



**NUI MAYNOOTH**

Ollscoil na hÉireann Mú Níad

**'THE VOLUNTEERS 1778-1793: ICONOGRAPHY AND IDENTITY'**

by

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Chapter one: Uniforms

(44 plates)



**Plate 1.1. 'The Butcher's wife dressing for the Pantheon', W. Humphrey of London, 1772, engraving (Library of Congress, Washington). Arrivistes and nouveau riche were frequently sent up in satirical material of the 1760s and 1770s, highlighting the levelling of social boundaries between the upper and broad middling classes through dress and the availability of material goods. The butcher's wife prepares for an evening at the Pantheon, then London's most fashionable social venue. Her fine clothes are in direct contrast to her jowly features and stout frame.**



Plate 1.2. 'The Estates General', Louis-Charles Auguste Couder, 1839, oil on canvas (Chateau de Versailles). This painting depicts the famous meeting of the Estates General in 1789. Ancien regime France was possessed of an ornate court culture, with lavish surroundings and elaborate dress featuring in the life at court on a regular basis. Social divisions were marked very clearly in such a setting, through clothing, which was prescribed by the monarch to ensure each subject knew his place.



Plate 1.3. 'Charles Coote, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Bellamont (1738-1800), in the robes of the Order of the Bath', Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1773-1774, oil on canvas, 245 x 162cm (N.G.I.).



Plate 1.4. 'The Irish House of Commons', Francis Wheatley, 1780, oil on canvas (Lotherton Hall, Leeds).



Plate 1.5. A detail from 'The Dublin Volunteers on College Green, 4<sup>th</sup> November 1779', Francis Wheatley, 1779 to 1780, oil on canvas, 175 x 323cm (N.G.I.).





**Plate 1.6. A detail from 'Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton', Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1782, oil on canvas (National Gallery, London).**



Plate 1.7. A detail of the Kilkenny Rangers jug showing the felt hat and ostrich plumes of the company (N.M.I.).



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Plate 1.8. Leather light infantry helmet, 1770s, 5<sup>th</sup> Regiment of foot (Wallis and Wallis Heritage Centre, Sussex).



Plate 1.9. A detail from Wheatley's College Green showing the men of the County Dublin Light Horse (N.G.I.).



Plate 1.10. A lacquered brass cavalry helmet of the Armagh Light Dragoons, 1770s (*Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, v (1942), p.56). Metal helmets of this sort seem to have been quite common among well-to-do cavalry companies, greatly enhancing their martial appearance. In terms of broader European trends, metal helmets of this sort were most popular in the French service and were not worn by British regiments. This trend evinces openness to foreign fashions which Irish residents accessed through the fashionable nature of Dublin society.



**Plate 1.11. A button of the Gort Light Dragoons, County Galway, from the coat of Richard D'Arcy, one of its members (N.M.I.). This button is approximately 2cm in diameter and features considerable workmanship throughout. There are nearly forty such buttons on this coat, in addition to its velvet facings and metallic silver lace. The owner must have been a man of some means to afford such a garment. He was later a member of the town's yeomanry corps. His coat from this amateur military company is also kept in the National Museum of Ireland. The decoration of the button seems to have been struck or moulded, displaying a maid of Erin harp, surmounted by an imperial crown and surrounded by the initials of the company. Such decoration was typical of Volunteer buttons, but there are relatively few extant examples of such artefacts.**

# NEW IRISH-MADE BUTTONS.

BUTLER, No. 12, CRAMPTON-COURT,

**B**Y the Desire of  
has made new  
adapted to be worn  
They are strongly  
ed, and the Dye  
executed, of which  
which, he hopes,  
rally pleasing, par  
those Gentlemen,  
with patriotic Ardour, and are willing to encourage  
every Attempt to forward the Arts of this much-neglected  
Country.



many Gentlemen,  
gilt Buttons, a-  
with *Irish Cloths*:  
gilt, neatly finish-  
remarkably well  
this Cut is a Copy,  
will prove gener-  
ticularly to all  
whose Hearts glow

These Buttons would answer well for Independent  
Companies, and will be found much cheaper brought to  
Hand than any ever made here, which is hoped will be a  
stronger Inducement to meet Encouragement, and to  
BUTLER still to attempt something new.—Price of  
the Coat Buttons, 7s. per Dozen; Vest, 3s. 6d.

N. B. Buttons plain, or engraved with any Fancy or  
Inscription on the shortest Notice, made and gilt as the  
above.

Plate 1.12. An advertisement for Volunteer buttons made by the Dublin jeweller Nicholas Butler, *Dublin Evening Post*, 5 June 1779 (N.L.I.). There seems to have been a reasonably buoyant button industry in Dublin at this time, with a consumer demand to match and support numerous craftsmen.



Plate 1.13. 'The Lurgan Volunteer', Strickland Lowry, late 1770s, oil on canvas (U.M.B.). This portrait, often claimed to be of an officer of the company, is probably of a private soldier. This can be surmised because of the cross-belts the Volunteer is wearing. These belts were worn exclusively by rank and file soldiers to carry cartridge boxes which contained prepared ammunition. These belts also carried the bayonet in a special scabbard, called a frog. This Volunteer has had his belts decorated with a plate bearing the name of his company and a crowned harp device.



Plate 1.14. A belt-plate of the Lisburn Volunteers, late 1770s to early 1780s (U.M.B.). This belt-plate is of very crude manufacture, but serves its purpose in displaying the company name, motto and a basic iconographical composition of a maid of Erin harp, surmounted by an imperial crown, a fairly standard form of decoration for such Volunteer items.





**Plate 1.15. A belt plate-plate of the Dublin Volunteers, late 1770s (N.M.I.). This plate has the harp riveted on while the rest of the detail was engraved. The edge has also been milled for decoration. Several examples of this plate's design and production still exist for several other companies. Such plates were probably produced blank and engraved to order with the company name.**



Plate 1.16. A silver gorget of the British 25<sup>th</sup> Regiment of foot, 1770s to 1780s (United Services Museum, Edinburgh). In the late eighteenth century many regular armies lacked a pattern for gorgets, so each regiment generally had its own conventions to be adhered to. In the British service, the royal coats of arms, complete with motto and supporters was very common on gorgets.

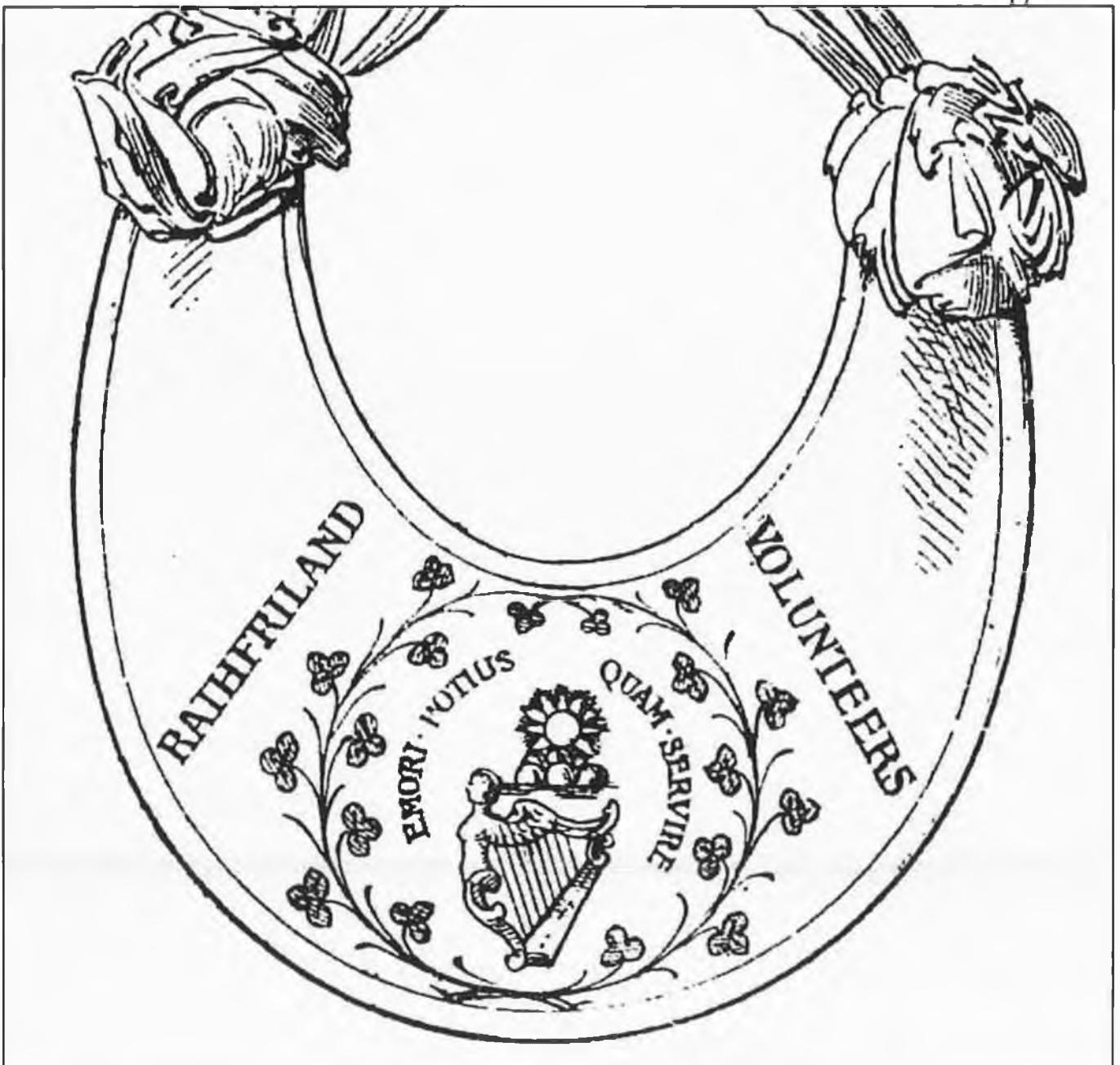


Plate 1.17. A line drawing of a silver gorget that once belonged to Lieutenant John McBride of the Rathfriland Volunteers (U.M.B.). Volunteer gorgets came in various shapes, sizes, metals and quality of production. This particularly fine example was made from good metal, well designed and executed with considerable skill.



**Plate 1.18. A gorget of the Belfast Third "Union" Volunteer Company, late 1770s. This gorget is copper gilt. Gorgets were often plated to save on costs and to enhance their appearance when polished (U.M.B.).**



**Plate 1.19. The sword presented to James Napper Tandy on his entry into Sir Edward Newenham's Liberty Volunteers in April 1780 (U.M.B.).**



**Plate 1.20. An unidentified Volunteer officer by John Trotter, late 1770s to early 1780s, oil on canvas (Private Collection). This officer is impeccably turned out for his portrait and holds a spontoon in his left hand. European spontoons of this period could be between seven and nine feet. In military terms, they were a relic of a bygone time, but were preserved on dress occasions out of a sense of pomp and tradition.**

2



Plate 1.21. A grenadier of the 5<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Marines from the 1740s (Reid & Zlatich, *Soldiers of the revolutionary war*, p.171). Mid-eighteenth century coats were quite long and features elaborate cuffs, collar, facings and button loops.



Plate 1.22. A grenadier of a company of marines in the late 1770s (Mollo & MacGregor, *Uniforms of the American Revolution*, p.79). After 1768, uniform coats became shorter, more open at the front and had more integrated facings, cuffs and collar.



Plate 1.23. A detail from Wheatley's painting of College Green showing the men of the County Dublin Light Horse (N.G.I.).





**Plate 1.24. 'William Robert Fitzgerald, second Duke of Leinster in the uniform of the Dublin Volunteers', Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 1779 to 1780, chalk on paper (Private collection). This very fine pastel work compares very favourably with Wheatley's depiction of the company uniform in his College Green painting.**



Plate 1.25. A detail from Wheatley's College Green Volunteers. This detail features the duke in the centre, with the white coated musician of the company to his right (N.G.I.).



**Plate 1.26. A musician's coat of the Gort Light Dragoons, County Galway (N.M.I.). The musician of this company wore a white garment, distinct from the scarlet coat of his peers. This coat was made for a man of small stature, which indicates that the musician who wore it was probably a youth in his mid to late teens, perhaps a young relative of one of the officers.**



Plate 1.27. 'Captain Waddell Cunningham', of the Belfast First Volunteer Company, by Robert Home, 1784, oil on canvas (U.M.B.).



Plate 1.28. 'Lieutenant Robert Hugh Hyndman', of the Belfast Third "Union" Volunteer Company, by Joseph Wilson, early 1780s, oil on canvas (U.M.B.).



**Plate 1.29. A National Volunteer of 1792-1793 by an unknown artist (N.M.I.). By this time many companies were composed of such poor membership as to resemble the Parisian Sans-Culottes more than the proud Volunteer companies of the early 1780s.**



Plate 1.30. A Parisian Sans-Culottes of the early 1790s (Francois Furet and Mona Ozouf (eds.), *A critical dictionary of the French Revolution* (London, 1989)). These ad-hoc urban militiamen were characterised by their tatty appearance and low social background.



Plate 1.31. 'Rev William Bruce of Lisburn', Joseph Wilson, late 1780s, oil on canvas (U.M.B.).



**Plate 1.32. A detail from 'Lord Aldborough on Pomposo', Francis Wheatley, 1782, oil on canvas (Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire). The Aldborough Legion featured a distinct uniform for each of its constituent parts, all based very closely on the uniforms of the regular army. The earl was eager to serve the country in this time of crisis and was an energetic Volunteer.**





Plate 1.33. An officer of the 17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons, late 1770s (Mollo and McGregor, *Uniforms of the American Revolution*, p.102). This uniform was the inspiration for the dragoons of the Aldborough Legion.



Plate 1.34. A gunner of the Royal Irish Regiment of Artillery, 1780s (Reproduced with permission of Glenn Thompson).



Plate 1.35. A corporal of the French Santoigne Regiment, early 1780s (Mollo & MacGregor, *Uniforms of the American Revolution*, p.141). French infantry regiments wore white uniforms during the days of the ancien regime. This reflected the country's adherence to the Catholic faith.



Plate 1.36. A fusilier of the 33<sup>rd</sup> Reimnt of foot of the Prussian army, 1760s-1770s (Phillip Haythornwaite and Bryan Fosten, *Frederick the Great's army, 2, Infantry* (Osprey, 1991), p.31.). Prussian infantry regiments wore dark blue coats, typical of Protestant northern European states.



Plate 1.37. A private soldier of the British 9<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot (Mollo & MacGregor, *Uniforms of the American Revolution*, p.109).

### British Regular Infantry, facing colours

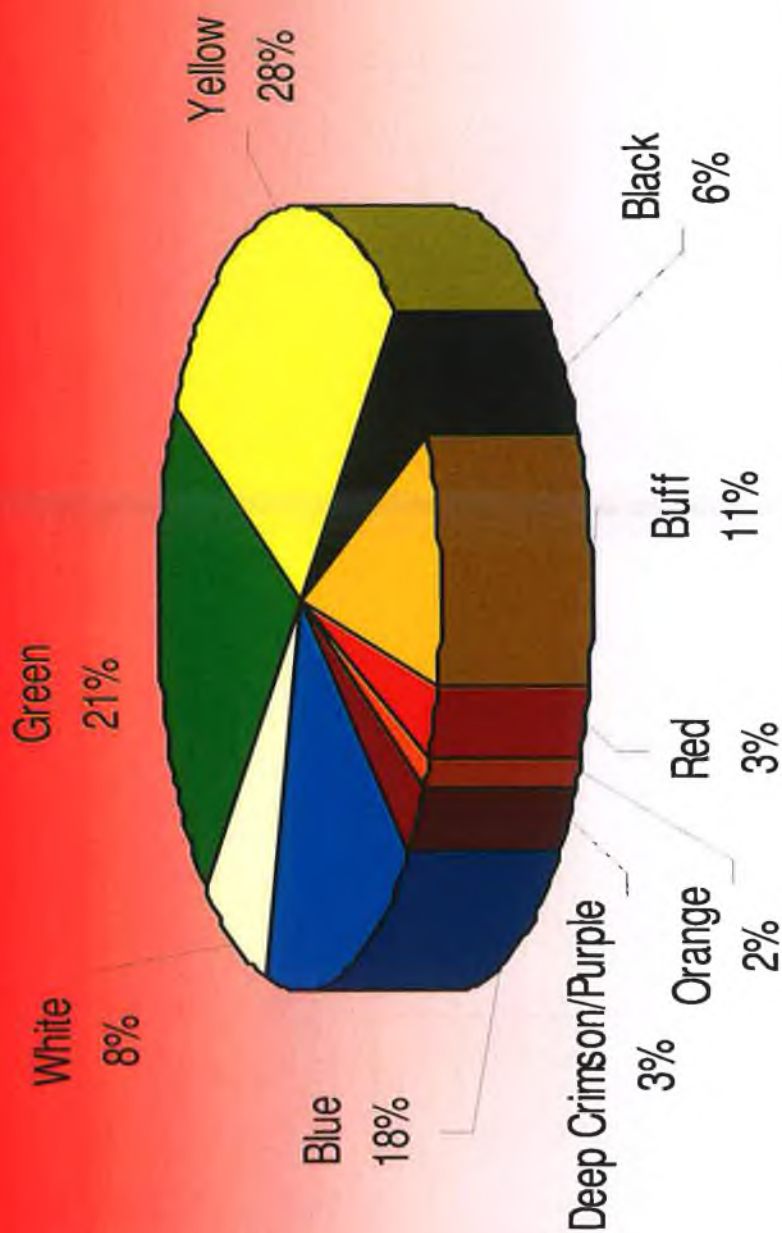
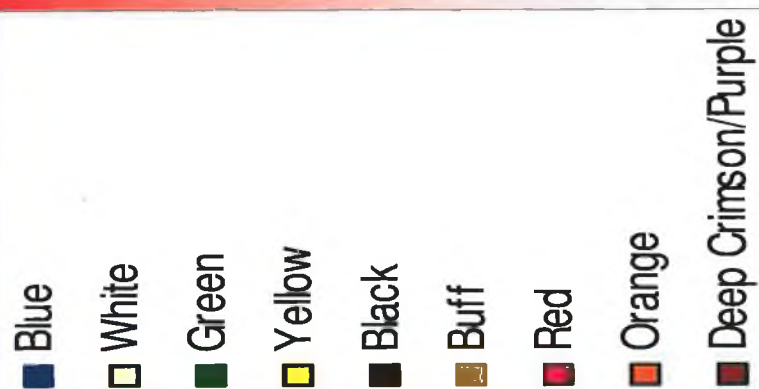
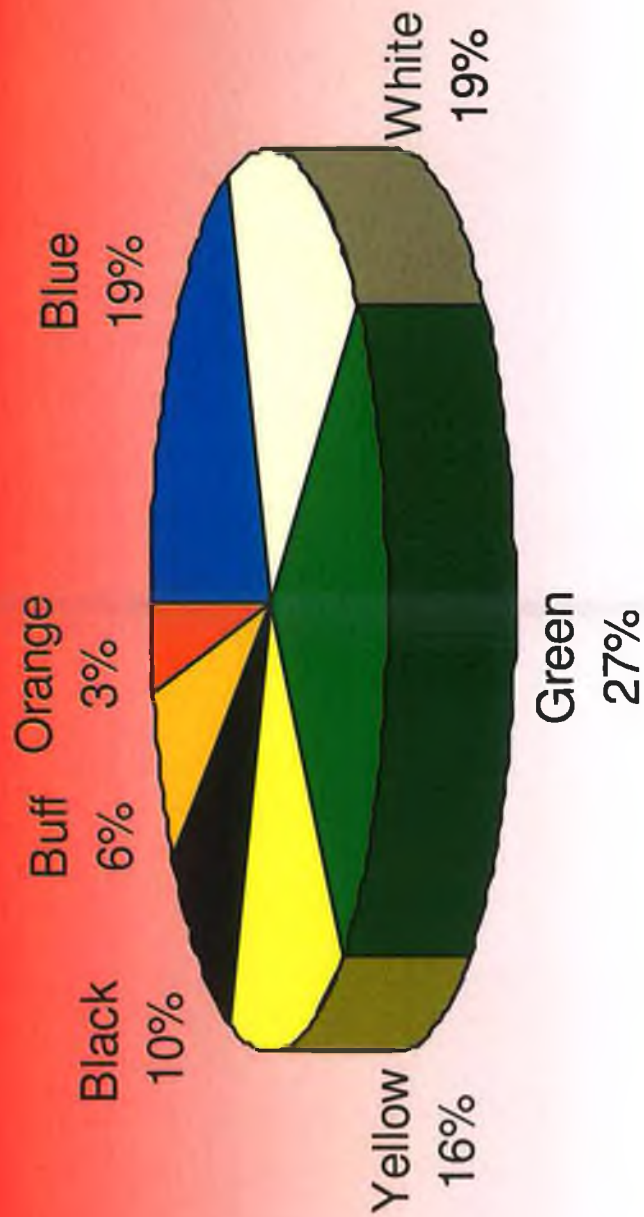


Figure 1.1. Facing colours of British Infantry Regiments during the American War of Independence from a total sample of 70. Source: Reid & Zlatich, *Soldiers of the revolutionary war*, pp 157-165.

