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The Networks of Francis Taaffe, 3rd Earl of Carlingford and Irish Jacobite *Émigrés* in the Duchy of Lorraine*

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Historians have usually argued that Francis Taaffe, 3rd Earl of Carlingford (1639–1704), was completely committed to Emperor Leopold I due to his exceptional career as a nobleman of the Habsburg monarchy.¹ Francis completed his studies at the University of Olomouc before becoming a page for the emperors Ferdinand III and Leopold I. During the Franco-Dutch war (1672–78), he was a commander in the Imperial forces before being promoted Field Marshal due to his success at the 1683 Battle of Vienna. In 1694, the emperor made him a knight of the Golden Fleece.² More precisely, his military advancement was accelerated by his close friendship with the exiled Duke of Lorraine, Charles V (1643–1690), who was at the service of the Empire at this time. The 1697 Treaty of Ryswick obliged France to return the Duchy of Lorraine to Leopold and to reduce the size of James II's military capacity.³ The Irish Jacobites in James's army had arrived in France following the Williamite–Jacobite war in Ireland (1688–91), which opposed the followers of William III (1650–1702) to the Irish supporters of James II (1633–1701).⁴ The first peace treaty ending this conflict was signed to surrender Galway on the 22 July 1691, closely followed by the Treaty of Limerick

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1 'Taaffe, Franz (1639–1704)', in Constantin von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich* (42nd vol., Graz, 1880), pp. 301–32.

2 Éamonn Ó Ciardha, 'Taaffe, Francis', in *Dictionary of Irish Biography Online* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Harman Murtagh, 'Taaffe, Francis, third earl of Carlingford (1639–1704)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

3 Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac, *Le grand exil. Les Jacobites en France, 1688–1715* (Paris: Services Historiques de la défense, 2007), p. 413.

4 For more, see John Childs, *The Williamite Wars in Ireland, 1688–1691* (London: Continuum Books, 2007).

on 3 October of that same year. This last treaty allowed Jacobite units to seek refuge in France while their land in Ireland was confiscated. It is then after the 1697 Treaty of Ryswick that the newly restored Duke of Lorraine dispatched Carlingford, no longer in Imperial service and now acting as Leopold's 'prime minister', to take possession of the Duchy of Lorraine.⁵ Leopold's *politique de reconstruction* and the political measures that Carlingford put in place for foreigners in Lorraine encouraged the settlement of non-Lorrains within the duchy. It is in this context that an Irish Catholic community settled around the Taaffe family, which was brought by Carlingford in Lorraine. It is well established in secondary literature that allegiance and sympathies are difficult to assess in a transnational context, as research on Eugene of Savoy and Charles V of Lorraine in particular has shown.⁶ This is certainly true in the case of Carlingford.

Henri Baumont's and Zoltan Harsany's monographs on the reign of Duke Leopold of Lorraine both claim that Carlingford's anti-French policy in Lorraine was proof enough of his allegiance to the Habsburgs.⁷ This has prompted Frédéric Richard-Maupillier to claim that Carlingford was not only an imperialist but also a Williamite, on the basis that the French supported the Stuarts after the 1688 revolution.⁸ Richard-Maupillier's main argument is underpinned by the fact that Carlingford sought the assistance of William III to avoid the confiscation of his land as per the treaty of Limerick. He also argues that Carlingford's support for the settlement of a large number of Irish Catholics in Lorraine was only motivated by a wish to assist his countrymen and had nothing to do with Jacobite sympathies. However, several historians, notably David Fleming, have questioned the loyalty of the Taaffe family to the Williamite regime. Analysing Carlingford personal networks, taking into account allegiances that enabled his success in the Empire, as well as networks of contacts he used to establish an Irish Catholic

5 *Bibliothèque Municipale de Nancy* (BMN.), MS 881 (111), fol. 214.

6 Jonathan Spangler, 'Those in Between. Princely Families on the Margins of the Great Powers – the Franco-German Frontier, 1477–1830', in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond. Experiences since the Middle-Ages*, ed. by C. Johnson, D. W. Sabeau, S. Teuscher, and F. Trivellato (New York and London: Bergham Books, 2011), pp. 131–54; Laurent Jalabert, *Charles V de Lorraine ou la quête de l'Etat (1638–1690)* (Edition Serpernoise: Metz, 2017); Phil McCluskey, *Absolute Monarchy on the Frontiers: Louis XIV's Military Occupations of Lorraine and Savoy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Phil McCluskey, 'Louis XIV, Duke Leopold I and the Neutrality of Lorraine, 1702–1714', *European History Quarterly*, 45 (2015), pp. 34–56 (p. 36).

7 Zoltan Harsany, *La Cour de Léopold, Duc de Lorraine et de Bar (1698–1729)* (Nancy-Saint-Nicolas-De-port: Imprimerie V. Idoux, 1938). Heryny Baumont, *Études sur le règne de Léopold, duc de Lorraine et de Bar* (Nancy et Paris: Berger-levrault & cie, Nancy & Paris, 1894).

8 Frederic Richard-Maupillier, 'Les Irlandais à la cour du duc Leopold de Lorraine (1698–1729)', in *Échanges, passages et transferts à la cour du duc Léopold (1698–1729)*, ed. by Anne Motta (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2017), pp. 47–60.

community in Lorraine, also raises questions about his classification as a Williamite. Therefore, the first section of this article will assess the relationship between the Taaffe family, the Stuarts, and the Ducal family to demonstrate that Carlingford was not a Williamite as he is sometimes portrayed. The second part will consider the Irish families who put down roots in Lorraine and will also reveal the settlement of a significant Jacobite presence in the duchy, strongly supported by the Taaffe family. Finally, I will focus on Carlingford's legacy in the Duchy of Lorraine and on the connections of this Irish Catholic community with the wider European Jacobite network. More precisely, these Jacobites supported James Francis Edward Stuart (1688–1766), the Old Pretender, when he arrived in Lorraine in the aftermath of the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht.⁹

The Taaffe Family and the Habsburg Empire: Was Francis Taaffe a Williamite?

'L'exil est d'abord organisation de résistance active.'¹⁰

Francis Taaffe followed his father, Theobald Taaffe (1603–77), to the Habsburg Empire in 1652. Theobald had fought for the Royalists against the parliamentarians in the context of the Wars of the three kingdoms (1639–53). In 1650, Charles II of England (1630–85) sent Theobald to Brussels to seek the military assistance of Charles IV of Lorraine (1604–75) on his behalf.¹¹ Theobald was, therefore, the first of the Taaffe family to have close contacts with the Lorraine dynasty. The Stuart king described Theobald 'as good frinde where he applies himselfe, as ever lived, which in this age, is no little virtue'.¹² Taaffe's loyalty to the Stuarts enabled the family to ensure the restoration of their lands in 1661 when Charles II regained his throne and Theobald gained the title of 1st Earl of Carlingford at this time. Theobald was not the only Taaffe loyal to the Stuarts. His son, Nicholas Taaffe, 2nd Earl of Carlingford (1648–90) fought the Jacobite cause in Ireland and died at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690.¹³ Nicholas's devotion to Jacobitism would

9 Edward Corp, 'The Extended Exile of James III', in *Monarchy and Exile, The Politics of Legitimacy from Marie de Medicis to Wilhelm II*, ed. by Philip Mansel and Torsten Riotte (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 165–77.

10 'Exile is first and foremost an active organisation of resistance', Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, 'Une élite insulaire au service de l'Europe: les jacobites au XVIIIe siècle', in *Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 28 (1973), 1097–122.

11 Michael Ó Siuchrú, 'The Duke of Lorraine and the International Struggle for Ireland, 1649–1653', *The Historical Journal*, 48 (2005), 905–32.

