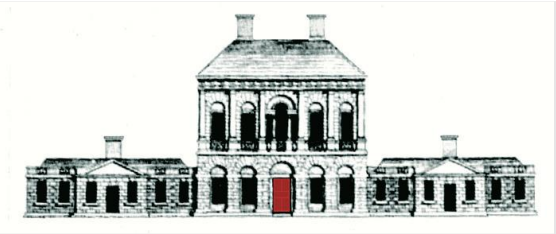

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY IRELAND SOCIETY
AN CUMANN ÉIRE SAN OCHTÚ CEÁD DÉAG

Annual Conference

in association with the

CENTRE FOR EARLY MODERN STUDIES,
LIMERICK

University *of* Limerick

Organised by Christina Morin, David Fleming and Michael Griffin

16-18 June 2021

Wednesday, 16 June

10.00-11.15 *Swift* (and brief conference introduction) *Abstract*
Chair: Richard Kirwan
MS Teams Link

Conrad Brünstrom, '"Whatever fantastic John Asgill may Say": immortality, controversy, and parliamentary exclusion'

Daniel Cook, 'Swift after Ovid: "Death and Daphne"'

11.30-13.00 *Inter/national politics*
Chair: Eoin Magennis
MS Teams Link

Brendan Twomey, '"Dwindled into an Irish solicitor": Swift, the Declaratory Act and the appellate jurisdiction of the British House of Lords'

Patrick Walsh, '"This thing called a bank": Rethinking the 1721 projects for a national bank'

Scott Breuninger, 'Rethinking Berkeley's legacy'

14.00-15.15 *Goldsmith*
Chair: David Clare
MS Teams Link

Michael J. Griffin, 'Editing Oliver Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village* at 250'

Aileen Douglas and Ian Campbell Ross, '"Nothing so tedious as a twice-told tale"? Another look at *The Vicar of Wakefield*'

David O'Shaughnessy, 'Historicizing Goldsmith's *The Captivity* (1764)'

15.30-16.45 *Politics*
Chair: James Kelly
MS Teams Link

Maike Schwiddessen, 'The Irish Parliament's legislation of "improvement" and its failure (1750-1800)'

Joel Herman, 'The political turn: The Irish newspaper in the age of Wilkes'

Sean J. Murphy, 'Charles Lucas's Letter to the Boston Massacre Committee 1770'

17.00-18.00 *Plenary*
Chair: Aileen Douglas
MS Teams Link

Clíona Ó Gallchoir, '"I considered you as a work, capable of perfection": gender, Enlightenment and authorship in the works of Elizabeth and Richard Griffith'

Thursday, 17 June

10.00-11.15 *Land and people*
Chair: David Fleming
MS Teams Link

Andrew Dorman, 'Intimidation or protest? Houghing and the evolution of the army-societal relationship in eighteenth-century Ireland'

Tracy McCarthy, 'Defenderism in Connacht in the 1790s'

Colleen Taylor, 'An un-miserable look at mud cabins'

11.30-13.00 *Global networks and exchange*
Chair: Liam Chambers
MS Teams Link

Marc Caball, 'Early modern state formation and the role of a globalised family network'

Thomas O'Connor, 'Irish masons and their networks in early eighteenth-century Lisbon'

Mark Towsey and Max Skjönsberg, 'Irish subscription libraries in the age of revolution'

14.00-15.15 *Family, material and scientific cultures*
Chair: Tina Morin
MS Teams Link

Claire McCormick, '"Ad Fontes" and eighteenth-century Palatine migration'

Rachel Wilson, '"All Dublin is as black as black can be": the material culture of Irish mourning for the Stuarts and Hanoverians, 1694-1801'

Aideen Herron, 'Origins of empire through terrestrial, nautical and astronomical measurement systems'

15.30-16.45 *Women*
Chair: Moyra Haslett
MS Teams Link

Jason McElligott, 'The ragged philanthropist: Miss Lamotte's post-mortem auction in Dublin, 1769'

Priscilla Sonnier, '"Ierne's answer to Albion": the evolution of elite female portraiture in eighteenth-century-Ireland'

Matthew Reznicek, 'Healing the nation: women, medicine, and the romantic national tale'

17.00-18.00 *Alan Harrison Memorial Lecture*
Chair: Gordon Ó Riain
MS Teams Link

Ciarán Mac Murchaidh, '"Rescuing Christ's sheep from the lyon's jaws": Faith, language and the sermon in early eighteenth-century Ireland'

Friday, 18 June

10.00-11.15 *Literary genres*
Chair: Clíona Ó Gallchoir
MS Teams Link

Andrew Carpenter, 'New light on Dublin society 1680-1711: the poems in the rediscovered 1666 Dublin almanac'

David Clare, 'Elizabeth Griffith: celebrating and extending the Irish Anglican dramatic tradition'

Lucy Cogan, 'To law! voracious law, fair Anna now / Must have recourse': The representation of the legal system in Dorothea Du Bois' *The case of Ann Countess of Anglesey* (1766)'

11.30-13.15 *Irish Song*
Chair: Michael J. Griffin
MS Teams Link

Moyra Haslett, "'A Dissertation on… Irish Musick": Laurence Whyte's selection of Irish song (1740)'

Ciara Conway, 'Irish theatrical song'

Eilís Lavelle, 'The Bunting Collection in manuscript and print'

Sinéad Sturgeon, 'Turlough Carolan's "Gracy Nugent": the biography of a song'

14.00-15.15 *Gaeilge*
Chair:. Síle de Cléir
MS Teams Link

Aengus Ó Fionnagáin, 'The poetry of Laurence Whyte and the Irish language'

Keith Ó Riain, 'Blas den Táiliúir Aerach: léas ar shaothar Éadbhaird de Nógla agus a thábhacht stairiúil'

Patricia Moloney,'Two unpublished letters of Patrick Lynch (*c.*1757–1818), secretary of the Gaelic Society of Dublin'

15.15-15.45 *Annual General Meeting*
MS Teams Link

16.00-17.00 *Plenary*
Chair: David Fleming
MS Teams Link

Ian McBride, 'Irish liberty and the slave trade: from Swift to Burke'

ABSTRACTS

'Rethinking Berkeley's Legacy'

Scott Breuninger
Virginia Commonwealth University

When George Berkeley died in 1753, the Anglo-Irish world not only lost one of its foremost philosophical minds, but also one of its most compassionate figures. As news of his death spread, his family received condolences from religious and political leaders throughout Britain and Ireland, while his obituary in The London Evening-Post recorded the pious nature of "the Good Bishop's" passing. To his contemporaries, Berkeley had gained a reputation as a singular paragon of virtue, expressed by Alexander Pope's famous attribution to him as having "ev'ry virtue under heav'n" and Swift's contention that Minerva had "left him Virtue for a guard." Later, Immanual Kant would add to what had become a chorus in his analysis of the "good Bishop".