## British Cavalry, facing colours



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Figure 1.2. The facing colours of scarlet coated British cavalry regiments during the American War of Independence from a total sample of 34. Source: Reid & Zlatich, *Soldiers of the revolutionary war*, pp 200-206.

## Scarlet coat facing colours

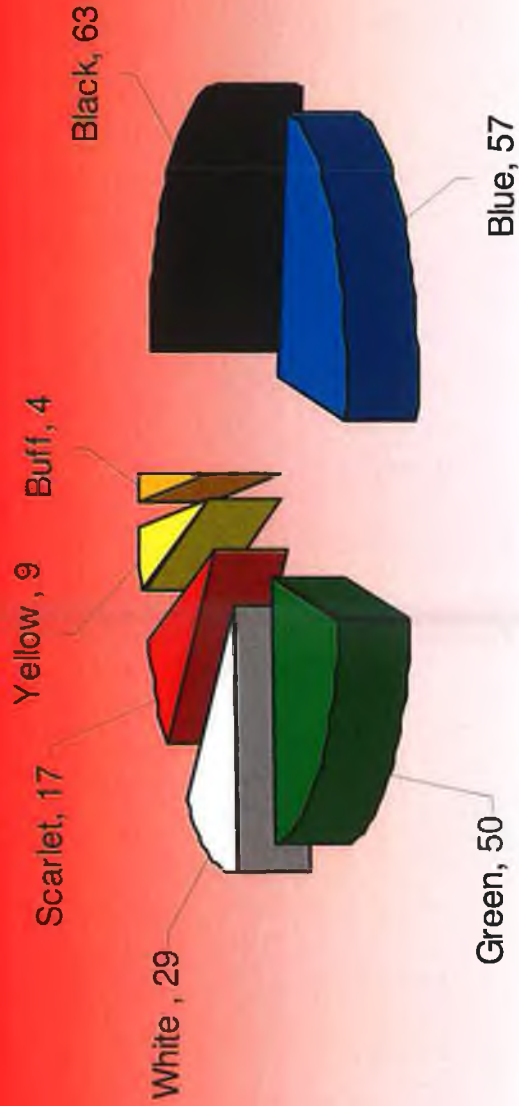
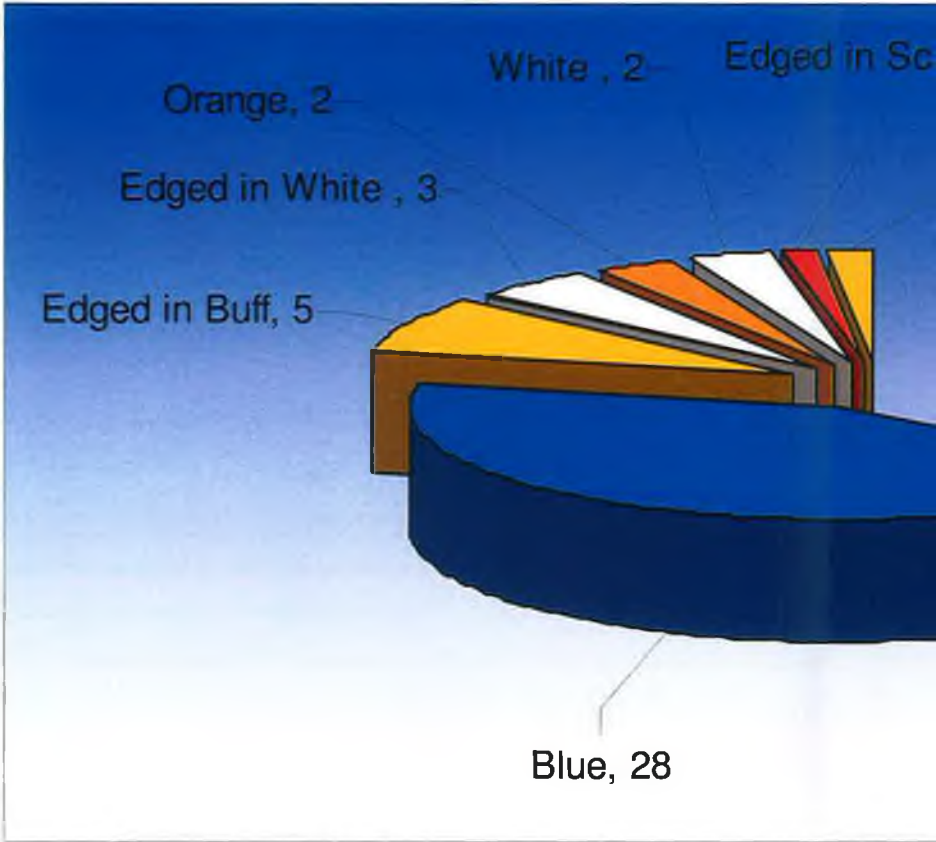


Figure 1.3. The facings of Volunteer coats with a scarlet coat colour.



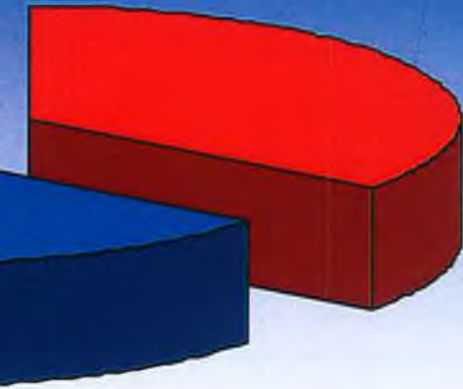


Scarlet, 1

## Blue coat facing colours

Buff, 1

Scarlet, 23



- Scarlet
- Blue
- ▣ Edged in Buff
- Edged in White
- Orange
- White
- Edged in Scarlet
- ▣ Buff

Figure 1.4. The facing colours of blue Volunteer coats.



Plate 1.38. An officer of the 1<sup>st</sup> Rhode Island Regiment from the American forces (Mollo & McGregor, *Uniforms of the American Revolution*, p.77. This soldier evinces how elements of Indian dress like trousers, fur and moccasins were taken on to ease campaigning conditions in North America.



Plate 1.39. A soldier of the Queen's Rangers (Mollo & McGregor, *Uniforms of the American Revolution*, p.135).



**Plate 1.40. A detail of Wheatley's Irish House of Commons. Colonel Eland Mossom is seated on the back bench on the far right (Lotherton Hall, Leeds).**



**Plate 1.41.** The Henry Joy McCracken coat of the Belfast First Volunteer Company, early 1790s (U.M.B.). This coat was designed in the early 1790s and reflected an emerging and redefined sense of Irishness that had green as its colour of choice. This coat was originally of a middling green cloth, but the colour has faded over time.

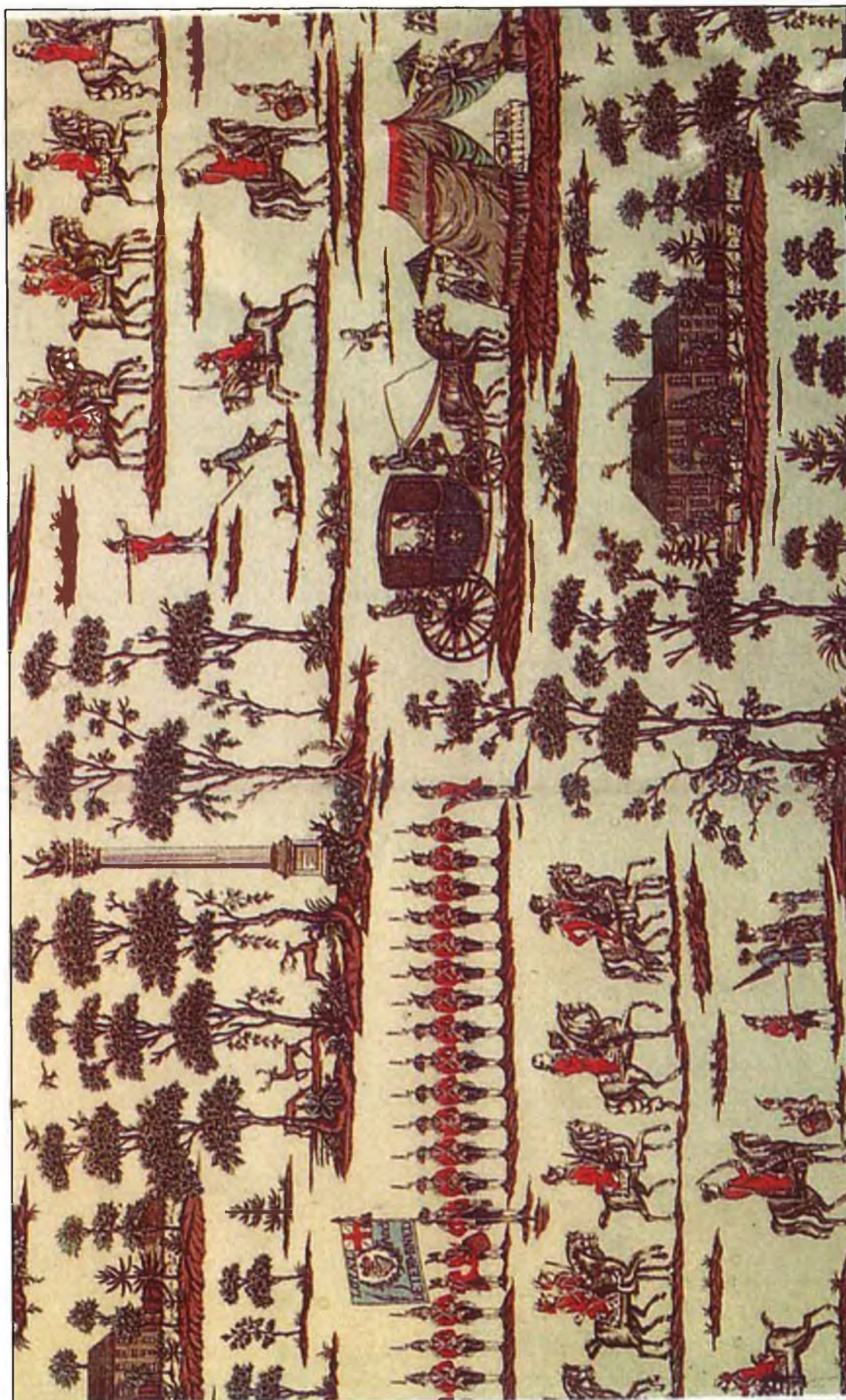


Plate 1.42. A fragment of the Volunteer fabric (U.M.B.). The wearing of uniforms at reviews, such as the 1782 Leinster provincial review depicted here, was a key part of Volunteer culture allowing units to express their individual identity, while simultaneously feeling part of a larger organization.



Plate 1.43. 'Volunteer demonstration in the old High Street of Belfast, 1793, in honour of the destruction of the Bastille', John Carey, 1907 (N.L.I.). Many details of this composition stand out as inaccurate. The uniforms of the Volunteers are reminiscent of British uniforms of the early nineteenth century, as are the clothes of the spectators. The Irish tricolour also stands out as a particularly glaring inaccuracy. However, the spirit of the picture is quite in tune with republican sentiment in Belfast at the time, where many, including the first Volunteer company, wholeheartedly supported the revolution.

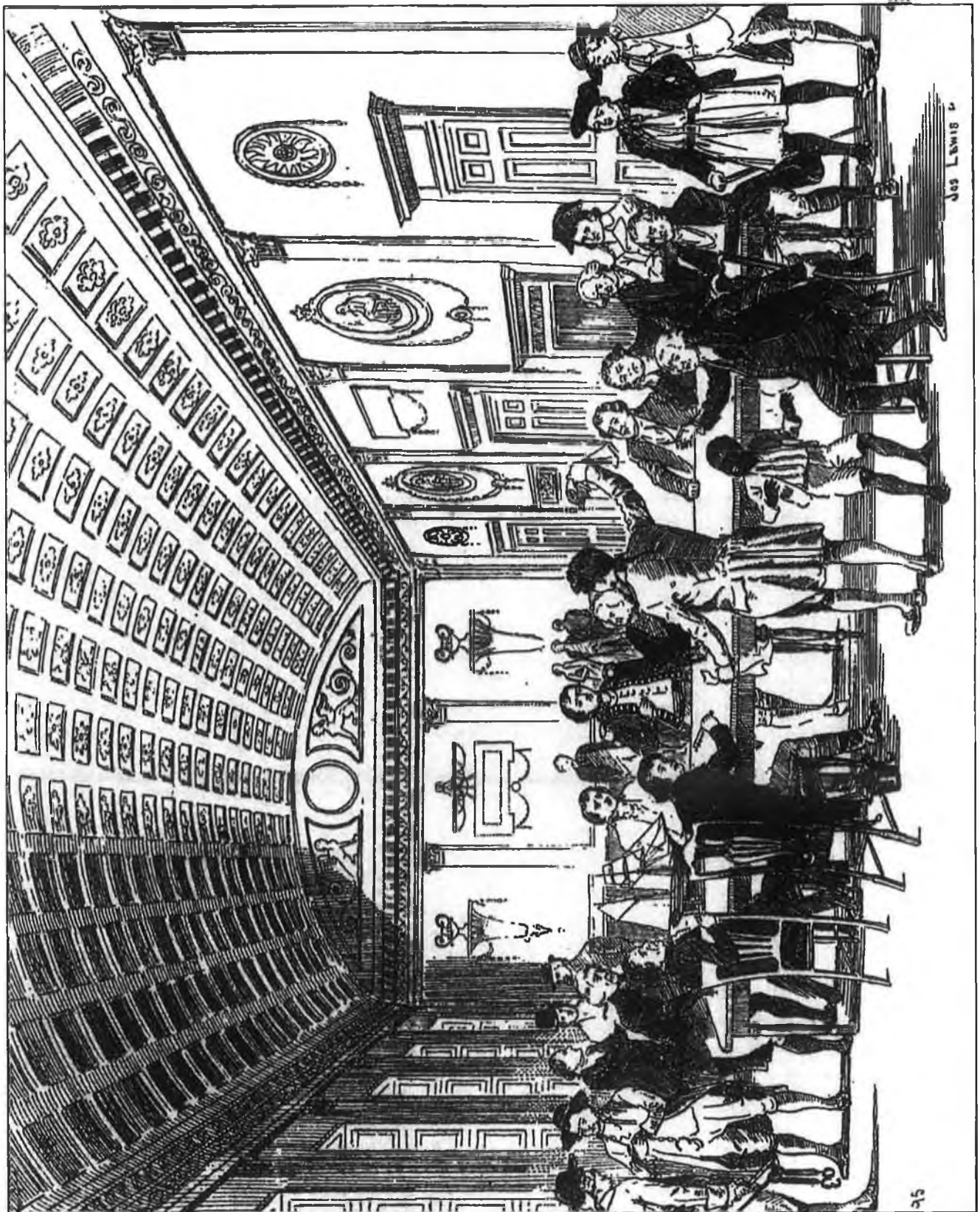


Plate 1.44. A tempestuous meeting in Belfast Assembly rooms in the mid-1780s. Waddell Cunningham, attired in a Volunteer uniform in the centre, has proposed the establishment of a slave trading company in Belfast, to the disgust of several of the gentlemen present. Cunningham was Belfast's foremost Volunteer throughout the 1780s and frequently used uniforms to drive home his point in the public arena, especially during his own bid to enter parliament, via the seat for Carrickfergus in 1784. (Bill Rolston, 'A lying old scoundrel' Waddell Cunningham and Belfast's role in the slave trade' in *History Ireland*, vol. xi, no.1 (Spring 2003), pp 24-7.

Chapter two: Flags

(23 plates)





**Plate 2.1. 'William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland' (Anne S. K. Brown military collection, Brown University). In the course of the eighteenth century most European states experienced large scale military reform. In Britain the chief reformer was Cumberland, who attempted to create an army that was uniform in its dress, drill, purpose and loyalty.**



Plate 2.2. King's colour of the British 11<sup>th</sup> regiment of foot, 1751. This modern reproduction shows the colour shortly after the duke of Cumberland's reforms in the area of flags. Before the union with Ireland at the close of the century, the diagonal red saltire of the modern union jack was absent. The union wreath in the centre is composed of roses and thistles growing from the same branch, an indication of the natural and positive nature of the union of 1707. The number of the regiment was represented with gold roman numerals (Sumner & Hook, *British colours and standards*, (2), *infantry*, p.35).



