

Wild Geese: Irish Migrants in Early Modern Europe Conference

An event organised as part of the 2022 edition of the Limerick Bastille Day Wild Geese Festival



Limerick, 15–16 July 2022

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Venues:

Friday, 15 July: Room T117 (TARA Building), Mary Immaculate College, Limerick
Saturday, 16 July: Dance Limerick Space (St John's Church), John's Square, Limerick

With the support of:



IRISH RESEARCH COUNCIL
An Chomhairle um Thaighde in Éirinn



Centre for
Early Modern Studies
Limerick

For full information on the conference – including pre-registration – please see our website: <https://wildgeese2022.wordpress.com/>

The conference is free to attend, but pre-registration is essential. Unfortunately, we will not be able to facilitate admission without pre-registration.

Friday, 15 July 2022

Venue: Room T117 (TARA Building), Mary Immaculate College, Limerick

9.30–9.45 Registration

9.45–10.00 Welcome by Dr Loïc Guyon (Honorary Consul of France, Head of the Department of French Studies at MIC, member of the Board of Directors of Alliance française Limerick and founder of the Limerick Bastille Day Wild Geese Festival), Dr Liam Chambers (Head of the Department of History at MIC), and Patricia Roberts (Chairperson of the Limerick Civic Trust)

10.00–11.30 Panel 1: Soldiers and Wild Geese

Chair: Dr Loïc Guyon (Mary Immaculate College)

- Dr Pádraig Lenihan (National University of Ireland Galway)
The 'barbarous Muscovite' and the 'Hero': Rosen at Derry (1689) and Boisseleau at Limerick (1690)
- Dr Pierre-Louis Coudray
'The Hibernians are a deceiving lot. It is a treacherous nation.': A century of complex Franco-Irish military relations (1690-1792)
- Dr Ciarán McDonnell
For king or country? The Irish Brigade in the French Revolution

11.30–12.00 Tea/Coffee

12.00–1.00 Keynote Lecture 1

Professor Thomas O'Connor (Maynooth University)

The Irish in Europe as a field of research: challenges and opportunities

Chair: Dr Liam Chambers

1.00–2.00: Light Lunch

2.00–3.30: Panel 2: Communities, Women and Children

Chair: Dr Clodagh Tait (Mary Immaculate College)

- Professor Marian Lyons (Maynooth University)
The Irish at St Germain-en-Laye, c.1692-c.1725
- Dr Frances Nolan (University College Dublin)
Tracing a transnational life: a posthumous inventory of the estate of Frances, duchess of Tyrconnell (c.1649-1731)
- Muireann McCann (European University Institute)

Women and children in exile: the 'Wild Geese' and the British Establishments, 1798–1815

3.30–4.00: Break

4.00–5.30: **Panel 3: Empires**

Chair: Dr Stephen Griffin (University of Limerick)

- Dr Igor Pérez Tostado (Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Seville)
Invisible lives: Irish experiences in the early modern Spanish Caribbean
- Professor Finola O'Kane Crimmins (University College Dublin)
Some sharp island gradients: the eighteenth-century Franco-Irish landscapes of Saint Domingue (Haiti)
- Dr José Brownrigg-Gleeson Martinez (University of Salamanca)
On empire's edge: reconsidering Irish networks in Spanish America in the late eighteenth century

Saturday, 16 July 2022

Venue: Dance Limerick Space (St John's Church), John's Square, Limerick

9.30–9.45: Registration

9.45–10.00: Welcome

10.00–11.30 **Panel 4: Migrants and Agents**

Chair: Professor Marian Lyons (Maynooth University)

- Dr Éamon Ó Ciosáin (Maynooth University)
The Wild Geese before the Wild Geese: patterns of Irish emigration prior to 1690.
- Dr Matteo Binasco (Universidad Pablo de Olavide-Seville/Università per Stranieri di Siena)
The Hibernesi and the Urbs during the early-modern period: a contrasting relationship
- Dr Stephen Griffin (University of Limerick)
Irish émigrés, Jacobite agents, and Imperial service in the Austrian Habsburg lands in the early eighteenth century

