Fighting an Empire for the Good of the Empire?

Transnational Ireland and the Struggle for Independence in Spanish America

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This article traces Irish responses to the crisis of the Hispanic monarchy (1808–25) and struggle for sovereignty in Spanish America, comparing reactions in Ireland to those of the Irish diasporic community in the United States. It argues that although the Irish were overwhelmingly sympathetic to the cause of the insurgents in Spanish America, their support took different forms and meanings. Whereas contemporaries in Ireland saw the benefits of Spanish American independence for the prosperity and security of the British Empire, Irish radical exiles in New York or Philadelphia viewed the struggle as an opportunity to emphasize the validity of revolutionary and republican principles across the New World. In stressing the relevance of the geopolitical context and of transnational interactions to the development of contradicting imperial and anticolonial views, the article moves beyond prevailing narratives of military involvement and highlights the richness of the Irish experience of the Age of Revolutions.

Ireland, Irish diaspora, Spanish America, United States, Age of Revolutions

On December 22, 1824, Dublin awoke to a state of commotion: Daniel O'Connell was rumored to have been arrested, charged with having uttered "seditious expressions" at a meeting held by the Catholic Association a few days before.[1] The specific words that had landed the Irish barrister in hot water soon became clear: "[O'Connell] hoped Ireland would be restored to her rights—but, if the day should arrive—if she were driven mad by persecution, he wished that *a new Bolivar* may be found—may arise—; that the spirit of the Greeks, and of the South Americans may animate the people of Ireland."[2]

While authorities in Dublin questioned O'Connell and the journalists who had witnessed his speech, statesmen in London held their own talks to decide what to do with the leader of the Catholics of Ireland. On December 26, the Duke of Wellington wrote hurriedly to Home Secretary Robert Peel. In his letter, Arthur Wellesley alerted Peel to the fact that George IV was not at all happy with the events. He could not see, wrote Wellesley, "how Mr. O'Connell could be prosecuted for this language, considering the line the government was about to take respecting the South American colonies."[3] Indeed, only a few days before, the king had been presented with a memorandum recommending the formal recognition of the

republics of Mexico and Colombia.[4] Despite Wellesley's best attempts to appease the monarch, George IV maintained his view, considering it "an inconsistency to prosecute and punish Mr. O'Connell for holding up the insurrection of the people of South America and the conduct of Bolivar to the imitation of the people of Ireland, at the very moment at which we are going to make a treaty with Bolivar, by which his authority will be recognized and in fact established."[5]

The case against O'Connell was eventually dropped, yet the "Bolívar speech," as Patrick M. Geoghegan has called it, exemplifies one of the many ways in which the Spanish American fight for independence was linked, adapted, and compared to the Irish context during the first decades of the nineteenth century.[6] The reference to the Libertador Bolívar by O'Connell, who would eventually be known as the "Irish Liberator," shows that, contrary to any presumptions of a politically isolated island, the people of Ireland were well aware of ongoing debates in the wider non-Anglophone Atlantic world. Tellingly, less than two years after this incident, O'Connell went on to establish in Ireland an "Order of Liberators" that openly mirrored the homonymous distinction created by Bolívar in Venezuela in October 1813.[7]

O'Connell's association of Ireland with South America was not just a by-product of his invective and wit. In fact, by the end of 1824 Simón Bolívar had become somewhat of a household name in Ireland. For well over a decade the Irish public had been informed profusely of the struggle of the insurgents in South America to throw off the imperial yoke of Spain, and Bolívar was commonly regarded, not least by O'Connell, as a new Washington or Kościuszko, the final addition to "the modern triumvirate of liberty" leading their oppressed compatriots to freedom.[8]

Despite the concerns of Dublin Castle, no "new Bolívar" arose in Ireland during the first half of the nineteenth century—at least not in the sense in which Peel interpreted

O'Connell's statement, as a daring allusion to a radical revolutionary commanding a successful rise to arms against the metropolitan government.[9] Yet thousands of Irishmen did indeed take up arms against an empire, not in Ireland itself but on the other side of the Atlantic, against the Spanish Empire and in support of the insurgents struggling for independence. The enthusiasm of the Irish for "the cause of South America" was such that John Devereux, an Irish exile returning to his native country in 1818 to organize a legion of his fellow countrymen for Bolívar's armies, was able to dispatch over seventeen hundred troops across the Atlantic in less than a year, with observers noting that "ten times the number might have been easily raised."[10]