Despite these contemporary valorizations of his morality and piety, a close analysis of Berkeley's career reveals that this easy characterization of his virtue should be revisited. Not only did he serve as a high-ranking member of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy during a period of sectarian division, but his missionary plans for the "new world" harboured extremely problematic attitudes towards Native Americans and slaves. Furthermore, his only (existent) poem, "America, or the Muse's Refuge" (1725/6), was perhaps the most forceful eighteenth-century articulation of the classical notion of a *translatio imperii*, which in turn supported colonization in the Americas. This paper will contextually examine Berkeley's contributions to early eighteenth-century missionary activity in the Atlantic world, paying particular attention to how issues of race and religion informed his plans and legacy.

'"Whatever fantastic John Asgill may Say": Immortality, Controversy, and Parliamentary Exclusion'

Conrad Brünstrom
Maynooth University

John Asgill was one of the most high-profile eccentrics of the first decade of the eighteenth century. He was also the only man to be expelled from both the Irish and the English Houses of Commons. Asgill notoriously opined that physical death was not obligatory for Christians in a book which gained him not a single follower but which provided an excuse to remove him from his position as MP for Enniscorthy. Asgill's Irish career is bound up forfeited estates, and connects him with the Browne family. As Nicholas Browne's son in law, he became associated with the estate mismanagement which inspired the poetic ire of Aogán Ó Rathaille.

Asgill was also the target of a small volume of satirical poems by John Sterne, Swift's predecessor as Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral. More broadly, the vilification of Asgill served the purpose of removing him from parliamentary privilege and therefore making him liable for a variety of debts.

Asgill refused to ever recant his bizarre heterodoxy, even though the recasting of his work as "satirical" might have had significant legal and economic advantages. Politically, Asgill was strongly pro-Hanoverian and would later become a trenchant opponent of the Peace of Utrecht. This paper will consider Asgill in terms of the nature of the hostility he was capable of organising and the mixture of sacred and profane attitudes to identity and property that this hostility illustrates.

'New light on Dublin society 1680-1711: the poems in the rediscovered 1666 Dublin almanac'

Andrew Carpenter
University College Dublin

Those interested in Swift's poetry have been aware for years that, in a private house somewhere in Ireland, there has been a copy of a printed Dublin almanac for 1666, on the blank pages of which are transcriptions, said to be by Swift, of contemporary Dublin poems. Sir Harold Williams saw the book when he was editing Swift's poems in the 1930s, but it has not been located since. However, this unique volume surfaced last year and is now in the collection of the National Library of Ireland. This paper gives an account of the book and the twenty poems transcribed into it. The poems are not by Swift nor was he the transcriber, but the texts, which come from the period 1685 to 1711, are of considerable cultural interest and indicate what kind of verse some of those living in late seventeenth-century Dublin were reading, enjoying and preserving.

'"To law! voracious law, fair Anna now / Must have recourse": the representation of the Legal System in Dorothea Du Bois' *The Case of Ann Countess of Anglesey* (1766)'

Lucy Cogan
University College, Dublin

Born in Ireland in 1728 Dorothea Du Bois, née Annesley, was the eldest child of then Lord Altham, later Earl of Angelsey and Ann Simpson, daughter of a wealthy Dublin merchant. Around 1741, however, Du Bois's father left her mother and declared that they had never been married, rendering his three daughters by her illegitimate at a stroke. Du Bois' literary career, which saw her produce a novel, a collection of poetry and numerous "musical entertainments", originated as an effort to right this wrong. The great cause of her life was to see her mother, and by extension herself, vindicated in the eyes of the law or at least in the eyes of the public.
The decisive blow for Du Bois' campaign came in September 1765 when the Irish Attorney General recognised her half-brother, Arthur, as the late earl's rightful heir, though countless suits involving many competing claims were still pending in Ireland and Britain. In response Du Bois published The Case of Ann Countess of Anglesey, which sets out, in a legalistic register that was highly unusual for a female author in the period, the positive case for her parents' marriage and her own legitimacy. Written in the vocabulary of the law, this work openly challenges the legal grounds of the judgment and the patriarchal legal system that produced it.

'Swift after Ovid: "Death and Daphne"'

Daniel Cook
University of Dundee

An elaborate piece of familiar verse, in which Chloe the sharper, the suicidal Florimel, and other recently deceased figures might loosely stand in for local ladies given highly stylised aliases and unelaborated lovelorn backstories, 'Death and Daphne' is a private poem written for at least one reader (though performed, for one night at least, in front of a small party). It is also a generically informed commentary on a range of poetic conventions, which belies its improvisational feel. The object of desire is a paper-faced embodiment of the grim reaper, who is pursued by a noted female gossip in a fashionable home that she would happily swap for the underworld, as told by a moralising narrator comically out of touch with the jaunty *jeu d'esprit* he tells. Despite Daphne's willingness, the unlikely match fails both physically and intellectually. Her deathly touch dampens

any sexual feeling. And she fails to read the parchment on the face of her suitor. That parchment is blank – whiter than the 'fairer Skin' of any 'new-flux't Rake'. Poetry is inverted: the metaphorical becomes literal. An Ovidian courtship is over before it has begun: Death is too deathly, the 'haughty Nymph' too haughty. The laurel (the meaning of Daphne's name) cannot be grasped without breaking poetic potency. For Swift, as this paper will argue, literary influences can be at once instructive and destructive, insistent yet insidious. An avid reader of Ovid over many years, Swift here not so much parodies his Roman forebear as travesties the Ovidian tradition then popular among Irish authors.

'Early modern state formation and the role of a globalised family network'

Marc Caball
University College Dublin

Emma Rothschild's 2011 *The inner life of empires: an eighteenth-century history* emphasised the utility of a family-centred study as a lens through which to comprehend some of the fundamental elements of the age such as politics, empire, warfare, slavery and enlightenment thought. Rothschild demonstrated how a family-focused microhistory can be best deployed to enhance understanding of developments on a global scale. The present paper aims to enhance understanding of Ireland's position within a globalised context of complementary capitalism and colonisation in the early eighteenth century from the perspective of an Anglo-Irish family: the Hedges of county Cork. The careers and experience of two Hedges brothers, Robert in India and Richard in Ireland, illustrate the fluidity and mobility of early modern colonialism and its diverse political and cultural permutations as it sought to accommodate itself to challenging and often hostile environments. Both Robert and Richard Hedges were agents of global capitalism and their experience in apparently diverse colonial locations such as Munster and Bengal risks obscuring a shared commitment to financial self-advancement in a context of political turmoil and cultural tension. In respect of the history of early modern state formation, countless individuals like the Hedges were in many respects the local embodiment of the colonial state and as such their experience provides essential insights into the protracted and contested process of state formation beyond the metropole.

