en Cartagena y en Benicarló y Vinaroz, puertos del norte del Reino de Valencia, cuyos comerciantes tuvieron relaciones mercantiles con los de Alicante y Cartagena, por razón del tráfico y transporte de vino. Un punto fundamental ha sido la metodología archivística y heurística, pues tanto el estudio de la Junta de Dependencias y Negocios Extranjeros en Madrid, como el del Consulado y Tribunal de Comercio de Valencia, han permitido relacionar las direcciones y flujos del giro comercial y los litigios derivados de los comerciantes de las distintas poblaciones mencionadas.

Palabras Clave

Modern History of Europe - Spain's Modern History - Social History - Economic History - Archival Methodology - Heuristic

Introduction

The Spanish cities of Alicante, Cartagena de Levante and Malaga² were ports of commercial importance in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, both because of the security conditions offered by the protection of their mountains, and because of the intermediate position they had between the Strait of Gibraltar, France (Provence) and Italy, especially in the case of Alicante, Cartagena de Levante and Malaga due to its location on the route of the western Mediterranean islands (Ibiza, Mallorca, Sardinia and Corsica), and also due to its proximity to the north of Africa (Oran and Algiers), whose presidios were conquered from them, as noted sixty years ago³.

One of the consequences of this privileged geography was the formation of foreign communities, including some Atlantic ones, such as the English and the Dutch, in connection with the human migratory flows of the 17th and 18th centuries, as happened in Cádiz⁴ and other maritime towns of its environment⁵. The mercantile interest of some Englishmen in the peninsular market contributed to this - a company was formed for it - and the Treaty of London (1604), which put an end to a war between England and Spain initiated in 1585. At that time, the supplies of navies and borders flourished in Malaga and Cartagena, as happened in Seville with the Hiring House, or in Alicante, the *credenciero* judge, in which the management of intendency in the service of fleets and presidios excelled, but with the collaboration of the Flemish, Breton or Genoese merchant networks that had interposed in Andalusia and Levante⁶ and with the opposition of those of Dutch and English⁷.

There was a negative part in this process and it was the consolidation of community-nations with their foreign consuls and their corporate institutions of

² Martínez Ruiz, José Ignacio, "A towne famous for its plenty of raisins and wines. Málaga en el comercio anglo-español en el siglo XVII", *Hispania*, Madrid, LXXI/239, 2011, 665-690. Ídem, "Mercaders i intercanvis entre el Mediterrani hispanic i Anglaterra en el segle XVII", *Afers Fulls de recerca i pensament*, Catarroja (Valencia), 32/87, 2017, 303-325.

³ Vázquez de Prada, Valentín, "La actividad económica del Levante español en relación con Italia a finales del siglo XVI", en *VI Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, Diputación Provincial de Baleares, Palma, 1959, 901-915.

⁴ Carrasco González, Guadalupe, "La colonia británica de Cádiz entre 1650 y 1720", in *Monarquía, imperio y pueblos en la España Moderna*, 2 vols., Universitat de Alacant, Alicante, 1997, 1:331-342.

⁵ Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio, *Los extranjeros en la vida española del siglo XVII y otros artículos*, Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, Sevilla, 1996.

⁶ Crespo Solana, A. coordinadora, *Comunidades transnacionales. Colonias de mercaderes extranjeros en el Mundo Atlántico (1500-1830)*, Doce Calles, Madrid, 2010.

⁷ Ruiz Ibáñez, José Javier, "Bellum omnium contra omnes. Las posibilidades y contradicciones de la guerra económica por parte de la monarquía hispánica en la década de 1590", *Studia Historica* (Historia Moderna), Salamanca, 27, 2005, 85-109.

charitable and religious type, which from the Spanish government wanted to control and channel, through the consuls of foreign nations appointed by the king of Spain and not by foreign governments, but the commercial treaties of 1648 and 1672 with Dutch⁸ and of 1659 and 1660 with French and English prevented it, although it was tried again under Carlos II by the conservative judges of the nations, which were to be Spanish, and became more effective with the Board of Businesses and Dependencies of Foreigners in the reign of Felipe V⁹ and the Board of Commerce and Businesses and Dependencies of Foreigners since 1748, when it was recast with it.

However, there was a great contrast between the periods in which England (1625-1630 and 1655-1660, 1702-1713) and Holland (1621-1648) were at war with Spain, and those in which the former was at peace (1604-1624, 1630-1654, 1660-1702, 1713-1718, 1721-1726, 1729-1739, 1748-1761). This was influenced by the expansionist policy of Spain and also by the combative policy of Charles I of England and Cromwell.

Both Philip III and Philip IV of Spain relied on favourites, unlike Philip II¹⁰: the first one being the Duke of Lerma until 1618 and the Duke of Uceda, his son, until 1621 (as Robert Cecil was for James I of England); while for the second king they were the Count-Duke of Olivares (1622-1643) and the Marquess of the Carpio, his nephew (1643-1661), as George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham was for Charles I of England. Both the Sandovalés and the Guzmanes, factions of the high nobility or aristocracy, used their creatures, such as Rodrigo Calderón (until 1612), Pedro Franqueza or the Marquis of Velada in the case of Lerma, or the Duke of Medina de las Torres, his son-in-law, and that of Peñaranda, José González and the Marquis of Leganés, his cousin, in the case of the Count Duke, as well as other groups.

Lerma, the favourite of Philip III (1598-1621), overburdened with tax contributions the port cities of the Spanish Mediterranean with tax contributions,

⁸ Sánchez Belén, Juan Antonio, "El comercio de exportación holandés en el Mediterráneo español durante la regencia de doña Mariana de Austria", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Madrid, IV/9, 1996, 267-321, cfr. 293-298.

⁹ Crespo Solana, A. "Extranjeros en la corte: análisis de una dialéctica entre la administración borbónica y las comunidades mercantiles en España en la primera mitad del siglo XVIII", in Bravo Lozano, J. ed. *Espacios de Poder. Cortes, Ciudades y Villas (Actas del Congreso celebrado en la Residencia de La Cristalera, Universidad Autónoma, Madrid, octubre de 2001)*, Madrid, 2002, II, 345-362.

¹⁰ He did it as presidents and secretaries of councils, as the inquisitors Fernando de Valdés (1547-1559) y Diego de Espinosa, noble councilors like the III Duke of Alba (1555-1582), the Prince of Éboli (1547-1573), the III Count of Chinchón (1582-1598) and Cristóbal de Moura Marquis de Castel Rodrigo (1582-1600), o Secretaries of the Council of State: Francisco de los Cobos (1526-1547), Gonzalo Pérez (1547-1566), Antonio Pérez (1566-1579), Gabriel de Zayas (1566-1593), Juan de Idiáquez (1579-1614), or others councils.

which maintained a greater activity than the manufacturing centres of peninsula's inland, and allowed the proliferation of Treasury boards, such as the one of Redemption (of the debt), in which he introduced his protege Pedro Franqueza, or that of Mines, through which he intended to obtain money from the mining resources, including the barilla, so there was a lot of corruption and disorder, from which the creation of reform boards was derived. In 1614 the Moors were expelled from Spain and there was a need to reform the Royal Treasury since there were too many *juros*, pensions and subsidies¹¹.

The struggle of factions in the court led to the removal of the Duke of Lerma and his replacement by the Duke of Uceda, his son, who was joined by Baltasar de Zúñiga and the Count-Duke of Olivares, with measures of reform and punishment given to Lerma, Rodrigo Calderón and the Duke of Osuna.

Once Olivares became the favourite he created many boards of economy and war: Board of Commerce (1622-1625)¹², Board of Presidia (1624-), Board of Population, Agriculture and Commerce (1625-), Board of Reprisals of French (1625-)¹³, Board of the Admiralty (1625-1643)¹⁴, boards of currency and *resello* and councils for the consumption of billon (1627-), which undermined the governmental primacy that the councils of State, War, etc. had previously had.

But in 1628 a Dutch fleet captured the Spanish gold fleet of the Indies and in 1629 there were other defeats from Spain (Bolduque in the Netherlands and Casale in Monferrato) so that more financial and military resources were arbitrated to face the double war¹⁵. Gustavus Adolph of Sweden defeated Austria and the German

¹¹ Each era had its characteristic features, as the following ones from the beginning of the 17th century sought fiscal resources with which to maintain the war in the Netherlands until 1609: Board of *Hacienda* of Portugal (1601-1608), Board of the *Desempeño* (1602-1606), Board of Mines (1606/1624-1643), Board of the *Medio General* o of the *Desempeño de Juros* (1615), Board of Provisions (1616-): Baltar Rodríguez, Juan Francisco, *Las Juntas de Gobierno en la Monarquía Hispánica (ss. XVI-XVII)*, Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, Madrid, 1998, 200, 263, 266; Marcos Martín, Alberto, "Restaurar la Hacienda para conservar la Monarquía. El intento de creación (1616) de una Junta de Provisiones", in García Guerra, Elena M^a et al. eds., *Il mercato del crédito in età moderna. Reti e operatori finanziari nello spazio europeo*, Franco Angeli, Milán, 2010, 207-238.

¹² Molas i Ribalta, Pere, "Instituciones y comercio en la España de Olivares", *Studia Historica* (H^a Moderna), Salamanca, 5, 1987, 91-97. Baltar Rodríguez, J.F., op.cit., 190, 216, 236, 282, 290, 302, 307, 350.

¹³ Alloza Aparicio, Ángel, "Guerra económica y comercio europeo en España, 1624-1674: las grandes represalias y la lucha contra el contrabando", *Hispania*, Madrid, 65/219, 2005, 227-279.

¹⁴ Ídem, "La Junta del Almirantazgo y la lucha contra el contrabando, 1625-1643", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* (H^a Moderna), Madrid, 16, 2003, 217-254.