11.30–12.00 Tea/Coffee

12.00–1.00 **Keynote Lecture 2**

Dr Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac (Cheffe du Service Historique de la Défense, France)

The French, the Stuarts in exile and the Wild Geese

Chair: Ambassador of France, H.E. Vincent Guérend

1.00–2.00 Light Lunch

2.00–3.30 **Panel 5: Roundtable Discussion: History and Migration Today**

Chair: Professor Lorraine McIlrath (Mary Immaculate College)

Discussants:

- Professor Bryan Fanning (University College Dublin)
- A speaker from Doras
- Florence Ajala (Mary Immaculate College)
- Dr Olesia Zhytkova

3.30–4.00 Break

4.00–5.30 **Panel 6: Students and Irish Colleges**

Chair: Tracy McCarthy (Mary Immaculate College)

- Dr Karie Schultz (University of St Andrews)
The Irish college at Salamanca: student mobility and identity formation in the seventeenth century
- Maura Valenti (University of Oxford)
Portable organs and stencilled plainchant: music at Irish continental colleges in the eighteenth century
- Dr Mathieu Ferradou (Le Mans University/TEMOS (UMR 9016))
From Jacobite to Jacobin: The Irish college at Paris as a laboratory of political mutation

Abstracts

Dr Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac (Cheffe du Service Historique de la Défense, France)
The French, the Stuarts in exile and the Wild Geese

Abstract to be confirmed

Professor Thomas O'Connor (Maynooth University)
The Irish in Europe as a field of research: challenges and opportunities

How has the academic study of the early modern Irish in Europe developed in recent decades? To what extent and with what effect has the field been integrated into national and international historiographies? What particular challenges do researchers in the field face and how will these influence research methodologies and collaborations?

Dr Matteo Binasco (Universidad Pablo de Olavide -Seville/Università per Stranieri di Siena)
The Hibernesi and the Urbs during the early-modern period: a contrasting relationship

In the last twenty-five years Irish emigration to continental Europe has been the object of a refined and fast-growing scholarship. Yet a quick glimpse at the historiography indicates that Irish emigration to Rome, and more broadly to the Italian Peninsula, is still absent or underrepresented. This paper will seek to demonstrate that, since the late fifteen century, the Irish began – with tangible difficulties – to establish in Rome and thus to be recognized as one of the many foreign communities who inhabited the city. By focusing on the process of emigration/integration the paper will demonstrate that Rome not only attracted Irish clerics but also lay migrants as well as Irish Protestants. The paper will also illustrate whether and how the “global” context of Rome influenced the experience of the Irish migrants.

Dr José Brownrigg-Gleeson Martinez (University of Salamanca)
On empire's edge: reconsidering Irish networks in Spanish America in the late eighteenth century

The Irish presence in Spanish America reached fresh heights in the second half of the eighteenth century. Group solidarity and long-established kinship practices prompted the rise of select members of the Irish émigré community in Spain to positions of power as colonial officials, soldiers or clerics in the New World. At the same time, other Irish men and women looking to prosper from geopolitical uncertainties and realignments also poured into the Spanish territories. Focusing on fluid borderland zones in New Granada, Louisiana, the Floridas and the Caribbean, this paper will explore the multifaceted Irish experience of the Spanish empire in the Americas in the late eighteenth century. It will discuss the existence of different Irish networks, and outline their evolution as the Atlantic descended into an era of revolutionary unrest. In doing so, it aspires to encourage discussion on the role of the Irish diaspora in both perpetuating and contesting empire outside the Anglophone world.