Plate 2.3. A regimental colour of the British 33<sup>rd</sup> regiment of foot, 1771. This modern depiction shows a regimental colour after several editions of the regulations had been enforced within the army. This regiment wore white facings and the regimental flag bore a red cross upon a white field so as not to be confused with a flag of surrender or truce. The regimental flag was required to have a small union flag in the upper left corner. The number of the regiment is once again in gold lettering within a union wreath (Sumner & Hook, *British colours and standards, (2) infantry*, p.35)

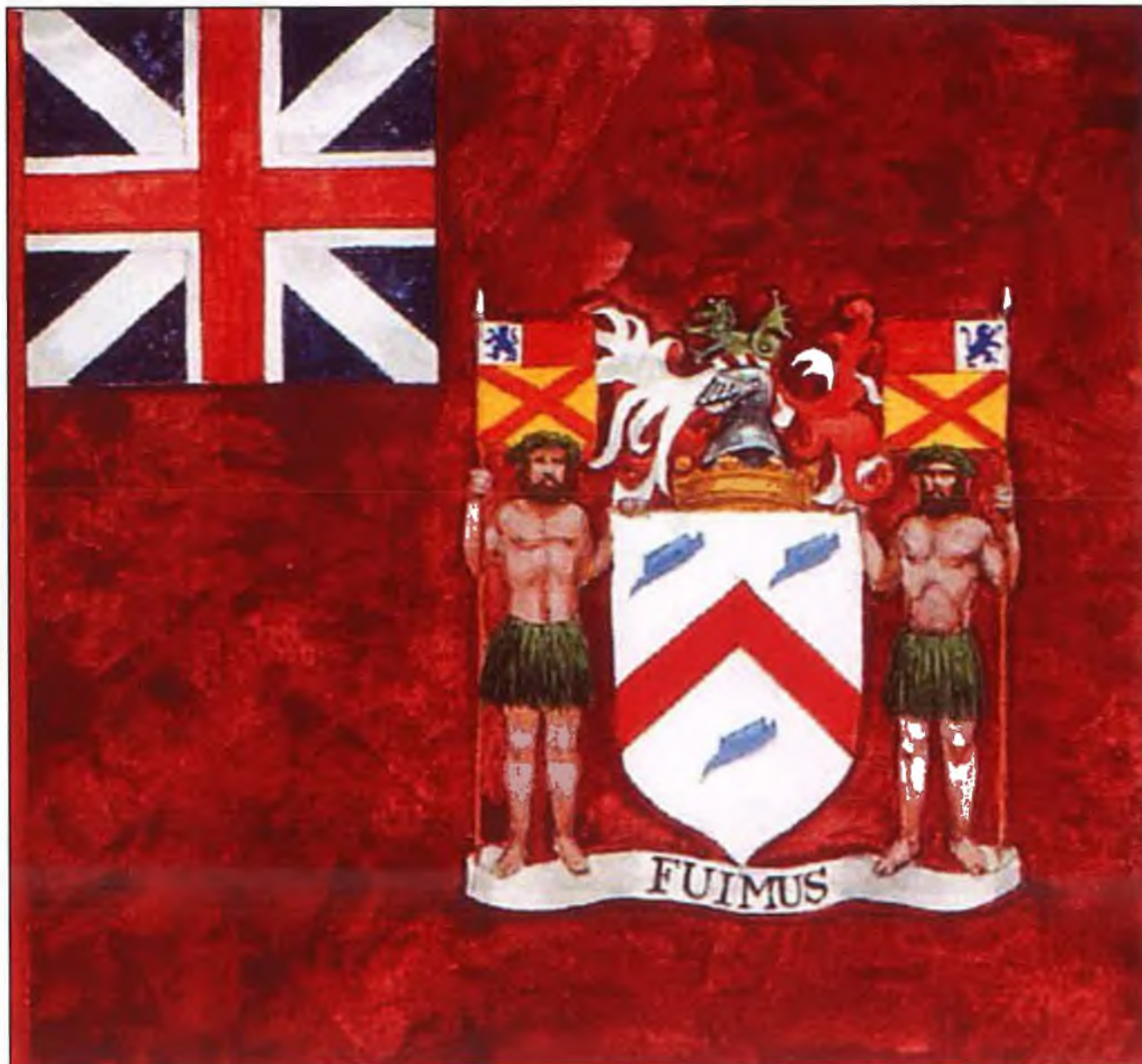


Plate 2.4. A colour of the Wiltshire militia, circa 1760. The arms of private individuals, in this case those of Thomas Brudenell, Baron Bruce and lord-lieutenant of Wiltshire, featured prominently in the flags of the British militia and this kind of practice was echoed in the flags and banners of the Irish Volunteers (Sumner & Hook, *British colours and standards (2), infantry*, p.41).



Plate 2.5. A belt plate of the Rathfriland Volunteers, County Down (U.M.B.). The Maid of Erin harp was by far the most common centrepiece used on at least one side of a Volunteer colour or guidon. The imperial crown was one also marginally its most common accompanying motif.



Plate 2.6. A Maid of Erin harp crowned with the Milesian crown, from the colour of the Kile Volunteers, County Laois (Damer House, Roscrea, County Tipperary). The Milesian crown was much less generic in its appearance, having many slight variations, including the material or metal it was composed of and the number of spikes.



**Plate 2.7. An anthropomorphic figure of Hibernia from the centrepiece of the colour of the County Carlow Legion (N.M.I.). Hibernia was another popular Volunteer iconographical motif with many variations which will be fully explored in the following chapter.**



Plate 2.8. A line drawing of the colour of the Braid Volunteers, County Antrim (U.M.B.). A depiction of a member of the company was very common on Volunteer flags. Trophies of arms and flags framing a central composition were also common, despite being quite old fashioned in terms of the iconography of European regular armies.





Plate 2.9. A detail from Francis Wheatley's painting of the Volunteers on College Green (N.G.I.). Both of these flags belong to the Dublin Volunteers. The red flag on the right bears on oval canton which contains a white field with a red saltire, the pronominal coat of arms of the Fitzgerald family. As the head of the Leinster branch, the duke of Leinster used this as his personal coat of arms. As commander of the Dublin Volunteers, this was replicated on one of their two colours.

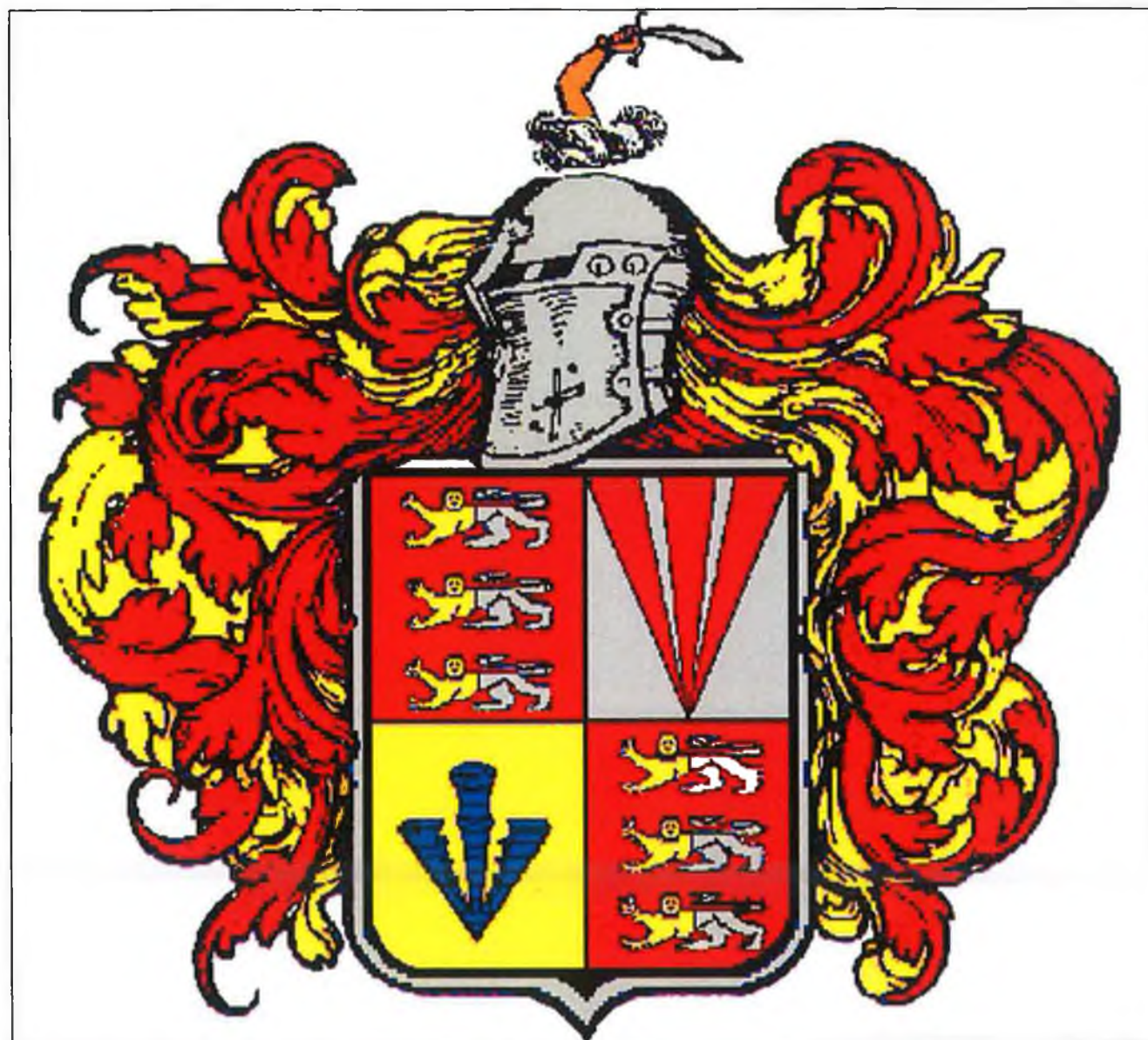


Plate 2.10. The pronominal coat of arms used by the earls of Inchiquin in the mid to late eighteenth century ([www.mobrien.com/obrien.html](http://www.mobrien.com/obrien.html) 11 February 2008). The displaying of coats of arms upon Volunteer colours and equipment seems to have been quite common, especially in rural areas and those detached from large urban centres. In these settings, the traditions of the old militia arrays and the societal status quo were generally upheld without much change.

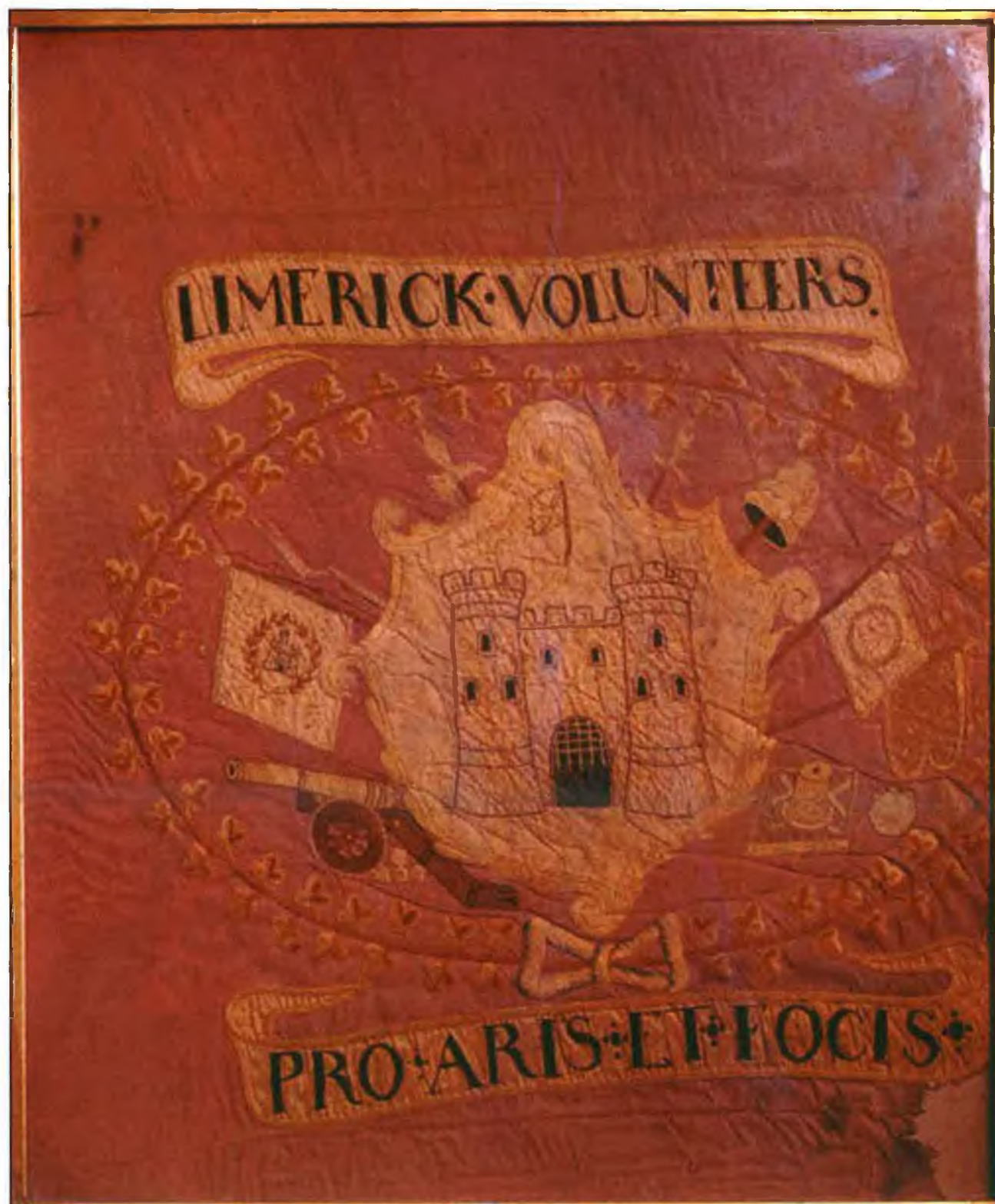


Plate 2.11. The colour of the Limerick Volunteers (Limerick City Museum). The centrepiece of this flag was the arms of the city of Limerick, a castle flying the flag of the Fitzgerald family, a white field with a red saltire. Such decoration seems to have been common on flags and other artefacts, where many companies used the arms of their town as the template for the badge of the local Volunteer company.



**Plate 2.12. The centrepiece of the colour of the Killeavy Volunteers of County Down (U.M.B.). Devotion to William III was very strong in Ireland among Protestants at this time and found great popularity with many Irish Volunteer companies. William III's birthday, 4 November, was celebrated nationwide by Volunteer companies until the mid-1780s.**



Plate 2.13. The colour of the Parsonstown Volunteers (Birr Castle, County Offaly). The wreath of this colour is composed of shamrocks on the left and laurel on the right. This colour is a celebration of the company's individual identity. The flag bears the company's date of foundation, motto and the monogram letters 'P' and 'V'. Shamrock leaves have three lobed shaped petals, while laurel leaves are lozenge shaped with a dark vein running up the middle.



**Plate 2.14.** The centrepiece of the colour of the Caledon Volunteers, County Tyrone (Armagh County Museum). The centrepiece of this colour featured a depiction of Hibernia surrounded by a wreath of almond-shaped laurel leaves.

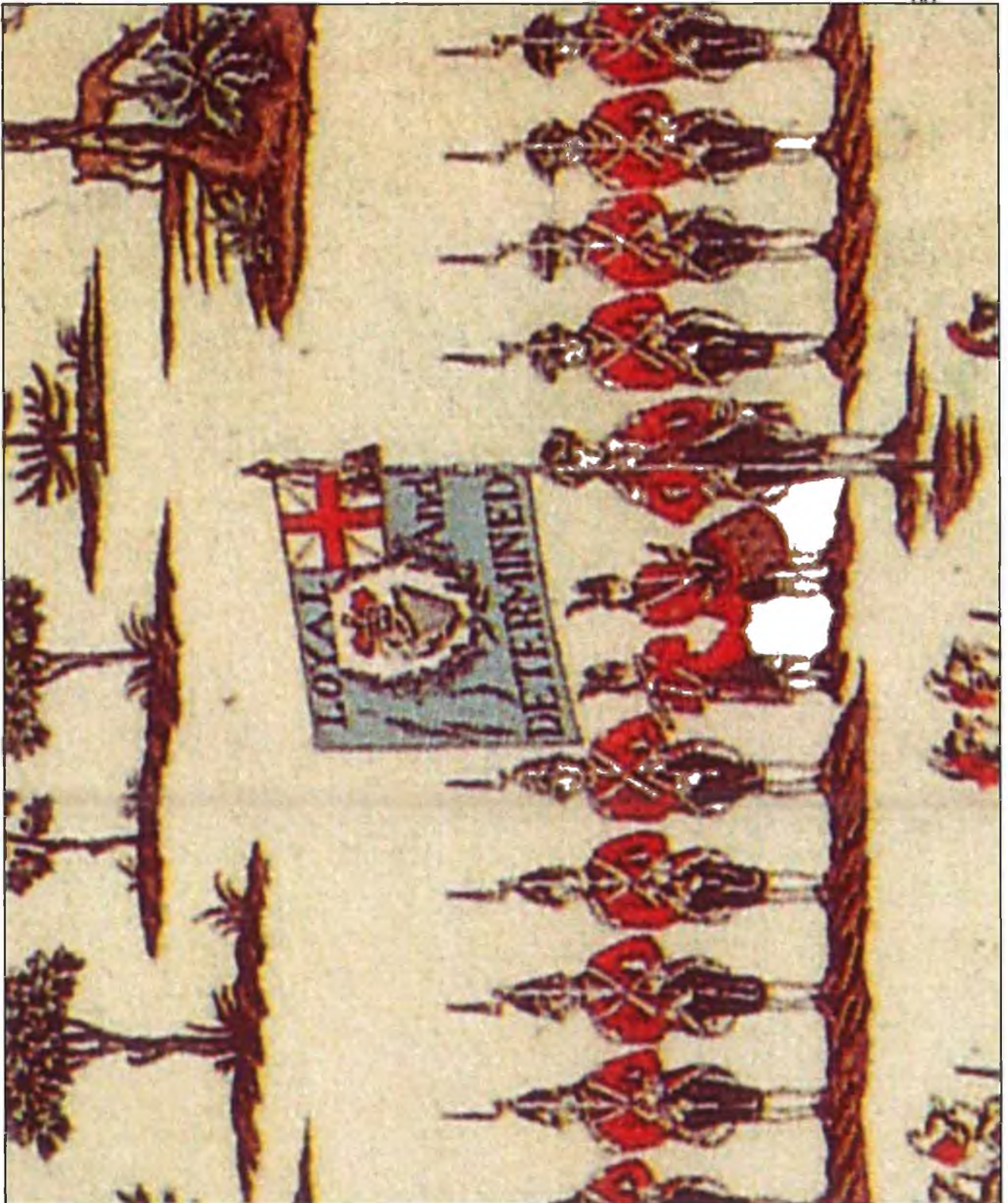
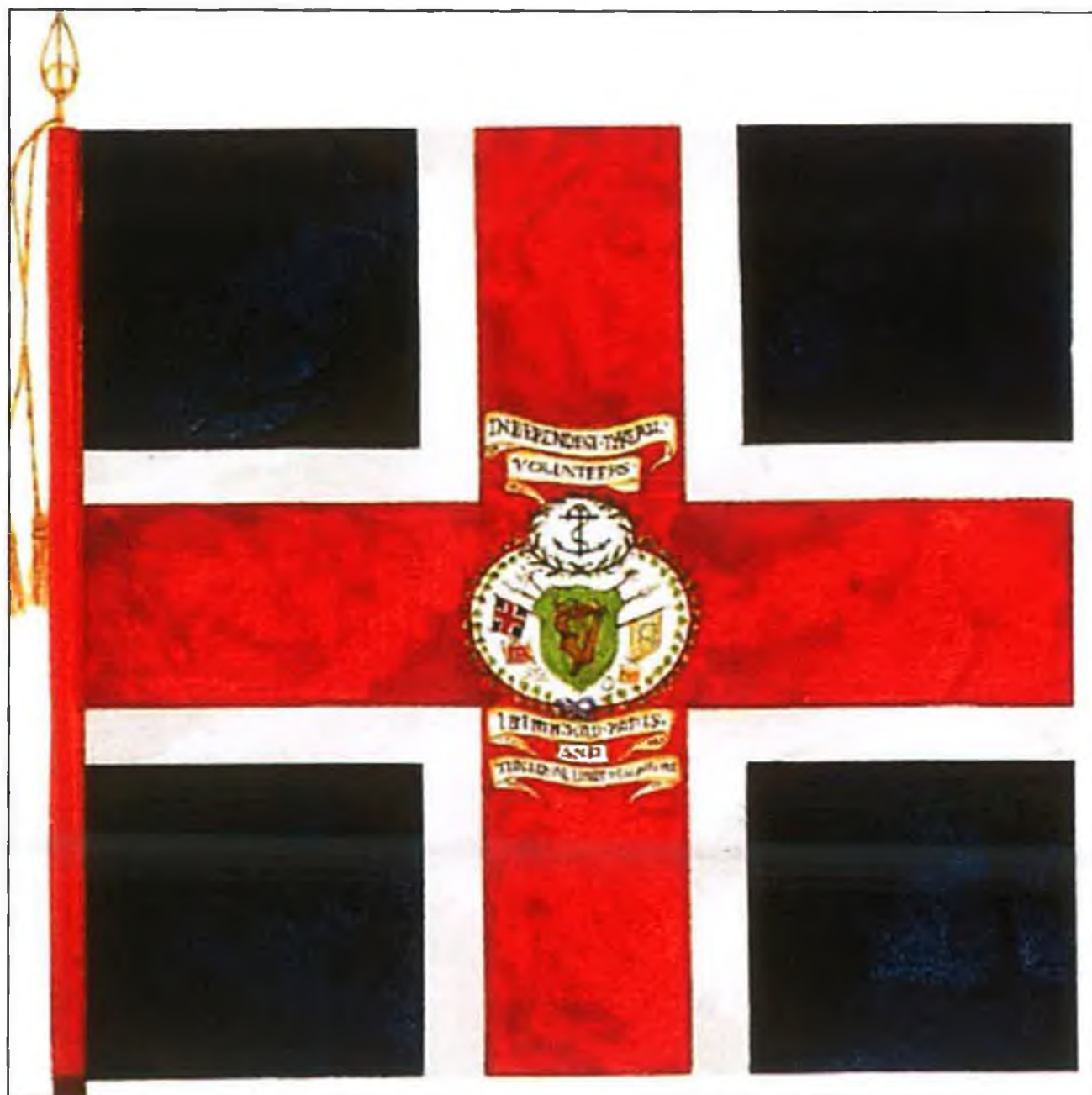


Plate 2.15. A detail of the Volunteer fabric showing the battalion flag of the parading Volunteers (U.M.B.). This battalion flag bears a great similarity to those used in the regular army in its design, but also features the distinct Volunteer motto 'Loyal and Determined'. Volunteer flags in general had the ability to easily and indiscriminately mix inspiration from several different sources.