Irish involvement in the revolutionary processes of the Hispanic world remains associated above all with the presence of this distinctive Irish Legion in the wars of independence in present-day Venezuela and Colombia, and with a handful of figures such as William Brown of Foxford, County Mayo, the "father" of the Argentine navy; Peter Campbell, the founder of the Uruguayan armada; and Daniel Florence O'Leary, Bolívar's Corkonian aide-de-camp and close friend. To date, the notion dominating approaches to Irish contributions to the emancipation of Spanish America is that these protagonists were infused with feelings of solidarity prompted by their perception of similarities between the situation of Ireland and the Hispanic New World within their respective imperial settings. President of Ireland Michael D. Higgins has recently stated that many of these Irish men and women "were driven by their forefathers' experience of oppression and dreams of liberty for their homeland." From this perspective, the present-day relationship between Ireland and Latin America would draw precisely on a "shared history of struggle against colonialism."[11]

Some of these men were indeed ideologically motivated. When, over a private dinner in Peru in 1824, Bolívar asked Francis Burdett O'Connor—nephew of United Irish revolutionary Arthur O'Connor and brother of Chartist leader Feargus—why he had

volunteered to fight in South America, the Irishman responded that someday he hoped "to be able to return to Europe and be useful in the liberation of my homeland," a venture to which the Libertador allegedly promised to lend military support.[12] Yet for the majority of these individuals, the expeditions organized in Britain and Ireland after 1815 provided above all an opportunity to emigrate from a country deeply affected by the socioeconomic consequences of the first "total war" and the subsistence crisis of 1817.[13] As late as 1823, a follower of O'Connell, looking to raise soldiers to assist the liberals of Spain against the French troops sent to restore King Ferdinand VII to his absolute power, still considered that "there never was a time when men could be found more easily" in Ireland, as "they could be induced . . . to come whenever they might be wanted, in almost any numbers."[14]

Interpretations centered on the presumed anticolonial leanings and proto-nationalist motivations of Irish participants are also problematic from the Spanish American viewpoint. As the literature on these movements has convincingly demonstrated, the Hispanic revolutions were not conceived with teleological notions of nation building and cannot be reduced to mere anticolonial impulse.[15] Contemporaries in Ireland rapidly perceived this complexity. Irish coverage of the first revolutions in Spanish America after the Napoleonic occupation of the Iberian Peninsula in 1808 rightly insisted on the "perfectly loyal" character of these movements, intended in the first instance to preserve the sovereignty of the absent king from a French takeover.[16] The way in which the metropolitan crisis evolved into protracted civil wars in the New World, often pitting against each other "new and old settlers, or the Spaniards by descent, and the Spaniards by birth"—as a sharp analyst in Belfast observed—further weakens narratives built around the national question.[17]

Shifting attention away from the military exploits of the era, this article examines how the Irish at home and in the United States interpreted Spain's crisis of imperial rule. It does so fundamentally through a selection of urban press materials which, despite their limitations as

historical sources, constitute a window into the dominant views permeating conversations on the Hispanic world in the nascent Irish public sphere.[18] The article contends that although Irish people were overwhelmingly in favor of Spanish American independence, this support was not monolithic and took on diverging and often opposing justifications. In shedding light on the specific geopolitical contexts bolstering these different attitudes to the revolutionary Hispanic Atlantic, it discusses both the development of imperial expectations in post-Union Ireland and the renovation of a transnational radical consciousness among the Irish émigré community in the United States.

Irish History in a Sea of Empires and Revolutions

The enthusiasm of the Irish for the independence of Spanish America stands in contrast to the scarce attention that the Hispanic world has received in Irish empire studies. In spite of the resurgence of academic interest in Irish attitudes to colonialism, much of the research on this period continues to be confined to either the British-Irish islands or the North Atlantic. Even when the study of Irish experiences of imperial collaboration and resistance is expanded to broader settings, the focus still falls almost exclusively on territories under British domination such as India, South Africa, or Australia.[19] The "imperial world" of Ireland is often portrayed in the singular, as if solely British, and the "Atlantic world" rather too readily becomes shorthand for "Anglosphere."[20] Perhaps because of the cultural imperialism of the English language and the linguistic limitations commonly lamented by academics of Ireland, the vast scholarship concerning the role of Irish diasporic communities in the extension and demise of other overseas empires like that of Spain remains very much outside the (Anglophone) canon of Irish empire studies.[21]