12 Mark R. F. Williams, *The King's Irishmen. The Irish in the Exiled Court of Charles II 1649–1660* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), p. 205.

13 David Worthington, 'The 1688 Correspondence of Nicholas Taaffe, Second Earl of Carlingford (?–1690), from the Imperial Court in Vienna', in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 58 (2004), 175–76 (pp. 174–209). Williams, *The King's Irishmen*, pp. 64, 205.

not have been missed by his brother, Francis, who was in constant contact with him during his military campaigns with the young Charles V. Francis maintained a correspondence with his brother in which he described his fight for Catholicism against the Ottomans.¹⁴ Moreover, there is additional evidence to suggest that the Taaffe family were loyal to the Stuarts, notably that Francis was in regular contact with them while serving under Lorraine's command. Indeed, Francis sent gifts taken from the Turks to James II in 1685 and the Stuart king even entrusted the care of his illegitimate son, James FitzJames, 1st Duke of Berwick (1670–1734), to Carlingford. In his memoirs, Berwick brushes a flattering portrait of Francis Taaffe, whom he met in Hungary.¹⁵ In 1689, James II sent a regiment of 1,800 Irishmen to the Empire, which was placed under the leadership of Francis Taaffe.¹⁶ Furthermore, the Taaffe brothers appear to have held their father in high regard, and Francis must have been influenced by Theobald's political implications towards the Stuarts from an early age. On the occasion of his father's death in 1678, Francis wrote to his brother that his father had:

the established reputation of a man of honour, with an unshakeable fidelity to his king and his God, always in the good graces of his master, do they not repair that? It is not a small heritage that example he leaves and we follow.¹⁷

There is little doubt that Francis's admiration for his father's commitment to the Stuart, as well as Nicholas' death for the Jacobite cause, had an influence on Francis Taaffe's political inclinations.¹⁸ Besides, Francis owed most of his career in the Empire to his father's relationship with the Stuarts. In fact, Theobald's position as a favourite of Charles II enabled him to secure a prestigious mission to Emperor Leopold's Court in 1665.¹⁹ Then, he pressed the Stuart king into writing a recommendation for Francis to become a page of honour of Emperor Leopold.²⁰ Upon his arrival at court, Francis Taaffe forged a strong relationship with the future Duke Charles V of Lorraine, who gave Francis a captaincy under his command. As early as 1670, Francis wrote to his father to provide details of his connection with Prince Charles:

14 Ó Ciardha, 'Taaffe, Francis', *DIB*; *Count Taaffe's Letters from the Imperial Camp to his brother the Earl of Carlingford [...] in the [...] Campagne against the Turks in Hungary*. [...], London, 1684.

15 James Fitz-James Stuart, *Memoires of the Marshal Duke of Berwick*, London, 1779, p. 13.

16 Ó Ciardha, 'Taaffe, Francis', *DIB*.

17 Francis Taaffe to Nicholas Taaffe, 19 Apr. 1678 in Karl Graf Taaffe, *Memoirs of the Family of Taaffe* (unpublished: Vienna, 1856), p. 220.

18 See Appendix.

19 Padraig Lenihan, 'Taaffe, Theobald, first earl of Carlingford', *ODNB*, pp. 226–27.

20 Yale University, Letters from Charles II to Ferdinand III, 12 Aug. 1656, *Carlingford Papers Series III*, OSB MSS 5, Box 4, folder 103.

I am most infinitely obliged to His Highness [the Prince of Lorraine] not only for the great favours he has done to me already, but for the kindness he showed to have for me [...] I am very much beholding to Count Chavagnac, a French gentleman, that came to see you a few days before you parted from Vienna: he is now Major General in this service and governs the Prince of Lorraine's house, and is chief in his favour.²¹

From 1673, Charles V served in the Habsburg army and Francis followed him, accomplishing various military and diplomatic deeds for the duke and gaining much prestige in the process.²² For instance, Francis obtained resources for Charles V, who was laying siege to Phillipsburg.²³ This prominence of the Taaffes within the Empire made a marriage with the noble Elisabeth Maximiliana von Traudisch possible in 1676.²⁴ Charles V also resigned from a position he held as a general in the Habsburg army in order to transfer it to Francis Taaffe in 1682. By 1687 Taaffe's military achievements saw him awarded the prestigious title of Knight of the Golden Fleece.²⁵ As a final gesture of friendship, Duke Charles V entrusted his Irish friend with the care of his wife, Eleanor of Austria (1653–97) and his heir, Leopold, when he died in 1690.²⁶

Leopold was duke *titulaire* from 1690 and formally became Duke of Lorraine in 1697 following the conclusion of the Treaty of Ryswick and the restitution of his duchy. Before Leopold arrived in Lorraine, the 3rd Earl of Carlingford took care of the most important business of state, such as rebuilding the administrative and political infrastructure of the country.²⁷ On 14 July 1698, Leopold appointed Carlingford as 'grand maître de l'hôtel, surintendant des finances, grand maître du conseil, gouverneur de Nancy, colonel du régiment des gardes', or put simply, his de facto 'prime minister' for the rest of his life.²⁸ Carlingford would receive an incredible salary of 36,000 livres per year, which was worth half of Leopold's expenses for all his ministers (75,897 livres per year).²⁹ The following year, on 30 September 1699, Carlingford became the first Irishman to be naturalized as a subject of the Duke of Lorraine.³⁰ The earl remained

21 Francis Taaffe to Theobald Taaffe, 20 June 1670 in Taaffe, *Memoirs*, pp. 207–09.

22 Laurent Jalabert, *Charles V de Lorraine ou la quête de l'Etat (1638–1690)* (Edition Serpernoise: Metz, 2017), pp. 257–70.

23 Francis Taaffe to Nicholas Taaffe, 13 July 1676, in Taaffe, *Memoirs*, p. 211.

24 Francis Taaffe to Nicholas Taaffe, 13 Feb. 1677, in Taaffe, *Memoirs*, pp. 215–16.

25 Harman Murtagh, 'Taaffe, Francis, third earl of Carlingford', *ODNB*, pp. 221–22.

26 *Archives Départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle* (ADMM), B 119, fol. 50–51.

27 Harsany, *La cour de Léopold*, p. 34.

28 Guy Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie illustrée de la Lorraine. Histoire de la Lorraine* (Metz: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1993), pp. 89–90.

29 ADMM, B 1524, fol. 1.

30 ADMM, B 121, fol. 151.

the most prominent figure in the administration of the Duchy of Lorraine until 31 July 1704, when he died at Leopold's court in Lunéville.³¹

As previously mentioned, historians of Leopold's reign have presented Carlingford as a supporter of William III, king of England. Since both William III and the Habsburg emperor were allied against Louis XIV of France, Carlingford's position as a pro-imperial minister opposing the Francophile faction in the government of Lorraine is sometimes cited as evidence to suggest he had Williamite sympathies.³² This would, in turn, suggest that Carlingford was averse to the Stuart claimant to the English throne, James II (1633–1701), who was an ally of France. This particular point is derived from Jean-Baptiste d'Audiffret's (1657–1733) comments on the court of Lorraine stating that Francis Taaffe maintained a pro-Habsburg line in the duchy. However, Laurent Jalabert warns that Audiffret, as an envoy from Versailles, was particularly paranoid towards imperial influence in the duchy.³³ As a result, this interpretation presents two problems. First, it fails to take into consideration the fact that Carlingford owed his successful career within the Empire to his family's longstanding relationship with the Stuart and Lorraine dynasties. Second, it overlooks Carlingford's career in the Duchy of Lorraine, where he wielded much greater personal power than in the Empire. Moreover, Francis Taaffe had been brought up with Charles V of Lorraine since he was thirteen years old and had been the young Leopold's governor in Vienna.³⁴ As a result, his pro-imperial ideas should neither be a surprise, nor interpreted as proof of Taaffe's support to William III. Frédéric Richard Maupillier has also claimed that Carlingford incited the interest of the Lorrains for trained animals brought from England – such as hunting dogs and horses.³⁵ This suggests that Carlingford promoted English culture at Leopold's court, which would be surprising for an Irish Jacobite. Maupillier also uses the example of horses transported from Britain and Ireland to Lorraine via governmental passports to support his argument. While it was true that Carlingford's friend, Charles Throckmorton, bought horses and hunting dogs for the earl in January 1703, this was not a novel development that can be

31 Catherine Guyon, 'Les hommes d'Église, les étrangers et la diversité culturelle à Lunéville', in *Échanges, passages et transferts*, ed. by Anne Motta (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2017), pp. 61–72 (p. 67).