Dr Pierre-Louis Coudray
'The Hibernians are a deceiving lot. It is a treacherous nation.': a century of complex Franco-Irish military relations (1690-1792)

The historical memory attached to the Wild Geese in the service of France in the eighteenth century regularly commemorates their feats of arms, the Irish Brigade being systematically used to illustrate the centuries-old Franco-Irish friendship. The battles of Cremona in 1702 or that of Fontenoy in 1745 readily come to mind as examples of Irish bravery under the golden lilies. Yet this concept of an amicable relationship between the Irish military refugees and the French is actually one of the most deeply rooted misconceptions existing in popular Irish historiography. After all, even if the Brigade proved itself many times over on European battlefields, the French were initially suspicious of the Irish who, in turn, regularly felt the need to remind their hosts of the military significance of the Jacobite regiments. Thus, the complex reality beyond the myth of the Wild Geese in the eighteenth century deserves a reassessment only achievable through the use of local and contemporary archives found in France, Ireland, Britain and even further afield.

Dr Mathieu Ferradou (Le Mans University/ TEMOS (UMR 9016))

From Jacobite to Jacobin: The Irish college at Paris as a laboratory of political mutation

Perhaps the most prestigious and certainly the most important Irish college abroad during the *Ancien Régime*, the Irish College at Paris was central in the networks of the Wild Geese, one where the sons of prominent families went to study as priests or to pursue careers in the medicine or in the army. Its financial importance should not be downplayed, as these studies were financed through a vast system of foundations, invested in various ventures, which provided money for burses granted to students. As such, it was a key establishment to control as it gave power over the fate of the heirs of Catholic families. Inevitably, rivalries and conflicts built over its control. The French Revolution re-oriented these conflicts and politicized them in new ways. Through the case studies of two individual, Kerryman William Duckett and Ulsterman Fr. James Coigly, who spearheaded the opposition of the students against the superiors of the college from 1787 to 1792, culminating in the event known as the 'Republic in the College' on 29 October 1792, it is possible to shed light on how these rivalries, which had taken place in a Jacobite context, made the college one of the laboratories where Jacobitism transformed into Jacobinism. It offers a tantalizing window on Irish and French republicanisms when they emerged together in a dynamic interplay.

Dr Stephen Griffin (University of Limerick)

Irish émigrés, Jacobite agents, and Imperial service in the Austrian Habsburg lands in the early eighteenth century

From the early-seventeenth century onwards, Irish émigrés maintained a continuous presence in the lands of the Austrian Habsburgs. Irish officers served the Habsburg emperor and participated in all Austrian conflicts since at least the time of the Thirty Years' War (1618-48). One can find them on active service ranging from Royal Hungary where they came into conflict with the Ottoman Empire, to the western Mediterranean where they clashed with Bourbon France and Spain. A further aspect of the Irish presence in Austria was the arrival of agents of the Stuart court between 1725-43 who sought Habsburg aid for the restoration of the Stuart monarchy which had been in exile since 1688. The dispatches of Jacobite agents from Vienna contain numerous references to Irish soldiers, details of their activities, their regiments, and of their military endeavours. This paper utilises that correspondence in order

to illustrate the dynamic which existed between the Irish in Austria, the Habsburg monarchy which they served, and the Jacobites who sought to communicate with them both. Highlighting the details of their activities, and of their movements during wartime also draws attention to the fact that the Irish in Austria were servants of empire and were regularly in conflict with Habsburg imperial rivals in both the east and the west.

Dr Pádraig Lenihan (National University of Ireland Galway)

The ‘barbarous Muscovite’ and the ‘Hero’: Rosen at Derry (1689) and Boisseleau at Limerick (1690)

Siege was the dominant form of warfare in the War of the Grand Alliance (1688-97) and this paper will evaluate the pivotal role played by two French officers Conrad Von Rosen and Alexander Marquis de Boisseleau at the Sieges of Derry (1689) and Limerick (1690). Rosen’s notorious threat to round up civilians and drive them into the starving town will be set in the context, among other things, of Lieutenant General Richard Hamilton’s generosity in granting passes and protections to civilians wishing to leave. Boisseleau was chosen for a last-ditch defence of Limerick because of his military record but because he was, in the eyes of Patrick Sarsfield’s faction, the least obnoxious of Richard Talbot Earl of Tyrconnell’s supporters. That said, he would display no little military skill as well as political nous.