'Elizabeth Griffith: celebrating and extending the Irish Anglican dramatic tradition'

David Clare
Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick

Between the late seventeenth and late nineteenth centuries, a number of Irish Anglican playwrights found success after moving to London and writing English-set plays which commented archly upon the new country within which they found themselves and which frequently (and subtly) included Irish subject matter. This line of playwrights is often said to extend from Farquhar and Congreve to Wilde and Shaw, and critics interested in Irish women's writing have long argued that more women should be included in this pantheon of writers. One Irish female playwright who should certainly be considered part of this dramatic "school" is Elizabeth Griffith, because, in her five major plays which debuted in London between 1765 and 1779, she too examined the English with an outsider's eye and commented – sometimes directly and sometimes obliquely – on Irish socio-political matters. But Griffith should also be seen as part of this Irish Anglican dramatic tradition, because she was very conscious of writing *within* that tradition. As the survey of her major plays in this paper demonstrates, Griffith repeatedly and playfully alluded to the work of major Irish playwrights in her scripts – including George Farquhar, Thomas Southerne, Sir Richard Steele, Thomas Sheridan, Charles Macklin, and R.B. Sheridan – but also (on occasion) challenged, expanded upon, and updated tropes included in important works by those playwrights.

‘Irish theatrical song’

Ciara Conway
Queen’s University Belfast

This paper considers eighteenth-century Irish theatrical song, which here is defined as a song that borrows an Irish folk melody for a musical number in the theatrical genre of English comic opera. The playhouse stage was a crucial site for the dissemination of Irish song, and English comic opera played a pivotal role in disseminating Irish song to a wider audience. This was notably facilitated by the Irish theatrical song that appeared in the comic operas of Irish actor and playwright, John O’Keeffe (1747-1833). This paper reads O’Keeffe’s first main piece comic opera *The Castle of Andalusia* as a case study to evaluate how O’Keeffe’s Irish theatrical song not only disseminated Irish song to a wider audience, but demonstrated an empowered Irish cultural identity by challenging musical hierarchies and presenting a degree of musical equality in English comic opera.

‘Intimidation or protest? Houghing and the evolution of the army-societal relationship in eighteenth-century Ireland’

Andrew Dorman
Dublin City University

From its inception in the 1690s the Irish Military Establishment (IME) had an ever-fluctuating relationship with its host society. Commanded and paid for from Dublin but subservient to the monarchy, it played a major part in the grand strategy of Empire, and the history of eighteenth-century Ireland. Composed predominantly of non-Irish soldiers, the traditional narrative places the force in a hostile land, isolated from the local population in barracks and under threat from both French invasion and Catholic insurrection. However, the IME’S interactions with Irish society were far more nuanced than this narrative suggests, and it is possible to plot the highs and lows of the relationship across this hundred-year period. This paper will examine the evolution of the army-societal relationship throughout the eighteenth century in both urban and rural spheres. It will then present a case study of the origins, motivations, and organisation of the ‘houghing’ movement, a vicious and targeted campaign of mutilation carried out against soldiers during the 1770s and 1780s. Houghing is often described as a form of protest, but this paper shall explain why this categorisation is an oversimplification of a more complicated phenomenon. This paper provides an analysis of the accounts of, and attitudes to houghing documented in contemporary newspapers, diaries and other sources and explains how attitudes of both army and society to the victims and perpetrators of the atrocity changed over time. In doing so it contributes to an understanding of the interplay between ‘societal’ and ‘military’ history in eighteenth century Ireland.

‘Nothing so tedious as a twice-told tale’? another look at *The Vicar of Wakefield*

Aileen Douglas and Ian Campbell Ross
Trinity College Dublin

Even in a period when prose fiction was in flux, some works of the ‘new species of writing’ caused early reviewers particular problems. Unsurprisingly, many did not know what to make of Laurence Sterne’s *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759-67), concerning which the *Critical Magazine* declared itself unable to give its readers any idea whatever, and Samuel Johnson famously found ‘odd’. Yet Oliver Goldsmith’s *The Vicar of Wakefield: A Tale* (1766) caused scarcely fewer problems. *The Monthly Review* wrote of ‘this singular tale’, and the *Critical Review* ‘this very singular novel’, while *The Public Advertiser* seemed to keep the work at arm’s length, offering some account

of a 'new Thing, recently published'. Goldsmith's attitude towards his characters, along with his evident insouciance concerning matters of time and place in the fiction, have bemused as much as intrigued generations of readers. A comic novel? a satire? a heart-warming portrait of benevolence? a harsh critique of the contemporary cult of sentimentalism? In the nineteenth century, Robert Southey wrote of this 'puzzler to the critic' and the work has indeed puzzled critics, editors, and annotators right up to the present day. This paper looks again at the origins of Goldsmith's 'tale'.

'Editing Oliver Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village* at 250'

Michael J. Griffin
University of Limerick

In a 1973 interview with fellow Irish poet Eavan Boland for the *Irish Times*, John Montague relayed his sense of *The Rough Field* as a 'a poem about a threatened way of life'. Boland thought it 'not surprising that so contemporary a poet should turn back to one so superficially outdated as Goldsmith'. Montague remarked that Goldsmith was 'the first to state this great theme … it's a lament for a way of life, but a celebration of it at the same time'. In a 2014 post-colonial reading Shirley Lau Wong defended pastoral poetry from charges of aestheticizing the harsher realities of agricultural labour, and argues that in Montague's *Rough Field* Goldsmith's pastoral is modernized to encompass an ambivalence towards more recent forms of modernization. This ambivalence is poignantly articulated in the *Rough Field*'s concluding elegiac sequence, which alludes pointedly to Goldsmith, in its envisioning of an older — and harsher —rural order giving way to a more efficient mode, with 'Fewer hands, bigger markets, larger farms./Yet something mourns'. Montague saw *The Deserted Village* as 'a sort of rural Wasteland', with a resonance similar to Eliot's modernist classic. He did not seek to associate Auburn with Ireland specifically, preferring instead to view it as a 'universal village' though which Goldsmith could consider the apparently inverse relationship between the health of rural society and the extent of imperial expansion. Montague's analysis broadens the appeal and relevance of Goldsmith's poem, seeing in it not simply or merely a local preoccupation but an international concern which is both historically specific *and* transhistorical. It is a poem which reverberates with questions, its critical fate still unfolding since the last major scholarly editions published in the 1960s. In this paper I will survey the critical and bibliographical questions which have arisen since the last round of textual criticism concerning the poem, and consider how it might best be presented, introduced, and annotated for a new generation of readers, 250/1 years after its initial publication.