**Plate 2.16. The colour of the Independent Tyreril and Loyal Liney Volunteers (Sligo County Museum). The Killymoon battalion colours were nearly identical to this flag in their layout and decoration.**





Plate 2.17. A regulation first guidon of the 7<sup>th</sup> (Queen's own) Regiment of Dragoons, circa 1750 (Sumner & Hook, *British colours and standards, (1), cavalry*, p.37).

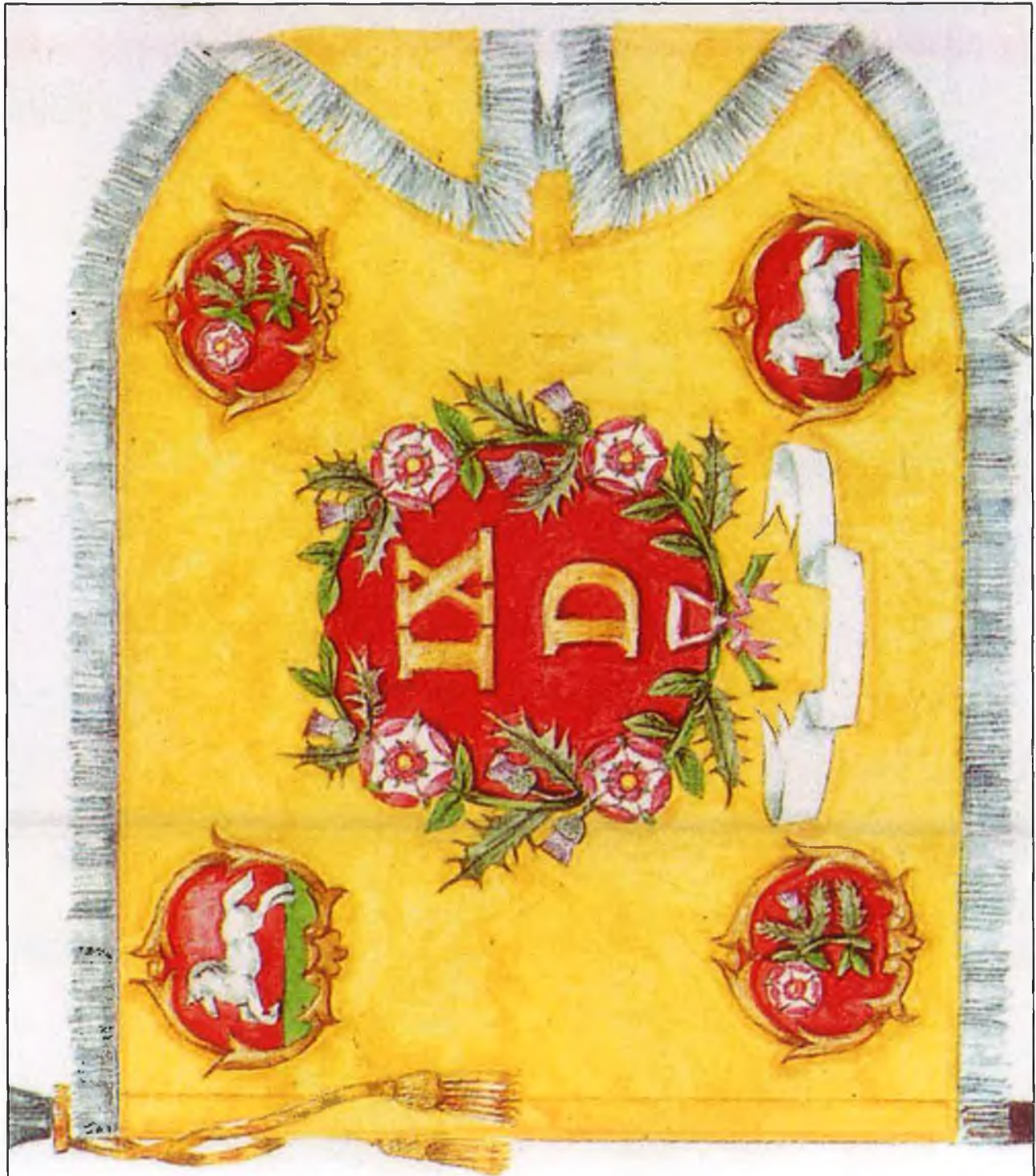


Plate 2.18. A regulation second guidon of the 9<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Dragoons, circa 1750 (Sumner & Hook, *British colours and standards*, (1), cavalry, p.37).



**Plate 2.19. The obverse of the Tullamore (County Offaly) True Blue Rangers guidon (National Museum of Ireland). Neither side of this guidon reflected the facing colour of the company's uniform coats. This depiction of a member of the company shows that this Volunteer troop wore a uniform very similar to that of British light dragoons.**



**Plate 2.20. The reverse of the Tullamore True Blue Rangers guidon (N.M.I.). This side of the guidon once featured a rich silk field which has faded over time. This side does not correlate with the company facing colours either.**



Plate 2.21. The guidon of the Mayo Legion depicting Hibernia and motifs representing the trade of Ireland (Westport House, County Mayo).



Plate 2.22. The guidon of Royal Glin Hussars depicting a member of the corps on horseback (Glin Castle, County Limerick).



Plate 2.23. A modern artistic impression of the guidon of the County Sligo Light Horse with a sunburst decoration (Sligo County Museum).

### Chapter three: Iconography and symbolism

(70 plates)





**Plate 3.1. The pronominal coat of arms of the Fitzgerald family. This coat of arms is of Norman descent and featured in the armorial achievements of many branches of the family throughout Ireland for several centuries. The coat of arms has also become synonymous with the county of Kildare and for a number of centuries was somewhat synonymous with the lordship and kingdom of Ireland due to the long term dominance of the earls of Kildare in Ireland during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. A red saltire on a white field was also added to the union jack following the Act of Union in 1800 to represent the place of the kingdom of Ireland within the union.**



Plate 3.2. The heraldic excesses of a successful career serving king and country; the arms of Arthur Wellesley, 1<sup>st</sup> duke of Wellington. This complicated composition includes supporters, helm, mantling and crest, as well as the family arms, mark of cadency (the star indicated he was his father's third son), order of the garter and an augmentation in the form of the union inestucheon (Von Volborth, *Heraldry, customs, rules and style*, p.160).



Plate 3.3. The arms of the Counts Tolstoi of Russia, late eighteenth century. Russian arms were also governed by European rules and conventions (Von Volborth, *Heraldry, customs, rules and style*, p.153).



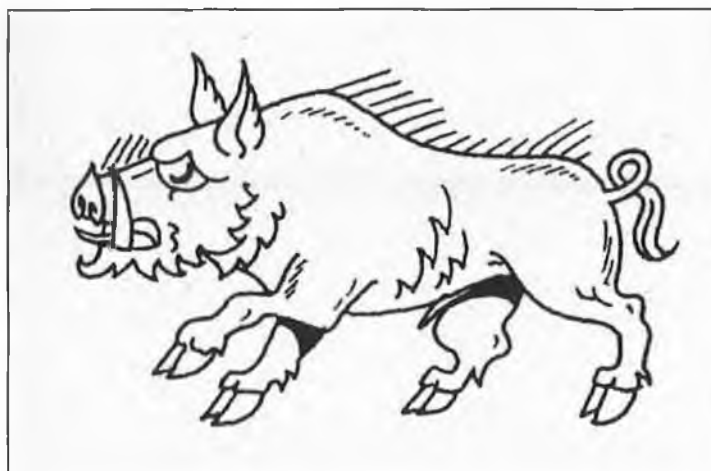
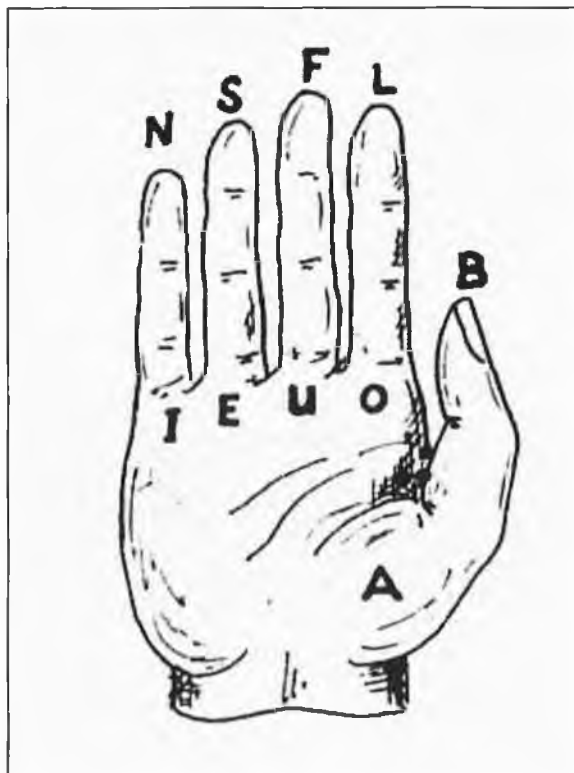
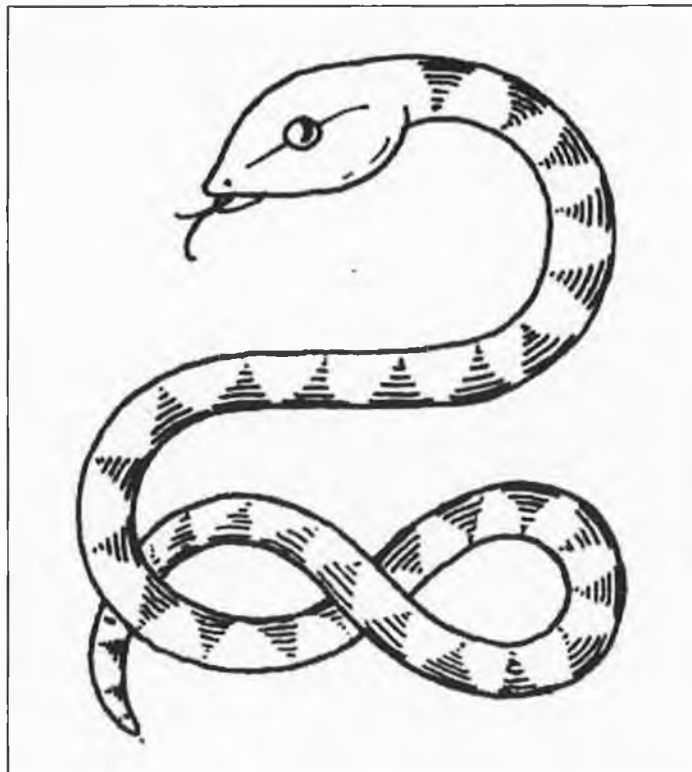
Plate 3.4. The arms of the Swedish Counts of Reenstjerna from the early eighteenth century (Von Volborth, *Heraldry, customs, rules and style*, p.154).



Plate 3.5. The coat of arms of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, granted in 1821. The supporters are the sons of the mythical healer, Aesculapius (Von Volborth, *Heraldry, customs, rules and style*, p.190).



Plate 3.6. The pronominal arms of the Stuart family, monarchs of Great Britain and Ireland for much of the seventeenth century (Antonia Fraser, *The Stuarts* (UK, 2000), p.13).



Plates 3.7 to 3.10. Four of the most common Gaelic symbolic motifs, a snake, a dexter hand, a stag and a wild boar. All of these devices figured in the druidic religion of the Gaelic people and embodied the values of their society (*The symbols of heraldry explained*, pp 78, 81, 82, 91).



Plate 3.11. An achievement of arms belonging to the Baronet Cotter of Rockforest, County Cork, from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The helm, open and affronte indicates that the owner was either a knight or a baron. In this case, the small dexter hand borne on an inestucheon in the centre reveals the bearer to be a member of the Order of Baronets (Von Volborth, *Heraldry, customs, rules and style*, p.138).

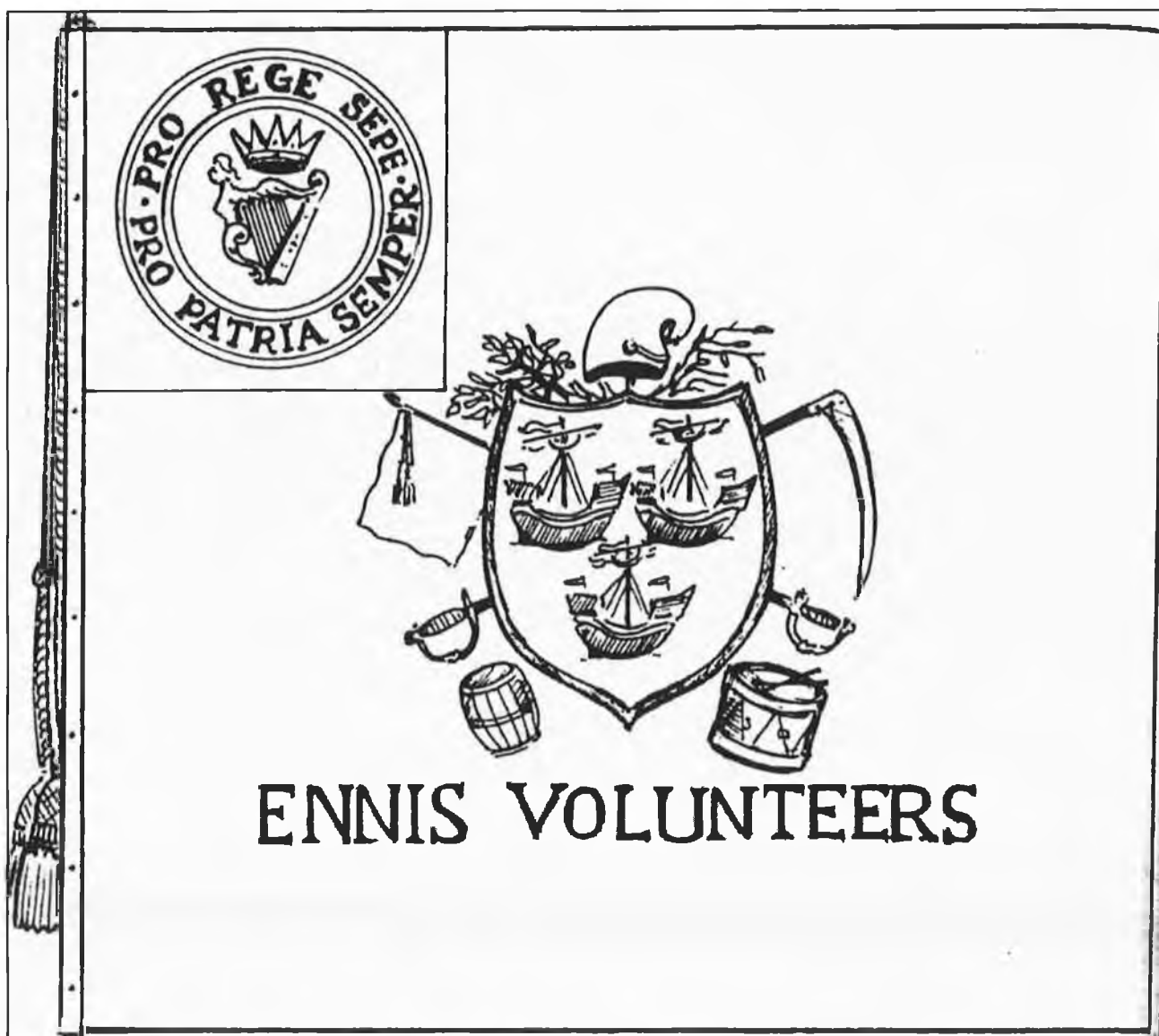


Plate 3.12. This plate shows a modern reconstruction of one of the Ennis Volunteers colours, as described in the *Freeman's Journal*, 30 May 1780 (Brián Ó Dálaigh, 'Flags and emblems of the Ennis Volunteers' in *The Other Clare*, xviii (1994), pp 40-41). The other colour of this company bore the coat of arms of its commanding officer, the earl of Inchiquin (which are reproduced above in chapter two). This flag bears a coat of arms that would become synonymous with the town of Ennis and is asserted by Brián Ó Dálaigh to be the earliest known use of such an arrangement to represent the town in a visual manner.



**Plate 3.13. The colour of the Kilkenny Rangers (N.M.I.). The arms of Kilkenny were a castle with a lion sejant in the foreground. For the badge of this Volunteer company, the figure of a Volunteer also guards the city, in reference to the company's duty to the city and reason for its existence.**



**Plate 3.14.** A silver medal of the Limerick Union Volunteers from the late 1770s (Limerick City Museum). This medal featured the arms of the city of Limerick, a castle surmounted by a flag bearing the pronominal coat of arms of the Fitzgerald family, which can be seen in plate 3.1 above.



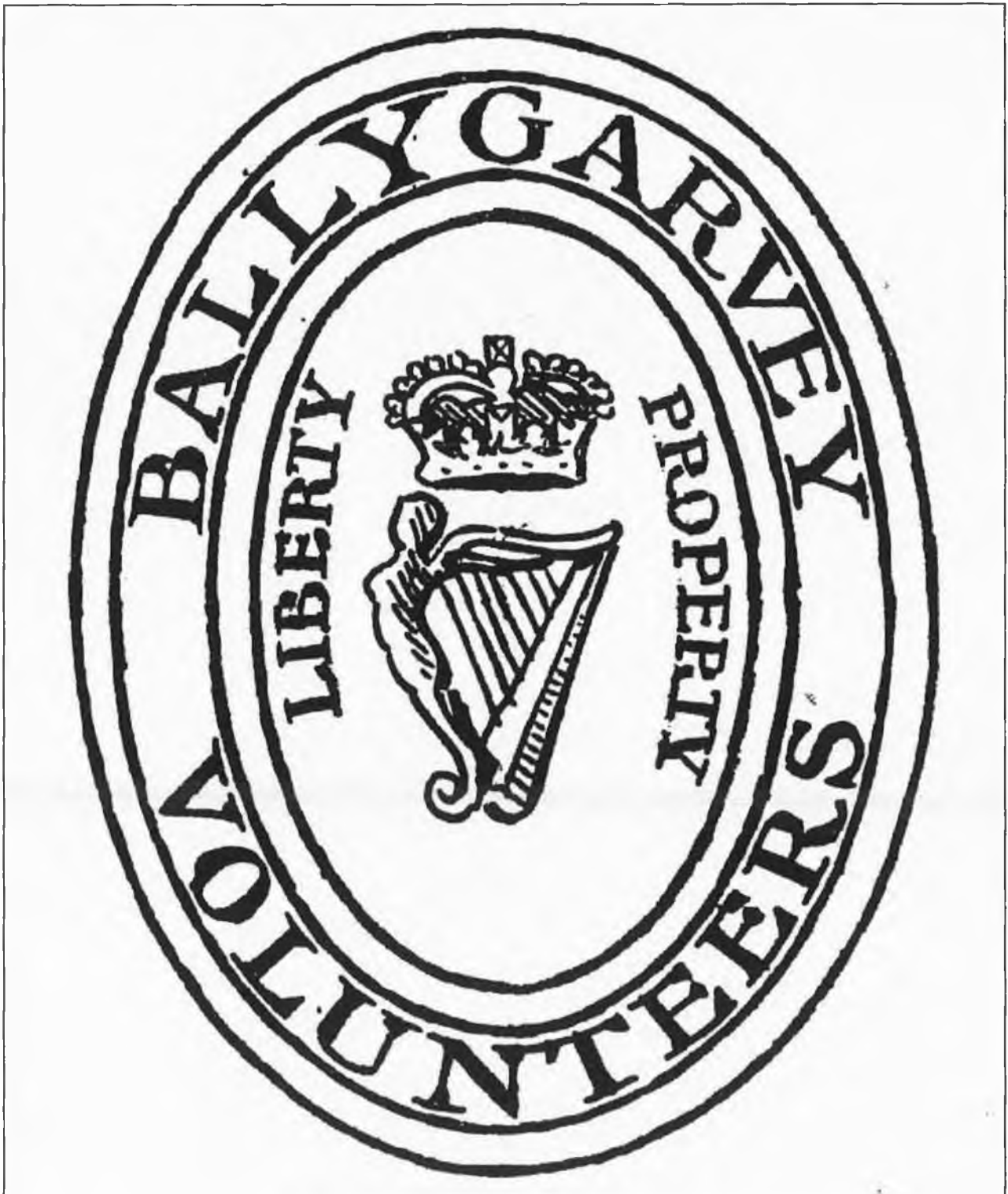


Plate 3.15. A belt plate of the Ballygarvey Volunteers, County Antrim (U.M.B.). This plate provides an example of what most Volunteer badges looked like. The name of the company was usually given a prominent place, as were the company's key values, in this case the words "LIBERTY" and "PROPERTY".