This lack of awareness is in many respects mutual. The resistance of historians in the Hispanic world to the precepts of Atlantic history and to certain enunciations of postcolonial theory has also limited the potential of the conversation.[22] As a result, scholars studying how

writers in the English-speaking world "have conceived and made use of Latin America in the re-imagining of their own countries" generally ignore the Irish case.[23] Similarly, Spanish-language studies on the role of the United Kingdom in the independence of Latin America tend to pass over the specificities of Ireland within the British and Irish archipelago.[24]

The neglect is compounded further by the existence of divergent chronologies. Unsurprisingly, the defeat of the United Irish rebellion of 1798 and the passage of the Irish Act of Union in 1801 mark a watershed in the literature concerning Ireland and the Age of Revolutions.[25] Transnational approaches to the era centered on the North Atlantic have also highlighted the inclusion of the Irish experience in the revolutionary cycle of 1776–1804.[26] Consequently, the survival of a radical Irish tradition beyond these dates is rarely treated within this conceptual framework, despite the relevance of the first half of the nineteenth century in shaping the cosmopolitanism and nationalism of later figures.[27]

The Dissolution of the Hispanic Monarchy through the Lens of Ireland

Irish-based reactions to the descent into chaos of the Hispanic monarchy focused from the start on the economic implications of this crisis for the British Empire. In the global context of the Anglo-French contest, the fate of Spanish America was soon seen as the factor that could tip the scales.[28] The Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, for example, was quick to note that the emancipation of South America would be "highly advantageous to this country, because it . . . would open a new and extensive market for British commerce."[29] By the summer of 1810, the same newspaper was hinting that if imperial objectives could not be accomplished in Europe, the government should "avail itself of the disposition manifested by the Spaniards of South America" and accelerate its political independence.[30]

Commentators in Ireland had been looking to Spanish America for decades with similar combinations of opportunism and principle. During the American Revolution it was

not uncommon, for instance, for English economic measures to be likened to the nefarious extractive policy of Spanish authorities in the New World. "We are, as it were, the Peru and Mexico of his Majesty's," protested an Irish patriot in 1775 in a vociferous attack on mercantilist assumptions about the need for metropolis-led protectionism.[31] Others, no doubt influenced by the ample coverage of the revolt of the Comuneros in New Granada (1781) and Túpac Amaru's rebellion in Peru (1780–82), developed a rhetoric connecting Ireland with the centuries-old struggles of Indigenous populations in the Hispanic New World. In the view of an essayist writing in 1783, "almost as fatal has the protection of Britain been to Ireland, as that of Spain to the natives of Mexico and Peru."[32] Some Irish writers even took up pen names alluding to these Indigenous people. The "Montezuma" expressing disgust for "the ill-treatment of the Americans" in September 1776, Frederick Jebb's "Guatimozin" (the Hispanicized name of Cuauhtémoc, the last emperor of the Aztecs) contesting British claims to rule Ireland, and the Presbyterian patriot William Drennan's *Letters from Orellana* to his "fellow slaves" advocating unity among the Irish of every confession all relied on this discursive device.[33]

Irish analyses of the Peninsular War (1808–14) and the Spanish American independence revolutions offset by the crisis in the metropole, however, were produced in a notably different imperial context: one marked by the effects of the Union in 1801, which included new and often unrealized expectations.[34] At that point there were other circumstances making the fate of the Hispanic world even more pressing for Ireland. First came the fact that around 30 percent of the British force in Spain and Portugal was Irish-born.[35] Colorful stories in the press, such as that of an Irish officer in the French army killed by a young private from Limerick in British uniform, evinced for many the existence of a thread connecting the exclusion of Catholics in Ireland to the battlefields of Iberia and allied efforts against Napoleon.[36]

The coincidence of the Hispanic crisis with a revitalization of the Catholic question also explains the intensity with which the Spanish liberal revolution became assimilated into the political arena of Ireland and the eagerness of Protestant loyalists and Catholic reformers alike to instrumentalize the war.[37] At a time when the Irish public debate was centered on two issues—the definition of the constitutional relationship between Britain and Ireland and the extension of full civil rights to all the population—a Catholic nation besieged by foreign troops had managed to convene a representative parliament (the Cortes of Cádiz) and write a constitution. Furthermore, it had done so under British protection. "Who, after the scene which has just been exhibited in Spain, shall venture to insult the understanding of the people of England or Ireland, by attempting to persuade them, that Catholicism is incompatible with the political independence of its professors?" asked the *Freeman's Journal* in the summer of 1813.[38]