'"A dissertation on… Irish musick": Laurence Whyte's selection of Irish song (1740)'

Moyra Haslett
Queen's University Belfast

In 1740 Laurence Whyte published in Dublin a volume of original poems which included a poetic 'Dissertation on Italian and Irish Musick'. The soprano Mrs Raffa and the violinist and director of music, Matthew Dubourg, and the composers Corelli, Vivaldi, and Handel are all named explicitly as part of Dublin musical life. But while the poem claims that Ireland is beset by 'Italian fever', it also celebrates the durability of a number of Irish traditional tunes and songs: 'But *Drimin duh* is still in favour,/ … / She, and old *Eveleen a Rune*, / Are by the Muses kept in Tune'; '*Ta me ma choll,* and *Candun delish,* / For Ages have preserv'd their Relish, / Together with *Da mihi Manum*, / Which we may reckon an *Arcanum*'; and the poem concludes with a celebration of Carolan, a musician hailed in the poem's subtitle as 'our late Irish Orpheus'. This paper traces the history of the songs named in Whyte's 'Dissertation' as a way of illustrating the varied ways in which popular songs, drawn by Whyte from such varied sources as oral tradition and theatre performances, would transform themselves through different settings and contexts across the period. They suggest that song did not accept the barriers of language, political affiliation or 'refined taste' found elsewhere in culture and that particular songs could 'travel' in sometimes eccentric and surprising ways.

‘The political turn: the Irish newspaper in age of Wilkes’

Joel Herman
Trinity College Dublin

The Irish newspaper has long been a subject in studies of Irish political print culture including Forbes recent reassessment of the political pungency of print at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Others including Powell, Kelly, Higgins, Bankhurst, and Bartlett have sketched the role of the newspaper in various periods. But still the volume of note devoted solely to the development of the newspaper in Ireland is Robert Munter’s, The History of the Irish Newspaper, 1685-1760, which was written over fifty years ago. This fact has led scholars of the Irish Newspaper to re-examine periods of note including work on the Money Bill dispute in the 50s as well as the Volunteer Movement in the 70s and 80s, but the 60s have escaped any sustained analysis.
This paper seeks to remedy this neglect by focusing on the 60s as a period in which political commentary would become a regular part of the newspapers offering as opposed to earlier iterations where this commentary was a more irregular occurrence. Dissecting potential causes including the Election of 1761, the preponderance of Wilkes, the founding of the Freeman’s Journal, reaction to the American Stamp Act, and the transitional administration of Lord George Townshend. A close reading of extant Dublin, Belfast, and Cork newspapers, as well as several provincial papers will allow an investigation of when and how the political turn occurred. Was it a gradual, incremental or sudden shift? Whatever the case the newspaper at the end of the decade is certainly a very different object than it was at the beginning.

‘Origins of empire through terrestrial, nautical and astronomical measurement systems’

Aideen Herron
University College, Dublin

This paper will examine the spatial consequences of survey and measurement practices within the British Empire in the eighteenth century. It will describe motivations for survey and measurement during the expansion of the British Empire. The importance of longitude in measurement will be explained, alongside an examination of the Board of Longitude Papers in relation to the British Empire. The methods of various British measurement systems and their instruments will be described and compared with French systems. The eighteenth century struggle between Britain and France to observe and survey the world culminated in competition to own the Prime Meridian. Connections will be drawn between terrestrial, nautical and astronomical methods of measurement such as the sextant and octant and the development of lunar and chronometer techniques (which use the concept of time in measurement). Finally, the paper will describe and evaluate the development of the chain survey method for terrestrial measurement in the trigonometric survey of Great Britain and Ireland.

‘The Bunting collection in manuscript and print’

Eilís Lavelle
Queen’s University Belfast

Edward Bunting is one of the most recognised names when discussing the collection of traditional Irish music. He has amassed one of the largest collection of manuscripts associated with the genre, however, songs notated in the manuscripts are not as widely known. There are approximately four hundred song titles found within Bunting’s unpublished collection. This presentation will introduce two collectors of Irish song found within Bunting’s unpublished collection: James Cody and Patrick

Lynch. Both Cody and Lynch have transcribed the greatest number of songs found in Bunting's collection. As both collectors were employed by Bunting, it may come as a surprise that none of the lyrics transcribed by either collector are found in Bunting's three publications in 1796, 1809 and 1840. A brief outline of Bunting's treatment of songs in his publications will be outlined in this presentation.

'Rescuing Christ's sheep from the lyon's jaws': Faith, language and the sermon in early eighteenth-century Ireland

Ciarán Mac Murchaidh
Ollscoil Chathair Bhaile Átha Cliath

Recent writing on the subject of the Catholic Church and the Irish language in the eighteenth century has focussed on the latter half of that period and the nineteenth century, while not so much attention has been paid to its early decades. Sermons in Irish dating from the 1730s, James Gallagher's Sixteen Sermons in an easy and familiar stile as well as a number of sermon texts from the edition by Canice Mooney OFM known as Seanmónta Chúige Uladh, will form the focus of this paper. These texts will be used to amplify discussion about the role and influence of the Irish-language sermon with regard to the use of the language and the promotion of the Catholic faith in early eighteenth-century Ireland.

Irish liberty and the slave trade: From Swift to Burke

Ian McBride
Hertford College, University of Oxford

Between 1660 and 1807 Britain transported more than 3.4 million enslaved Africans to America, as many as all the other slave-trading nations put together. Irish people – Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter – invested in the slave trade and settled in the sugar plantations of the Caribbean. In Ireland Jonathan Swift is best known for his patriotic *Drapier's Letters*, which claimed that the subordination of Ireland to the British parliament reduced its inhabitants to the status of slaves, because they were bound by laws to which they had not consented. Yet Swift was also the spin doctor of the Tory ministry that negotiated the *Asiento* – the contract for supplying Spanish America with enslaved Africans. We think of Edmund Burke as the most influential and consistent champion of Catholic emancipation. It was Burke who claimed that the penal laws forced Catholics to live in 'absolute slavery'. As a Westminster MP, however, Burke refused to associate himself with either popular campaigns or parliamentary proposals for abolition. This paper explores the silences, evasions and contradictions in the writings of Swift, Burke and other champions of Irish liberty at a time when transatlantic slavery was reshaping Irish economic and social life.