¹⁵ Vincent, Bernard/Ruiz Ibáñez, José Javier, *Los siglos XVI-XVII*, Síntesis, 2007, Madrid, 234-5. In 1621-1665 the boards of Reformatión (1618-1621/1621), *Grande de Reformatión* (1622-1625), *Grande de Hacienda* (1629-), of the Salt (1631-1643), of the *Desempeño de la Hacienda* (1633-), of *Medios* (1633), of *Inteligencias de Portugal* (1639-1658), *Guerra de España* War of Spain o *Grande de Ejecución* (1641-1669): de *Milicias* and *Tercios*

Catholics in Breitenfeld (1631) and Lützen (1632), but in this last battle the king of Sweden died. Spain helped the unsuccessful Catholic side with money, but in the end a Spanish-German army defeated the Swedes in Nördlingen while in the Netherlands Spain lost the Limburg (Maastricht).

To the previous boards, Olivares added those of voluntary donations, *media annata* (half salary annuity), salt selling licence, papier timbré, or war affairs: coronelias' impressments, since France had entered into war with Spain in 1635 and losses were increasing¹⁶: Breda (1637), Breitenfeld (1638), Salses and Valtelina (1639), Roussillon (1641) and Cerdanya (1659). The Spanish financial debt became huge, so the government had to resort to different groups of lenders or assistants: Genoese, Portuguese¹⁷, Dutch and English¹⁸, which shows its economic dependence on the territories of its lenders.

Merchants or businessmen sometimes acted in a minority way, but also corporate, both before territorial institutions (courts of justice), as well as before the kingdom intendency and suppliers. Their performance materialized in notarial acts or contracts, frequently signed in Alicante and the Kingdom of Valencia, at a time when the Bourbon power led to the establishment of a taxation of a Castilian kind (provincial *alcabalas* and rents or their equivalent) and to a reform of the general customs income (increase of the impositions and new techniques of contraband control), that gave rise to a great opposition by the merchants¹⁹. As an archivist, I inquire into institutions that had jurisdiction over merchants, such as customs (customs, almojarifazgo), so that the archival sources for this essay have been the notarial ones of war and customs income notaries of Cartagena and the judicial ones of the judges of the notarial protocols of Alicante and Cartagena, as well as the files of the

provinciales; Comisión del Donativo of the Count of Castrillo, 1643 (Ostolaza Elizondo, M^a Isabel, *Archivos históricos de Navarra*. UPNA, Pamplona, 2014, 150), Board o Comisión de *Millones*, 1601-1658: Baltar Rodríguez, J.F., *Las Juntas*, 169, 171, 267, 305, 322, 297, 328, 344, 348, 383, 385, 402.

¹⁶ Elliott, John, *El Conde Duque de Olivares*, Crítica, Barcelona, 1991.

¹⁷ Ebben, Mauricio, "Un triángulo imposible: la Corona española, el Santo Oficio y los banqueros portugueses, 1627-1655", *Hispania*, Madrid, 53/184, 1993, 541-556; Ídem, "Corona y comerciantes: García de Yllán, un mercader al servicio de Felipe IV", *Diálogos hispánicos*, Ámsterdam, 16, 1995, 169-187

¹⁸ Alloza Aparicio, Ángel, "La trepidante carrera de sir Benjamin Wright. Comerciante, factor y asentista de Felipe IV", *Hispania*, Madrid, 73/245, 2013, 673-702. Ídem, "'La represalia de Cromwell' y los mercaderes ingleses en España (1655-1667)", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* (Historia Moderna), Madrid, 13, 2000, 83-112. Ídem, *La Diplomacia canibal. España y Gran Bretaña en la pugna por el dominio del mundo, 1638-1660*, Biblioteca Nueva, Madrid, 2015.

¹⁹ Giménez López, Enrique, "Los problemas económicos del siglo XVIII. La acción política del humanista Felipe Bolifón", in *Mayans y la Ilustración (Simposio Internacional en el Bicentenario de la muerte de Gregorio Mayans. Valencia-Oliva 30 sept.-2 oct.)*, Gregorio Mayans digital, Valencia, 1990, 2, 613-626.

Board of Businesses and Foreigners' Dependencies²⁰ -Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Estado (E), as the board succeeded the State Council in such businesses and depended on it- and the processes of the Hearing and the Intendancy of Valencia (ARV)²¹.

When working with the notarial protocols of Máximo Verdiel, a notary in Alicante (years 1688-1715), the oldest preserved in a public archive in the province, in the Historical Archive of Orihuela (AHO)²², it was very pleasant to find numerous minutes concerning English²³, French²⁴, Dutch²⁵ and Spanish merchants. The methodology I have used is archival, i.e., identify the producers of documents and their funds and documentary series, their components (number of units, chronology), which I have previously disclosed, providing a reference to the people involved and their actions²⁶.

²⁰ Crespo Solana, Ana, "Extranjeros en la corte". Crespo Solana, Ana/Montojo Montojo, Vicente, "La Junta de Dependencias de Extranjeros (1714-1800). El trasfondo social de una historia institucional", *Hispania*, Madrid, 232, 2009, 363-394.

²¹ Franch Benavent, Ricardo, "Las oportunidades de enriquecimiento ilícito generadas por el ejercicio de la intendencia más tentadora de España", *Estudis Revista de Historia Moderna*, Valencia, 28, 2002, 263-286.

²² Martín Sanz, M^a Rosario, "Biblioteca Pública Fernando de Loazes: Archivo Histórico de Orihuela", in *Homenaje a Pilar Faus y Amparo Pérez*, Generalitat Valenciana (GV), Valencia, 1995, 47-54.

²³ 10: Antoni Franza: 1700 (AHO, Not. 1.216/239r), 1701 (Ídem, 1.217/40v); Edmund Honiwood (1.217/40v); Joan Minyon: 1700 (1.216/40) y 1702 (1.218/304); Tomás Ayles: 1702 (1.218/502); Carles Galvey: 1699 (1.215/9); Guillermo Dezcon, cónsul: 5.6.1700 (1.216/114v); Nicolás Herne, in relationship to Rudge & Waring: 1696, 1700 (1.216/169v-171r); Diego Tucur: 1703 (1.219/162r-3r); Salomón Gofricht: 20.4.1704 (1.220/253r); Tomás Jefreys (1.213/303v; 2.4.1700, 1.216/56v procuratio).

²⁴ 25: Laugier: Marsella (28.1.1705: 1.371/13); Bernardo Peirolon (1.700/345v); Antonio (1.700/453; 1701/71); Alejandro Bremond (1.701/86 y 98; 1.702/361, 368, 396, 538, 545); Joseph Bru; Fernando Robion (1.702/92); Luís Estiene (1.702/179); Claudio Guimon (1.702/414 y 538); Bernardo Bertholon (1.702/591; 1.703/195); Juan Bautista Vin, Marsella (6.2.1696, 1.213/44v); Joan Marcelo Tisone, Lión (14.2.1696, 1.213/52v); Juan Bautista Chiringueli, Lión (14.2.1696, 1.213/52v); Binder y Horutenay compañía, Marsella (1696, 1.213/98v); Francisco Rombaudo, negociante, Marsella (1700, 1.216/345v); Gabriel Liozarid, Marsella (19.10.1700, 1.216/345v); Luís Faraud, Marsella (1700, 1.216/345v); Juan Verdeguer (29.3.1702, 1.218/151r); Luís Germán (1703, 1.217/396); Guillermo Lon (1703, 1.219/202 seizing); Juan Bautista Sezan (7.4.1704, 1.220/348 protest); Francisco Estelle, Marsella (10.1.1704, 1.221/23r protest); Francisco Iserie (13.1.1705, 1.221/32v); Francisco Chiuso (1.5.1705, 1.221/290r donation); Joan Iznard, Marsella (7.7.1705, 1.221/414 confesio); Guillermi (26.7.1705, 1.221/440 protest).

²⁵ 5: Francisco Lagenhort (5.5.1696, 1.213/98v; 1701, 1.217/117; 1702, 1.218/180); Guillermo Francisco Finkler (12.5.1699, 1.215/54 seizing to Juan Pedro Dimphet, of Hamburg, in relationship to Henrico Hoguel); Bautista Vanhalen (5.7.1696, 1.213/272 y 101); Joan Tourton (15.12.1703, 1.719/632v seizing); Pablo Vanhalen (7.4.1704, 1.220/234 en relación a Hamburgo).

²⁶ Lodolini, Edoardo, *Archivística: Principios y problemas*, ANABAD, Madrid, 1993. Guimerá Ravina, Agustín, "Los protocolos notariales y el comercio canario-americano en la Edad Moderna", *El Museo Canario*, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 36-37, 1975-1976, 168-188.

The English merchants of Alicante

The settlement of English in Alicante began in 1608 and was more numerous than in Cartagena, thanks to the permanence of a group of Catholics in the period before and after the Cromwell or Jamaica wars (1655-1660), a circumstance that also took also place in Cartagena. For example, Agustín Quendal, with whom I will deal later, was sent from Scotland or England by his parents to an uncle of his in Alicante, where he first worked as an apprentice with a Spanish merchant²⁷, in a show of trust in Catholics.

In the reign of Philip IV of Spain (1621-1665) the English that resided in Alicante and Cartagena tried to introduce or import salted fish and English weavings, like those of Madrid with whom they had businesses²⁸, such as cloths, twills and sempiternas, and to export salt, soda ash and barilla, like Giles Fetiplace or Fetiplas²⁹, who was granted power of attorney by an English ship-steward for lawsuits in 1634³⁰, by the time the English route of Dover had been opened³¹, or Ricardo Randal, who acted as an intermediary and representative of other nonresident Englishmen³², and Raimundo Lant, Agustín Quendal or Kendall, probably a nephew of Agustín Striblehil, merchant of Alicante³³; Roberto Polo³⁴ and Nicolás Jeferin³⁵, who settled in the

²⁷ And in 1633 he presented himself to the Inquisition in Murcia as a Catholic: Werner, Thomas, *Los protestantes y la Inquisición en España en tiempos de la Reforma y Contrarreforma*, Leuven University Press, Leuven, 2001, 552.

²⁸ Diago Hernando, Máximo, "Mercaderes y financieros ingleses en Madrid en tiempos de la revolución y guerra civil inglesa", *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños*, Madrid, 49, 2009, 397-445, 431.