The contrast of certain aspects was in every way extreme. For instance, news about how the principal of popular sovereignty had been carved into the 1812 Constitution of the Hispanic monarchy ran parallel to reports from Westminster, where the MP for Armagh and secretary of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland had just declared "the majesty of the people" to be, "really and truly, an irregular and unconstitutional phrase."[39] The distance between the meaning of sovereignty put forth in Cádiz and the one voiced by "that gentle apostle of intolerance" could hardly have been more explicit.[40] The prosecution of the proprietor of the *Dublin Evening Post* for alleged libel toward the outgoing lord lieutenant in 1813 represented another opportunity to invoke progress made in Spain to demand legislative reform in Britain and Ireland. The Catholic Board rapidly made damning reference to the sanctioning of the freedom of the press in Cádiz in 1810, and even vowed to internationalize the Irish question by translating the proceedings into the main languages of Europe.[41] The strategy continued to escalate, until a proposal to reach out to the Cortes directly to seek its intercession "for the

Emancipation of their Brother Catholics and fellow soldiers, the Irish" proved too controversial.[42]

The restoration of Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne in April 1814 and the immediate return to absolutism and "the ancient order of things" represented by the terms of the Congress of Vienna signified the annihilation of these short-lived liberal experiments.[43] What did not disappear was the cosmopolitan awareness manifested by certain Irish observers during these years. Belfast reformers, for example, continued to voice their support for the insurgents of South America in a show of cosmopolitanism that Jonathan Wright has linked directly to British reforming culture.[44] Although there were those who feared, now that England had given in to "the cause of Legitimacy," she might become "the instrument of perpetuating slavery in the New World," for most Irish observers after 1815 the issue seemed no longer whether Spanish America would become independent, but how soon.[45]

"All America . . . Free and Independent"

Rafe Blaufarb has posited that the international dimension of the independence struggle in the Hispanic New World took on added significance after 1815, when the Western powers upped their competition for influence over Spanish America.[46] By then, the United States had become the home of a thriving Irish community. Beyond the mere weight of numbers—almost half of the four hundred thousand Europeans landing in the United States between 1783 and 1819 were Irish—this diasporic group was also highly relevant in political terms.[47] It included around two thousand exiles, an eclectic collection of personalities from different backgrounds and of every religious denomination or none, for the most part veterans of the United Irish rebellion of 1798.[48] Émigrés such as John Binns, Baptis Irvine, and William Duane—who has been considered "at least as much a founder of the Democratic-Republican party as any of the presidents"—became leading printer-editors over these years.[49] Through

their pens and presses, these Irish radicals played a role in shaping public opinion in the United States that transcended ethnonational boundaries.

The most politicized sector of the Irish community had manifested a decidedly cosmopolitan worldview even in the unwelcoming nativist and anti-Jacobin atmosphere that followed the passing of the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798. Historians have established the many ways in which Irish Jeffersonians "linked American nationalism to the ideals of an international democratic revolution."[50] The determination with which they embraced the New World as a whole in this cosmovision, however, has so far received insufficient attention.[51] At a time in which the Irish community was still having to defend itself as belonging to the citizenry of the United States, Irish exiles displayed an understanding of the collapse of the Hispanic monarchy that connected the Spanish American struggle for sovereignty to their own revolutionary trajectory. "Are we still not United Irishmen?," asked William Sampson to a room bustling with republican émigrés in New York in April 1817. The loud "ayes, for ever and ever" of the audience were followed by a declaration that revealed the wider geopolitical vision of these exiles: "Let it be understood . . . that all who love, who seek, who strike for liberty are brethren and friends, and that our fondest wishes, our most ardent hopes by day and night are with them."[52]