'Defenderism in Connacht in the 1790s'

Tracy McCarthy
Mary Immaculate College, Limerick

This paper discusses the emergence and development of Defenderism in Connacht in the 1790s. The Defenders appear to have emerged in Connacht as early as 1793, following their infiltration of the Catholic rank and file of the newly established Militia. Groups of Defenders were also allegedly involved in the anti-militia riots which were more serious in the West that elsewhere, particularly in Counties Roscommon, Sligo and Leitrim. The height of Defender disturbances in Connacht occurred in the late spring and early summer of 1795. This resulted in the dispatch of Henry Lawes Luttrell, the second earl of Carhampton, to the province to suppress Defenderism

there. He did so through extra-legal means, which caused much controversy and resulted in the Irish parliament passing both the indemnity and insurrection acts in early 1796. Defenderism has received considerable attention from historians, notably in the work of Marianne Elliott, Thomas Bartlett, Jim Smyth and Nancy J. Curtin. However, the development of the Defenders in the West has not been the subject of extensive investigation, with the exception of Liam Kelly's important study of County Leitrim. This paper draws on the existing historiography and new research to consider the extent to which politicisation, sectarianism, and agrarianism contributed to the development of the Connacht Defenders. It will do this through the use of crucial primary source materials, such as the *Connacht Journal*, which has been particularly invaluable for information on Connacht Defenders in 1795.

'"Ad fontes" and eighteenth-century Palatine migration'

Claire McCormick
University of Limerick

Ad dontes – returning to the source – was an important tenet of the Reformation as people were encouraged to return to study of original scriptures. When using historical documents to reconstruct the past Ad Fontes should be a core objective for historians albeit made more difficult in these 'pandemic times.' In 1709 large numbers of migrants from south-west Germany and Switzerland journeyed up the Rhine to Rotterdam and onwards to London. Beginning in August 1709 cartloads of these migrants were sent onwards to Chester bound for Dublin in response to pleas from Lord Lieutenant Wharton and the Irish House.
These migrants had been encouraged by the success of a group of forty-one frontrunners led by Rev. Joshua Kocherthal, who had already travelled to London and onwards to New York in 1708. Palatine historiography has been concerned with a golden book thought to be Kocherthal's Bericht Von der Berúhmten *Landschaft Carolina in Dem Engelländischen America gelegen* (Detailed report of the famous Country Carolina in the English Americas). Rev. Joshua Kocherthal presented his Memorial to Henry Davenent, British secretary at Frankfurt in February 1708. Fortunately, the original document is available to view in the State Papers Online. Rich in meta data including names, places of origin, religion, occupations and family sizes – when cross-matched against later lists of migrants who travelled to New York in Autumn 1708 it produces some surprising results. My paper raises questions as to who exactly the Rev. Joshua Kocherthal was and what possessed a Lutheran minister from the small town of Eschelbronn to lead a mixed party from diverse parts of south-west Germany to a new land of Canaan on the banks of the Hudson River in America?

'The ragged philanthropist: Miss Lamotte's post-mortem auction in Dublin, 1769'

Jason McElligott
Marsh's Library, Dublin

This paper examines rare surviving evidence of philanthropy on the part of a woman with no disposable income; somebody who was, in fact, reliant on charity during the last years of her life. The survival of records generated by a November 1769 sale of the goods of the recently deceased Miss Rose Lamotte of Dublin illuminates the concern of one woman to leave a legacy for the poor, as well as providing a detailed inventory of the nature and extent of her 'Entire Effects'. This paper provides an overview of what Lamotte owned at her death, as well as some basic necessities that she does not seem to have possessed. It will also consider the interest shown by her neighbours and fellow citizens of Dublin in a selection of clothes, household items, and books in various states of repair. It will be argued that it is possible to use the financial accounts generated by this auction to shed light on some important aspects of Miss Lamotte's life and death by paying attention to methodologies associated with the traditionally separate fields of gender, social class, material culture and Book History.

‘Two unpublished letters of Patrick Lynch (*c.*1757–1818), secretary of the Gaelic Society of Dublin’

Patricia Moloney
Glucksman Library, University of Limerick

Born *c.*1757 in Quin, Co. Clare, and sometimes confused with Patrick Lynch from Co. Down, (*c.*1756–1838), Patrick Lynch, teacher and Gaelic scholar, was educated first through Irish in Clare by Donnchadh ‘an Chairn’ Ó Mathghamhna, then later at Rev. O’Hare’s Classical School in Cashel. In 1778 he began working as a private tutor, then moved to Carrick-on-Suir, where he ran his own school for many years. He helped establish the first printing press in that town: in 1792 he published his first book *Paddy’s portable chronoscope,* and in 1796, a grammar of English, (volume one of a planned multi-volume work on Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Irish grammar).

About 1808 he moved to Dublin, and opened a school on Ormond Quay where he was an active member of the newly formed Gaelic Society of Dublin, of which he later became secretary. Following the establishment of Irish Records Commission in 1810, under the directorship of William Shaw Mason (*c.*1774–1853), statistician and bibliographer, Lynch was one of the Commission’s first employees. In 1814, W.S. Mason published volume one of his *A Statistical Account or Parochial Survey of Ireland*… which was inspired by the Sir John Sinclair’s survey in Scotland.

This paper examines two previously unpublished letters, now in the National Library of Ireland, written by Lynch in the Record Office to Mason in July 1813 (while research for the *Statistical Survey of Ireland* was underway), which give an insight into some of the sources which Lynch drew upon at this time.

‘Charles Lucas's Letter to the Boston Massacre Committee 1770’

Sean J. Murphy

As discontent with British rule in the American colonies grew in the 1760s, Irish patriots such as Charles Lucas naturally felt sympathy for the Americans and considered that they shared a common cause. In the wake of the infamous ‘Boston Massacre’, when British soldiers shot dead five civilians on the night of 5 March 1770, the citizens appointed a committee composed of James Bowdoin, Dr Joseph Warren and Samuel Pemberton. The committee’s task was to investigate the killings and to compile a ‘full and just representation’ of what had occurred.

Lucas was among those in Britain and Ireland to whom the committee members sent their account of the Massacre, which the Irish patriot arranged to have reprinted in Dublin in 1770. In the same year Lucas sent a sympathetic letter in reply to the Bostonians in which he declared that if the Government of Britain should oppress and plunder its dependencies, ‘the Bond of filial Affection and Duty, as well as of Allegiance must be cancelled’. This statement could be interpreted as a justification of revolution, echoing the words of the philosopher John Locke who famously wrote that ‘Governments are dissolved . . . when the Legislative, or the Prince, either of them act contrary to their Trust’.