²⁹ Velasco Hernández, Francisco, *Auge y estancamiento de un enclave mercantil en la periferia. El nuevo resurgir de Cartagena entre 1540 y 1676*, Ayuntamiento de Cartagena, Cartagena, 2001, 189. He affirms: "But in Cartagena there never existed a British mercantile colony of a certain entity, as in Malaga or Alicante, here only the fleeting passage of some English merchant was registered, like Giles Fetiplas who introduced cod and sulfur towards 1636". They repeat it Martínez Ruiz, José Ignacio/Gauci, Perry, *Mercaderes ingleses en Alicante en el siglo XVII*, Universidad de Alacant, Alicante, 2008, 82.

³⁰ Nicolás Penin, of the Septión of London: 15.1.1634: Alberola Romá, Armando, *Catalogación de los protocolos del notario Martí Moliner (1633-1650)*, Universidad de Alicante, Alicante, 1983, 53, n. 30.

³¹ Marsilio, Claudio, "'Cumplir con cuidado'. Il mercato del credito genovese negli anni 1630-1640. Vecchi protagonista e nuove strategie operative", in *Génova y la Monarquía Hispánica (1528-1713)*, Società Ligur di Storia Patria, Génova, 801-818. Taylor, H., "Trade, Neutrality and the English Road, 1630-1642", *The Economic History Review*, Cambridge, 25, 1972, 244-260.

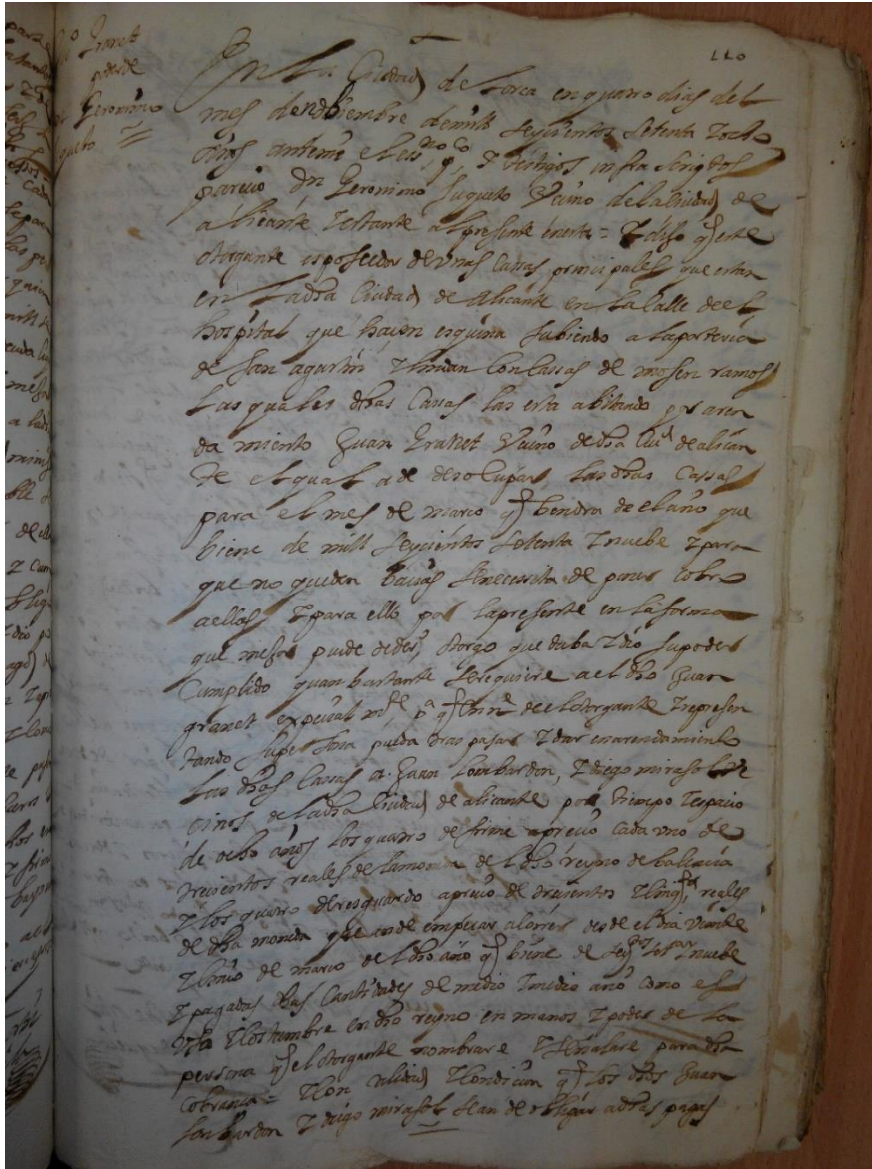
³² Randal, resident in Cartagena, received in Alicante various objects of Juan Botalar, Englishman, for which he promised to give him money if he married or had a child: Alberola, ob.cit., 167, n. 188, 22.5.1637.

³³ He was son of Juan Quendal and Margarita Striblehil, residents in Tames (County of Osonia): seized Enrico Giere, merchant of London, to charge Juan Quendal, elder brother, a paternal legacy: Archivo Histórico Provincial de Murcia (AHPM), Notariado (Not.) n. 5302, f. 40v, 31.1.1638.

³⁴ Isaac Çaportas Cansino, royal servant, resident in Oran, seized Rodrigo Polo to collect debts: AHPM, Not. 5381, f. 678v-9v, 1.12.1639. Andrés Muñoz Romero, regidor and resident in Mazarrón (Murcia, Spain), owed him 300 reales that the regidor Gómez de Jódar owed him for a slave: AHPM, Not. 7.087/111-3, Mazarrón, 29.7.1642.

³⁵ Juan de Villanueva, carpenter, was forced to pay him 202 reales for cod: AHPM, Not. 5.429/5, 12.1.1647.

following years: Clemente Petit, Cristóbal Petit Joiner³⁶, Jorge Valcot, Juan Plaifort, Tomás Moore, John Ellys³⁷, figures that are not much lower than the six English houses in Alicante.



Archivo Histórico de Lorca (AHL), protocolo 438, Poder de Gerónimo Suqueto a Juan Granet, de Alicante, 1678. Foto AHL.

³⁶ He seized in Diego Cabrera Lorca to collect debts with bonds to 4 residents in Lorca: Archivo Histórico de Lorca, Not. 515/68, 3.8.1682. Lorca was the second most important population of the kingdom of Murcia, with its own corregimiento, which can explain this. The City of Cartagena authorized him to ship barley to Cádiz: Archivo Municipal de Cartagena (AMC), Actas Capitulares (Ac) 1684-1695, 11.3.1687, f. 183v.

³⁷ AHPM, Not. 5.312/2^a/384r. Maestre de San Juan Pelegrín, Federico, "Cartagena año 1650, escenario de la Guerra Civil Inglesa", *Cartagena Histórica*, 21, 2007, 29-41.

Some of the Alicante were involved in very striking lawsuits, such as those of Agustín Estiblehill against Silverio Bernat, advisor to the portants veus (1621) and against the Syndic of Alicante (1634), despite being exiled or refugees³⁸.

In the first lawsuit it was recorded that in 1615 Reinaldo Amadis had been murdered, while staying in the house of Enrique Gildon, Englishman, of 25 years, resident and inhabitant in Alicante. Miguel Pasqual de Baltasar and César Escorcía got into the house, with Esteve Blanco, a public notary in Plaza del Peso. Guillermo Garret and Juan Balon were imprisoned. They had been playing with other Englishmen and had told him not to leave. Some days earlier he had quarreled with Guillermo Garret. Francisca Simón, maid, servant of Francisco March, of 25 years; Juan Brayo, Englishman, servant of Enrique Gildon, 17 years old; Isabel Juan Cazorla, widow of Melchor Pareja, housekeeper of Enrique Gildon, 60; Jerónimo Suqueto, Genoese, 36 years old; Pedro Sants Blanquer, Tomás Tole, another Englishman; Juan Salinas, who had been declared a citizen like his father, Martí Salinas, despite having been exiled (29.6.1623), were all mentioned. That is, 7 or 8 English people altogether. Garret told Amadis that he agreed to find him a wife and a dagger, because of his trade with Juan Balon, who claimed that a lot of damage was being done to his business with his imprisonment. Finally, Pedro Ruiz and Pedro Valsebre were accused of murdering him³⁹.

The second lawsuit had to do with the prices of different fish goods (cod, sardine) and incidents such as the death of Estiblehill's dog, something very interesting for its originality⁴⁰. The Catalan revolution of 1640 was the occasion for English merchants in Alicante and Cartagena to write and regret the murders of the viceroy and some foreigners who worked there⁴¹.

Among the English who remained in Alicante after the war of 1625-1639 there were Guillermo Paulin, knight, who stood out for his collaboration in the preparation of the squadron that led D. Juan José de Austria to Naples (1646)⁴², Guillermo Garret,

³⁸ Redworth, Glyn, "El camino al desierto: el exilio inglés en el Largo Siglo XVI y el triunfo de la fe sobre la dinastía", in Ruiz Ibáñez, José Javier/Vincent, Bernard (Coords.), *Refugiados, exiliados y retornados en los mundos ibéricos (siglos XVI-XVII)*, FCE/Red Columnaria, Madrid, 2018, 55-66; Pérez Tostado, Igor, "La radicalización de los exiliados: ideologización creativa y acción violenta de los ingleses e irlandeses en la Monarquía Hispánica", en *Ídem*, 109-144.

³⁹ Archivo del Reino de Valencia (ARV), Real Audiencia (RA), Parte 1ª, Letra S, n. 3.245, año 1634.

⁴⁰ ARV, RA, Parte 1ª, Letra A, n. 1.161, año 1621.

⁴¹ Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Estado (E), legajo 2664.

⁴² Paulin, born in Saltash (estuary of Tamar river in front of Plymouth) and seized to Ceprián Machavelo, Genoese resident in Cartagena: AHPM, Not. 5.429/111, 14.5.1647. Montojo Montojo, V., "Guillermo Paulin, a century of

Guillermo Blunden, Antonio Baset⁴³, Jorge Wirrall (this one was recognized as a knight in 1684) and others, ie people who settled in Alicante and had descendants there and achieved some reputation.