In jogging the collective memory of the gathering, the Derry-born lawyer and pamphleteer referred explicitly to the southern neighbors "of this great continent, where liberty yet shelters with uncertain wings."[53] Irish opinion makers in the United States were eager to see the insurgents of South America succeed, but the reasons for their support were notably different from the ones circulating in the public sphere of Ireland. One of their chief concerns—ensuring that the republican form of government succeeded in South America—was directly intertwined with the politics of the United States. In "this *new* world, where, under a *new* order of things, the mind is free," Irish émigrés took every opportunity to

manifest their republican credentials.[54] Rumors of the establishment of a Bourbon dynasty in Spanish America in 1809 had already driven John Binns, the editor of the *Democratic Press* in Philadelphia (and a veteran of both the London Corresponding Society and the Society of United Irishmen), to make a staunch defense of republicanism: "Let us not cut with a double edge, and destroy both Old World and New by the same fatal folly."[55] The designation of Rufus King as the Federalist candidate in the presidential election of 1816 afforded the Irish another chance to solidify their commitment to a republican New World. As a contributor to the New York *Shamrock* playfully warned his countrymen, "You have escaped from the monarchy of Europe, beware of an American King."[56] In this light, the revolutions in Spanish America formed part of a global restructuring of the Western world sparked by the American Revolution and renewed during the Anglo-American War of 1812. Such was the notion conveyed by the editor of the same newspaper, the United Irish exile Thomas O'Connor, in hoping that "the patriotic song of the north" would travel south and echo in the Andes.[57]

Efforts to develop a Pan-American revolutionary rhetoric rooted in the United States became even more evident once the Irish émigrés developed personal contacts with a nascent community of Spanish American exiles driven to North America from as far and wide as Caracas, Buenos Aires, or Santiago.[58] During his sojourn in the United States in the fall of 1816, for example, the Chilean revolutionary José Miguel Carrera met with Baptis Irvine—editor of the New York *Columbian*—and Dr. William J. MacNeven, after which the Irishmen contributed financially to the furnishing of his return expedition.[59] Carrera also visited William Duane, the go-to person in Philadelphia for recommendations to join the patriot armies in Spanish America.[60]

Duane's efforts in support of Spanish American independence surpassed those of any other member of the Irish émigré community. From the pages of the *Aurora*, he campaigned tirelessly for what was presented as "the cause of mankind," underlining the anti-oligarchic

principles of these movements.[61] Convinced that their revolution was "destined to accomplish a greater revolution than the world has yet witnessed," Duane argued with passion that the insurgents of the Hispanic New World needed to break away completely from "the colonial system."[62] This implied not only a separation from "kings and priests" but, even more importantly, from any form of European tutelage.[63] Duane vigorously criticized the reluctance of his government to formally recognize the new Hispanic republics and was equally insistent in reminding his Spanish American acquaintances that from his standpoint the true enemy of America—North and South—was Britain. His profound Anglophobia is palpable in his correspondence with his close friend the Colombian envoy Manuel Torres, and with Juan Germán Roscio, the vice president of the Republic of Gran Colombia. "They [the British] will make their approaches to you every day closer and they will use every means to protract your revolution," Duane alerted the Venezuelan intellectual in April 1820. "They do not wish that Spain should again rule you absolutely as before; and they are equally hostile to your entire freedom."[64]

Conclusion: The War of Words

By the spring of 1820, the conversation in Ireland in respect to Spanish America was all about the Irish Legion. Or, to be more precise, about the authority and credentials of its chief organizer, John Devereux. Some of the first volunteers sent across the Atlantic had returned home and informed the public that the commissions sold by his agents "to brave, but credulous young men" were not being recognized by the Spanish American patriots.[65] Others protested the poor rations, the disproportionate number of officers, and even the color of uniforms. Although Devereux's supporters vigorously denounced these accounts as part of a campaign to discredit the general, the fact that neither he nor most of his staff had yet embarked for South America lent credibility to the denunciations. A committee was set up to investigate the claims, but no clear conclusion was reached. O'Connell, who had famously

participated in the recruiting and had sent his fifteen-year-old son, Morgan, to South America with a letter of introduction to Bolívar, continued to trust the Legion's mastermind. "I cannot bring myself to believe that D'Evereux is either treacherous or untrue."[66] The general quickly thanked O'Connell for his "superhuman part" in defending him during the crisis.[67]

These controversies should not divert attention from a key element in the formation of the Irish Legion: from the opening stages of the recruiting drive, the language employed to support it was heavily steeped in British imperial discourse. Volunteers were made to understand that, in joining the war in Spanish America, they were acting as exemplary imperial subjects, throwing open "one of the richest monopolies in the world to the commerce of Britain."[68] Another speaker at a dinner given in Dublin associated the success of the Legion with the prosperity of Ireland and the imperial metropole even more explicitly: "As men, our best feelings—as freemen, our best principles—and *as citizens of this empire*, our best and nearest interests are deeply involved with South America, in her struggle, and for her independence."[69]