32 Maupillier, 'Les Irlandais à la cour du duc Léopold', in *Échanges*, ed. by Motta, pp. 47–60.

33 Laurent Jalabert, 'Monsieur d'Audiffret, résident et observateur à la cour de Lorraine (1702–1733)', in *Échanges* ed. by Motta, pp. 143–44.

34 Alain Petiot, 'La Minorité Du Duc Léopold À Innsbruck (1690–1698)', in *Innsbruck 1765, Prunkvolle Hochzeit, Fröhliche Feste, Tragischer Ausklang*, ed. by Renate Zedinger (Vienna: Bochum, 2015), pp. 85–107 ; Renate Zedinger, 'Heurs et malheurs de la Maison de Lorraine à Innsbruck', in *Le Pays Lorrain*, 89 (2008), pp. 107–12.

35 Maupillier, 'Les Irlandais à la cour du duc Léopold', pp. 47–60.

associated with Carlingford alone. British trends had appealed to the Lorraine family for over a century.³⁶ This fascination for British dogs and horses, as well as English clothing, has been thoroughly documented by Jacqueline Carolus who has traced this trend to the reign of James I of England (1565–1625).³⁷

Other historians have also raised questions about the allegiances of the Taaffe family. For example, Ó Ciardha has shown that Carlingford was a strong supporter of the Irish Jacobite cause.³⁸ In a detailed overview of the Taaffe family, David Fleming has demonstrated that the Taaffe family were seeking the support of William III as part of a strategy to keep their estates as their sole property.³⁹ Following the treaties of Galway and Limerick, lands belonging to Irish Catholics who supported the Jacobite cause were confiscated. Francis used his connections with the Empire to cultivate his relationship with William III to avoid the confiscations. This strategy worked since a letter from Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, to Henri de Massue de Ruvigny, 1st Earl of Galway, written on 9 July 1697, excluded Carlingford from the Bill. This was confirmed by a second letter explicitly stating that the king wanted an exception for Carlingford.⁴⁰ Carlingford then asked for compensation for the destruction of Ballymote Castle. Like other Irish Catholics who could establish a right under various terms to save their land and title from confiscation, in order to keep their estates, the Taaffes reinforced kinship links between distant landowners and tenants in times of necessity: By 1703, the Taaffes were part of a small élite group of Catholic landowners and owned around 14 per cent of the whole country.⁴¹ This further suggests that their apparent loyalty to William was merely part of that landholding strategy. A letter from Francis Taaffe to his niece on 6 December 1701 makes his intentions towards William III even clearer: ‘We do need to work on our Irish affairs to order them in the best manner. We should use to our advantage the good disposals of the king and the friendship of Lord

36 *Calendars of State Papers, Domestic Series (CSPD), 1702–1703* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, London, 1895–1972), p. 532.

37 Jacqueline Carolus, ‘Le Fastueux Voyage d’Angleterre de Monseigneur de Vaudémont’, *Le Pays Lorrain*, 83 (2002), 97–103.

38 Éamonn Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685–1766: A Fatal Attachment* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004).

39 David Fleming, ‘Estate, Kin and Loyalty: The Taaffe Family and Their Property in Eighteenth-Century Sligo’, in *Dedicated to Sligo. Thirty-Four Essays on Sligo’s Past*, ed. by Martin A. Timoney (Sligo: Publishing Sligo’s Past, 2013) pp. 171–82.

40 *Letter of Secretary Blathwayt to Shrewsbury saying the King wants an exception for Lord Carlingford in the bill for confirming the outlawries in Ireland. July 15, 1697 & Copy of a letter of Shrewsbury to Lord Galway, concerning applications by the papists to alter or stop the bills relating to the Articles of Limerick, and concerning Lord Carlingford, July 9, 1697*, quoted in Fleming, ‘Estate, Kin and Loyalty’, p. 172.

41 Fleming, ‘Estate, Kin and Loyalty’, p. 173.

Hill, Mylord Albermarle'.⁴² This letter states that Carlingford was using his personal connections to retrieve his land rather than fully supporting William III. The Taaffes were not the only family to use connections with the Lorraine dynasty and the Empire to serve their interests in Ireland.⁴³ The Butlers provide another notable, well-known example of a family who used connections in Austria, Lorraine, and France to their advantage.⁴⁴ As a consequence, the 3rd Earl of Carlingford was merely using William III to save his estates in Ireland, and was by no means a supporter of the English king. Carlingford drew on both Stuart and Lorraine connections to come to prominence in the Empire. It is possible to suggest that this 'double-allegiance' to the Lorraine family and the Stuarts operated in the same way as Irish Jacobite loyalty to both the Stuarts and Louis XIV in the same period.⁴⁵ Francis Taaffe's political fidelity to the emperor, who was an avowed supporter of William III, did not prevent Carlingford from supporting the settlement of Irish Jacobites within the Duchy of Lorraine.

The Connections of the Earl of Carlingford: the Irish Jacobite Community in Lorraine

Between 1600 and 1698, the Duchy of Lorraine had lost around 450 000 inhabitants. As a result, Carlingford and Leopold had to encourage foreign immigration to repopulate the duchy.⁴⁶ As Lorraine's prime minister, Carlingford took political measures to ensure the settlement of family and friends, the disbanded Irish Jacobites regiments from France, and the settlement of an Irish congregation, known as the 'Récollets', in the town of Boulay in January 1699.⁴⁷

The first Irish families to arrive in the Duchy of Lorraine by 1697 were members of Carlingford's family, or their friends.⁴⁸ Carlingford warmly welcomed

42 Maupillier, 'Les Irlandais à la cour du duc Léopold', p. 55.

43 These strategies are explored more generally for other European states in Ronald G. Asch, *Nobilities in Transition, 1500–1700: Courtiers and Rebels in Britain and Europe* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003).

44 Alain Petiot, *Les Lorrains et les Habsbourg : Dictionnaire biographique illustré des familles lorraines au service de la Maison d'Autriche, Coffret 2 tomes* (Aix en Provence: Mémodoc éditions, 2014); Jean-Charles Fulaine, *Le Duc Charles IV de Lorraine et son armée: 1624–1675* (Metz: Editions Serpenoise, 1997); George B. Clark, *Irish Soldiers in Europe, 17th–19th Century* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2010), p. 180.

45 Genet-Rouffiac, *Le grand exil*.

46 Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie illustrée de la Lorraine*, pp. 2, 95. Charles T. Lipp, *Noble Strategies in an Early Modern State: the Mahuet of Lorraine* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2011), p. 118.