Lucas’s interesting but not widely known 1770 letter to the Boston Massacre Committee, one of his last compositions, deserves re-examination and throws light on Irish reaction to the deepening conflict between the American colonists and Britain.

‘Irish masons and their networks in early eighteenth-century Lisbon’

Thomas O’Connor
Maynooth University

The Irish community in Lisbon was well established by the 1730s, fed by mercantile activity, penal restrictions and traffic to its three Irish religious institutions. At times running into the thousands, the Irish were of varied backgrounds, with a substantial number of poorer folk concentrated in the district of Remolares, an area devastated by the 1755 earthquake, tsunami and conflagration. In the late 1730s, some of the better sort of the Lisbon Irish, including three Dominican priests, fell foul of the local Inquisition, accused of masonic frequentations and activities. An examination of the evidence recorded during the inquisitorial investigation permits the partial reconstruction of a section of the Irish community, providing an insight into the lives and activities of the early modern Irish abroad.

‘The poetry of Laurence Whyte and the Irish language’

Aengus Ó Fionnagáin
University of Limerick

This paper will examine the extensive use of Irish words and epithets in the poetry of Laurence Whyte (*c.*1685-1753), as well a his direct references to the use of Irish in ‘The Parting Cup, or, The Humours of Deoch an Doruis’. Additionally, I will comment on the two single verses in Irish, with English versions, he printed in the second edition of his poetry collection (1742). Whyte was probably born in the barony Rathconrath, Co. Westmeath. His mother was a Dalton, an Old English family who held extensive lands in the area prior to the confiscations of the seventeenth century (the barony of Rathconrath was also known as Dalton’s Country). A close reading of Whytes’s work gives considerable insight into language use among the minor gentry of Co. Westmeath, particularly those of Old English stock, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Intriguingly, among the subscribers to Whyte’s *Poems on Various Subjects* ... (Dublin, 1740) were ‘Mr. Patrick Coffie of Larra’ and ‘Mr. Murtagh Coffie of Clunkeen’. *Coffie* is an anglicised form of Ó Cobhthaigh; the Ó Cobhthaigh family of hereditary Gaelic poets had a long association with the barony of Rathconrath, and, held a number of townlands there in the seventeenth century. I have identified both ‘Larra’ and ‘Clonkeen’ as places in, or close to, Whyte’s native district and it seems likely that both Pádraig and Muircheartach Ó Cobhthaigh were known to him personally. Aodh Ó Cobhthaigh, another member of this literary family, was active in Ó Neachtain circle of Gaelic scribes and writers in Dublin in the 1720s.

“‘I considered you as a work, capable of perfection”: gender, Enlightenment and authorship in the works of Elizabeth and Richard Griffith’

Clíona Ó Gallchoir
University College Cork

The playwright, novelist and critic Elizabeth Griffith has recently become the subject of a revival of critical attention occasioned both by the drive to recover early women writers in Ireland, and by a marked rise in research on eighteenth-century literature in Ireland. Griffith’s entry into the world of professional authorship began with a publication that she co-authored with her husband Richard Griffiths, A Series of Genuine Letters between Henry and Frances (1757-70). Based on their courtship correspondence, it was popular with readers and well received by reviewers, and although the Letters originally masked the authors’ Irish identities by transposing the locations to England, the 1760 Dublin second edition of volumes one and two reasserted the Irish origin of the

correspondence, suggesting that the success of the first edition created a space for Ireland as a place in which 'a Pair of polite and happy Lovers' could be imagined.
The favourable response to the Letters prompted the Griffiths to capitalise on their success with another joint publication in the names of 'Frances' and 'Henry': the novels The Delicate Distress and The Gordion Knot (1769), which are the only known instance of novels published simultaneously by a husband and wife. Part of the appeal of the Genuine Letters was the distinctly modern tone in the lovers' correspondence, in which themes of women's intellectual capacity and the lover as chosen companion emerge strongly, as do both writers' evident awareness of their own literary abilities. The Letters thus create gendered and authorial personae for both letter writers, making subsequent literary publications an almost inevitable next step. In this lecture, I will explore the interplay of self-fashioned identities (gender, authorial, national) in the Letters and in the Griffiths' jointly-published novels, and discuss the ways in which these enabled Elizabeth to build a career as a literary and enlightened woman – in contrast to her husband Richard's much less successful literary experiments.

'Blas den Táiliúir Aerach: léas ar shaothar Éadbhaird de Nógla agus a thábhacht stairiúil'

Keith Ó Riain
Coláiste Mhuire gan Smál, Luimneach

Pléann an páipéar seo an taighde atá idir lámha agam ar shaol agus shaothar Éadbhaird de Nógla, file ón ochtú haois déag. Cuireann an páipéar seo blas de na dánta a chum sé agus a mhaireann sna lámhscríbhinní amháin ar fáil don chéad uair. Chun cur leis sin, déantar plé ar mheadaracht na ndánta chun cumas an Nóglaigh mar fhile den chéad scoth a thaispeáint. Thairis sin, pléitear na téamaí éagsúla a léiríonn dearcadh an Nóglaigh ar ábhar éagsúla: Cogadh na Seacht mBlian; Easpag Chorcaí i lár na hochtú haoise déag, Seán Buitléir; agus Banríon na hOstaire Máire Treasa ina measc. Imlíníonn an páipéar an intinn atá agam don tráchtas ar fad, an tslí go gcuirfidh an tráchtas seo leis an scoláireacht eile a deineadh i ngort na Gaeilge agus na staire. 'Sé sin go bpléifear na dánta ina gcomhthéacs stairiúil le béim ar na tionscantacha le déanaí a bhaineann le 'díchoilíniú na staire'. Árdaíonn cás na hÉireann san ochtú céad déag, mar choilínéacht agus le lámh ag Éireannaigh sa choilíniú, ceisteanna chonspóideacha agus shaibhre, ní hamháin do stairithe ach do scoláirí na Gaeilge freisin. Tá an-chuid scoláireachta déanta ar dhearcadh polaitiúla na nGael sa tréimhse ach tá ról níos lárnaí ag foinsí Gaeilge sa stair shóisialta ná mar a deineadh go dtí seo. Ina theannta sin, tá ceisteanna teanga, an dátheangachais, litearthachta agus na lamhscríbhinní le plé. Úsáidfear saothar an Nóglaigh mar staidéar samplach ina phléifear na téamaí sóisialta atá ar fáil sna téacsanna ina gcomhthéacs stairiúil ceart seo.