**Plate 3.16.** A belt plate of the Dunemoney Volunteers (U.M.B.). Arrangements which featured a crowned harp with the name of the Volunteer company above and below the centrepiece were very common and provided the template for the badges of most Volunteer corps.



Plate 3.17. The arms of the king of Ireland, as they appear in the *Armorial Wijnbergen* (<http://perso.numericable.fr/~briantimms/wijnbergen/introduction.htm> (4 February 2008)). Although this book cites these arms as those of the king of Ireland, this is not correct, as Ireland remained a lordship until 1541. However, this remains the first known reference to such an arrangement as the arms of a lordship or kingdom of Ireland.



Plate 3.18. The arms granted to Robert de Vere on his appointment as Lord-Lietenant of Ireland in 1386. In this armorial arrangement, the noble has quartered his own coat of arms with those of the lordship of Ireland (Hayes-McCoy, *A history of Irish flags*, p.20).



Plate 3.19. Silver coinage from the top left of Richard III, Henry VII and Lambert Simnel. Before the reign of Henry VIII, the triple crowns of Ireland were still the dominant symbol to represent the lordship (Hayes-McCoy, *A history of Irish flags*, p.20).



Plate 3.20. Coinage from the top left of Mary and Phillip, Mary I, Elizabeth I from 1561 and Elizabeth I from 1598 (Hayes-McCoy, *A history of Irish flags*, p.22). The old arrangement of three crowns can still be seen in the coin in the bottom left, where the harps have been organized in a similar manner.

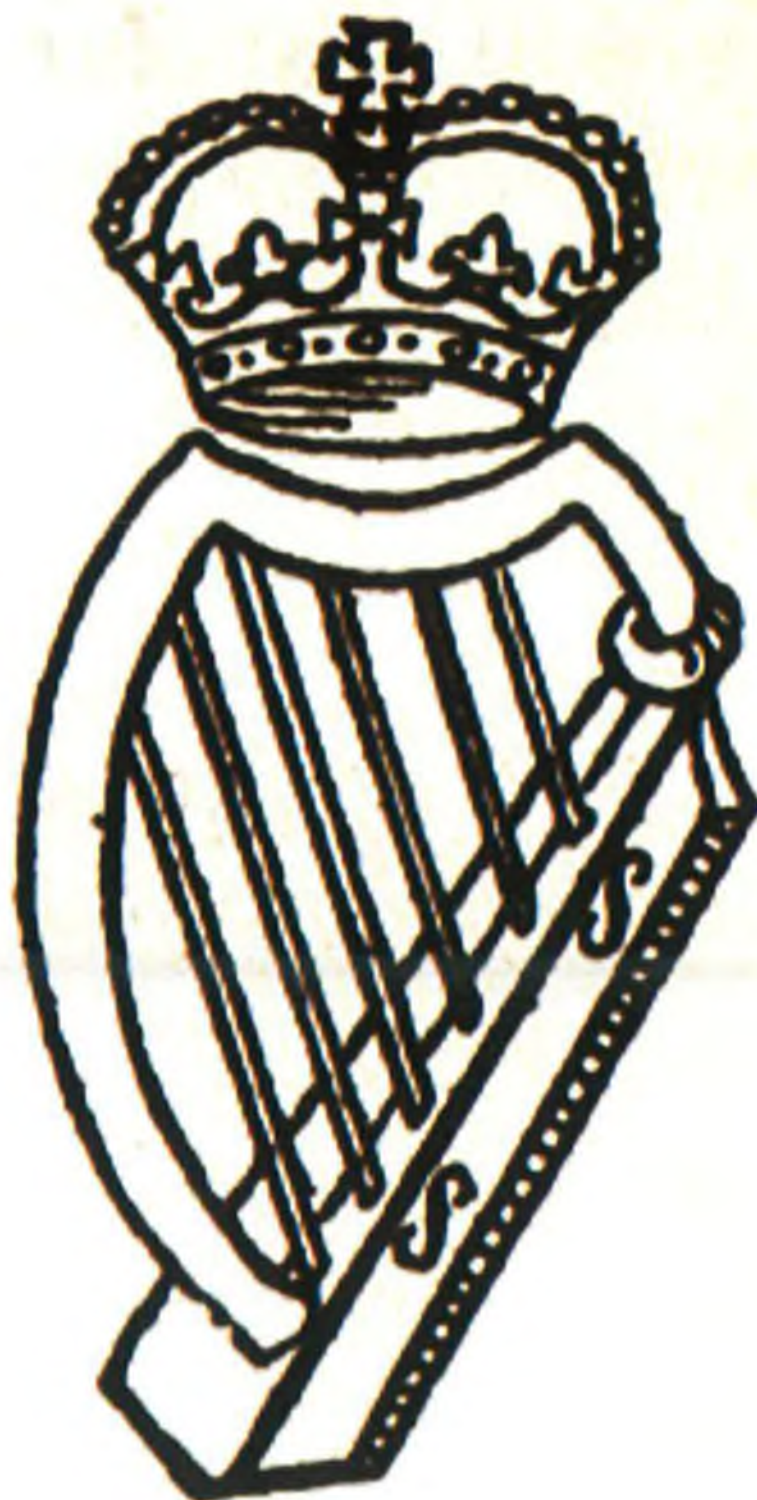


Plate 3.21. An imperial crowned harp from the reign of James I (Guy Cadogan-Rothery, *Concise encyclopaedia of heraldry*, p.195).

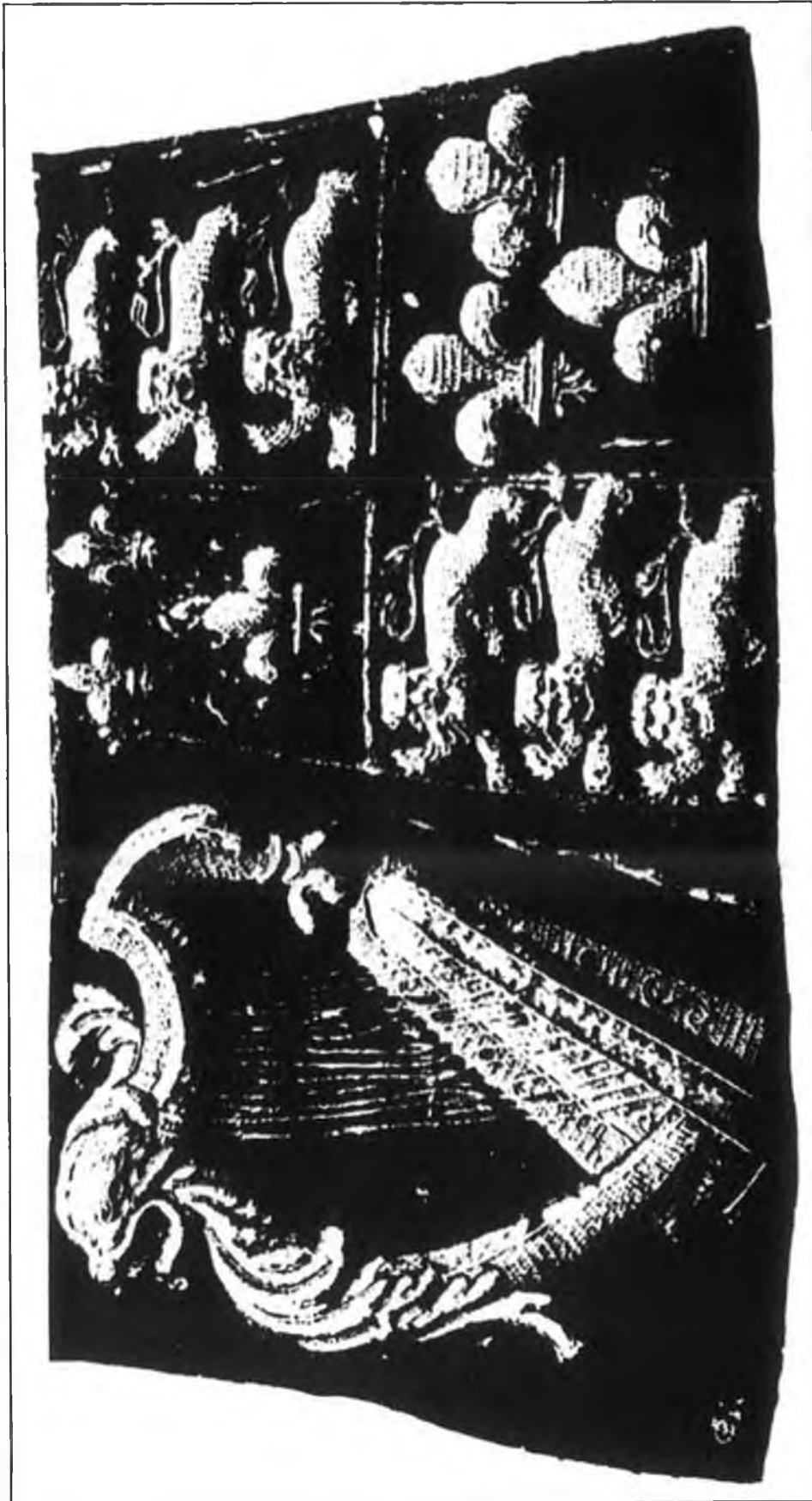
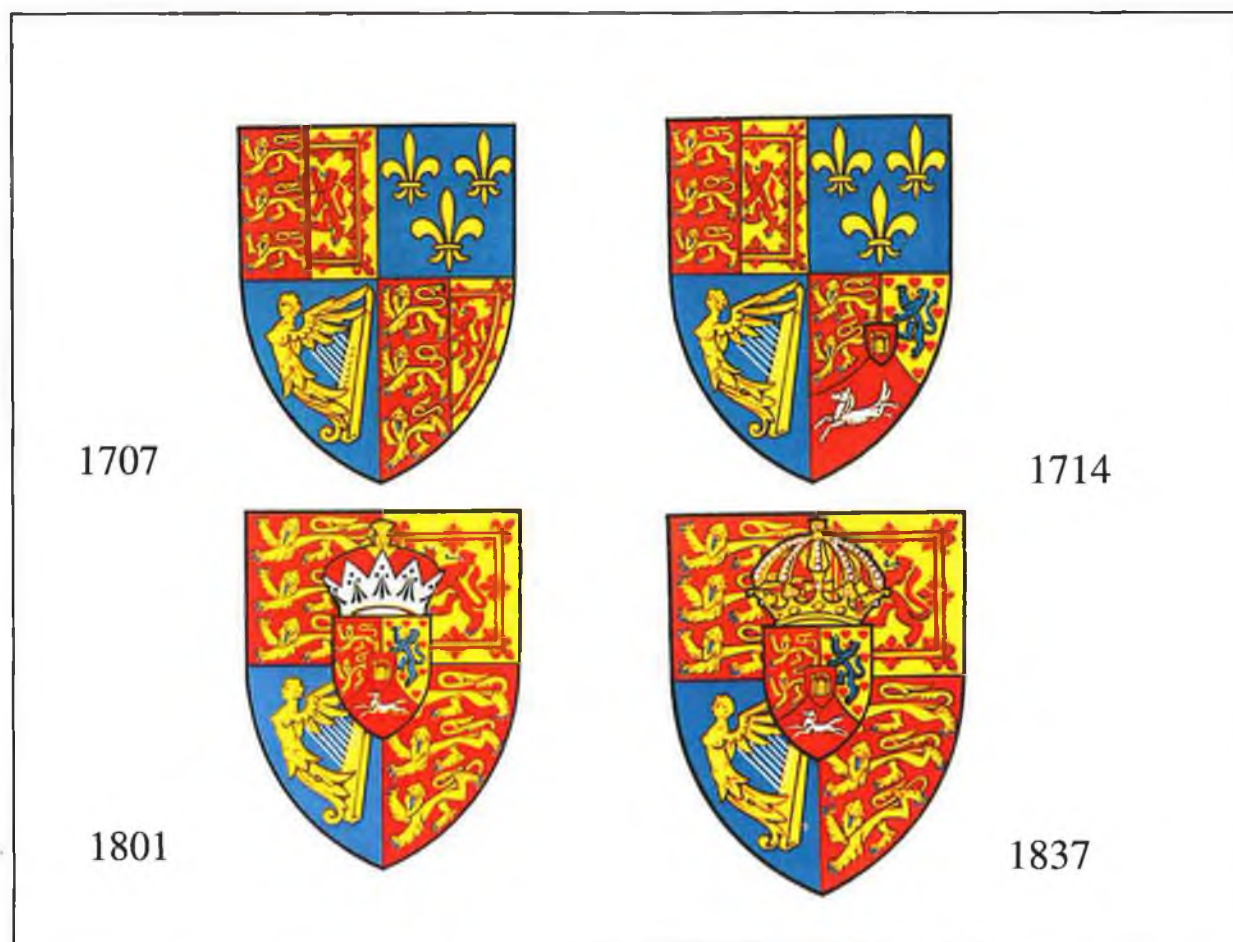


Plate 3.22. A piece of a herald's tabard from the late seventeenth century, showing a harp with a forepillar in the form of a fish (Hayes-McCoy, *A history of Irish flags*, p.47).



Plate 3.23. A line drawing of a silver belt plate of the Antrim Volunteers (*U.J.A.*, iv no.3 (1898), p.84). This engraved Maid of Erin is very accomplished, with several artistic flourishes joining the mermaid to the main body of the harp.





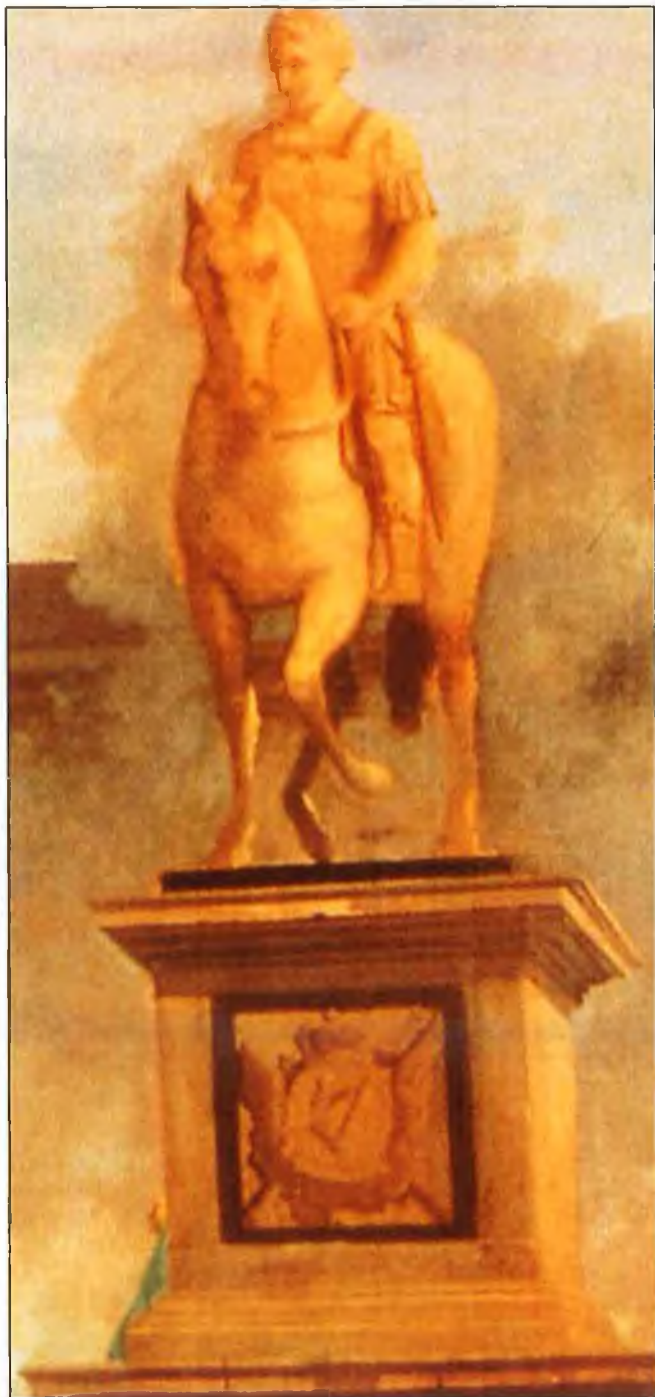
**Plate 3.24. The royal arms of Britain, 1707 to 1837 (Antonio Fraser, *The Stuarts* (UK, 2000), p.15). This plate shows the evolution of the British royal arms from the Anne I to Victoria I. Throughout this period the quarter representing Ireland (the third quarter in the bottom left) remained static and unchanged. In 1714, the arms of George I were added in the fourth (or bottom right) quarter and the fleur de lis, representing the English monarch's claim on the throne of France was finally relinquished. Scotland was also elevated in this time receiving its own quarter from 1801 onwards. Heraldic grants and iconographical changes can often be a very accurate visual reflection of how political relationships evolved.**



Plate 3.25. A colour of the Clare regiment of the Spanish service, c.1745 (Hayes-McCoy, *A history of Irish flags*, p.81). Irish regiments in foreign services proudly displayed their roots on flags and equipment for decades after the departure of the original Wild Geese. The strange shape of this harp might be attributed to the ignorance of a Spanish artist or indeed of the regimental officers, who were less frequently natural Irishmen as time went by.



Plate 3.26. From left to right, buttons of the 5<sup>th</sup> (Royal Irish) Regiment of Dragoons, the Royal Irish Regiment of Artillery and the Antrim Militia (Glenn Thompson, *The uniforms of 1798-1803* (Four Courts Press, 1998), pp 19, 39, 47). Military buttons were usually produced in bulk in this period, being struck with a hammer and die, or engraved in the case of more expensive articles. Regiments in the British service with a strong Irish connection tended to incorporate the imperial crowned harp as their main device. In the case of the 5<sup>th</sup> Dragoons button here, a lion also surmounts the crown as an added indicator of the martial spirit of the regiment.