47 Boulay was a small village situated in the duchy and it still exists today in the Région Grand-Est, in France.

48 Rohan Butler, *Choiseul, volume I: Father and Son, 1719–1754* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 5.

his relatives and acquaintances over the years, and their arrival continued even after his death. Members of other Irish Catholic families who arrived directly from Ireland to Lorraine had tight bonds to the Taaffes in Ireland. Among others, the Plunketts were tenants of the Taaffe estates, and the Throckmortons were associated with the family through marriage and client relations.⁴⁹ For example, Anne Taaffe, Francis's sister, married Joseph Throckmorton in 1656 and had a son, Charles Throckmorton, who was advanced as a captain by his uncle.⁵⁰ He then went from equerry to first equerry of the Duke to end up as a chamberlain in 1709. Carlingford's nephew, Theobald Taaffe, brought his servant Joseph Bury and Thomas Darcy to Lorraine in 1702, where he was appointed first gentleman of the chamber in December 1704. The whole Taaffe family was involved in some way in the government or attended the court of Lorraine along with other notable Irish Catholic families. One 'Sir Wolf' was '*Maistre d'hostel de Monsieur le Marechal de Carlinfort*' in 1703.⁵¹ Thomas Fitzgerald secured a position as '*courier du cabinet*' for the Duke in 1705 because he was a friend of Pierre Taaffe.⁵² Nicolas Taaffe (1685–1769), Francis's cousin, was brought up at Leopold's court, and was named chamberlain in 1712.

Another important group in the Irish community in Lorraine were members of disbanded regiments from the Jacobite forces of James II in France.⁵³ A document from the Lorraine archives details how the Clare regiment was divided into five regiments in 1698, including the Bourke, Berwick, and Galway regiment, from which many Jacobites settled in Lorraine.⁵⁴ Therefore, the duchy welcomed Jacobite soldiers after the disbanding of the Limerick infantry regiment and the reform of the Charlemont and Clare regiments.⁵⁵ The cavalry regiments of the king and of the queen were merged into the Sheldon Brigade, and some of the members of the guards entered Leopold's bodyguard.⁵⁶ The Mountcashel Brigade was transformed into the Irish Brigade, and some Irishmen from the Lee, Clare, and Dillon regiments were disbanded as well. Since many of those regiments had been occupying Lorraine as part of the French army since 1688; to them, it seemed even more appealing to integrate the newly recovered Duchy of Lorraine and to settle there with their families.

49 Fleming, 'Estate, Kin and Loyalty', pp. 174–76.

50 Etat de la Maison de Son Altesse Royale, 1699, ADMM 3F233.

51 ADMM, B 12445 '*Compte de l'année 1703*', fol. 76.

52 Maupillier 'Les Irlandais à la cour du duc Leopold', p. 58.

53 Lenihan, Pádraig, 'The "Irish Brigade", 1690–1715', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, 31 (2016), 47–74.

54 BMN, MS 305 (423) '*Nottes concernant les regiments Irlandois Depuis leur arrive en France en May 1690 et a la fin de 1691*'.

55 Maupillier, 'The Irish in the Regiments of Duke Leopold', pp. 285–89.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 288.

It is worth noting that Irish regiments created under Carlingford's supervision were all commanded by renowned Jacobites from James II's army in France and that they constituted around a quarter of the entire Lorraine *Gendarmerie*.⁵⁷ Those soldiers were later assigned by Leopold himself to exclusively protect the *Chevalier de Saint George*, the name by which the 'Old Pretender' went while in exile in the Duchy of Lorraine between 1713 and 1716.⁵⁸ Leopold welcomed the Stuart monarch and gave him an extra fifty Irish horse guards for his hunting trips on top of the protection of the Butler regiment.⁵⁹ Likewise, the Lee regiment was almost composed exclusively of Irishmen, and its captain, Francis Lee – a staunch Jacobite – married a Throckmorton in Lunéville in 1714. Francis was the son of Andrew Lee, a member of the Lee company in France, famous for 'the hatred of Britain among the members of General Andrew Lee's regiment [...] extreme Jacobitism and anti-hanoverian sentiments'.⁶⁰ We can find plenty of examples in the Lorraine archives: David Bourke was in charge of the Bourke regiment, which had strong ties to the Clarincarde regiment in France.⁶¹ David rose to command after a time as '*lieutenant agrégé*' in the O'Rouerke regiment.⁶² Much of the family were Jacobite sympathizers, such as Richard Bourke, Usher of the Privy Chamber at James III's court, 1708–18, and Toby Bourke, James III's ambassador in Madrid (1705–12).⁶³

The third group of Irish *émigrés* in Lorraine was known under the generic term of the 'Récollets'. They were a group of monks including 214 Franciscans and twelve Capucins settled in the town of Boulay. This congregation sought asylum because of the establishment of laws against the regular clergy in Ireland. Since 1607, Catholics had been barred from holding public office and had to pay the 'recusant fine' for not attending Anglican offices. After the 1652 act of settlement, Catholic clergy was banned from the country and could be killed on sight. Carlingford managed to secure high clerical offices for some of the Irish refugees in Boulay.⁶⁴ In June 1700, the Bishop of Metz authorized

57 BMN, MS 782 (133), 'Mémoire sur le duché de Lorraine par M D'Audiffret, cy-devant envoyé extraordinaire du Roy aux Cours de Mantoue, de Parme et de Modène, et à celle de Lorraine', fol. 303.

58 Fourier De Baucourt, 'Le Chevalier de Saint-Georges (Jacques III Stuart) à Bar-Le-Duc 1713–1716', *Société des Lettres de Bar-Le-Duc, Mémoires*, 38 (1910), 225–46 (p. 239).

59 Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689–1718* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 284.

60 Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause*, p. 260.

61 Genet-Rouffiac, *Le grand exil*, pp. 411–13.

62 ADMM, 3 F 275 'Divers états des troupes du Duc Léopold', no. 7

63 Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause*, pp. 215–32. Corp, *A Court in Exile*, p. 362.

64 C. Schmitt, 'Le Couvent des Récollets Irlandais de Boulay. Dossier de la Fondation (1700)', in *Mémoire de l'académie nationale de Metz* (Metz: Edition Le Lorrain, 1967), pp. 121–54;

the construction of a chapel and a convent for the Récollets to educate new members.⁶⁵ In the same month, Carlingford wrote to Bonaventure Oliver Fitzgerald, the guardian of the Irish Franciscans at Louvain, to reassure him of his personal interest in the success of the Irish Congregation:

In as much as I understand it depends of you to name the fryars that are to reside in Boullay, and that I bear a particular interest in the success of that new establishment, [...] they must be applied to; and to speake it more plainly, it appears to me that it will require not onely zealous and good fryars, but also strong and laborious men, proper by their regularity and good life to draw the esteem and good will of the people upon their convent, and at the same time to reap the benefitt of it by their assiduity and care; in making use of this conduct you may in time hope for to see that place flourish and become a good refuge to such of your order as will stand in need of it.⁶⁶

Carlingford corresponded with the Irish friars, and he spent at least 4,400 livres for their well-being.⁶⁷ The congregation was aware of the Carlingford family's support and of his influence in Lorraine. For example, Friar Bernardin Gavan wrote to Friar Patrick Duffy that 'The Duke [of Lorraine] is a friend of the Franciscans [...] as well as Count Carlingford, Lord Taaffe and Prime minister, who is immensely disposed to our country, and is hoped to stay in the future'.⁶⁸

Carlingford intervened on behalf of the Irish community in Lorraine with legal actions as well. In 1702, he suppressed the *droit d'aubaine*, a tax on foreign craftsmen and merchants.⁶⁹ He then passed a law to permit foreigners to marry and acquire real estate in the same way as the Lorrainers.⁷⁰ Other names, found in the archives, reveal the position of the Taaffes as benefactors of Irish Jacobites

Friar B. Jennings, 'The Irish Franciscans at Boulay', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 11 (1944), 118–53 (p. 118).