This vocabulary was reminiscent of earlier Irish articulations of the Hispanic New World. Between 1788 and 1790, a young Wolfe Tone had sent the British government no fewer than four memorials proposing the establishment of a military outpost on the Sandwich Islands from which to affect the liberation of Spanish America, which would lead to "advantages, beyond all computation," to England's commerce.[70] It also reflected a deep assimilation of anti-Spanish tropes in Irish popular culture. Dark representations of Spain's past, evident above all through the ubiquitous criticism and ridicule of the Inquisition, resurfaced in the work of Irish novelists and playwrights of all denominations after Ferdinand VII's restoration of absolutism.[71]

The Irish radicals in the United States would have agreed with these depictions of the Hispanic monarchy. Their readings of the independence struggle in Spanish America,

however, often stood in stark opposition. In post-Union Ireland, hardly any observers established comparisons between the situations of Spanish American and Irish people within their respective monarchies.[72] Long gone were the images overtly assimilating Ireland to the plight of the native South Americans. The Irish community in the United States, by contrast, often represented the grievances of the Spanish Americans and the Irish as interchangeable. Stating that England had supported Spain "to rivet her slavery, to confirm her inquisition, her despotism, and her odious privileged orders," radicals like Duane were also quick to claim that "none except the Irish and the East Indian . . . can bear any parallel to that of Spanish America for the atrocious cruelties and perfidies which it presents."[73]

Noticeably, Irish opinion in the United States paid little attention to the Irish Legion. These silences in an otherwise loquacious environment may indicate that they perceived it as a venture which, willingly or not, served British colonial interests.[74] Dublin newspapers had reported that Devereux at first seemed "more desirous of procuring colonists to proceed to South America . . . than to induce persons to join the army," and it is evident that recruitment benefited from the publicity of schemes to settle Irish immigrants in a "New Erin" on the banks of the Orinoco.[75] Even O'Connell observed forthrightly that "Colombia wants soldiers and colonists."[76] The fact that the Irish made up the most numerous contingent of Britons on the battlefields of South America should perhaps be treated less as an expression of anti-imperial fervor and more as a prelude to the rollout of Irish settler colonialism in the region.[77] After all, by the early 1840s even Daniel F. O'Leary, one of the most radical of fighters in his youth, was serving Queen Victoria in British diplomatic posts in Caracas and Bogotá.[78]

Understanding Irish connections with the Hispanic world during the Age of Revolutions demands paying close attention to contingency and to the overlap between local and transnational junctures. This was "the heroic age of popular Radicalism," but also the time when a British king accustomed to demonstrations of popular disaffection in London

was received with adulation in Dublin.[79] Moreover, it was a period during which other Irish people continued to serve the interests of Spain, even as apologists for slavery in Cuba and Puerto Rico.[80] Irish responses to the crisis of the Hispanic monarchy in the Americas should thus be approached with the same emphasis on contingency, complexity, and ambiguity that Kevin Kenny put on characterizing Ireland's historical relationship to the British Empire.[81] As noted by Denis Driscol, the editor of the New York *Temple of Reason* (and formerly a Spanish teacher in Philadelphia during his early days in exile): "In this age of revolutions we should not be surprised at any change however unexpected or improbable."[82] The dialogue between Ireland and Spanish America promises to be most fruitful if it develops interpretative frameworks that stress the fortuity of the birth of new nations and focus on the intra- and inter-imperial dynamics at play.

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Notes

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[1] *Freeman's Journal*, "Mr. O'Connell."

[2] *Saunder's News-Letter*, "The London Examiner and Public Liberty" (my italics).

[3] Arthur Wellesley to Robert Peel, Windsor, December 26, 1824, WP1/808/17, Wellington Papers, University of Southampton Special Collections Library.

[4] Kaufmann, *British Policy*, 178.

[5] Wellesley to Peel.

[6] Geoghegan, *King Dan*, 207.

[7] Geoghegan, *King Dan*, 233.

[8] O'Connell (Dublin, January 18, 1820), quoted in *Freeman's Journal*, "South American Service."