'Historicizing Goldsmith's *The Captivity* (1764)'

David O'Shaughnessy
Trinity College Dublin

In Arthur Friedman's authoritative *Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith* (1966), Goldsmith's little known oratorio *The Captivity* (1764) is categorized as a poem. The oratorio was not performed, never published, and has attracted little, if any, critical attention so it may seem appropriate to treat it somewhat cavalierly, bundled in with the poetry. This paper makes the case for reclassifying the play as a theatrical work alongside She Stoops to Conquer and The Good Natur'd Man in a new edition of Goldsmith's Collected Works.
Firstly, The Captivity will be framed as part of Goldsmith's historical output: we are perhaps obliged to take more seriously a work that is consciously historical when we consider properly how important history writing was to him, in both intellectual as well as material terms, even after he became a literary figure of consequence. One of the less well-known facts about Oliver Goldsmith's career is that he was the inaugural Professor of Ancient History at the Royal Academy, elected in

1770. We know him as a playwright, poet, and novelist yet he also wrote four substantial history books, two concerned with the history of England as well as notable histories of Rome and Greece. Secondly, it will consider the oratorio in the context of Goldsmith's Irish heritage. Recent work has highlighted the importance of the history play and history writing more generally to Irish patriot thinking. This oratorio treats of the Israelites captivity in Babylon so we need be mindful of the considerable investment by Irish writers such as John Toland and Charles O'Conor in drawing allegorical connections between the Irish and the Jewish peoples (both dispossessed of their lands, subject to religious persecution, servitude, and accusations of cultural inferiority), not to mention that the iconic Shylock of the period was Irishman Charles Macklin. Placed in its full context, this paper will argue for the oratorio's greater significance in the Goldsmith canon.

'Healing the nation: women, medicine, and the romantic national tale'

Matthew Reznicek
Creighton University

For roughly the past thirty years, scholars of literature of the Romantic period have understood the National Tale to function in terms of marriage, whether a shotgun marriage, an arranged marriage, or a forced marriage. What this focus on marriage has overlooked is the repeated pattern in which National Tales also depend upon an act of healing before the marriage can take place. Surprisingly, this medical aspect of the National Tale and its narrative of social cohesion has been ignored and unrecognized. By exploring the role of illness and healing in the National Tale, the medical metaphors not only help diagnose and mark as different the foreign body, but the act of healing fundamentally restores the newly formed body politic to its new and healthy condition. This analysis reveals a pattern in which women perform the medical care that heals these diseased populations, allowing them to achieve full membership in the social body. Despite the long-eighteenth-century belief that men and medicine were responsible for national well-being, the National Tales of Walter Scott, Maria Edgeworth, and Sydney Owenson undermine this medical and political narrative by having a diseased or unwell male body stand in for the nation and a female physician or healer work to heal and restore the national body to health. Thus, the medical role of women in the National Tale reveals the interconnections between illness, healing, and the narrative form of the National Tale.

'The Irish parliament's legislation of 'Improvement' and its failure (1750–1800)'

Maike Schwiddessen
University of Wuerzburg

It has long been recognised that, for laws to have a long-lasting impact, lawmakers must aim to foster acceptance and positive consent in society. While this has become a truism, it is based upon the question of what constitutes consent, and what constitutes society.In the second half of the 18thcentury, the Irish Parliament increased its direct involvement in economic and social matters via the use of Statutes. These Acts of Parliament were part ofthe Irish 'Improvement'. Parliament understood its 'duty' and responsibilityto encourage the economy, increase profits and contribute to the people's wellbeing. Examples are the legislation regarding the linen manufactures, fisheries, or turnpike roads, and the establishment of local bodies to improve the living conditions of the populace. Though these efforts appear conscientious, the impact of the legislation was deficient. This was due to the breakdown of the interdependency between law and society and a narrow understanding of what Irish society was to be improved, and how it was to engage. By examining Statutes, Parliamentary Papers, and pamphlets of different economic areas, this paper argues that the Irish legislator was constrained in such a way that it could not meet the various Irish interests. The Protestant Parliament did neither advocated for nor recognised the needs of the Catholic

majority while this majority ignored laws from a potentially 'hostile' Parliament. Consequently, the legislation only addressed some issues, stridently ignored others, and therefore could not fulfil its goal of improving the living conditions of the masses.

'"Ierne's answer to Albion": the evolution of elite female portraiture in eighteenth-century Ireland'

Priscilla Sonnier
University College Dublin

Over the course of the eighteenth-century visual representations of Ireland's elite 'Women of Quality' such as Lady Arbella Denny and Emily FitzGerald, Duchess of Leinster, pictorially evolved to reflect the patriotic and Protestant sensibilities of the Irish Ascendancy. While recent sociocultural scholarship has acknowledged the popular influence of elite women in Irish society during this period, the role in which their portraits communicated unique Anglo-Irish narratives of socio-economic, political, and cultural dominance has received scant attention in art historical discourse. This 'Thesis in Three' will thematically reflect material in my dissertation, Celebrated Beauties: Dialogues, Duty, and Display in Georgian Ireland to present tantalizing new perspectives into the roles, meanings, and display of Anglo-Irish and Irish women through material and visual culture in Ireland during the eighteenth-century. Its goal is not to subjectively argue for an all-encompassing 'Irish' artistic style for female portraiture during the period; but rather to analyze how the likenesses of elite women were co-opted to emblemize gendered expectations of Ascendancy society through dress and 'moral improvements.' I argue that women's formal portraits were self-fashioned to perform as the 'perfect counterpoint' to masculine 'self-projection[s]' of Irish patriotism, as they conscientiously conformed to eighteenth-century visual conventions of a 'woman of quality', whose Christian virtues were essential to shaping polite society. By reconsidering the pictorial evolution of Ireland's 'women of quality' this project reveals women's significant influence on Anglo-Irish social identity through patriotic causes to further the Protestant Ascendancy's ambitions to be recognized as a 'civilized' society.

'Turlough Carolan's "Gracy Nugent": the biography of a song'

Sinéad Sturgeon
Queen's University, Belfast

This paper explores the biography of one of Turlough Carolan's most celebrated songs, 'Gracey Nugent', over the long eighteenth century. Originally composed for the daughter of the Nugent family in co. Westmeath, 'Gracey Nugent' was included in the first published anthology of traditional Irish song, John Neal's A Collection of the most celebrated Irish tunes (1724) and features in every significant Irish song collection of the century thereafter. This paper will track the increasing importance of the song in the antiquarian-led cultural revival of the late eighteenth century through to the early nineteenth century, when it features in the work of Sydney Owenson and Maria Edgeworth as a distinctive marker of national identity.