65 Schmitt, 'Le Couvent des Récollets Irlandais', p. 135.

66 'Lord Carlingford to the Guardian of the Irish Franciscans at Louvain, Luneville, 3 June 1703', reproduced in Jennings, 'The Irish Franciscans', p. 141.

67 'From my Lord Carlingford in ready cash for the building our church, four thousand two hundred livers. In horses and monyes in specie, two hundred and fourtye livers', reproduced in Fr. B. Jennings, 'The Irish Franciscans', p. 145.

68 My translation of 'Rector Societatis, [hence Leopold] [...], fuit bonus amicus, et pariter Patres reliqui; [...], ac benefactor minificus, vel potius futurus benefactor, Comes Tafe alias Marescallus Carlingford; est immense propensus in totam nationem', in 'Friar Bernardin Gavan to Friar Patric Duffy (undated)', Reproduced in Fr. B. Jennings, 'The Irish Franciscans', p. 120.

69 Archives des Affaires Etrangères (AAE), Correspondance politique (CP), Lorraine, 53/258–63, 'Copie du traite entre le Roi et Monsieur le duc de Lorraine pour la suppression du droit d'aubaine', 24 Jan. 1702); AAE, CP, 'Ratification du traite avec Monsieur le duc de Lorraine pour la suppression du droit d'aubaine', 22 Feb. 1702.

70 P-D-G. de Rogéville, *Dictionnaire Historique Des Ordonnances et Des Tribunaux de La Lorraine et Du Barrois* (Nancy: Veuve Leclerc, 1777), p. 350.

in the Duchy of Lorraine. For example, Charles O’Gara was appointed as page to the Duke of Lorraine in 1713 and climbed the social ladder of the duchy to become chamberlain in 1720 and first equerry in 1722. He was the son of Mary Fleming and Oliver O’Gara, Colonel of the Queen’s Dragoons. He was baptized at St Germain in 1699 and his godfather was James II. His family had a long-lasting support to the Stuarts and was protected by powerful Jacobites in France such as Sarfield, Berwick, Tyroconnel, Plowden, and Almont. The O’Garas were even involved in the 1708 Jacobite attempt to invade Ireland.⁷¹ They were also agents for the Taaffes in Ireland between 1718 and 1726.⁷² From 1697, their movements to and from Ireland were quite regular, such as the trip of John Kingdom, intendant of the Carlingford estate, in January 1703 to buy horses there, probably for the academy of Lunéville.⁷³

Inheritance was also an important issue for the Irish community in Lorraine, and again, this was often tied to the Taaffes. When the 4th Earl of Carlingford, Theobald Taaffe, died in Lorraine, he bequeathed his possessions and properties to his first cousin, Nicholas 6th Viscount Taaffe (1685–1769), who was living in Ireland. Also, Thomas O’Connor left his inheritance from Lorraine to his Irish family who had stayed in the homeland.⁷⁴ Besides inheritance, the recognition of noble titles was supported by Carlingford and his kin. In 1704, when Edmond O’Kelly, a friend of Pierre Taaffe, had difficulty being recognized as a noble by the council of Lorraine, Francis Taaffe and Owen O’Rouerke (c. 1660–1743) intervened in his favour to verify the *déclaration de noblesse*. What is interesting here is that both of these Irish Catholics were prominent in the administration of the duchy and supported a Jacobite certificate since it was signed by James Therry, the Atlone herald, and produced at James III’s court at St Germain.⁷⁵ The authorities in charge of confirming O’Kelly’s nobility had no choice but to recognize the legitimacy of the Old Pretender because the content of the certificate directly mentioned him:

Il produit un certificat en langue Latine a lui accordé le quinziesme Juin dernier par le Sieur Thirry Athlone soi-disant héraut d’armes pour le Roi de la Grand Bretagnes Jacque 3rd: et la vérité de la signature de ce héraut est certifiée par le sieur comte de Taaf et le sieur de Rouerke.⁷⁶

71 Genet-Rouffiac, *Le Grand Exil*, pp. 191, 312.

72 Fleming, ‘Estate, Kin and Loyalty’, p. 175.

73 ADMM, 3 F 231 no. 7. He also owned a ‘cheval anglois gris’, ADMM, 3 F 232 no. 35.

74 ADMM, 3 E 762, no. 169.

75 Edward Corp, *Sir David Nairne: The Life of an Exiled Jacobite at the Court of the Exiled Stuarts* (Oxford: Peter Lang Publishing, 2018), p. 153.

76 ADMM, 3F 241/15, ‘Remonstrance de la Chambre des comptes de Lorraine touchant la noblesse de Mr de Kelly du 19 Juillet 1704’.

As such, Carlingford supported many demands from the exiled Jacobites who wanted to settle in Lorraine such as the one of Sir Toby Bourke, who asked Duke Leopold that he be enrolled as a Ducal Guard in 1703.⁷⁷ Carlingford was thus enabling the settlement of a Jacobite community loyal to the Lorraine family under his patronage.⁷⁸

Sisters and wives were also central figures in the construction of this reticular network, and their marriages therefore provide an important way to assess how tight the bond between members of the community was.⁷⁹ For example, Anne Marguerite Throckmorton, one of Carlingford's nieces, married Francis Lee, an avowed Jacobite, who commanded a regiment in Leopold's army.⁸⁰ George Throckmorton was a Jacobite envoy to the court of Lorraine in 1705, and Milet Sugny (i.e. Mc Swinny) was a secretary to Carlingford in 1700.⁸¹ Emigrants from England were also present in Lorraine, but most of them were servants or wives linked to the Taaffe clan. In 1710, the English woman Elizabeth Harrington was *Dame d'honneur* (lady in the waiting) of Emily Plunkett, countess of Carlingford and wife of Theobald Taaffe, 4th Earl of Carlingford.⁸² Sarah Potter was married to Charles Throckmorton and was, therefore, daughter-in-law of Anne Taaffe, Carlingford's sister. Irish communitarianism was strong in Lorraine as fellow exiles supported each other with family alliances. A good example of this was the wedding of Charles O'Reilly who married Jeanne (Jane) O'Regeane (O'Regane) in Toul on 13 April 1719, while serving as a lieutenant in Vaudémont's Cavalry regiment.⁸³ Charles-Henri de Vaudémont (1649–1723) was part of the high nobility of the duchy and had many connections in France and the Empire and would also become a close confidant to the Old Pretender.⁸⁴ The O'Reilly family followed the same path since Jean (John) O'Reilly was a cavalry Captain in Lorraine and married Mary Elizabeth Plunkett. The intertwinement between a military career in the

77 BMN, MS (1379), Cat. Noël 310 (TS 157), 52 letters.

78 Fleming, 'Estate, Kin and Loyalty', p. 176.

79 Michaela Hohkama, 'Transdynasticism at the Dawn of the Modern Era. Kinship Dynamics Among Ruling Families', in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences Since the Middle Ages*, ed. by Christopher H. Johnson et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), pp. 93–106.

80 Genet-Rouffiac, *Le Grand Exil*, p. 192.

81 *Warwickshire County Record Office*, CR 1998, Box 65, folder 2/2.

82 ADMM B 1566.

83 Petiot, *Les Lorrains et les Habsbourgs*, p. 400.

84 Anne Motta, 'Un Hôte à la cour de Louis XIV: Charles-Henri de Vaudémont (1649–1723), Prince "en dehors-en dedans"', in *Échanges*, ed. by Anne Motta, pp. 63–73; Hubert Collin, 'Charles-Henri de Lorraine, prince de Vaudémont, souverain de Commercy, homme de guerre, diplomate et homme de cour (1649–1723) Portrait d'un "citoyen de l'univers" ami des arts', *Mémoires de l'Académie de Stanislas*, 8th series, (2003), xviii, 115–38.

duchy with marriage within the Irish Jacobite community was typical for Irish *émigrés* in Lorraine.