The activities of the English merchants of Cartagena

In Cartagena there was another English community formed by about 10 Englishmen in 1635-1665, almost all of them Catholic⁴⁴. Among them there were Giles Fetiplace, Roberto Pol or Polo, Agustín Quendal, or Ricardo Randal, at a time when there was another English community in Málaga, in addition to that of Alicante. Fetiplace, for example, supplied gunpowder to the Navy and Borders Providers of Cartagena. This community was monitored by the Spanish War and Treasury Councils, which did so through the so-called commercial inspectors (veedores), actually military officers, usually from the supplies' administration, in relation to the retaliation boards, created against merchants from countries at war.

Polo was lease holder of the alcabalas (public taxes) of Cartagena in 1647, and this was the reason why the city council asked him to pay 120 reales to the guardians of the Juncos Watchtower for the months of May and June, with the money from the alcabalas that was allocated to guards, and he also made other collaborations and sold wheat to artisans, like Tomás de Poveda, a tailor⁴⁵. He was also a representative of the businessmen of Cartagena in 1652⁴⁶ and later⁴⁷ rented some almadrabas or tuna fishing gear⁴⁸. In 1655-1660 difficulties due to the Cromwell

English commerce in Alicante", *El Salt* (La Revista, Instituto Alicantino de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert), Alicante, 9, 2006, 44-47.

⁴³ He had dealings with Guillermo Luís, resident in Malaga, of whom he was a procurator: Archivo Marqués del Bosch, Replacing of 15.12.1645: Alberola, Armando, *Catalogación*, 315, n. 284.

⁴⁴ Maestre de San Juan Pelegrín, Federico, "La actividad comercial de Alicante y Cartagena. Similitudes, diferencias y comunidades mercantiles (1643-1660)", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* (Hª Moderna), Madrid, 20, 2007, 95-119. Montojo Montojo, Vicente, "El comercio de Alicante a mitad del s. XVII según los derechos y sisas locales de 1658-1662 y su predominio sobre el de Cartagena", *Murgetana Revista de la Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio*, Murcia, 122, 2010, 37-60. <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/autor?codigo=109637>

⁴⁵ AMC, Ac 1646-1648, 353, 12.6.1647. AHPM, Not. 5.430/190, 19.5.1649.

⁴⁶ AMC, Ac 1648-1653, 4.8.1652, 97.

⁴⁷ In 1672 Luís García de Cáceres and Jara and other councilors of Cartagena pleaded against the mayor Gaspar Enríquez and other councilors for the abuse of having changed the lease of the fish income from Escombreras to Rodrigo Pol for his direct administration in Alonso de Siles: Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada, cabina 3, legajo 754, n. 12.

⁴⁸ He also seized Juan Sancho, resident in Mallorca, to collect Juan Totasau, merchant of Mallorca, 750 pounds of brown wax that Guillermo Micael embarked on in Oran: AHPM, Not. 5.312/2/194, 10.6.1650.

War arose, as well as the competition of the Bretons⁴⁹, which interrupted trade, while the Dutch conflict had been concluded in 1648, with the Peace of Westphalia⁵⁰.

These English merchants, in addition to importing fish and textiles, took advantage of their situation in Cartagena to lease local fisheries and salt marshes or to export barrel and soda.

During the reign of Charles II in Spain, among the English of Cartagena there was Cristóbal Petit Joiner, a native of the city of London. He wrote his will because he was going to undertake a long journey: "*to different parts where I will stop for a long time and I do not know what it may be and fearing death that is natural to all and it is very possible to die on the trip I now intend do...*". He arranged for his uncle Clemente Petit, a resident of Cartagena, to order his burial and leave several sterling pounds to his brothers who lived in England. He named his executor and heir to be his uncle Clemente Petit. A marginal note reads: "*On 12.8.1690 I obtained testimony of this writing on paper of the third seal for Bartolomé García Iburgüen, attorney of Clemente Petit, heir to Cristóbal Petit, deceased*"⁵¹. During this period, when Spain was at peace with England and the Netherlands, and even was their ally, the Commerce Board created by Charles II in 1679 interacted to encourage trade⁵².

Another of the Englishmen of Cartagena was Jorge Valcot, very different from the Petit, who was Catholic. According to his will he was the son of Juan Valcot and Isabel Clarke, English, a native of Valcot. Being ill, he ordered that if he died, his body would be embalmed and put in a wooden box with lock and key and sent by Cristóbal Joiner, consul of the English nation in Cartagena, and his partner, under the control of Eduardo Crispi, resident in London, was to warn Juan Valcot's father, who arranged his burial in the church of San Dunstan of Levante, where the Valcot had their burial. In the year 1686 he formed a business company with Cristóbal Joiner and put in it 1,000 British sterling pounds and Cristóbal the same amount, according to his business records and the company.

⁴⁹ In 1662 Breton cod was introduced in Cartagena: Jacome Felipe Felipón, a Genoese merchant from Cartagena, hired freighters with Francisco López and carters of Tembleque, 423 arrobas, for 224 reais in advance, to deliver Pedro Ladrón de Guevara in Madrid in 15 days: AHPM, Not. 5.460/22.11.1662.

⁵⁰ Jacomo Vinq, of Holland, consul general of the States General of the Netherlands, appointed William Banaste as a substitute: AHPM, Not. 5.312/2^a fol., fs. 186-188, 8.6.1650.

⁵¹ AHPM, Not. 5.373/191-2, 21.7.1682.

⁵² Molas i Ribalta, Pere, "De la Junta de Comercio al Ministerio de Fomento", in *Actas del IV Symposium de Historia de la Administración*, Instituto Nacional de la Administración Pública, Madrid, 1983, 529-556; Ídem, "La Junta General de Comercio y Moneda: la institución y sus hombres", *Hispania*, Madrid, 38/9, 1978, 1-38.

Since 1686 they ran the company, they had deals, positions and commissions, which at least were recorded in the accounting books. Valcot arranged for his accounts to be adjusted and for him or his heirs to be given his share. In the ledger there were two accounts, one of which he had separately from the company and what he spent during it and other accounts, which had to be squared. In Marseille Goodwin and Martín received 58 barilla sarrias from Cristóbal Joiner, with no share of Valcot's. Upon his death, 20 escudos of 10 reales de plata each must be given to his son Juan Anrich, a parish priest, to be distributed among the needy poor and 20 escudos to 3 Englishmen forced into the galleys of Spain, plus 20 sterling pounds to Eduardo Crispi, a resident in London, to distribute them to the poor French Protestants in England; more to Cristóbal Joiner and Tomás Moore, English residents in Cartagena, 20 silver escudos each, and 20 escudos to the lawyer José Antonio Costa, presiding judge of the English nation in Cartagena, for particular attention. Tomás Moore and Juan Plaiford English and witnesses Miguel Monserrate, Pedro Antonio and Pedro Blake were English residents of Cartagena⁵³. All this shows a great understanding between them and also the prerogative of having a presiding judge of the English nation.

It is possible that the most important English merchant in Cartagena was Tomás Moore⁵⁴, consul of the English nation, who, in addition to forming a company, made payments to the English and Dutch army that landed in Cartagena in 1694, during the War of the Nine Years War⁵⁵. His performance had repercussions in Murcia through payment obligations and enforcement demands⁵⁶. Later John Ellis or Ellys,

⁵³ AHPM, Not. 5.463/107-108, 8-7-1688.

⁵⁴ He figured with the merchants Juan Bautista Montanaro and Mateo Rizo that they resorted to the car of the corregidor that fixed the price of the barilla in 14 reals per quintal: AHPM, Not. 5.238/196, 17.10.1697.

⁵⁵ Montojo Montojo, Vicente, "Las alternativas de la evolución económica de Cartagena durante los siglos XVI y XVII", in Mas García, Julio dir., *Historia de Cartagena*, Mediterráneo, Murcia, 1993, 141-208 v. 151. Brujin, Jaap R., *The Dutch Navy of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, University of Columbia, Columbia, 1993. Jones, James R., "The Dutch Navy and National Survival in the Seventeenth Century", *International History Review*, Abingdon, 10/1 1988, 18-32. Trush, Andrew, "In Pursuit of the Frigate, 1603-1640", *Historical Research*, Orlando, 64, 1991, 29-45. Barbour, Violet, "Dutch and English Merchant Shipping in the Seventeenth Century", *The Economic History Review*, Cambridge, 2, 1929-1930, 261-290. Brujin, Jaap R., "States and their Navies from the Late Sixteenth to the End of the Eighteenth Centuries", in Contamine, Philippe ed., *War and Competition between States*, University of Oxford, Oxford, 2000, 69-98.

⁵⁶ D^a Ana Ibáñez, wife of José Laso de la Vega, resident in Murcia (San Bartolomé), seized Francisco de Jódar, Alonso Martínez de Ayala, Juan Martínez Carrasco and Juan Sanz de Moya, solicitors, to oppose the execution requested by Tomás Moore & Co., residents in Cartagena, for the amount that it contains: AHPM, Not. 1.320/298, 11.7.1696.

English, formed a mercantile company with the merchant of Cartagena Manuel Anrich Torres or Enrich Torres⁵⁷.

English merchants in Alicante at the time of the War of the Spanish Succession

English traders from Alicante, such as Samuel Tucker, Jaime Blechley and Salomón Merret, who acted as interpreters⁵⁸, left the city in 1702, 1718 and 1726, because of the wars between Spain and Great Britain (those of the Spanish Succession: 1702-1714, the Quadruple Alliance -1718-1721- and the Hannover League -1726-1727-), which was leveraged by some Irishmen. These accidents caused conflicts in the draft of bills of exchange around 1720.

Thus, Samuel Tucker or Tucarc was one of the English merchants⁵⁹ who returned to Alicante after the War of Succession (1702-1715) and that of the Quadruple Alliance or Navarre (1718-1721): in 1715 he appeared in the lawsuit of Nicolás Herne, the English consul, against Claudio Brunet, French, on a bill of exchange, as also Salomón Merret, Enrique Elvers or Elver, James Blachley and Jage Hamond, English businessmen. Herne proposed a free port for Alicante in 1706⁶⁰. It is possible that it had to do with Diego Tucarc, English, to whom Cosme Martí had to charge, according to the power given to him by Alejandro Bremond, a French businessman from Alicante, perhaps because of the start of the war. Herne granted época (payment receipt) as a businessman of the English nation, by Herne, Rudge & Waring Co. to Dionís Berenguer, administrator of tax laws or dret of the estafeta of Alicante. Another English merchant was Antonio Franza -Antonio Puigserver at the time- and businessmen Eduardo Honeywood, Juan Munyon Co. and Tomás Ayles⁶¹.