[9] Peel to Wellesley, December 29, 1824, WP1/807/30, Wellington Papers, University of Southampton Special Collections Library.

[10] *Morning Chronicle*, unsigned and untitled article, London, July 9, 1819. On the Irish Legion see Brown, *Adventuring*.

[11] Higgins, foreword, xxiii.

[12] O'Connor, *Recuerdos*, 57. This can be read as a prefiguration of the wish for military experience expressed by some Irish nationalists in the second half of the century. See, e.g.,

James F. X. O'Brien's reasons for involvement in Guatemala in 1857, in Regan-Lefebvre, *For the Liberty of Ireland*.

[13] On the concept of "total war" applied to the case of Ireland, see Bartlett, "'Total War' and Ireland." For the context after Waterloo, see Kennedy, *Narratives*, 192**.**

[14] Steele, *Notes of the War in Spain*, 29. Idleness and/or frustration are also held as enabling circumstances in classical arguments about the rise of Fenianism. Comerford, "Patriotism as Pastime."

[15] Adelman, "Independence in Latin America," 167–69.

[16] *Freeman's Journal*, "Important Intelligence." For some historians, the juntas having acted as a "collective prince" would imply that these bodies were not revolutionary in character. Portillo Valdés, *Crisis atlántica*, 56–57.

[17] *Belfast Monthly Magazine*, "Monthly Retrospect of Politics," 72.

[18] For discussion of these aspects in the Irish context, see Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture*, 6; de Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, 28; and Regan, "We Could Be of Service," 63. It is also important to acknowledge that there was a vibrant written tradition in the Irish language—as exemplified by the documentary record concerning the American Revolution, in Morley, *Irish Opinion*—which is not covered in this study.

[19] Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks*; Silvestri, *Ireland and India*; Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds*.

[20] McMahon, de Nie, and Townend, *Ireland in an Imperial World*; Bender, "Ireland and Empire"; McCarthy, *Ireland in the World*; Bric, "Ireland and the Atlantic World"; Gleeson, *Irish in the Atlantic World*.

[21] Howe, *Ireland and Empire*, 135; Sweeney, "Common Ground," 513; Whelehan, "Playing with Scales," 13–14; Cleary, "Amongst Empires," 24.

[22] Breña, *El imperio de las circunstancias*, 178–79. On the postcolonial issue, see Moraña, Dussel, and Jáuregui, *Coloniality at Large*; and Mignolo, *Idea of Latin America*.

[23] Foster, *Lost Worlds*, xiii.

[24] Jiménez Codinach, *La Gran Bretaña y la independencia*; Berruezo León, *La lucha de Hispanoamérica*.

[25] Dickinson, *Ireland in the Age of Revolution*; Keogh, "Ireland, Age of Revolutions"; McDowell, *Ireland in the Age of Imperialism and Revolution*.

[26] Polasky, *Revolutions without Borders*.

[27] Ramón, *A Provisional Dictator*; Regan-Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism*.

[28] *Belfast News-Letter*, "Buenos Ayres."

[29] *Freeman's Journal*, "June 5."

[30] *Freeman's Journal*, "Dublin, Saturday, August 11."

[31] Scævola, "To the Committee."

[32] A Manufacturer, *An Essay on the Necessity of Protecting Duties*, 10.

[33] Montezuma, "To the Printer"; [Jebb], *Letters of Guatimozin*; [Drennan], *Letters of Orellana*.

[34] For this context, see Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks*, 77; Jackson, *Two Unions*, 187, 213.

[35] Iglesias-Rogers, "Soldiering Abroad," 40.

[36] *Freeman's Journal*, unsigned and untitled article, October 23, 1811; *London Examiner*, "Irishmen in the Service of France"; *Freeman's Journal*, "The Army."

[37] Blackstock, *Loyalism*, 153.

[38] *Freeman's Journal*, unsigned and untitled article, August 24, 1813.

[39] Patrick Duigenan, quoted in *Belfast Monthly Magazine*, "Monthly Retrospect of Politics," 225.

[40] This description was given by Lord Byron. HL Deb April 21, 1812, vol. 22, col. 649.

[41] *The Trial of John Magee*, xxxvi.

[42] Brownrigg-Gleeson, "Visiones irlandesas," 100–103.

[43] *Freeman's Journal*, "London—Wednesday, June 1."