As Lucien Bély has underlined, families had traditionally followed soldiers to settle in different regions.⁸⁵ It is thus very problematic to assess the numbers of Irishmen who settled in Lorraine, but Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac has calculated that an average of 5,000 Irish soldiers was dismissed from France following the treaty of Ryswick⁸⁶ and Frédéric Richard-Maupillier has found records mentioning at least 220 individuals in the Lorraine archives.⁸⁷ Maupillier had listed the members of this community but seemed to have dismissed the analysis of their Jacobite inclinations.⁸⁸ Indeed, as we have seen, Carlingford had Jacobite tendencies and the Irish Catholics he supported in the Duchy of Lorraine were either of Jacobite descent or from James II's Jacobite army disbanded from France after the treaty of Ryswick. Kinship and loyalty were essential to the Taaffe family, and they positioned themselves as defenders of the Irish Catholics in Lorraine behind the significant figure of Carlingford.⁸⁹ Carlingford's idea of using his influence in Lorraine and his direct access to the sovereign were contributing factors to the prosperity of Irish Catholics in Lorraine, as it was in other European countries of the early modern period.⁹⁰ As a result, Francis assisted Irish Catholics in exile who were, for the most part, Jacobites. While benefiting from Carlingford's protection in Lorraine, this group kept marrying within the Irish Catholic community while climbing the duchy's social ladder at the same time. This is the reason why Irish Catholics in Lorraine preferred to identify themselves by referring to their position in the duchy's government or army, rather than their place of birth. This is probably why individuals were rarely described as *Irlandois de nation* in Lorraine's official documents, but rather members of the Duke's administration or army.⁹¹

85 Lucien Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs: Au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), pp. 180–219.

86 Genet-Rouffiac, *Le grand exil*, p. 199.

87 Richard-Maupillier, 'The Irish in the Regiments of Duke Leopold of Lorraine', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 67 (2014), 285–89 (p. 288).

88 Ibid, p. 289.

89 Ibid, p. 177.

90 Dries Raeymaekers and Sebastian Derks, 'Introduction: Repertoires of Access in Princely Courts', in *The Key to Power? The Culture of Access in Princely Courts, 1400–1750*, ed. by Dries Raeymaekers and Sebastian Derks (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 1–18; *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe: Rulers, Aristocrats, and the Formation of Identities*, ed. by Liesbeth Gevers and Mirella Marini, 2nd ed. (London: Ashgate, 2016).

91 For more about the strategies of the Jacobites in exile, see S. Jettot, 'Les Vaincus des guerres civiles: exil et reinvention de soi dans la gentry Jacobite Irlandaise (XVII^e–XVIII^e siècle)', in *La guerre Civile: idéalizations et réconciliations*, ed. by E. Dupraz, C. Gheeraert-Graffeuille (Rouen: Presses Universitaires de Rouen et du Havre, 2015), pp. 77–94.

Irish Jacobites in Lorraine and the Wider European Jacobite Networks

Carlingford's prominence within the administration of the duchy empowered him to appoint Irish Catholics to crucial positions in the Duke of Lorraine's household, army, and administration. Leopold himself admitted: 'it is sure that, since I returned, there had been [in Lorraine] a lot of them [foreigners]'.⁹² In reality, Carlingford's activism was a significant factor in the settlement of Irish Jacobites in the duchy. The full impact of this policy was apparent almost a decade after his death. In 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht ended the War of Spanish Succession (1701–14) and England imposed that France asked that James Francis Edward Stuart, the Jacobite Pretender, no longer be welcomed at St Germain-en-Laye. Consequently, Leopold welcomed James in the duchy's second city, Bar-Le-Duc, under the *incognito Chevalier de St George*.⁹³ It is notable that the Marquis of Bassompierre and Owen O'Rourke were both present to welcome James Francis Stuart at the beginning of 1713 alongside Duke Leopold. The former was the leader of society in Bar-Le-Duc while the latter was a staunch Irish Jacobite and James's secret envoy to Lorraine. The presence of such a prominent member of the duchy's administration next to the duke and an avowed Jacobite sent a symbolic message of support to the Jacobite court following James. Leopold also offered his full protection to the Stuart Pretender, a significant act since James had a price of 100,000 crowns on his head at the time: an even clearer practical form of support.⁹⁴ The duke managed to appoint people originally from Britain and Ireland, and of Jacobite descent, to all the key positions around James Stuart to ensure his security. For instance, Charles and François Langlois were housekeepers of James's castle in Bar, and Guillaume and Jean Langlois were members of his hunting staff. All of them arrived during Carlingford's administration and had Jacobite inclinations. It is rather likely that this omnipresence of Jacobites in Leopold's administration and army had influenced the Duke of Lorraine to assist the Jacobite court. For example, Leopold participated in the propaganda of toleration espoused by the exiled Jacobites by permitting a Protestant Chapel in Bar-Le-Duc.⁹⁵ This is all the more surprising since the Duchy of Lorraine had been fervent defenders of the Catholic faith for centuries.⁹⁶

92 *Cayer Pour Laisser À Mon Successeur... Mémoire Sur Le Duché de Lorraine Rédigé Vers 1715 Par Le Duc Léopold. Texte Publié et Commenté*, ed. by Zoltan. Harsany (Nancy, Paris, Strasbourg: Edition Berger-Levrault, 1938) p. 22.

93 Lucien Bély, 'L'incognito des princes: l'exemple de Jacques III', in *Revue de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 46 (1992), pp. 40–43.

94 Louis Davillé, 'Le séjour du prétendant Jacques-Edouard Stuart à Bar-Le-Duc (1713–1716)', in *Le Pays Lorrain* 20 (1928), p. 347.

95 Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile*, p. 54.

96 Henry Bogdan, *La Lorraine des ducs, sept siècles d'histoire* (Paris: Perrin, 2005).

The response of Irish Catholics who had been placed by the Taaffe family in prominent positions within the duchy's government serves to confirm that many of them had Jacobite inclinations. Indeed, many Jacobites who had settled in Lorraine went to visit James Francis Edward Stuart in Bar, especially members of the army. Amongst those visitors were, Odly Macdonough, lieutenant in the Bailliny Company till 1714, and Barthelemy Plunkett, a brigadier general in the Stainville company.⁹⁷ Interestingly, he married Christine d'Alba de Ville, daughter of Etienne d'Alba de Ville, a former cavalry major of Charles V of Lorraine.⁹⁸ One 'Mr O'Morre' who was in the bodyguard of the Duke of Lorraine went to Bar-Le-Duc as well.⁹⁹ Even though some of their first names are not visible in the archives, we know that members of the O'Brien family, employed in the army of the Duke, went to meet the Pretender. This family in particular was well known for their Jacobitism. For instance, Daniel O'Brien was captain to a regiment who went to fight William III in 1690 and was the official representative of James III in Paris.¹⁰⁰

Another visitor of the court in Bar-Le-Duc was Edward Warren (1666–1733). Edward was from an old Anglo-Irish family.¹⁰¹ He was born Lord of Seatown and Bellaghmoon in May 1666 and was governor of Belfast and Carlingford. In 1688, he composed a regiment of Irishmen to fight for James II's cause at his own expense and he fled to the continent after the Battle of the Boyne.¹⁰² In France, he was a captain to the Dillon Regiment and fought with Berwick as an artillery officer until his he was disbanded while being stationed near Strasbourg.¹⁰³ This is where Carlingford found him and invited him to Lorraine in 1698.¹⁰⁴ Edward Warren was recruited as 1st lieutenant of a company in the Duchy of Lorraine for the sole reason than he knew Carlingford personally.¹⁰⁵ Edward brought his cousin, Ulrich Warren, and they worked as business partners and were intricately connected to the administration of Lorraine.¹⁰⁶ On 1 February 1703, Edward wanted to establish his own gunpowder factory and he managed to obtain a thirty years' monopoly from Leopold.¹⁰⁷ What convinced him was

97 ADMM, 3 F 275 'estat complet des appointements et solde des troupes de SAR', fol. 14.

98 ADMM, B 1715 'compte des gages des six premiers mois de 1731', f^o47, 52; ADMM B 1745 'Compte des gages de l'année 1735', fol. 50.