In 1731 (after the Treaty of Seville in 1729) some returned, like Catholics, and resumed their activity, unlike in Cartagena, where they did not recover until 1751. Specifically the ones who returned were Ebenerar Timberland, an English

⁵⁷ AHPM, Not. 5.181/455, 26.6.1699.

⁵⁸ Alberola Romà, Armando, "En torno a la política revisionista de Felipe V: los fletamentos de buques extranjeros en el puerto de Alicante y su empleo en la expedición a Sicilia del año 1718", *Revista de Historia Moderna: Anales de la Universidad de Alicante*, Alicante, 10, 1991, 263-282.

⁵⁹ ARV, Escribanías de Cámara (EC), año 1715, n. 2

⁶⁰ Pérez Aparicio, Carmen "El expansionismo comercial británico en el País Valenciano: El proyecto de creación de Puerto Franco en Alacant en 1706", *Revista de Historia Moderna Anales de la Universidad de Alicante*, Alicante, 11, 1992, 251-264.

⁶¹ AHO, Not. 1.219/162, 5.3.1703; 1.213/169-171, 10.6.1696; 1.216/239, 4.9.1700; 1.217/40-48, 504-516, 12.10.1701, 26.10.1702.

businessman settled in the Alicante trade , on behalf of the company Jordan, Stamford and Timberland, which empowered José Izquierdo, solicitor, to get paid by residents in Alicante and from the village of Benejúzar; or also Welter and Sulzberger, Germans, to whom damaged goods were consigned, loaded by Diderich Torbeck, of Hamburg, in the 'Prince of Wales' ship, whose captain was Juan Regles Fiele, English⁶²; or Jorge Reveley, factor of Hammond and Barther, Jerónimo Ball, factor of the house Merret Hall and company, that together with Tucker and Timberlan protested against the actions of Basco de Parada; Jaime Blechley was part with Jorge Hammond of a commercial company under his name⁶³.

Among the English Catholics there was Enrique Helver, whose assets were inventoried by José García, administrator of his inheritance; and Daniel Neuland, associated with Carlos Birdgman, businessmen from Alicante who granted a contract on behalf of Juan Richbell, Daniel Neuland and company, to Juan Doménech, a public notary of Valencia, for litigation⁶⁴. Daniel was not expelled in 1702, for being a Catholic, and at his death his nephew Daniel Neuland Druet, a Catholic, was favored in the lawsuit over the inheritance with José Jordan and Tomás Arden, Protestant English ex-residents of Alicante⁶⁵. In 1715 the English of Alicante were Nicolás Herne, John Blake, Samuel Tucker, Edgard Blake, Solomon Merret, James Blahey and George Hammond⁶⁶. Twenty years later, the heirs of Neuland continued their activity, since assets of Daniel Neuland's inheritance in Cehegín were judicially sold; and Jorge Nomwell, an English businessman, by the company Revely, granted bail in favour of John Simons, patron of the ship Redford; as well as John Revely, Ebenezar Timberland and Jordan, Stamford. Timberland and Revely and Co. They protested against Amond Barrer and company from London⁶⁷.

⁶² Archivo Municipal de Alicante (AMA), closed 19, box 94, n. 4, 13.10.1727; 72/1, 1731; Schulte Beerbühl, Margrit, "Mercaderes hamburgueses en Londres y sus redes de comercio internacional (1660-1815)", in Crespo Solana, A. (Ed.), *Comunidades transnacionales. Colonias de mercaderes extranjeras en el Mundo Atlántico (1500-1830)*, Doce Calles, Madrid, 2010, 295-312. This archive has the Papers of Commerce series with very interesting documents from the 16th to the 19th centuries.

⁶³ AHN, E, 620/1/5, 1726-1728. v. Castro Martos, M^a Pilar, "El Archivo del Consejo de Estado", *Boletín de la ANABAD*, Madrid, 1, 1996, 119-138.

⁶⁴ AMA, arm^o 19, c^a 94, n. 8, 1733-1735. v. Llorens Ortuño, Susana, "El Archivo Municipal de Alicante entre el municipio foral y borbónico, in *Dels furs a l'estatut: Actes del I Congrés de l'Administració Valenciana, de la Història a la Modernitat*, GV, Valencia, 1992, 479-484. AHO, Not. 1205/166, 19.10.1688.

⁶⁵ AHN, E, 617-1/4, 1.12.1715, 17.1.1716. Neuland made a will before clerk Andrés Rovira 13.6.1710.

⁶⁶ Martínez Ruiz, José Ignacio/Gauci, Perry, *Mercaderes ingleses*, 32, nota 40.

⁶⁷ Archivo Histórico Provincial de Alicante (AHPA), Not. 1.325//2.2.1725, 12.4.1739 y 10.3.1739.

Other Englishmen settled at this time in Vinaroz, Peñíscola and especially in Benicarló, ports of the Maestrazgo (in Montesa, Kingdom of Valencia), near Los Alfaques and Tortosa (Principality of Catalonia), where the local 'carlón' wine was exported from: Throughout the 16th century, a wine trade monopolized by Catalans and Valencians prevailed in Cartagena: Gaspar Llorente, Gaspar and Baltasar Ramonete, Miguel Xofre, or Pedro Bernal, from Benicarló⁶⁸, who offered to sell to the Council quantities of 30 'botas' or 4,000 'arrobas' in 1538 or 300 'botas' in 1572. According to the information given by the Council in 1585, it is known that this wine from Vinaroz and Benicarló was highly valued for being watery and very cheap, and consumed by workers, unlike Castilian wine, stronger and more expensive⁶⁹.

In addition Joan Fabra, a neighbor of Benicarló, empowered Damián Esteller, a merchant resident in Cartagena, to collect 337,705 'maravedíes' on the 'alcabalas' taxes of Baeza (Jaén)⁷⁰. In 1716 the English merchants of Peñíscola complained to the Board of Foreigners for the tax on the wine harvest⁷¹. Juan Bautista Loustau, a Béarnian French merchant from Vinaroz, as in Denia José Neulon, viceconsul, urged acts of oath and declaration against Antonio Gelabert, a trader from Valencia, but they litigated about the price of the ship named *Virgen del Carmen*, for the arrangement of the company dissolution accounts⁷². Baltasar Rebufat, a French merchant from Cartagena, had B. Tourtaude of Vinaroz as his supplier. There also settled the Maltese Francisco Cormi, who was empowered by

⁶⁸ AMC, Ac.Cap. 1554-5/5, 1.7.1554: V. Montojo Montojo, *Cartagena en la 1ª mitad del XVI*, Tesis de Licenciatura, Universidad de Murcia, Murcia, 1983, p. 286.

⁶⁹ AMC, Ac.Cap. 7.1.1529, 28.7.1530, 21.7.1531, 5.6.1536, 29.11.1537, 7.8.1539, 4.7.1550, 5.8.1563, 9.6.1573 y 23.7.1585: V. Montojo, *Cartagena en la 1ª edad moderna*, Tesis Doctoral, Universidad de Murcia, Murcia, 1991, p. 459.

⁷⁰ AHPM, Not. 5.169/109, 1592. It was exported from 1551: Miguel Ángel Baila Pallarés, *Lloc, Vila i Ciutat: Evolució urbana de Vinarós (segles XIII-XX)*, Ed. Antinea, Vinaròs, 2008, pp. 34-5 y 47. Juan Piqueras Haba, *La vid y el vino en el País Valenciano*, Institució Alfons el Magnànim, Valencia, 1981, pp. 9-10. Roberto Blanes Andrés, *El Mediterráneo, un mar de esperanza. Aproximación a las exportaciones marítimas desde Vinaròs a Valencia (embarcaciones, productos y comerciantes), entre 1626-1650*, Associació Cultural Amics de Vinarós, Vinarós, 2019. AHPM, Not. Torres 5.436/561, 18.10.1665. Catalán Font, Carlos, *Vinaròs en el contexto de los siglos XVI al XIX*, Associació Cultural de Amics de Vinaròs, Vinaròs, 2009, 36. García García, Félix y Demetrio, *Historia de Vinaroz*, Associació Cultural de Amics de Vinaròs, Vinaròs, 2010.

⁷¹ AHN, E, 6317/31, 6.3.1716.

⁷² Arxiu Municipal de Valencia (AMV), Tribunal de Comercio (TC), c^a 43, n. 6, 1765. The documentation of the Consulate and Commercial Court of Valencia is also interesting as regards the merchants of Alicante, Benicarló and Vinaroz, important ports of the kingdom of Valencia. Sarti, Martínez, M^a Jesús, "Fondos del Tribunal de Comercio existentes en el Archivo Municipal de Valencia", *Homenaje a Pilar Faus y Amparo Pérez*, GV, Valencia, 1995, 591-94. Denia: AHN, E, 1.129/1, 1768.

José Borja & Co., Maltese from Cartagena, to collect debts, and in 1777 there was a consul⁷³.

The officers of the Cartagena supply received wheat from Sicily and redirected it to Puerto de Santa María, that is, to the Galleys of Spain, by means of charters to the skipper Alejandro del (f), a resident Vinaroz, via his ships *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, *San Pedro* and *San Antonio de Padua*, of 1,200 quintals, with 2 'cuchara' guns, 10 swivel guns and other weapons and 12 sailors, to Pedro Aldape, factor of the Galleys of Spain, by freight of 3 silver reales per bushel. Luís Casenave and Tomás Gorman, merchants from Benicarló, were responsible for the arrangement of the accounts and books of the late Patricio White; his son and nephew's society have filled out the statement of the accounts of their partners Guillermo White and José White; and Casenave litigated against Tomás Gorman for his insults when liquidating Guillermo White and José White's company⁷⁴.

Irish of Alicante and Cartagena in the War of Spanish Succession and next

Irish emigration took on a Jacobite character between 1688 and 1710, which began as a result of the enthronement of King William of Orange and his subsequent laws, which was one of the reasons for the settlement of some Irishmen in Alicante⁷⁵.