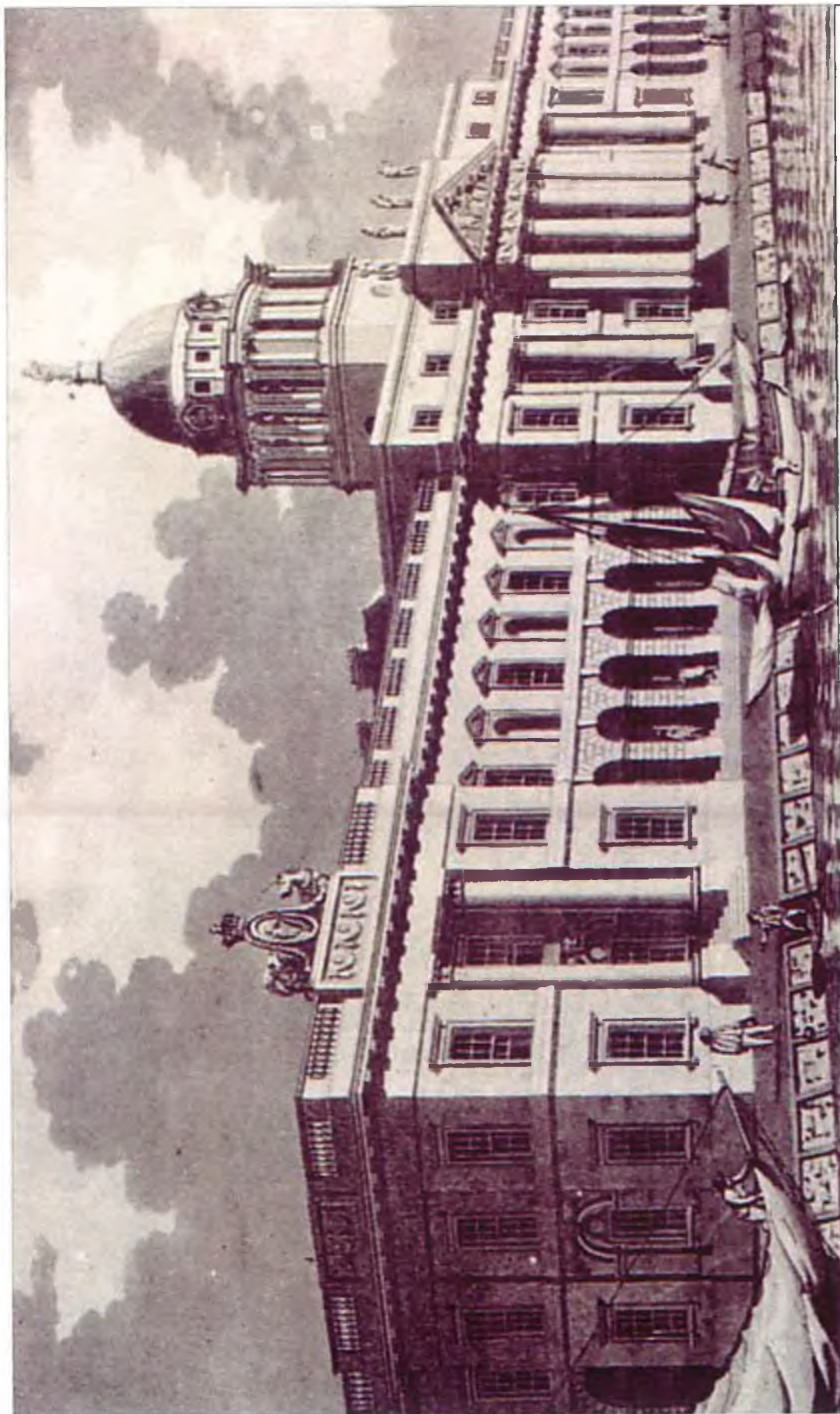
**Plate 3.27.** A detail from Francis Wheatley's, *The Dublin Volunteers on College Green, 4 November 1779 (N.G.I.)*. This statue by Grinling Gibbons was installed in the early eighteenth century and was a key landmark for celebrations of the glorious Revolution and of William III in the city of Dublin.



**Plate 3.28.** The ceremonial mace of the corporation of Blessington, County Wicklow, late eighteenth century (U.M.B.)



Plate 3.29. A detail from the badge of a Grand Master of the Knights of St. Patrick, worn by the earl of Eglinton and Winton in the mid-nineteenth century (Galloway, *The most illustrious Order of St. Patrick*, p.25). The jewellery of knightly orders was very slow to change and this mid-nineteenth century example would have been very similar to that worn at the foundation of the order in 1783, of which none survive.



**Plate 3.30. James Malton's view of the Customs House in the late 1790s. On the far left of the building, an imperial crowned Maid of Erin is flanked by a lion and a unicorn, the supporters of the British royal arms. Armorial arrangements of this sort were very common on public buildings and many original fixtures like this one can be seen on buildings that remained unscarred by the turbulence of the early twentieth century when many such features were destroyed or replaced.**



**Plate 3.31.** The centrepiece of the colour of the Kile Corps, County Laois (Damer House, Roscrea, County Tipperary). This Milesian crown is non-metallic in colour and features five very acute points. Milesian crowns are usually quite unique, not being drawn from a single orthodox heraldic device and tend to have some degree of individuality. Consequently, there is no correct or normal depiction of this device and variation should be expected.



Plate 3.32. A detail of a membership card of the Repeal Association, 1840s (Jeanne Sheehy, *The discovery of Ireland's past : the Celtic revival 1830-1930* (London, 1980), p.28). This detail shows the ancient Irish kings Dathi and Brian Boru.



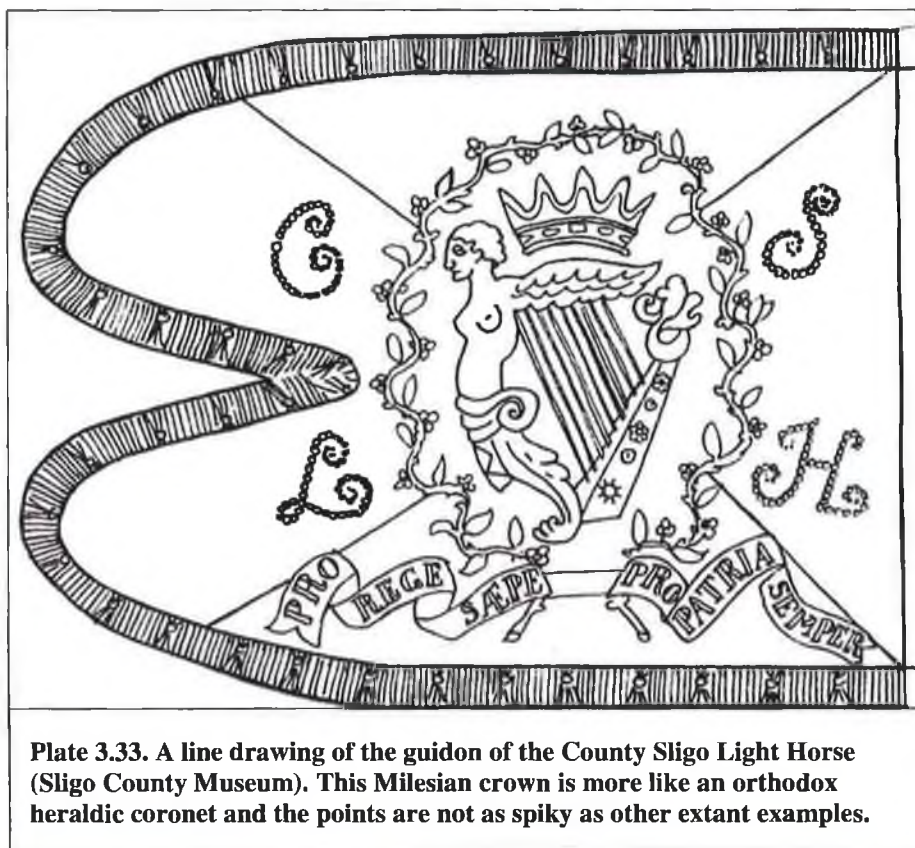




Plate 3.35. The frontispiece of Geoffrey Keating, *The history of Ireland from the earliest period to the English invasion* (London, 1723). This edition was translated into English by Dermot O'Connor and published in 1723. This depiction of Brian Boru as high king of Ireland was one of the first visual depictions of the Milesian crown as a symbol of Irish sovereignty in the eighteenth century.

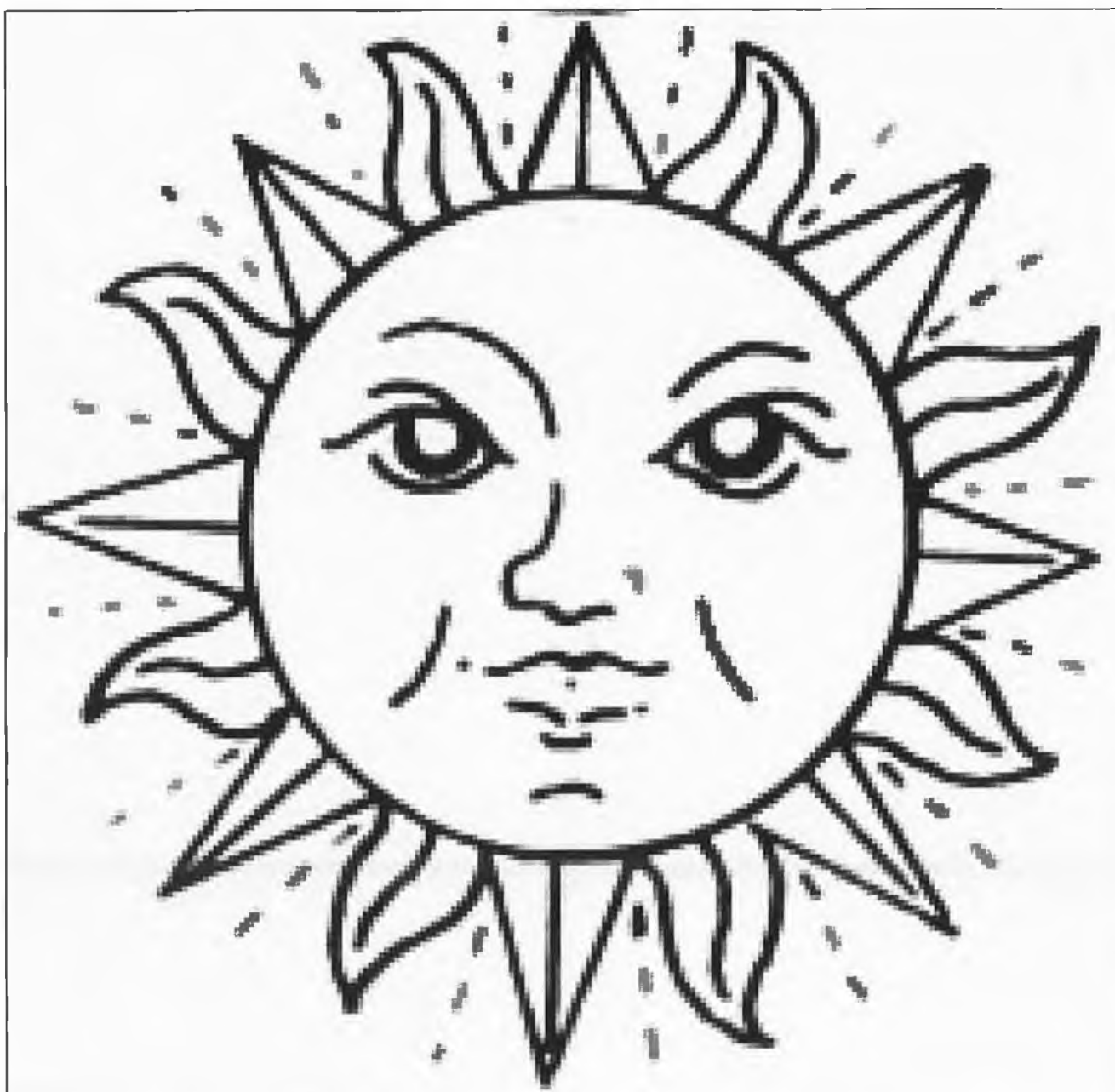


Plate 3.36. A heraldic sun motif as it commonly appeared in orthodox western heraldry (*The symbols of heraldry explained*, p.86).



Plate 3.37. A colour of the British 23<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of Foot featuring the three badges of the Prince of Wales (Mollo & McGregor, *Uniforms of the American Revolution*, p.145).



Plate 338. 'The Scots triumph, or a peep behind the curtain', 1768 (British Museum, London). In this print, Lord Bute and his minions, including John Wilkes, celebrate their triumph in controlling the government of the young monarch, George III. This unnatural state of affairs is reflected by the sun of liberty being eclipsed in the top left of the print.

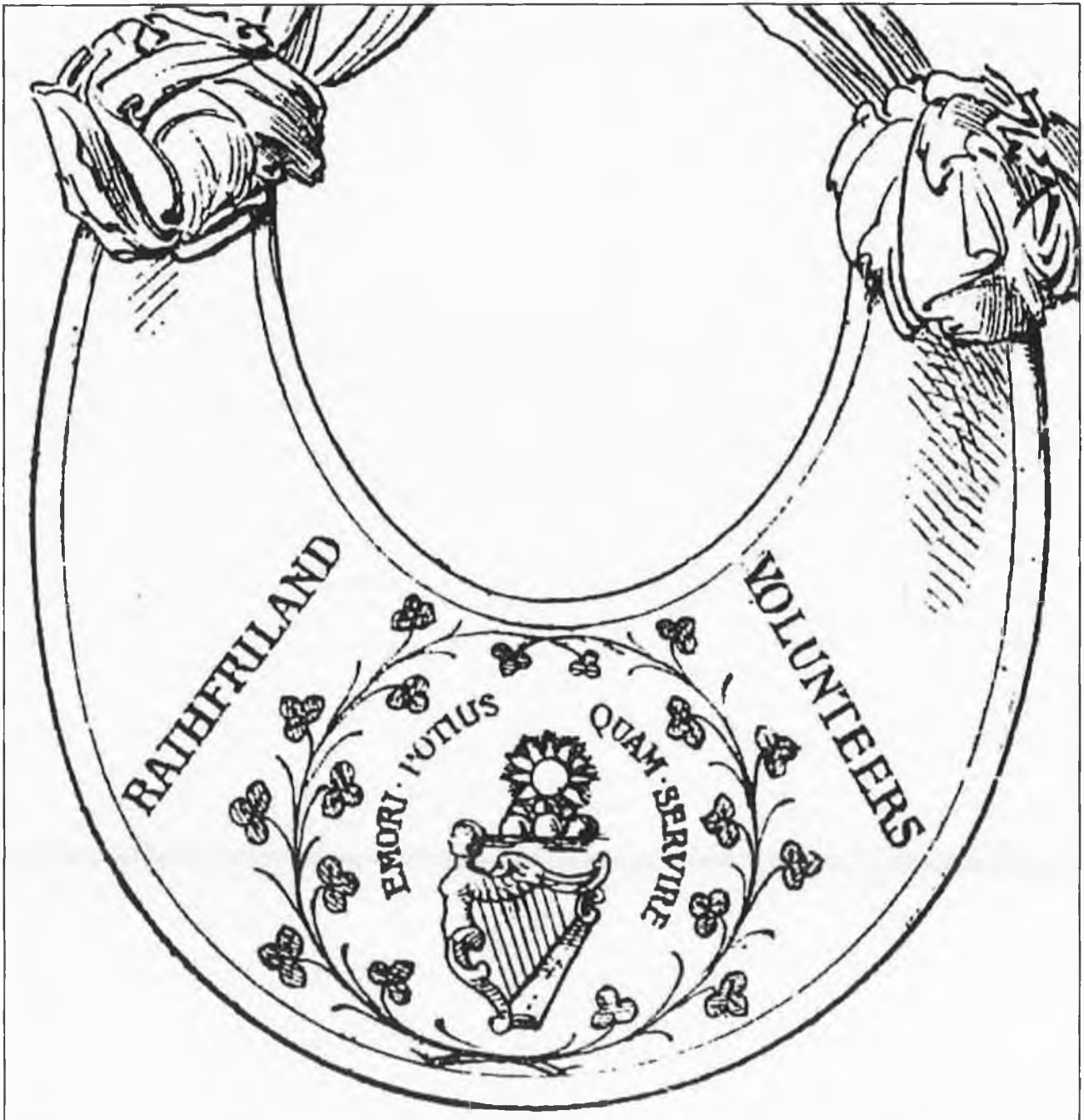


Plate 3.39. A line drawing of a silver gorget of the Rathfriland Volunteers, County Down, that once belonged to Lieutenant John Maguire (U.M.B.).



Plate 3.40. A modern artistic impression of the guidon of the County Sligo Light Horse (Sligo County Museum).



Plate 3.41. A button of the Belfast Regiment of National Volunteers, early 1790s (*U.J.A.*, iv no.1 (1897), p.82). This button, along with several others were discovered in Berry Street in Belfast when several buildings on this street were torn down in 1896. The buttons were copper with silver gilt. The NV refers to National Volunteers. The uncrowned harp was especially in tune with this Volunteer unit, and their notion of Irish as a constitutional unit, which openly celebrated the French Revolution and some of its political ideals.





Plate 3.42. A medal of the Ards Volunteers of County Down (*U.J.A.*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, viii (1901), p.99). This medal of the Ards Volunteers is one of the few remaining medals that can be said to be almost certainly authentic, on account of its shape, decoration and engraving. This company chose an uncrowned harp backed by the sunburst, another symbol of a vibrant and redefined concept of the Irish polity.



**Plate 3.43. A copper gilt gorget of the Belfast Third "Union" Volunteer Company (U.M.B.). This gorget features a heraldic crown over a Maid of Erin harp. The reasons for the use of such coronets remains unclear. Their use may have been similar to that of the Milesian crown in suggesting a re-definition of the Anglo-Irish constitutional relationship.**

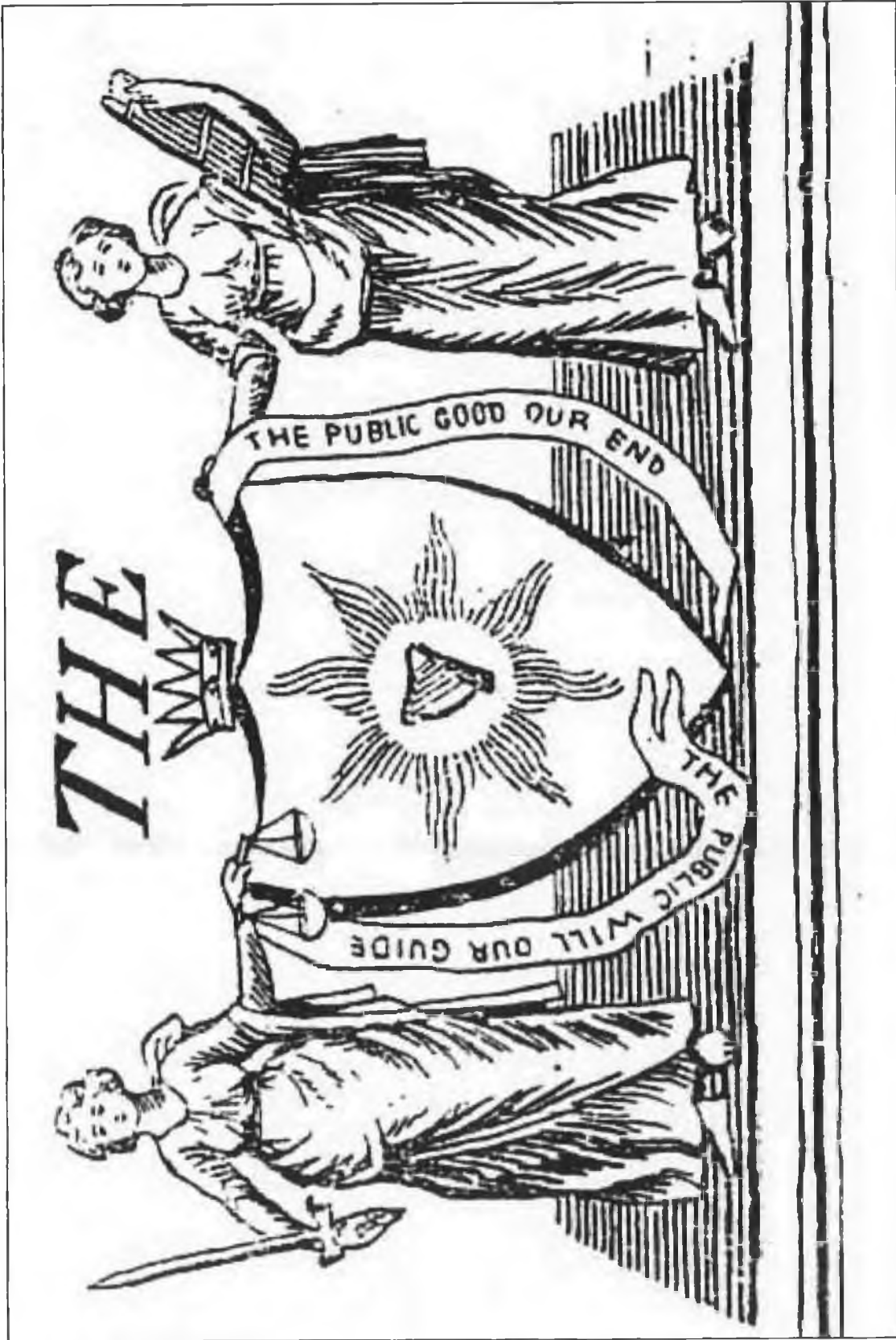


Plate 3.44. The masthead of Belfast's *Northern Star*. This newspaper was popular with Belfast residents who advocated tolerance, reform and repeal of the Penal laws. In the 29 December 1792 edition of the paper, this masthead made its last appearance. This is a pointed visual reminder of how Irish politics was fundamentally changing at this time. This masthead also sees a rare combination of a Milesian crown, a plain fore pillared harp and a sunburst, the defining visual patriotic motifs of the era of Grattan's Parliament.