99 ADMM, 3 F 275 'pensions militaires', fol. 51.

100 Genet-Rouffiac, *Le grand exil*, p. 147. Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile*, p. 338.

101 Raoul Warren, *Histoire de la Maison Warren, 1138–1990* (Paris: 1990), p. 185.

102 BMN, 153934, *Notice historique et généalogique sur la famille Warren sur ses établissements successifs en Angleterre, en Irlande, en Lorraine et en Toscane*. B.M. Ms. 153934, p. 45.

103 Harsany, *La Cour de Léopold*, p. 514.

104 *Notice Historique et généalogique sur la famille de Warren*, p. 51.

105 ADMM, B 1648.

106 ADMM, 3 F 235.

107 ADMM, B 218.

a report on the state of gunpowder production that Ulrich Warren wrote for the duke. As a result, the duke forbade the importation of foreign gunpowder and reduced the taxes on the local production.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, Ulrich was supporting his cousin's business as well as contributing to the development of gunpowder production in Lorraine. In 1705, Edward, by then in charge of Lorraine's heavy artillery and proud owner of his powder factory, employed former soldiers of the Jacobite army in France.¹⁰⁹ For example, Michel Donovan, cousin of Cornelius O'Donnavant, Captain-major of the Nancy regiment of guards, originally from Cork, was his *commis des poudres*.¹¹⁰ In 1713, The Donovan family moved to Bar-Le-Duc as soon as James III settled there and Edward Warren created fireworks to entertain James's court in the same year.¹¹¹ Edward developed his business to trade with the Prince of Vaudémont, sovereign of Commercy (a tiny state enclaved within Lorraine), since Joseph Lerouge, *receveur des domaines de la principauté de Commercy*, bought gunpowder from Warren's factory to sell it abroad.¹¹² Edward even created a small Jacobite district in Nancy since he provided accommodation for most of his employees next to his factory in buildings he had constructed for them next to la porte Saint-Nicolas. In 1715, he created a new street called Rue de Dublin from la porte Saint-Nicolas leading to the convent of the Jesuits.

Apart from Irish Catholics brought by Carlingford who paid their respect to the Stuart Court of Bar-Le-Duc, other Jacobites in the Duchy of Lorraine offered assistance way more precious to the Jacobite movement. As such, Owen O'Rouerke is a perfect example of this as a Jacobite well integrated in the Lorraine society via his marriage with the sister of Leopold's favourite: Marc de Beauvau-Craon (1679–1754).¹¹³ Not only had he been under Carlingford's direct patronage, but he also had enough prominence in Lorraine to ask directly for Leopold's support after Carlingford's death.¹¹⁴ O'Rouerke acted as an envoy

108 ADMM, 3 F 278, 'Mémoire pour présenter à son Altesse Royale au sujet de la poudrerie, des selpetriers et du selpetre, comme aussi des fermiers des dites poudres', fol. 71.

109 Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites, Britain and Europe 1688–1788* (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 54–55.

110 Harsany, *La Cour de Léopold*, p. 423.

111 ADMM, 4 F 14 no. 195.

112 ADMM, H 77. Anne Motta, 'Un hôte à la cour de Louis XIV: Charles-Henri de Vaudémont (1649–1723), prince "en dehors-en dedans"', in *Voyageurs étrangers à la cour de France – regards croisés (1589–1789)*, ed. by C. Zum Kolk, J. Boutier, B. Klesmann, and F. Moreau (Rennes-Versailles: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014) pp. 63–75.

113 Jonathan Spangler, 'Transferring Allegiances: Princes, Favourites and the Peripatetic Houses of Lorraine and Beauvau As Trans-Regional Families', in *Internationale Geschichte in Theorie und Praxis*, ed. by Barbara Haider-Wilson, William D. Godsey, and Wolfgang Mueller (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2017), pp. 635–63.

114 ADMM 3 F 11 no. 155, 'O'Rouerke to Léopold', c. 1705.

between James and Leopold and even carried letters between the two princes. In 1715, he went to Vienna to negotiate James III's wedding, even though his mediation was not fruitful.¹¹⁵ He continued to serve the Stuarts as Jacobite envoy to Vienna from 1727 and was created Jacobite Viscount Breffney the same year.¹¹⁶ Through O'Rourke's correspondence with the Jacobite minister Charles Middleton and high-ranking members of the court of Lorraine such as the Prince of Vaudémont and the Beauvau-Craon family between 1713 and 1716, we can deduce that a large part of the Jacobite community in Lorraine, as well as members of the Lorraine high nobility, actively supported James's restoration in the aftermath of the Treaty of Utrecht and in the fomentation of the 1715 uprising.¹¹⁷

There are many more examples of Irish Catholics with Jacobite inclinations who were carrying out successful careers in Lorraine as well as occasionally helping the Jacobite cause. For instance, Christophe de Cusaque (Cusack) became a naturalized Lorrain on 3 January 1737 and had been responsible for passing letters between Ireland and the Jacobite court in France at St Germain for many years before that. Charles O' Gara was also linked to St Germain, and the O'Brien family were cousins of James III's representative in Paris. Another person who visited James in Bar, identified as 'Maguire', was a Jacobite recruiter in Ireland before 1715. Other Jacobites from Cork, like Barry, from County Cavan and County Clare, like Brady, or from County Kerry, such as Brendon, were also present in James III's court. Jean Coughlan was from Munster, and a close cousin of Francis Colclough who 'enlisted a great number of persons [...] in order to go to Lorraine for the service of the pretender' in May 1715, right after James had given up his incognito status. James's activities were monitored by British spies who reported that: 'James in Lorraine reviewed such troops as he had managed to raise there – recruits from England and Irishmen who had served the French colours'.¹¹⁸ As soon as the *Chevalier de Saint George* arrived in Bar-Le-Duc, the Jacobites reacted to support James Francis Stuart, as exemplified by O'Rourke's behaviour.

115 ADMM, 3 F 208 no. 65 'lettre de Jacques III du 28 avril 1715'.

116 Stephen J. Griffin, 'Princes, Agents and Friends: Count Owen O'Rourke and the Stuart Presence in Vienna, 1727–43' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Limerick, 2020).

117 BMN, MS 829 (555), M. J-A Schmit, 'Petite gazette de lorraine du règne de Léopold, extraite des journaux du temps' (Nancy: 1873, vol.1), pp. 308–20; Mr Craon to O'Rourke, letter from Lunéville, January 17th, 1713, in J. Macpherson, *Original Papers: Containing the Secret History of Great Britain, from the Restoration, to the Accession of the House of Hanover* [...] (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1775, vol. II), p. 373.