'An un-miserable look at mud cabins'

Colleen Taylor
University College Cork

In his detailed and influential Tour of Ireland, Arthur Young describes Irish mud or cob cabins as "much worse than an English pigstie" and "the most miserable looking hovels that can well be conceived." They are so injurious inside, he says, as to give Irish women the appearance of a "smoaked ham." Young was not the first or the last to make such unforgiving claims: by the late

eighteenth century, this stereotype of the dirty Irish hovel and its piggish inhabitants had become a veritable cliché. Although the telling imperial tactic of bestializing the colonial subject has thankfully been replaced by acknowledgement of colonial oppression, the theme of muddy misery persists as an inadvertent refrain of imperial discourse. In 2018, for example, University College Cork erected a replica of a nineteenth-century mud hut or bothán in order to portray "just how bad the conditions were for these people," the "level of deprivation," and yes, filth, among the tenant Irish.

In this paper, I take the mud cabin in a decidedly different direction. Using posthuman theory, which sees human-non-human cooperation instead of inhuman conditions, I approach the mud cabin in terms of creative, material survival and inter-species co-habitation. Applying the biology of soil and the architectural benefits of mud walls, I discuss what the mud cabins offered the dispossessed Irish, rather than what they did not. Finally, I suggest the dark, smoky interior of mud cabins, with their two-foot thick mud walls, provides a model for the depth of Irish subjectivity in eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century fiction: namely, the unseen interiority of the Irish tenant character.

'Irish subscription libraries in the age of revolution'

Mark Towsey and Max Skjönsberg
University of Liverpool

This paper is based on 'Libraries, Reading Communities and Cultural Formation in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic', a £1 million Digital Humanities project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council in the UK. Based in the History Department at the University of Liverpool – and working in collaboration with researchers at the University of Glasgow, Western Sydney University, the American Philosophical Society, California State University, and the University of Helsinki – the project's primary aim is to investigate the contribution of books to social, cultural and political change in the Age of Enlightenment and Revolutions. It does this by exploring in unprecedented range and depth the role played by subscription libraries in the reading lives of communities and individuals across Ireland, Britain and North America between 1731 and 1800. The first formal subscription library was the Library Company of Philadelphia, established in 1731 by printer's apprentice Benjamin Franklin and his debating society, as a means of acquiring expensive books to provoke conversation. Thereafter, subscription libraries were exported to the Old World and became a major part of the urban landscape across the English-speaking world. The Irish libraries in the project include the Belfast Society for Promoting Knowledge Subscription, founded in 1788, Dublin Library Society Subscription, founded in 1791, Cork Library Society Subscription, founded in 1792, and the Down Literary Society, founded in 1793. This paper will contextualise the formation of these Irish libraries and present their memberships and books. It aims to explore what library history can tell us about Ireland in the Age of Revolutions.

'"Dwindled into an Irish solicitor": Swift the Declaratory Act and the appellate jurisdiction of the British House of Lords'

Brendan Twomey

In Irish historiography the Declaratory Act of 1720 is seen as a defining moment in Ireland's eighteenth-century constitutional story. However, the impact of the appellate jurisdiction clause in the act on Irish legal practice, and on the behaviour of Irish litigants, has not received as much attention. The Declaratory Act represented a decisive defeat for the Irish political nation; William King labelled it the 'enslaving act'. Swift decried how Irish litigants were 'forced to travel five hundred miles to another kingdom', to appear before judges who knew little of and cared less about Ireland; 'a mark of servitude without example … [in] any age or nation in the world'.

However, a review of Swift's correspondence reveals, the hitherto under-recognised fact that, on at least ten occasions and spread over three decades, Swift directly solicited support from members of the British House of Lords on behalf of Irish litigants bringing appeals to that forum. This paper

argues that Swift's behaviour (and that of the Irish litigants who prosecuted such appeals) can be seen as a case of pragmatism trumping principle; the trip to London was the only available option. Political protest and writing satirical pamphlets could not magic the desired reality into being. Swift was forced to use his pen, his legal knowhow, and his political credit, in 'flattering great men' to advance the merits of complex, and on occasion venal, legal cases written up by lawyers bred to 'prove black was white'.

'This thing called a bank' Rethinking the 1721 projects for a national bank

Patrick Walsh
Trinity College Dublin

Over the course of 1720-1 three separate projects for an Irish national bank failed. Over a million pounds was subscribed to these schemes and over 300 individuals can be identified on the successive and competing subscriptions for these rival projects. This was unprecedented in eighteenth-century Ireland and serves greater attention than it has received in the reasonably well-developed historiography of this episode. The focus of inquiry has been on parliamentary politics, partisan pamphlet debates (including the role of Jonathan Swift) and most recently on the interconnections between the bank schemes and the financial revolution and its great crisis, the bursting of the South Sea Bubble. This paper builds on that work but suggests that we need to rethink the bank projects to consider why they were so popular and what that tells us about the nature of money, speculation and credit in early eighteenth-century Ireland. Drawing on a close analysis of the surviving manuscript and printed subscription books of these schemes this paper offers a new perspective on the bank project which takes the subscribers motivations, actions, and choices seriously complicating existing narratives that have seen them as somewhat passive participants in the dramas played out in parliament and the Dublin printing houses. In doing so it situates them within the context of what we now know from recent continental scholarship was a much larger international phenomenon that went beyond the traditional financial centres of London, Paris and Amsterdam.

'"All Dublin is as black as black can be": the material culture of Irish mourning for the Stuarts and Hanoverians, 1694-1801'

Rachel Wilson
Cardiff University

This paper will examine Irish responses to the deaths of members of the English (later British) royal family between 1694 and 1801. It will focus on the material culture of court and state mourning, specifically clothing and jewellery. The paper will begin with an analysis of what sartorial changes were expected in the wake of a royal death, how and why these rules changed over time and the extent to which they were implemented in Ireland, including instances when the demands of state mourning were resisted or ignored. Alongside this will be an analysis of the political, financial, religious and social motives which drove sections of the Irish population to agree or decline to publicly mourn members of the ruling Stuart and Hanoverian dynasties and the economic repercussions for the country of doing so. In particular, the paper will discuss the extent to which engaging in or abstaining from such mourning in Ireland was seen as a marker of one's loyalty to the British regime and membership of the (mostly Protestant) elite. It will also study the effect public mourning had on the Irish textile industry, which was artificially supressed throughout most of the eighteenth century by English-imposed export bans. The paper will draw on research into manuscript letters and memoirs held in archives around the UK and Ireland, as well as printed correspondence and Irish and British newspapers.