In this Irish immigration we can include Christopher Hall or Alejandro Dogerty and it was parallel to that of the French like the Breton Francisco Marabeuf, but especially Bearnese and Marseillaise, such as Nicolás Rosa, merchants from Alicante during the War of the Succession of Spain, when the settlement of immigrants from the aforementioned French territories consolidated due to the end of the Nine Years War (1697). English and Dutch left Alicante during the succession conflict⁷⁶ and their

⁷³ AHPM, Not. 6.213/1-20, Partition, y 6.131/22, 20.2.1761; AHN, E, 636/41.

⁷⁴ AHN, E, 636/13; AMV, TC, 182/9, 15-11-1787/15-11-1791; 192/2 fs. 453-722; 193/1, 11-8-1787/6-5-1788; 193/2, 10-9-1788/9-1-1789; 186/10, 10-4-1788/13-2-1789. v. Huetz de Lempis, Alain, "Le vin de Benicarló a Bordeaux au XVIII siècle", *Estudios Geográficos*, Madrid, 51/199-200, 1990, 479-488.

⁷⁵ Crespo Solana, Ana, "Guillermo III de Orange y la sucesión de la Monarquía Hispánica (1688-1702)", in Bernardo de Ares, J.M. (Ed.), *La sucesión de la monarquía hispánica, 1665-1725*, Universidad de Córdoba, Córdoba, 2007, 1, 75-104. The bibliography about the Irish in Spain is very abundant.

⁷⁶ Pradells Nadal, Jesús, *Del foralismo al centralismo (Alicante, 1700-1725)*, Diputación de Alicante, Alicante 1984.

difficulties there lasted for almost the entire reign of Phillip V, which favoured the presence of the Irish⁷⁷.

Alicante was an important trading port in terms of number of merchants and not so much as to trade itself, arousing great interest for decades among historians, but it was distinctive for both Alicante⁷⁸ and Cartagena⁷⁹ the fact that trade was not constituted there as a consulate (in Alicante until 1765), nor was it agglutinated in an entity, especially in Cartagena, so there were diverse groups of large and medium merchants, most of them foreign, represented by their extraterritorial consuls and deputies.

Some Irish military and merchants settled in Alicante and Cartagena. The Austrophile and Anglo-Dutch conquests of Valencia, Cartagena and Alicante, and the battles of the Huerto de las Bombas (Murcia), Albuñón (Cartagena) and Almansa allowed Irish soldiers in the Bourbon army, such as Daniel Mahoni, the military governor of Cartagena⁸⁰, José Misset, colonel and senator of Rome, a resident in Alicante, who transferred the power he received from the Rev. Eligio de Valois, an Irish Augustinian friar from the convent of Valencia, who could not sign for him due to his death, onto Christopher Hall, an Irish businessman in Alicante⁸¹; or, during the Austrophile occupation of Cartagena (1706), to Alejandro MacDonnell⁸², N. Kennedy or Colonel Guillermo Lacy in 1721. Christopher Hall was one of the Irish merchants in

⁷⁷ Recio Morales, Óscar, "Conectores de imperios: la figura del comerciante irlandés en España y en el mundo atlántico del XVIII", in Crespo Solana, Ana ed., *Comunidades transnacionales: Colonias de mercaderes extranjeros en el Mundo Atlántico (1500-1830)*, Doce Calles, Madrid 2010, 313-336, 320. Guimerá Ravina, Agustín, *Dios, clan y negocio. Las memorias del comerciante irlandés Bernardo Valois (1663-1727)*, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 2005.

⁷⁸ Giménez López, Enrique, *Alicante en el siglo XVIII: Economía de una ciudad portuaria en el Antiguo Régimen*, Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, Valencia, 1981; Blanes Andrés, Roberto, "El comercio marítimo de Alicante hacia Valencia en el segundo cuarto del Seiscientos (1626-1650)", *Revista de Historia Moderna*, Alicante, 26, 2008, 275-302; Martínez Ruiz, José Ignacio/Gauci, Perry, *Mercaderes ingleses*; Montojo Montojo, Vicente, "Los comerciantes de Alicante y Cartagena en la Guerra de Sucesión", *Estudis*, Valencia, 34, 2008, 219-239. Seguí Romá, Vicente, *Comerciantes extranjeros en Alicante (1700-1750). Hombres de negocios franceses y genoveses en una ciudad mediterránea*, Tesis Doctoral, Universitat de Alicante, Alicante, 2012. Zabala Uriarte, Aingeru, "El comercio internacional del puerto de Alicante en el siglo XVIII (1700-1780)", in Aguilar Civera, Inmaculada y Ferrer Marsal, Juan eds., *El comercio y la cultura del mar. Alicante, puerta del Mediterráneo*, Puerto de Alicante, Alicante, 2013, 145-177.

⁷⁹ Parrón Salas, Carmen, "Comercio marítimo y comerciantes de Cartagena en el siglo XVIII", *Revista de Historia Naval*, Madrid, 29, 1990, 23-6. Ídem, "El tráfico marítimo a través de Cartagena", in Mas García, J. (Ed.), *Historia de Cartagena*, Ediciones. Mediterráneo, Murcia, 2000, 189-212.

⁸⁰ Muñoz Rodríguez, Julio D., *La séptima corona. El Reino de Murcia y la construcción de la lealtad castellana en la Guerra de Sucesión (1680-1725)*, Murcia, Universidad de Murcia, 2014. Gómez Vizcaino, Juan Antonio, *Aproximación a la historia militar de Cartagena: el gobierno de la plaza (1700-1996)*, Grupo Cultural Nuestra Tierra, La Unión, 1999.

⁸¹ AHPA, Not. 894/147, 19.8.1721.

⁸² Fannin, Samuel, "Los MacDonnells de Boyle en Irlanda y de Cartagena en España", *Cartagena Histórica*, Cartagena, 25, 2008, 25-34.

Alicante and unsuccessfully made the arrangements to become the consul of Rome in Alicante, and also Alejandro Dogerty, who granted a receipt in favour of Baltasar Diego, a sailor. Another Irishman settled in the Kingdom of Valencia and related to those of Alicante was Carlos Keen, a resident in San Felipe or Játiva (Xátiva, Valencia), who was empowered by José Donat, a French merchant in Alicante, to charge Melchor Brú⁸³.

Christopher Hall traded in Alicante at a time of war between Great Britain and Spain, in which English merchants in Alicante left the city and lost their good position, but after the Treaty of The Hague (1720) at the end of the War of the Quadruple Alliance some returned to Alicante, especially Catholics, and started to trade again, but not in Cartagena until 1751. Those left again because of the wars of the Alliance of Hannover (1726-1729) and that of the *Asiento* or Jenkins' Ear (1739-1748).

The information on their activity is scarce, but it shows a presence that can be compared to that of some Armenians in Alicante (Bartolomé Tadeo) and Cádiz⁸⁴, Christian exiles, or even that of the French Huguenots in Hamburg (Germany) at the time⁸⁵, who filled the gap left by the English and the Dutch⁸⁶ during the Wars of Succession until the Treaty of Aachen.

The situation of Irish and English merchants (2nd quarter of the 18th century)

From the Spanish War of Succession until 1748 there were continuous revision wars on behalf of Philip V of Spain and his Secretaries of State and Office regarding the treaties of Utrecht and The Hague, which enabled Spain to claim some Italian territories (the Farnese ducats as well as Naples and Sicily), which Spain had

⁸³ AHPM, Not. 6.189/70, 30.6.1721. AHO, Not.1219/630v, 4.12.1703. AHPA, Not. 910/504, 19.11.1713.

⁸⁴ Sancho de Sopranis, Hipólito, "Los armenios en Cádiz", *Sefarad Revista de Estudios Hebraicos y Sefardíes*, Madrid, 14/2, 1954, 295-314; Matossian, Vartán, "Armenios de Irán en España y Sudamérica en los siglos XVII y XVIII", *Transoxiana*, Buenos Aires, 12, 2007, http://www.transoxiana.org/12/matiossian-armenia_america.php [Cons. 8.8.2019]; Montojo Montojo, Vicente, "El comercio de Alicante en el reinado de Carlos II", *Saitabi*, Valencia, 60-61, 2010-2011, 327-346; Quirós Rosado, Roberto, "Los armenios", *Identidad e Imagen de Andalucía en la Edad Moderna*, Universidad de Almería, Almería, [s.f.]: <http://www2.ual.es/ideimand/los-armenios/> [Cons. 8.8.2019].

⁸⁵ Weber, Klaus, "Were the merchants more tolerant? Godless Patrons of the Jews and the Decline of the Sephardi Community in Late Seventeenth-Century Hamburg", *Jewish Culture and History*, UK, 7/1-2, 2004, 77-92; Idem, "La migration huguenote dans le contexte de l'économie atlantique: l'exemple de Hambourg, 1680-1800", in Braun, Guido/Lachenicht, Susanne (Eds.), *Les États allemands et les huguenots*, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, Munich, 2007, 125-136.

⁸⁶ Crespo Solana, Ana, *Mercaderes atlánticos. Redes del comercio flamenco y holandés entre Europa y el Caribe*, Universidad de Córdoba, Córdoba, 2009.

abandoned in 1707 and 1719 following its defeat. During the interwar periods, rearmaments and supplies were made to the rebuilt Navy under the ministries of Patiño (1726-1736), Campillo and Ensenada (1743-1754). Alicante, Cartagena and Vinaroz were export ports of wool and barilla; almonds, anise, *esparto*, soda and wine from Alicante, and wine from Vinaroz, and their export was compensated with overseas products and goods in which French and Genoese merchants prevailed in union with compatriots from Cádiz, Marseille, Genoa and Liorna. This importation induced other terrestrial traffic, which connected the cities of the interior, such as in Murcia and Albacete with Cartagena and Alicante⁸⁷ or Valencia, or even Madrid with these three maritime cities, which flowed through internal networks of redistribution between the interior and the maritime populations, formed by merchants, shopkeepers and shippers, either from the kingdom of Valencia (Xátiva, Alcira, Cocentaina, Vinaroz), as well as from Murcia (Sax⁸⁸, Yecla, Algezares, Cieza, Chinchilla) and La Mancha district (San Clemente, Madrigadejos) .