118 Quoted in A. Lang, A. Shields, *The King over the Water*, annotated edition (Berlin: Verlag, 2012), p. 253.

Conclusion

The assumption that Carlingford's sympathies lay with the Habsburg Empire and its anti-French ally William III has to be challenged, especially considering the warnings of an increasing number of academics when dealing with nationalism and loyalty in the early modern period.¹¹⁹ Like Eugene of Savoy or Charles V of Lorraine, Carlingford attached himself to a house instead of a country. Indeed, Carlingford's exceptional career in the Empire was due to both his good relations with the Lorraine dynasty and his family's alliance with the Stuarts. The favours he accepted from William III regarding his properties in Ireland were not a proof of Carlingford's commitment to the English king, but rather a result of the Taaffe family's policy to keep their estates intact in Ireland. Carlingford simply maintained good relations with the Williamite government, to ensure his family's best interests.¹²⁰ As a result, Carlingford's cooperation with the Williamite regime cannot be regarded as an indication of anti-Jacobite sentiment on his part. When Leopold of Lorraine was restored to his duchy, Carlingford followed him and became his 'prime minister', supporting the settlement of Irish Jacobites in Lorraine. Carlingford used his leading role in the government of Lorraine to facilitate the integration of Irish Catholics and Jacobites in the duchy. In France, the Jacobites used either a vertical or a horizontal strategy to move up the social ladder of the kingdom. In Lorraine, they tended to use both: They were 'vertically' protected by the Taaffes and their allies, the dukes, and were 'horizontally' interconnected by belonging to the same exiled religious institutions, the same line of work, or even the same family. Thus, the Taaffes used a familial and friendship networking strategy to attract Irish Catholics in the duchy. In the army, there was a two-tier system; those who already had a noble status and used it to secure a high-ranked position in the military and those who used their position in the army to obtain prestigious status at Leopold's court. Carlingford's connections within the duchy's government enabled the earl to place his relatives in key positions of the duchy, and they would continue to favour the settlement and careers of Irish Catholics long after Francis's death in 1704. Tenants linked to the Taaffes therefore had 'access to their patronage and connections in Europe, Britain, and Ireland'.¹²¹ By 1698, Irish Catholics in Lorraine were evident in all

119 H. M. Scott and Christopher Storrs, 'The Consolidation of Noble Power in Europe, c.1600–1800', in *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, Volume One: Western Europe*, ed. by H. M. Scott (Longman: London, 1995), pp 1–52; Ronald G. Asch, 'Patronage, Friendship and the Politics of Access: the Role of the Early Modern Favourite Revisited', in *The Key to Power? The Culture of Access in Princely Courts, 1400–1750*, ed. by Dries Raeymaekers and Sebastian Derks (Brill: Leiden, 2016), pp. 178–201.

120 Fleming, 'Estate, Kin and Loyalty', p. 173.

121 Fleming, 'Estate, Kin and Loyalty', p. 176.

strata of society: in the government (the Taaffe), in the nobility and the army (O'Rouerke), and the religious institution (the Récollets in Boulay). The Boulay institution was also part of the more comprehensive reticular network of Irish Congregations scattered all around continental Europe.¹²²

Whether it was deliberate or not, Carlingford triggered the arrival of a Jacobite community in Lorraine. The way Carlingford and Duke Leopold employed the disbanded Jacobite troops from France and recreated a network of Irish regiments in Lorraine enabled their members to maintain a sense of community. These Irish Jacobites permeated all strata of the Lorraine society and were interconnected with the wider European Jacobite network. Families, such as the Carlingfords or the Warrens, employed a multi-generational networking strategy by placing their relatives in their sphere of influence or area of work, aiming at implanting their family in the duchy. There was a double dynamic in Lorraine since the duke himself wanted to 'restore the order, which hath been interrupted by past revolutions'.¹²³ In fact, the attribution of different awards was an important part of Leopold's nobiliary policy aiming at bringing stability to his estates by gaining the loyalty of new nobles of foreign origins.¹²⁴ Accordingly, Leopold himself, as well as a significant portion of the Lorraine nobility, was aware of the influx of Irish Jacobites to the duchy. Considering the international European context and the British and Irish contexts, James Francis Edward Stuart sought help abroad and used the Jacobites in exile to keep his movement alive. By 1713, James arrived in Lorraine due to international pressure and allied himself with the Irish Jacobites who had already settled in the duchy. As in St-Germain-en-Laye before, Lorraine would thus have the two major anchor points of the Jacobite networks: the religious institution and the monarch himself. The Irish were of importance because they were partly integrated into the decision-making centres of the Duchy of Lorraine. It was, therefore, the integration of the Irish Catholics in the duchy's army, administration, and nobility which made them crucial to the Jacobite court in the context of the 1715.¹²⁵ To answer our initial question, we could say that Francis Taaffe was an opportunist Williamite when he acted for his family estates in Ireland, but also an ambiguous pro-Jacobite when he triggered, willingly or not, the arrival of a Jacobite community in Lorraine, which would become useful to the Jacobite shadow monarch.

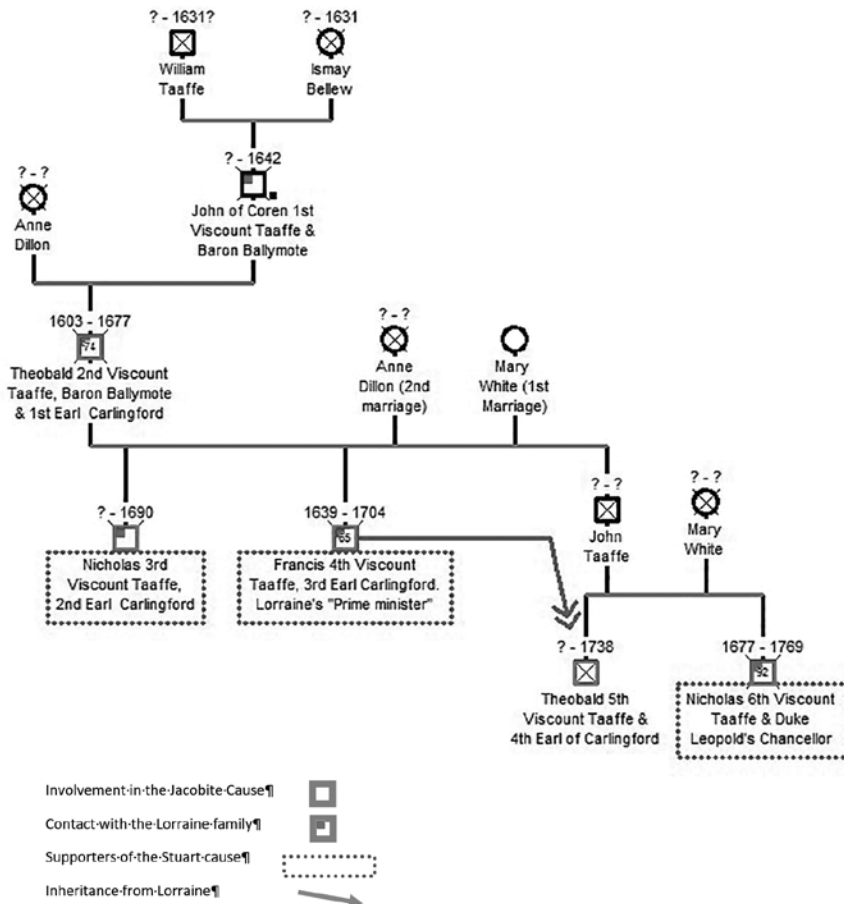
122 Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites*, p. 128.

123 My translation of 'rétablir l'ordre qui a esté interrompu par les révolutions passés' in ADMM, B 118.

124 Anne Motta, *Noblesse et pouvoir princier dans la Lorraine Ducale 1624–1737* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2015), pp. 367, 379.

125 Jérémy Filet, 'Jacobitism in an Early-modern State: The Duchy of Lorraine and the 1715 Rebellion' (unpublished Master thesis, Université de Lorraine, 2016).

Appendix



Genealogical tree of Taaffe Family.