Plate 3.45. The centrepiece of the colour of the Independent Tyreril and Loyal Liney Volunteers (Sligo County Museum). The interior shield would originally have been green in colour. The harp is also uncrowned and the motto features several words in Irish, the meaning of which are still disputed, but seem to refer to the O'Hara family, who were prominent patrons of the unit.



Plate 3.46. A detail from 'The balance of power', 17 January 1781 (British Museum, London).



Plate 3.47. 'Liberty leading the people', Eugene Delacroix, 1830, oil on canvas (Musee de Louvre, Paris). Although this painting commemorates the revolution of 1830, Delacroix copied his Marianne very closely from late eighteenth century sources when Marianne first began to appear as a female embodiment of France. Marianne has been an enduring figure in this regard and is still used in a similar capacity today.



Plate 3.48. A halfpenny of James II, minted in Limerick in the early 1690s ([www.irishcoinage.com/MILLED.HTM](http://www.irishcoinage.com/MILLED.HTM) (5 February 2008)). Images of Hibernia were certainly used in the seventeenth century in conjunction with concepts of Ireland as a kingdom. In particular, such images were frequently used on gunmoney minted during the military campaigns of 1688-1691.



Plate 3.49. An example of the 'Wood's half-pence' of 1723 ([www.irishcoinage.com/MILLED.HTM](http://www.irishcoinage.com/MILLED.HTM) (5 February 2008)). To emphasise the rhetoric surrounding the constitutional issues of this political crisis, the coinage was struck with images of Hibernia to represent the claims of the Irish patriots to constitutional rights for Irish legislative bodies. British coinage that was struck for use in Ireland almost always carried an imperial crowned Maid of Erin on one side and the head of the current monarch on its reverse.



Plate 3.50. The seal of the Royal Dublin Society, 1731 (Mary Kelleher and Fergus Mulligan, *The founders of the Royal Dublin Society* (Dublin, 2005)). This depiction of Hibernia was very closely based on Britannia, differing only in the placement of a shield bearing a harp beside her. Early eighteenth century Hibernias tended to be very similar to Britannia in their appearance and accompanying motifs.





Plate 3.51. 'Britannia protected from the terrors of an invasion', 26 January 1780 (British Museum, BMC 5629). This print features a very traditional Britannia used during times of war. She wears her armour and helmet and holds a spear in her right hand. In situations that demanded aggression and martial qualities, Britannia was usually represented in such a way.



Plate 3.52. A political token manufactured by Thomas Spence of London, 1795 (Maguire, *Up in arms*, p.76). Britannia sometimes appeared without her armour, as in this political token. In such instances the union shield and a spear topped with a cap of liberty were still present to indicate her identity and concerns. This alternate Britannia was a significant influence on Irish Hibernias of the late eighteenth century. Britannia was often depicted without her armour in compositions that required her to represent peaceful or civic aspects of the polity.



Plate 3.53. The centrepiece of the colour of the Castleray Fencibles, County Roscommon (N.M.I.). This Hibernia is a good example of the template used for most compositions in this period. The Hibernia used by most Volunteer companies was based more so on the unarmoured peaceful Britannia, than the more common warlike armoured goddess. Hibernia was not really a figure concerned with martial ideals, but was a goddess of peace and plenty along Augustan golden age lines.



**Plate 3.54.** The guidon of the Mayo Legion (Westport House, County Mayo). The appearance of this Hibernia was very old fashioned by the late 1770s, closely resembling an early eighteenth century model, such as that used by the Dublin Society.



**Plates 3.55 and 3.56. The colour of the Caledon Volunteers, County Tyrone (Armagh County Museum). This flag is in a very delicate state of preservation and few reproductions of it exist.**



**Plate 3.57. The Tellus panel of the Ara Pacis, or altar of Augustan peace (Ara Pacis, Rome).**

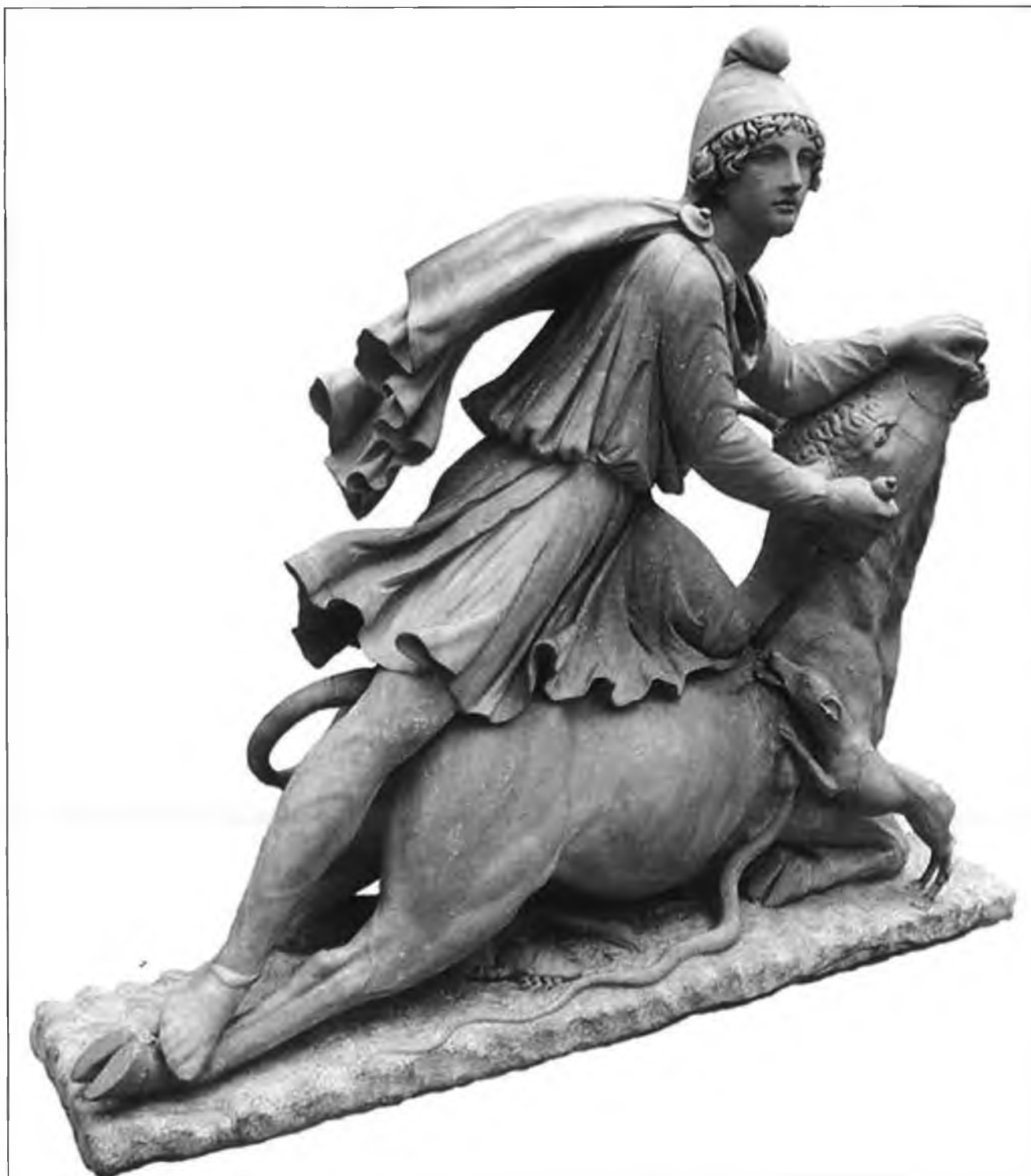


**Plate 3.58. A Volunteer offering his services to Hibernia, a ceramic plate set in a serving tray, 1780s (N.M.I.). This Hibernia is another rare singular depiction of this figure. This Hibernia was heavily inspired by neoclassical art, especially in her costume of a traditional Roman stola and her hairstyle.**



**Plate 3.59.** The guidon of the Costello Volunteers, County Mayo (Private collection). Such images of a Volunteer offering his services to Hibernia, on foot or mounted were very common in Volunteer sources. This guidon provides another extant example of a Volunteer artefact that features Gaelic script as part of its decoration. 'Mo Rish agus mo Thir' roughly translates as my king and my country.





**Plate 3.60.** A tauroctony, or depiction of Mithras slaying a sacred bull (British Museum, London). This was a key episode in the mythical life of Mithras and also a crucial element of his worship in the ancient world. A classical Phrygian cap can be seen upon his head, the basic appearance of which persisted through to the late eighteenth century.



Plate 3.61. The grand seal of the State of North Carolina. The figure on the left is that of Liberty, bearing a phrygian cap upon a spear. The other figure is a generic goddess of peace and plenty, similar in many ways to some of the figures of Hibernia we have seen above.  
 (www.statelibrary.dcr.state.nc.us/nc/symbols/images/seal.jpg (12 May 2008)).



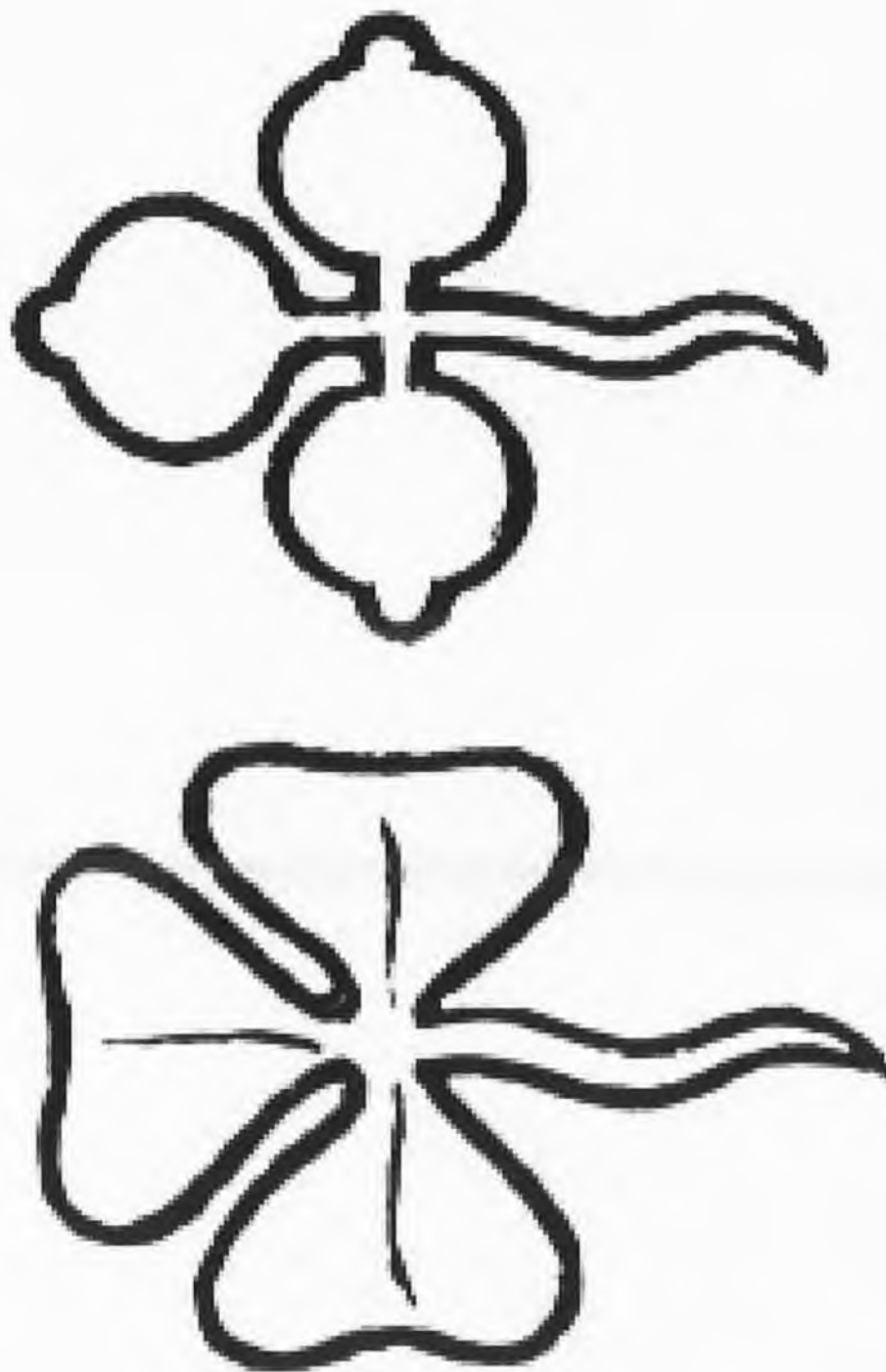
Plate 3.62. The grand seal of the US Army. This seal features a rattlesnake, the animalistic embodiment of America, the arms that protect the American state and a cap of liberty, one of the key values that the new American state espoused. ([www.ushistory.org/BETSY/images/armyseal.jpg](http://www.ushistory.org/BETSY/images/armyseal.jpg) (12 May 2008)).



**Plate 3.63. 'Worthy of liberty Mr. Pitt scorns to invade the liberties of other people', Charles Wilson Peale, 1768, London (Winterthur Museum, Delaware). Pitt the Elder was a talisman of British liberty for much of his political career and he points to a figure of liberty here to indicate his concerns. To copperfasten this case, he has been depicted as a Roman senator and carries a copy of Magna Carta.**



Plate 3.64. 'A Volunteer taking Liberty under his protection', hand-coloured mezzotint by Jean Delatre after a drawing by Stothard, published by Thomas Macklin, London, 1786 (N.L.I.). Images of the Volunteer as a figure responsible for the safeguarding of liberty were very common in printed material at this time and found their echo in visual sources like this mezzotint.



**Plate 3.65.** The specimen on the bottom is a shamrock, while that on the top is a trefoil, as they are universally depicted in orthodox heraldry (Von Volborth, *Heraldry, customs, rules and styles*, p.50).



Plate 3.66. The centre of a star worn by the third Earl of Limerick in the late nineteenth century, showing the use of a shamrock with imperial crowns upon the so-called saltire of St. Patrick (Galloway, *The most illustrious Order of St. Patrick*, p.22). Changes in the jewelry of the British orders of knighthood over time were fairly negligible. This late nineteenth century example therefore gives us a good impression of what the original jewels of the Order of St. Patrick were like.

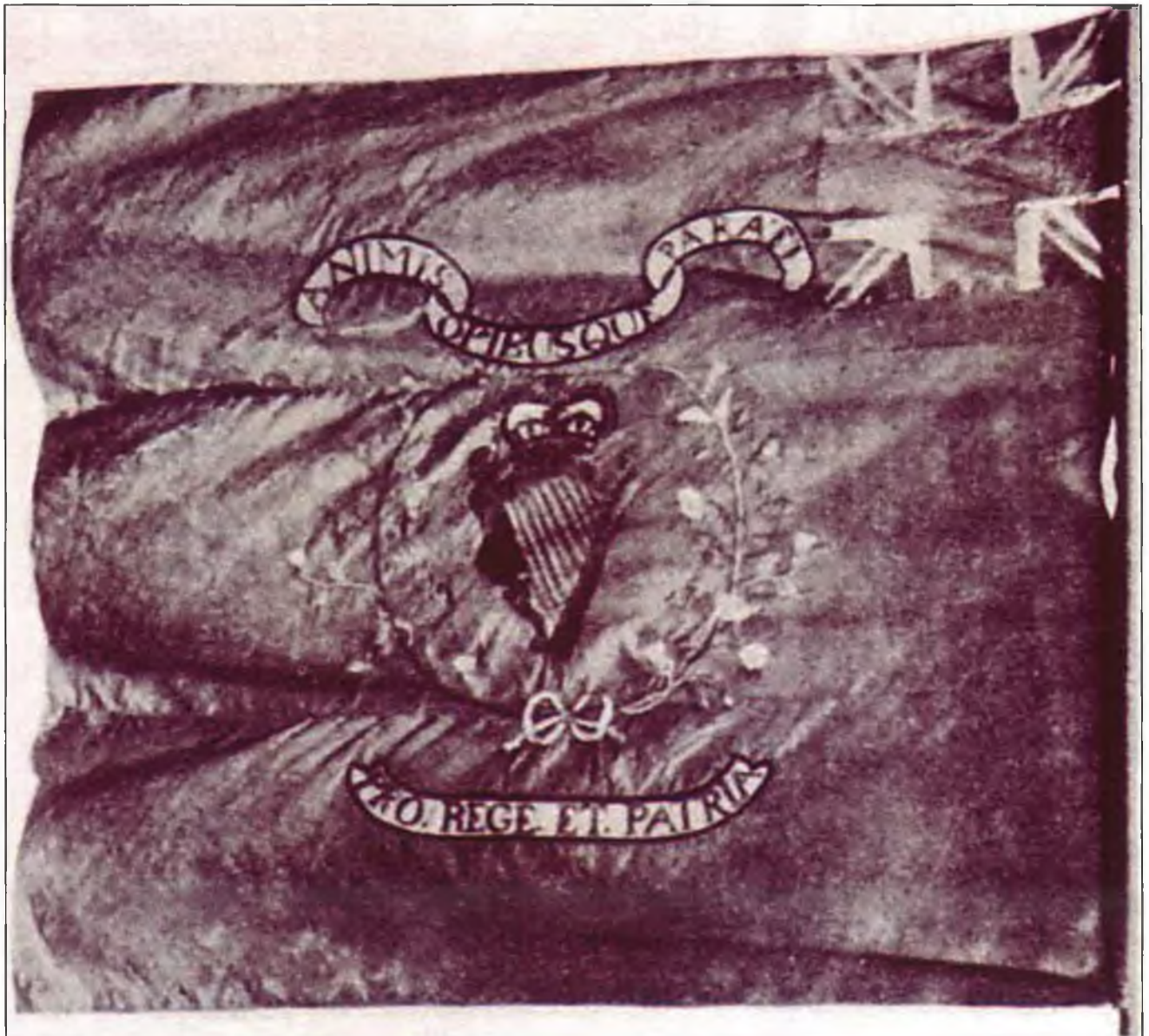


Plate 3.67. The guidon of the Royal Glin Hussars, County Limerick (Glin Castle, Limerick).