Since 1710 there were changes in the maritime customs of Alicante⁸⁹ and Cartagena, whereby the products were registered upon entering and leaving Spain, and also in some previous land customs, such as Murcia, which disappeared, Yecla, Almansa and Requena, very well located around the routes to Madrid. Foreign merchants pressed to be the least possible affected by the customs fees introduced by Philip V, for which they turned to their extraterritorial consuls and ambassadors.

Christopher Hall expected to become consul of the Papal States in Alicante⁹⁰, showing a typical strategy of Irish merchants, characterized by their transnationality, which meant their use of various ways of presenting their identity, such as their

⁸⁷ Salvador Esteban, Emilia, "Política y comercio en la Valencia del siglo XVII: el tráfico mercantil Valencia-Génova", in Belvederi R. ed., *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di studi storici Genova-Mediterraneo-Atlantico nell'età moderna*, Universidad de Génova, Génova, 1990, 113-155; Ídem, "La frontera intrarregiónica valenciana y su impacto en las instituciones reales: El ejemplo de las dos bailías generales", *Pedralbes*, Barcelona, 13, 1993, 11-23; Franch Benavent, Ricard, *Crecimiento comercial y enriquecimiento burgués en la Valencia del siglo XVIII*, Institució Alfons el Magnanim, Valencia, 1986; Ídem, *El Capital Comercial Valenciano en el Siglo XVIII*, Universidad de Valencia, Valencia, 1989; Ídem, "El comercio valenciano en el periodo moderno y el lento proceso de mejora de las instalaciones portuarias", in *Historia del Puerto de Valencia*, Universitat de Valencia, Valencia, 2007, 127-203; Ídem, "El comercio en el Mediterráneo español durante la edad moderna: del estudio del tráfico a su vinculación con la realidad productiva y el contexto social", *Obradoiro de Historia Moderna*, Santiago de Compostela, 17, 2008, 77-112; Muñoz Navarro, Daniel, "Comercio de tejidos al por menor en la Valencia del siglo XVIII. Los Sumbiela y los Solernou: Dos linajes de botigueros de ropas", *Estudis*, Valencia, 34, 2008, 285-302.

⁸⁸ Montojo Montojo, Vicente, "Sax: lugar de conflictividad en el comercio de Alicante en 1700-1746", *El Castillo de Sax*, Sax (Alicante), 37, 2016, 42-45.

⁸⁹ Zabala Uriarte, Aingeru, "La Aduana de Alicante en el siglo XVIII", in Aguilar Civera, Inmaculada y Ferrer Marsal, Juan eds., *El comercio y la cultura del mar. Alicante, puerta del Mediterráneo*, Puerto de Alicante, Alicante, 2013, 183-199.

⁹⁰ AHN, E, 627/27; 607/1/2 y 641/11 (1715 y 1727).

Catholicism, but also their rejection of the British crown, or the former loyalty to Spain of the old Irish, in order to maintain their statutes and privileges. The consulate of Rome in Alicante was also requested by Juan Bautista Escot, a Frenchman, Juan Domingo Grasi, a Genoese, but all of them were denied for not being Roman.

In 1728 the list of taxpayers of Alicante in customs was headed by the Swiss company Elver and Welter (at that time the Swiss Pablo Francisco Dumolins, Diego Selonf, Andrés Vernet stood out in Cartagena) and the English companies Hamond, Barrer and Reveley and Merret, Hall and Ball, and Jordan, Stanford and Timberlan and Tucker and Beawes, but earlier in 1716, Maricone, Genoese from Alicante, were prosecuted for collaborating with English in trafficking with Gibraltar⁹¹.

The Irish Fagan and Knowles and Louis and Meter Bacón featured in the 663 and 2000 promissory notes signed in Warteford by the Breton businessman Francisco Marabeuf or Marbeuf, from Alicante, to be paid in 30 days before the order of Daniel and Juan Arthur and George Fitzgerald and co. from London, then endorsed to Moses de Medina and by him to Terry and Ximénez, transferred to Blach Tucar and Blach, who protested them because on behalf of Marabeuf. Other Irish from Alicante were Juan and Miguel Birmingham, payers of promissory notes to the aforementioned Francisco Marabeuf, related to Ryan and Purcell, of Cádiz, and Patrick Joyes of Madrid⁹², and taxpayers of customs in 1729, among whom we find four Irish, since to those mentioned an Irishman named Taguada must be added, of whom I know nothing more⁹³. But in the chapter on customs duties caused by transits

⁹¹ AHPA, Not. 783/274 y 308, 1716.

⁹² AHPA, Not. 782/179, 4.4 y 12.8.1715; 798/481, 1.12.1734 y 1647/108, 2.8.1730. Seguí, 469, 497-498.

⁹³ AMA, closet 7, book 4. Beside Cristóbal Hall (88.625 y 1650-39), Pedro Amorrinch, D. Donat, Merret, F.E. Pavía, Jaime Amorrinch, Pedro Labora & Co., Marabeuf & Martel, Hamond, Pedro García Ruiz, Pedro Fuente, Isaac Barnes, Francisco Subiela, Bernardo Bertolón, José Hernández, Tomás Catarla, Vicente Morelló, Jaime Lespiaut, Bouligni Beside son, Jordán Stanford y compañía, Jerónimo Feliz, Lavarelo & Co., Lorenzo Mabili, Elver & Welter, Lorenzo Sumayre, Revel & Jaime, Clara María Negri, Carlos Milán, Antonio Paret, Esteban Bocado, Towker Barres & Cía., Abruno & Cía, Miguel Bosch, Debruges y Antoine, Luis Long & Balone, Bartolomé & hermano Buni, Juan Domingo Grasi, Jerónimo & Juan Bta. Fabián, Martín Morales, José Martínez, Bartolomé Picó, Juan León & son, Rey & Sellach, Valentín Imbert, Nicolás Bosomo, Pedro Choli, Claudio Laguier, Manuel Conca, Noly & Cía., Pablo & Pedro Vanhalen, Antonio Marzo & Cía., Juan Gómez, Martín Albiñana, Bonifacio Rimbau, Pedro José Lombardón, José García, Luís Lombardón, Bernabé Carratalá, Antonio Morelló menor, Juan Tormos, Ami & Cía., Jacinto Ardison, Pedro Cavalo, Guillermo Vallés, Jacinto Nasarra, Juan Bautista Pafe, Francisco Pérez, Leonardo Sevilla, Felipe Bernabé, Leandro Terol, Francisco Chavaría, Bernardo Peyrolón, Juan Bautista Lostaud, Claudio Gautier, Juan Bonaons, José Amorrinch, Antonio Torres, Juan Antonio Benedicto, José Carbonel, Lázaro Guirán, José de la Plaza o Laplace, Juan Baig, Honorato Bonet, Juan Pechar, Cogordan & Cía., Carlos Tanquery, Gaspar Mas Juan, José Barceló, Antonio Barceló, José Martínez and Armengol, Juan Fayre, Francisco Marín, Vicente Puzol, Pedro Sánchez clavario, Félix Torregrosa, Juan Bautista Barber, skipper José Guillén, Pedro Piqueres, Alejandro Reynier, Miguel Barceló clavario, Antonio Sevilla, Vicente Salazar, ship captain Andrés de Villena, Juan Bautista Benavente, Bernardo Tomás, Lali, Juan Guot, Antonio Despuchs, Pedro Sipión Román, Guillermo Simón; caused in the counted: José Pérez, Pablo Pachez, Pedro Martínez, José Salazar, Simón Pérez, José Balloli, Pedro Morales, Sebastián Jiménez,

for different parties, there was Miguel Birmingham, along with the largest traders in Alicante⁹⁴, who also was a guides receiver⁹⁵, in his case dirty wool, which he would later export, like the others.

English retrospective projection

If we roll back our object of study 50 years before, we would place ourselves in a Spain, that of Carlos II, immersed in the wars of Portugal and France, such as those of the Bragancist Restoration and that of the Devolution, since Luis XIV obtained the counties of Roussillon and Cerdanya in 1659⁹⁶ and claimed Flanders.

Dutch and English merchants returned to the Spanish Levante, Alicante, Cartagena and Valencia, and even some French after the Peace of the Pyrenees. The insecurity of the four Spanish-French wars of the reign of Carlos II forced Spain to seek support from Carlos II of England and the pensioner Jan de Wit of the Netherlands⁹⁷. This Quadruple Alliance, which Leopold II of Austria joined, had to fight

José Guillem less, Ricardo Blanchy, Vicente Sampere, Francisco Merencia, Francisco Pérez, José Galvany, Bautista San Juan, José Mayor, Jaume Seva, Antonio Penaso, Francisco Pons, Santiago Guely, Francisco Just, Juan García, Ambrosio Luzoro, Salvador Andreade, Francisco Estevan, Antonio Abrígalo, Francisco Arroyo, Vicente Carlos, Tomás Llopis, Juan Carbonel, Pascua Vidal, Cristóbal Pérez, José Garrido, Antonio Balaguer, Bautista Soler, Bautista Ontiniente, Vicente Just, Andrés Mecha, Manuel Palomares, Juan Martínez, Pedro Moreno, Juan Antonio Penaso, Bautista Luzia, José Mallafre, Juan Rubio, Pedro Ferrer, Antonio Bueno, José Coixon, José Navarro, Felipe Lerma, Vicente Albella, Bartolomé Lacava, Tomás Granfa, Nicolás Carratalá, Bautista Galdo, Gaspar Robles, Mariano Pastor, José Hernández less, Pedro María Garibaldo, Luís Galand, Francisco Granfa, Antonio Banasco, Agustín Eschafino o Schafino, Tomás Chulín, Lorenzo Cortés, José Furió, Domingo Belerán, Vicente Sampere, José Galán, Francisco Aracil, José Mataix, Jaime Esplá, Pedro Pasqual, Jerónimo Guedea, Gregorio Garrigós, Alberto Pérez, Damián Domingo, Juan Sabater, Juan Perler, Bautista Oliver, Miguel Gozávez, Tomás Guillem, Juan Port, Miguel Esplá, Gaspar Llofrú, Francisco López, José Alonso, Tomás Coixón, Francisco Martínez, Francisco Torregrosa, widow of Jaime Pérez, Jerónimo Ortiza, José Oliver, Juan Bautista Ortuño, Pedro Miralles, José Dols, Rita Carbonell and Miguel Moreno.