Professor Marian Lyons (Maynooth University)

The Irish at St Germain-en-Laye, c.1692-c.1725

This paper profiles the small community of Irish Jacobite men, women and children who re-located to St Germain-en-Laye in the 1690s and early 1700s. Themes addressed include the migrants’ geographical and familial origins in Ireland; age, gender, occupational and religious profiles; marriage patterns; familial and military networks; health, poverty and mortality rates; the impact of reform of the French army following the Treaty of Ryswick (1697), the death of Mary of Modena (1718) and the transfer of the Stuart court to Rome (1719) on the Irish who stayed at St Germain.

Muireann McCann (European University Institute)

Women and children in exile: the ‘Wild Geese’ and the British Establishments, 1798-1815

In this paper I will explore the role played by the “British Establishments” in Paris in the lives of Irish people in Europe at the opening of the nineteenth century. The lives of many people were disrupted by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, leading them to the doors of the former Collège des Irlandais in search of help. This paper will focus particularly on the women and children of the “Wild Geese” of 1798. As well as contributing to the longer history of Irish migration to France, an exploration of the “British Establishments” under Napoleon can contribute to a growing body of research on the experience of women and families in exile in nineteenth-century Europe.

Dr Frances Nolan (University College Dublin)

Tracing a transnational life: a posthumous inventory of the estate of Frances, duchess of Tyrconnell (c.1649-1731)

This paper will consider the transnational life of Frances Jennings, Jacobite duchess of Tyrconnell (c.1649-1731), using a posthumous inventory of her life as a lens to interrogate the ways in which she was shaped by her experiences as an émigré woman; first, as the wife and then widow of George Hamilton, an Irish officer who enlisted in Louis XIV's forces after Catholics were expelled from the English army in 1668; and second, as the widow of James II's lord deputy (and thus former vicereine of Ireland) and a senior member of the exiled Jacobite court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. The Tyrconnell inventory offers significant evidence of the duchess's conversion to Catholicism in the 1670s, which precipitated her role as a patron of religious houses, both in France and in Ireland. It also allows (through a list of the contents of her library) for a nuanced interrogation of her personal faith, which was shaped, in part, by her exposure to Jansenist theology in France. The inventory also provides evidence of the material dimensions of the duchess's long life, as it includes details of the possessions she accumulated during her first residence on the Continent, the contents the house she purchased in London in 1719, and the items on her person at the time of her death in Dublin in 1731. This paper will also consider the importance of the Tyrconnell inventory in a wider context, asking what it can tell us about the lives and experiences of émigré women in the early modern period.

Dr Ciarán McDonnell

For king or country? The Irish Brigade in the French Revolution

The radical reformers of the French Revolution sought to undo the power of the monarchy, aristocracy, and Catholic Church. The Irish 'Wild Geese' connection to France, closely associated with these three institutions, came under great strain. This paper examines the experiences of officers of Dillon's Regiment, part of the Irish Brigade in the French army, during this time. Why did some Irish officers remain loyal to the royalist cause, and why did others choose to embrace the new French Republic? Some even offered their services to Britain, eventually becoming playing a role in the burgeoning British Empire. This paper challenges the assumption that the French Revolution fatally damaged the Wild Geese tradition of military service to France, arguing that the 'Irish' identity of the officers was something mutable and dynamic, adapting to the new challenges that the Revolution posed to the Irish Brigade and the French army in general.