[44] Wright, *"Natural Leaders,"* 116–17. For a recent approach to cosmopolitanism and empire, see Huber and Jansen, "Dealing with Difference."

[45] *Freeman's Journal*, "England and Spanish America."

[46] Blaufarb, "Western Question," 742.

[47] Grabbe, "European Immigration," 194, table 2.

[48] Brundage, *Irish Nationalists in America*, 34; McAleer, "In Defense," 188. As noted by Wilson, urban middle-class professionals tend to be overrepresented in approaches to the United Irishmen in exile. Wilson, *United Irishmen*, 4.

[49] Pasley, "*Tyranny of Printers*," 195.

[50] Waldstreicher, *In the Midst*, 129.

[51] Wilson, *United Irishmen*, 61, 93; Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 216.

[52] Quoted in *New-York Columbian*, "Republican General Meeting."

[53] *New-York Columbian*, "Republican General Meeting."

[54] *Western Star, and Harp of Erin*, "To the Public."

[55] *Democratic Press*, "Refuge for the Spanish Patriots."

[56] A Son of Erin, "To the Adopted Citizens." King had been the US minister in London at the time of the 1798 rebellion and was seen by leading exiles as responsible for having impeded the arrival of many other United Irishmen.

[57] *Shamrock*, unsigned and untitled article, July 13, 1816.

[58] Grases, *Preindependencia y emancipación*, 442; Rojas, "Traductores."

[59] Carrera, *Diario*, 116.

[60] Carrera, *Diario*, 111; Fitz, *Our Sister Republics*, 169.

[61] *Weekly Aurora*, "Cause of Mankind."

[62] *Aurora General Advertiser*, "What Is Our Policy."

[63] *Weekly Aurora*, "Cause of Mankind."

[64] Duane to Roscio (Philadelphia, April 8, 1820), quoted in Bowman, "Correspondence," 117.

[65] *Freeman's Journal*, "South American Service (from a Morning Paper)."

[66] Quoted in *Freeman's Journal*, "South American Service."

[67] Devereux to O'Connell, Liverpool, February 18, 1820, in O'Connell, *Correspondence*, 2:233.

[68] *Freeman's Journal*, "South American Independents."

[69] John Finlay, quoted in *Freeman's Journal*, "Grand Dinner" (my italics).

[70] Wolfe Tone to Lord Grenville, Dublin, December 7, 1790, in Moody, McDowell, and Woods, *Writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone*, 1:81.

[71] See, e.g., Sheil, *Apostate*; Edgeworth, *Harrington*; and Maturin, *Manuel*. See also Connolly, "Theater and Nation."

[72] The main exception was Walter Cox's *Irish Magazine, and Monthly Asylum for Neglected Biography* (Dublin, 1807–15).

[73] *Weekly Aurora*, "National Politics"; *Weekly Aurora*, "An Appeal."

[74] Devereux was later said to have been in direct communication with Lord Liverpool throughout this period. [Kennedy], "Reminiscences," 515.

[75] *Freeman's Journal*, "South America." On the plans for "New Erin," see Luis López Méndez to Francisco Antonio Zea, London, January 28, 1819, Solicitudes desde el extranjero, leg. 6, D.2, ff. 18–19, Sección República, Peticiones y Solicitudes, Archivo General de la Nación, Bogotá, Colombia.

[76] O'Connell to Finlay, Limerick, March 6, 1820, in O'Connell, *Correspondence*, 2:236–37.

[77] The Irish represented close to 54 percent of the nearly seven thousand overseas adventurers, as compared to 22 percent of Englishmen or 5 percent of Scots. Brown, *Adventuring*, 27–28. For a recent perspective on Irish settler colonialism, see Mullen, "How the Irish Became Settlers."

[78] Reports of an interview with the Duke of Wellington in 1834 in which O'Leary had supposedly declared himself proud of being a British subject and favorable to a return to monarchism in South America caused an important stir in Colombia: *Constitucional de Cundinamarca*, "Noticia"; and the translation published in Ireland, *Clonmel Herald*, "English and Colombian Diplomacy."

[79] Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, 631; Loughlin, *British Monarchy and Ireland*, 25.

[80] Flinter, *History of the Revolution in Caracas*, 207.

[81] Kenny, "Ireland and the British Empire," 3.

[82] *Temple of Reason*, unsigned and untitled article, November 15, 1800; Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 113.