⁹⁴ Lavarelo & Co. para Madrid y otras (87.388), Bartolomé Lloret ídem (3.600), Luís Lombardón ídem (21.852), Pedro Choli ídem y Cádiz (14.360 pounds of steel: 307.979), Noly & Co. ídem (77.062), Fabián & Co. ídem (35.804), Antonio y Juan Esteban Pavía ídem (517.369), Gaspar Bustanzo (26.968), Gerars & Co. ídem (56.476), Cogordán & Co. ídem (3.168), De Bruges y Antoine ídem (316.899, of those who 23.715 destined to Valencia), Pedro Cipión Román ídem (15.810), Marabeuf & Martel ídem (15.951, of those who 4.590 destined to Valencia), Merret Hall & Co. (20.400, and 4.032 to Benicarló and 9.950 to St. Felipe o Játiva), Francisco Quesada to Valencia (2.203), Juan Domingo Grasi ídem and Madrid (72.966) and Miguel Birmingham to Valencia (16.256).

⁹⁵ 98 arrobas. Other recipients of washed wool were: Bonahon, 45 woolen bags with 414 arrobas of Caravaca; Lafora, 22 woolen bags with 240 arrobas y 2 woolen bags with 253 añinos's arrobas of Caravaca; Mateo Cogordán, 50 woolen bags with 317 arrobas of Segovia; and Bertholón, 22 woolen bags with 241 arrobas of Huéscar, Granada's Kindom (11 añinos).

⁹⁶ Aguado Bleye, Pedro, *Manual de Historia de España*, II, Madrid, 1959, 812-813 y 825-828. Ortega Galindo, Julio, *España en Europa al advenimiento de Carlos II*, Barquín, Bilbao, 1949, 261-263 y 297-300.

⁹⁷ Ebben, Mauricio, "Teoría y práctica de la política exterior de Johan de Witt: el caso de España, 1653-1672", in Herrero Sánchez, Manuel/Crespo Solana, Ana eds., *España y las 17 provincias de los Países Bajos*, 1, Universidad de Córdoba, Córdoba 2002, 45-64. Sánchez Belén, Juan Antonio, "Las relaciones internacionales de la Monarquía

with Louis XIV of France, who multiplied his naval firepower in the conflicts of Luxembourg and the Augsburg League, so that the Dutch and English navies protected the Spanish coasts, but they did not prevent the bombing of Alicante, Barcelona and Malaga, nor the seige and capture of Barcelona. The English and Dutch merchants were nourishing force. Now, if we contrast the information of the notarial protocols with those of the English consular correspondence of Alicante and Cartagena, it follows that a different perspective emerges.

Tomás Moore, the English consul of Cartagena, informed John Frenchard, the main secretary of state in London on 15.2.1694⁹⁸: "*This citty's Comerce is very inconsiderable at present none of my nation*", despite the fact that notarial acts confirm their presence; and Nicolás Herne, English consul in Alicante, on 15.3.1694 warned of the passage of 7 or 8 Dutch ships and some small French codfish boat.

The correspondence of the English consuls of Alicante and Cartagena from 1690 to 1700, which I consulted and photographed in TNA (The National Archives, London), is formed by the letters of the aforementioned Nicolás Herne and Tomás Moore, the last one possibly of Irish origin. Herne reported the English ships entering the port of Alicante on 24.5.1694, the movements of some French warships from Brest and English merchant ships, which he warned were chartered by military authorities to transport soldiers to Catalonia, where Barcelona was surrounded that year. Tom Moore reported tactical movements, the absence of English merchants in Cartagena and his intervention in the financing of the supplies of warships, an extreme step that was already known through the notarial acts of Cartagena⁹⁹.

The informative exchange between Alicante and Whitehall (London) showed that English merchants in Alicante sometimes suffered the treatment of Spanish authorities in the application of the 1670 treaty to consular certificates. Other letters reported the movements of the French navy and its greater or lesser number of ships, at its exit from Toulon, French naval base, and proximity to Barcelona, at the fortification of Toulon, or the presence of the English navy led by Admiral Russell in

Hispanía durante la regencia de doña Mariana de Austria", *Studia Historica* (Hª Moderna), Salamanca, 20, 2000, 137-172.

⁹⁸ TNA, Foreign Offices, Cartagena, 21.2.1694; Alicante 17.5.1694.

⁹⁹ Montojo Montojo, Vicente, "Las alternativas", 151.

Alicante, who succeeded Rooke after his defeat in the naval battle of Lagos (Portugal), against the French Tournville¹⁰⁰.

French maneuvers of 22 galleys altered the commercial maritime traffic, carried out by Dutch, English and Genoese, the latter of them as intermediaries of the French, who exported wool and barrels or soda to Barcelona, Genoa and Venice, and required direct intelligence of the situation of the coast to Cabo de Gata (Almería) to avoid encounters with the French navy, before which some ships were lost, such as merchants of the Genoese Juan Bautista, Antonio María and Nicolás Montanaro of Cartagena company, with remittances in London and Amsterdam¹⁰¹. Dutch ships transported Spanish troops to Catalonia, where the French siege of Barcelona demanded defense, information and financing efforts, which was provided in part from Alicante and Cartagena, and ultimately showed the importance of the English settlement in these ports, especially the former.

It was reported that the strong English implementation hindered that of Irish in these ports of the Spanish Levante (in Cartagena it was smaller, but still in 1700 a commercial company was founded between John Ellys and Manuel Anrich¹⁰²), which became possible with the enthronement of Felipe V de Bourbon and the outbreak of the War of Succession, accompanying the growth of the French community.

Restoration of a British community in Cartagena (middle of the 18th century)

In contrast, British merchants did not return to Cartagena de Levante until 1750-1751, that is, after the Peace of Aachen (1748), and they did so at the same time as some engineers and shipbuilding technicians, such as Eduardo Bryant, who claimed debts left to David Tukar, an Englishman who had been in Cartagena until 1706 (War of Succession).

¹⁰⁰ Rodger, Nicholas A.M., *The command of the Ocean*, Penguin, London, 2004.

¹⁰¹ Montojo Montojo, Vicente/Maestre de San Juan Pelegrín, Federico, "La actividad de los mercaderes de Cartagena en el Reino de Granada a finales del siglo XVII", in Díaz López, Julián P. ed., *El Reino de Granada en el siglo XVII*, Diputación Provincial de Almería, Almería 2001, 111-120.

¹⁰² Montojo Montojo, Vicente, "El comercio de Alicante y Cartagena tras la Guerra de Sucesión", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* (Hª Moderna), Madrid, 23, 2010-2011, 203-226, 220.

It is clear that many Englishmen maintained mercantile interests for decades in Alicante, where some reached a good social position, like the Paulin and Blunden-Wirral, and the Spanish East, where the city of Valencia exercised a great attraction for its greater population. In addition, Alicante had a very direct and fast route to Madrid.

Cartagena, by contrast, was a fundamentally military port since 1668, when the Galeras naval station in Spain was established¹⁰³, which was previously in Puerto de Santa María (Cádiz), but also housed an important nucleus of English merchants, some well-situated because of their collaboration with the Spanish authorities, but it did not have the durability that the English merchants of Alicante and Malaga, and in the mid eighteenth century it was replaced by engineers and naval technicians or even by the Irish¹⁰⁴. However, the collaboration of William Paulin, Thomas Moore, Samuel Toker and Nicolás Herne with the military authorities of Alicante and Cartagena show a little-known side of the insertion of these Englishmen and their rapport with the English route of Dover.

Conclusions

One of the contributions of this text is to bring afloat or foster the emergence of some British mercantile networks that so far had been circumscribed to Alicante, as a sea port of call, and denied to Cartagena and unknown to other towns of the Spanish Levant, or of the Kingdom of Valencia, such as Benicarló, Vinaroz and Perpignan, or Denia, in turn extended to Andalusia in its entirety.

The British merchants tried to settle in the port towns of the Mediterranean Levant in the first period of the reign of Philip II, while there was no war with Spain, but their attempts were transitory, so the Bretons -French- took advantage, since they had a privileged intermediary position, both geographical -through the Anglo-Norman Islands- and for being Catholics, which made them well accepted, in addition to their skills as carriers and managers. However, the periods of peace

¹⁰³ Montojo Montojo, Vicente/Maestre de San Juan Pelegrín, Federico, "Las Galeras de España en la regencia del reinado de Carlos II (1665-1700)", *Revista de Historia Naval*, Madrid, 139, 2017, 73-98; Ídem, "Actividad de las galeras de España con base Cartagena en el reinado de Carlos II", *Revista de Historia Naval*, Madrid, 142, 2018, 35-57.

¹⁰⁴ Fannin, Samuel. "Los MacDonnells".

between Spain and England in the first half of the 17th century were enough for many Britons to settle in the most important port cities. In addition, the Catholic faith of some of them allowed their continuity despite the wars of Charles I and Cromwell, since some had been naturalized and others were not expelled. Finally, the Spanish government led by the Count Duke of Olivares needed some English ports such as Dover to maintain troop traffic with Flanders.

The study of this emerging British mercantile networks would not have been possible without the historical-archival, i.e methodological and heuristic contributions. According to this work, the historical-archival methodology tends to identify the institutions that generate archival documents, but if it remains limited to the entities and it loses the relational dimension between authorities or rulers and citizens, then it reduces its performance to a sector. In that sense, this text demonstrates that notarial acts or protocols are public records, not only restricted to private transactions, but also extended to the administrative ones. The group of notaries of each city or town inserted their specialization into administrative branches, such as judicial, municipal, provincial, fiscal, customs, etc. This observation is not trivial, since the governed ones processed their affairs with the government through the notaries specialized in a particular branch.

As it has been stated in this article, the emergence of the British mercantile networks was parallel to the specialization of the notaries in certain lawsuits types and customs tax rights, such as those wool-related but not only, since of no less importance were those about the *almojarifazgo* or about soda and barrilla, an evolution that has allowed to reach the actions of citizens, either large merchants, merchants or carriers.

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