Dr Éamon Ó Ciosáin (Maynooth University)

The Wild Geese before the Wild Geese: patterns of Irish emigration prior to 1690

The much-studied wave of emigration from Ireland which began in 1690 was no new departure. The arrival of the Irish in France (and later in Spain) was an extension of long-standing patterns and was supported by structures which preceded it. Migration to Europe and across the Atlantic had been in progress since the mid-16th century, growing from a small trickle to movements of thousands of people by 1600. The development of transatlantic trade brought Irish migrants to places from Newfoundland to the Amazon; it is part of the early modern globalisation. Migration to Europe was created by colonisation in Ireland, religious and educational difficulties and trading opportunities, reaching territories from Portugal to Bohemia. Wars and plantations in the 17th century accelerated this movement at certain times. Religious institutions, Irish regiments and civilian communities appeared in France, Spanish territories and elsewhere. Servants and small landowners could be found in the West

Indies and on the east coast of America in the course of the century. The exile of the Stuart king in France in 1652-5, which attracted large-scale Irish military formations in France and Flanders, was an almost identical precursor of the *Grand Exil* of 1690.

Professor Finola O’Kane Crimmins (University College Dublin)

Some sharp island gradients: the eighteenth-century Franco-Irish landscapes of Saint Domingue (Haiti)

French advances in engineering, map-making, landscape design and colonial governance, made Saint-Domingue, now Haiti, the world's most valuable tropical colony for most of the eighteenth century. Governed as another French *département* from Paris, its plantations were concentrated in its flat plains and designed and drawn from a distance, lending its infrastructure an ambitious coherence. Such centralised design intent led to substantial levels of innovation, particularly in the realms of irrigation and water power. Yet despite its centrality to the history of the Caribbean and to French colonialism, only one-seventh of Saint-Méry's encyclopaedic two volume *Description Physique, Civile, Politique et Historique de la Partie Francaise de l'Isle de Saint-Dominque* (1797-98), with its in-depth landscape assessments of every district, has ever been fully translated into English. This paper will recreate Moreau de Saint-Méry's own plantation landscape, located near Fort Dauphin, (now Fort Liberté) and some of the larger Franco-Irish plantations that lay in its vicinity. A detour to the suspiciously named Eaux de Boynes spa, built by a planter married to an O’Gorman, will demonstrate the sharp gradient from leisured elegance to enslaved labour that is characteristic of such plantation environments.

Dr Igor Pérez Tostado (Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Seville)

Invisible lives: Irish experiences in the early modern Spanish Caribbean

Irish migrants crisscrossed the Spanish empire in America and settled in it almost from its inception to the political emancipation and beyond. Much attention has been given to the immensely wealthy slave merchants and top ranking administrators of the 18th century, such as the O’Farrills, O’Gavans and Powers, to name a few. Much less is known about the much more humble Irish women and men who circulated and settled in the Spanish Caribbean one century prior. In this presentation, based on the original documentation of the Spanish American administration preserved at the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, I will cover what those sources tell us about Irish arrival and mobility, work, religious and family life, the Spanish imperial and local policies towards them and their involvement in local affairs.

Dr Karie Schultz (University of St Andrews)

The Irish College at Salamanca: Student Mobility and Identity Formation in the Seventeenth Century

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Irish colleges emerged across continental Europe to train persecuted Catholic students who could not receive an education at home. In this paper, I will specifically focus on the studies and experiences of students who travelled to the Irish College at Salamanca during the seventeenth century. Drawing upon the wealth of archival material related to this college, I will investigate how the time that Irish students spent abroad reinforced or challenged their national and confessional identities in this period.

Lastly, I will discuss what their experiences of migration can teach us about the role of the overseas Irish Catholic colleges in early modern identity formation more broadly.

Maura Valenti (University of Oxford)

Portable organs and stencilled plainchant: music at Irish continental colleges in the eighteenth century

This paper will discuss the history of music at some of the Irish continental colleges in the eighteenth century, demonstrating that musical training was often a part – or was at least *intended* to be a part – of the education offered by these institutions to students preparing for the priesthood and, in many cases, a return to Ireland and the Catholic mission there. Particularly rich examples of musical life can be found in the histories of the Irish Franciscan colleges of St Anthony's, Louvain and San Isidoro, Rome, and the Irish Dominican colleges of Holy Cross, Louvain and San Clemente, Rome. They show that music has its place in the history of the Irish continental colleges and, indeed, in the history of Irish Catholicism in the eighteenth century.