Plate 3.68. The reverse of the guidon of the Mayo Legion (Westport House, County Mayo).



**Plate 3.69. An unidentified Volunteer battalion colour (Armagh Church of Ireland Cathedral). This union wreath featured thistles, roses and shamrocks all growing from the same branch as a statement about the nature of the connection between Great Britain and the kingdom of Ireland.**



Plate 3.70. The colour of the Parsonstown Volunteers, County Offaly (Birr Castle, County Offaly). This colour shows the practice of combining two heraldic plants, shamrock and laurel on the same wreath, representing the qualities of these two plants in the values of this company.

Chapter four: Portraits

(50 plates)



**Plate 4.1. 'The Hon. Mrs Graham', Thomas Gainsborough, c.1775-1777, oil on canvas (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh). 'Lovely Mary' was a famous society beauty of the 1770s and 1780s and a close friend of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire. This portrait is a typical example of a late eighteenth century society portrait, being designed to impress visitors in the reception rooms of a grand residence. Society portraits were often very challenging to paint because the artist was expected to paint the sitter in the best possible light. Many society portraits were thus very imaginative compositions where the sitter's figure, skin and features were effectively airbrushed to achieve a more desirable finished product.**



**Plate 4.2. 'Valentine Richard Quin, first Earl of Dunraven', Pompeo Batoni, 1773, oil on canvas (Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, *Ireland's painters*, p.58). Quin was commanding officer of the Adare Volunteers in this period in addition to being a leading landed noble in County Limerick. This portrait is another example of a work clearly commissioned for display in areas of the house where visitors were a regular feature.**



Plate 4.3. 'The Adelphi club', Joseph Wilson, 1782, oil on canvas, 16 x 75cm (Private collection). The Adelphi Club was a literary society in late eighteenth century Belfast. This was a friendly informal club, hence the tobacco pipes and tankards of ale. Despite the survival of several Irish late eighteenth century conversation pieces, this form of art was not as common in Ireland as it was in Britain and Europe amongst the middling classes.



Plate 4.4. 'General John Burgoyne', Joshua Reynolds, 1766, oil on canvas (Frick collection, New York). The style of depicting military men evolved significantly in the late eighteenth century and this sub-section of portraiture became a vibrant and diverse area of art in this period.





Plate 4.5. 'Samuel Madden, D.D.', Richard Purcell after Robert Hunter, 1755, engraving (Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, *Ireland's painters*, p.83). Clergymen were usually dressed in their robes, in a library setting, consulting a religious text.



Plate 4.6. 'Judge Blennerhasset', Phillip Hussey, 1750s to 1760s, oil on canvas (Private collection).



Plate 4.7. 'Captain James Cook', Nathaniel Dance, 1776, oil on canvas (National Maritime Museum, London). Cook was depicted in this painting in the full dress uniform of a captain of the Royal Navy, pointing to one of his many discoveries in the Pacific.



**Plate 4.8. 'Benjamin Franklin', Benjamin West or David Martin, 1770s to 1780s, oil on canvas (Private collection). Franklin was painted by this artist in a pose of deep study, undisturbed by the viewer in the traditional pose and setting of a consummate man of letters.**



**Plate 4.9. 'John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare and Lord Chancellor of Ireland', Gilbert Stuart, 1789, oil on canvas (Cleveland Museum of Art). Stuart painted many of Ireland's upper classes during his Irish sojourn and his being an American gave his portraiture practice a touch of the exotic which set him apart from other artists.**



**Plate 4.10. 'Captain Waddell Cunningham', Robert Home, 1784, oil on canvas (U.M.B.). Cunningham was a lieutenant of the Belfast First Volunteer Company until early 1781, when he assumed command of the unit upon the retirement of the old captain, Stewart Banks. Cunningham was a very energetic proponent of reforming ideals and a great supporter of the local Belfast economy, in which he had a considerable stake.**



**Plate 4.11. 'Waddell Cunningham', Robert Home, 1784, oil on canvas (Private collection). This portrait of Cunningham by the same artist cast him in his everyday role as a merchant and civic leader of the vibrant port town of Belfast.**



Plate 4.12. 'Randall William MacDonnell, first marquess of Antrim and Knight of the Bath', Joseph Wilson, 1784, oil on canvas (Glenarm Castle, County Antrim). The marquess of Antrim was the most lofty client painted by Joseph Wilson in this period and had two portraits commissioned by the artist. Despite the existence of this portrait, the marquess's role in volunteering in County Antrim was very limited, being in reality a nominal commander from whom an appearance of respectability could be gleaned. The marquess' uniform here is not that of any one particular corps, but rather seems to have been that of a senior Volunteer officer which could be worn indifferently on the many occasions that the marquess acted as a reviewing officer and dignitary at Volunteer gatherings.



**Plate 4.13. 'Randall William MacDonnell, first marquess of Antrim', Joseph Wilson, 1784, oil on canvas (Glenarm Castle, County Antrim). In this portrait the marquess wore a court costume, a dark blue coat with scarlet collar and cuffs, a sash and a jewelled star of the Order of the Bath.**





**Plate 4.14. 'The marquess and marchioness of Antrim', Francis Wheatley, 1782, oil on canvas (N.G.I.). Members of the Irish upper classes were prone to commissioning work by several different artists, preferably those that were fashionable at a given time. This conversation piece is another rare example of such a work in Ireland at this time.**



Plate 4.15. 'William Dawson', Joseph Wilson, early 1780s, oil on canvas (U.M.B.).



**Plate 4.16. 'John O'Neill, viscount of Shane's Castle', Francis Wheatley, 1780, oil on canvas (U.M.B.). Despite being a prominent Antrim Volunteer leader Viscount O'Neill does not seem to have had a Volunteer portrait painted in these years.**



**Plate 4.17. 'The Clanwilliam Union Volunteer', unknown artist/s, early 1780s, oil on canvas (N.G.I.). This sitter wore the uniform of his company, the Clanwilliam Union Volunteers of County Tipperary. This painting was clearly the work of two different artists. The first painted the face and original clothing, the second painted the Volunteer uniform over the original clothing. Such artistic expediency and cost reduction was common amongst middling class art patrons who wished to participate in the social custom of portraiture, but who could not afford works on grand scales by famous artists.**



**Plate 4.18. 'Richard D'Arcy, Gort Light Dragoons', unknown artist, early 1780s (N.G.I.). The coat worn by D'Arcy in his miniature is still preserved in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland. D'Arcy also served in the yeomanry of the late 1790s. The coat he wore in this unit is also preserved in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland.**



**Plate 4.19. 'William Robert Fitzgerald, second Duke of Leinster in the uniform of the Dublin Volunteers', Hugh Douglas Hamilton, early 1780s, pastel (Private collection). In this chalk miniature, the duke wore the dress uniform of the Dublin Volunteers, of which he was colonel.**



Plate 4.20. 'Sir Lawrence Parsons', unknown artist, early 1780s, oil on canvas (Birr Castle, County Offaly). In this miniature, Parsons wore the uniform of the Parsonstown (Birr) Volunteers, of whom he was a senior officer.



**Plate 4.21. 'Henry Flood', unknown artist, 1780s (Private collection). Devotional works displayed in private residences usually took the form of copperplate prints. This miniature provides an interesting contrast to this custom. The uniform in this work is probably that of the Dublin Independent Volunteers, of which Flood was a senior member from its foundation.**





**Plate 4.22. 'A group of Volunteer officers with a map of Ireland', Francis Robert West, early 1780s, chalk (Private collection). The Volunteer officers in this picture may not have been real sitters at all, but were probably invented by West for the purposes of this instalment of his group of conversation pieces.**



Plate 4.23. 'Lieutenant Robert Hugh Hyndman', Joseph Wilson, early 1780s, oil on canvas (U.M.B.). For this portrait, Hyndman wore the uniform of his company, the Belfast Third "Union" Volunteer Company, of which he was a lieutenant from its foundation.



**Plate 4.24. 'Colonel Henry Grattan', Francis Wheatley, 1780, oil on canvas (National Portrait Gallery, London). In this study, Grattan wore the uniform of his company, the Dublin Independent Volunteers, of which he was colonel until early 1783.**



Plate 4.25. 'The Lurgan Volunteer', Strickland Lowry, early 1780s, oil on canvas (U.M.B.).



**Plate 4.26. 'Reverend William Bruce', Joseph Wilson, late 1780s to early 1790s, oil on canvas (U.M.B.). Rev. Bruce was a prolific figure in Belfast society and politics until the late 1790s. He was a committed Volunteer and a friend of Martha McTier and Dr William Drennan. Bruce is depicted here in the uniform of a National Volunteer company of the late 1780s or early 1790s. It is unclear which company he was a member of in Belfast at this time.**



**Plate 4.27. 'Colonel John Bateman Fitzgerald', Joseph Wilson, 1782, oil on canvas (Glin Castle, County Limerick). For this portrait, the knight of Glin wore the uniform of the Royal Glin Artillery, of which he had been colonel since the death of his father in late 1781.**



**Plate 4.28. 'The Lyons Volunteer', John Trotter, early 1780s, oil on canvas (Private Collection). Very little is known about the sitter in this work, including his Volunteer company. However, the scene presented is believed to be the Lyons estate in County Kildare.**



**Plate 4.29.** A detail from the 'Lyons Volunteer' above. This view shows the large Palladian house on the right of the painting. This house bears a striking similarity to the newly renovated Lyons estate in north Kildare and was probably a residence connected with the sitter.



**Plate 4.30.** A further detail from the 'Lyons Volunteer' painting. This view shows the sitter's Volunteer troop on the left of the work.

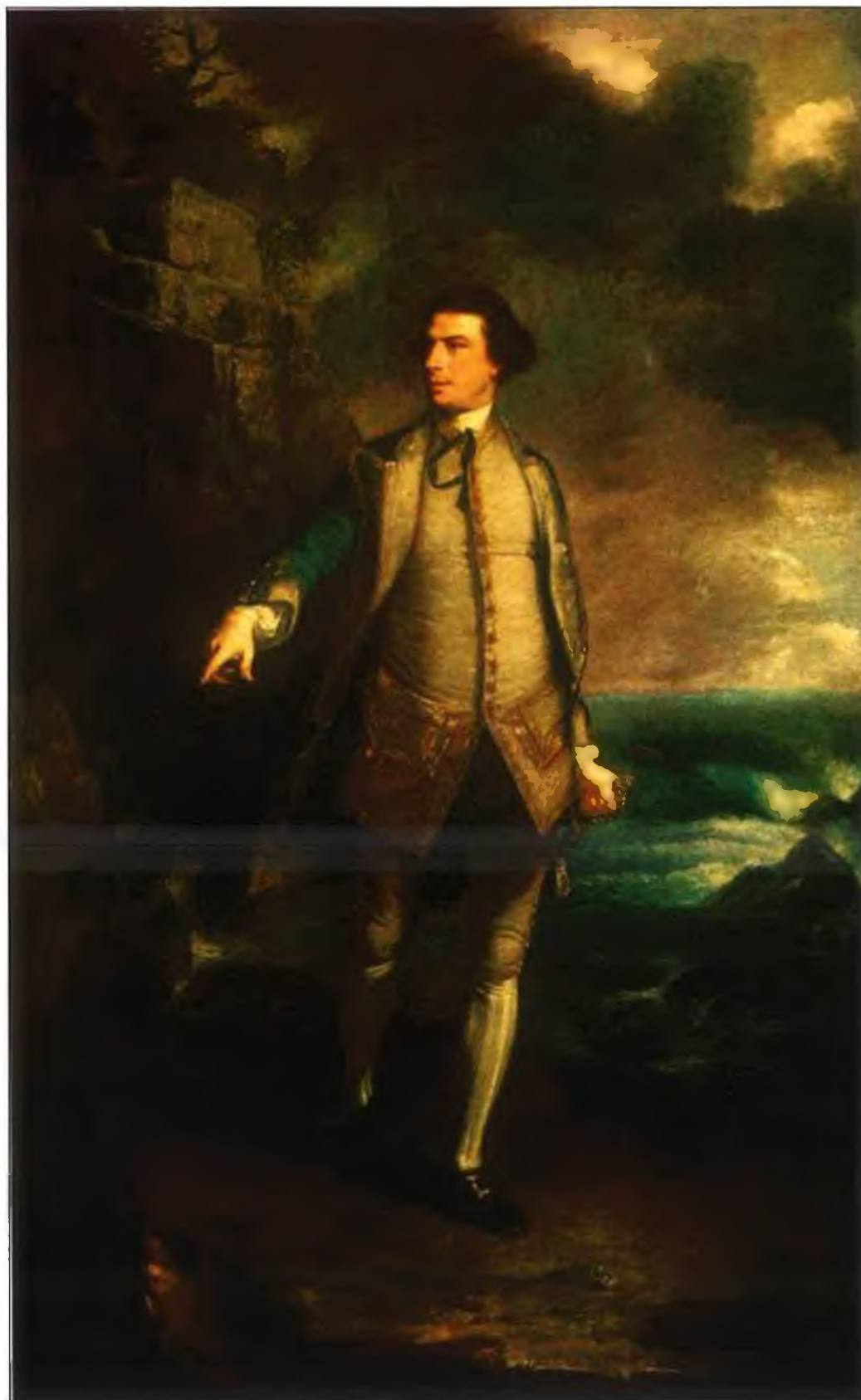




Plate 4.31. 'Colonel William Sharman', Thomas Robinson, 1798, oil on canvas (U.M.B.). Sharman was simultaneously an officer of the Moira Volunteers and commanding officer of the Union Regiment of county Down. It is not obvious which company's uniform he wore for this portrait.



**Plate 4.32. 'James Caulfeild, Earl of Charlemont', Richard Livesay, 1784, oil on canvas (National Portrait Gallery, London). The uniform that Charlemont wore for this portrait was probably not associated with any one Volunteer company in particular, but was probably a coat which he wore indifferently to the many reviews and festive occasions he attended in his capacity as a very senior Volunteer leader.**



**Plate 4.33. 'Commodore Augustus Keppel', Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1752 to 1753, oil on canvas (National Maritime Museum, London).**



Plate 4.34. 'Norman "The red man", 22<sup>nd</sup> Chief of MacLeod', Allan Ramsay, 1747, oil on canvas (Dunvegan Castle, Isle of Skye).



**Plate 4.35. 'George Augustus Elliott, Lord Heathfield', Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1787, oil on canvas (National Gallery, London).**



Plate 4.36. 'Captain Robert Orme', Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1757, oil on canvas (National Gallery, London).



Plate 4.37. 'Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton', Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1782, oil on canvas (National Gallery, London). Tarleton was one of Reynolds most famous sitters in this period and this work was also arguably one of his best military portraits.



**Plate 4.38. 'Lord Newbottle', Robert Hunter, 1762, oil on canvas (Private collection). Newbottle was an officer in the regular army, but it is not known of which regiment. This portrait evinces a fashion amongst British officers at this time for wearing the sash from shoulder to hip, which later became a popular custom with the Irish Volunteers.**





**Plate 4.39. 'The Burt Volunteer', Joseph Wilson, 1780s, oil on canvas (Private collection). It is not entirely clear which company this Volunteer belonged to, but the provenance of this painting suggests that he was from County Kildare and possibly a member of the Burgh family.**



**Plate 4.40. 'James Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare and 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Leinster', Alan Ramsay, 1765 (Carton House, County Kildare). Ramsay was more famous for his depictions of women at this stage in his career, on account of his delicate depiction of facial features and his soft use of colours.**



**Plate 4.41.** 'Captain William Congreve with his son', Phillip Reinagle, 1782, oil on canvas (N.G.I.). In this picture Congreve is surrounded by many indicators of his profession, but despite the crowded nature of the scene, the traditional artilleryman's pose has been used by the artist.



**Plate 4.42. Unidentified Volunteer by John Trotter, early 1780s, oil on canvas (Private collection). The identity and company of this Volunteer are not known.**



Plate 4.43. 'Sir Richard Worsley', Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1775, oil on canvas (Private collection). For this portrait, Worsley was dressed in the uniform of the Isle of Wight militia. Worsley was governor of the Isle of Wight in the early 1780s.



**Plate 4.44. A second unidentified officer, John Trotter, early 1780s, oil on canvas (Private collection). Due to a lack of reliable provenance and family tradition, nothing is known of the identity or company membership of this Volunteer.**



**Plate 4.45. 'Captain John Alston', John Trotter, 1780s, oil on canvas (Private collection). Alston was an officer in the Cambridgeshire Militia and it was in the uniform of this unit that he was painted in this work.**



Plate 4.46. 'The Hon. John Theophilus Rawdon-Hastings', John Trotter, 1776, oil on canvas (Private collection). The younger son of the 1<sup>st</sup> earl of Moira was an officer in the British Army and fought in the American war.





Plate 4.47. 'Cornet Thomas Boothby-Parkyn, 15<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons', unknown artist, 1780, oil on canvas (National Army Museum, London).



Plate 4.48. 'A view of College Green with a meeting of the Volunteers on 4 November 1779', Francis Wheatley, 1779 to 1780, oil on canvas (N.G.I.).



Plate 4.49. 'The Irish House of Commons', Francis Wheatley, 1780, oil on canvas (Leeds City Art Gallery).



**Plate 4.50. 'Lord Aldborough on Pomposo reviewing Volunteers at Belan House, County Kildare', Francis Wheatley, early 1780s, oil on canvas (Rothschild collection, Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire).**

Chapter five: Ceramics

(76 plates)



Plate 5.1. The auction catalogue photograph of the jug sold as part of the William Kearney collection (*Adam's of Stephen's Green catalogue, the William Kearney collection, 1 September 1999* (Dublin, 1999)).



Plate 5.2. An eighteenth century Chinese ceramic plate (Private collection). Japanese art in general focused on flowers and geometric shapes for much of its inspiration and found great favour in the western world as porcelain became more popular.



Plate 5.3. A late eighteenth century Chinese plate and accompanying stand (Private collection). Chinese wares were less colourful in general and tended to be decorated in blue and white.



Plate 5.4. A plate from the famous frog service of Catherine II of Russia, c.1772 (Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston).



Plate 5.5. A Chinese armorial plate produced in China for the English market, c.1739 to 1743 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Armorial wares were hand-painted, requiring a significant level of craftsmanship, with a correspondingly high cost.



Plate 5.6. A Delamain armorial plate, 1760s (Francis, *Irish delftware*, plate 11). Delamain's armorial services were attractive, affordable and available to Irish consumers from several retail outlets in Dublin.



Plate 5.7. A transfer printed plate bearing the arms of Edmond Sexton Pery, MP for Limerick, 1761, manufactured by Stritch and Bridson of Limerick (Francis, *Irish delftware*, plate 44).



Plate 5.8. A Meissen figurine of a boy in Turkish costume, c.1760 (Jonty Hearnden (ed.), *Miller's antique price guide 2007* (Kent, 2007), p.208). The Meissen works produced fine porcelain products of all sorts akin to those depicted in the plates above, but were also famous for novelty items, such as figurines.



Plate 5.9. A Dublin delftware soup dish based closely on a Chinese pattern, 1760s (Francis, *Irish delftware*, plate 12).



Plate 5.10. A Wedgwood creamware vase, c.1770 (Wills, *Wedgwood*, p.36.).



Plate 5.11. 'Josiah Wedgwood', Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1760s, oil on canvas (Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston).



Plate 5.12. 'Thomas Bentley', after J.F. Rigaud, 1760s, oil on canvas (Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston).





Plate 5.13. A Wedgwood agate vase from the early 1770s. This kind of item was highly sought by Irish customers at the time according to Wedgwood's correspondence with Thomas Bentley (Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston).



Plate 5.14. A Wedgwood stoneware vase from the early 1770s. This decoration convincingly replicated the appearance of black veined marble (Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston).

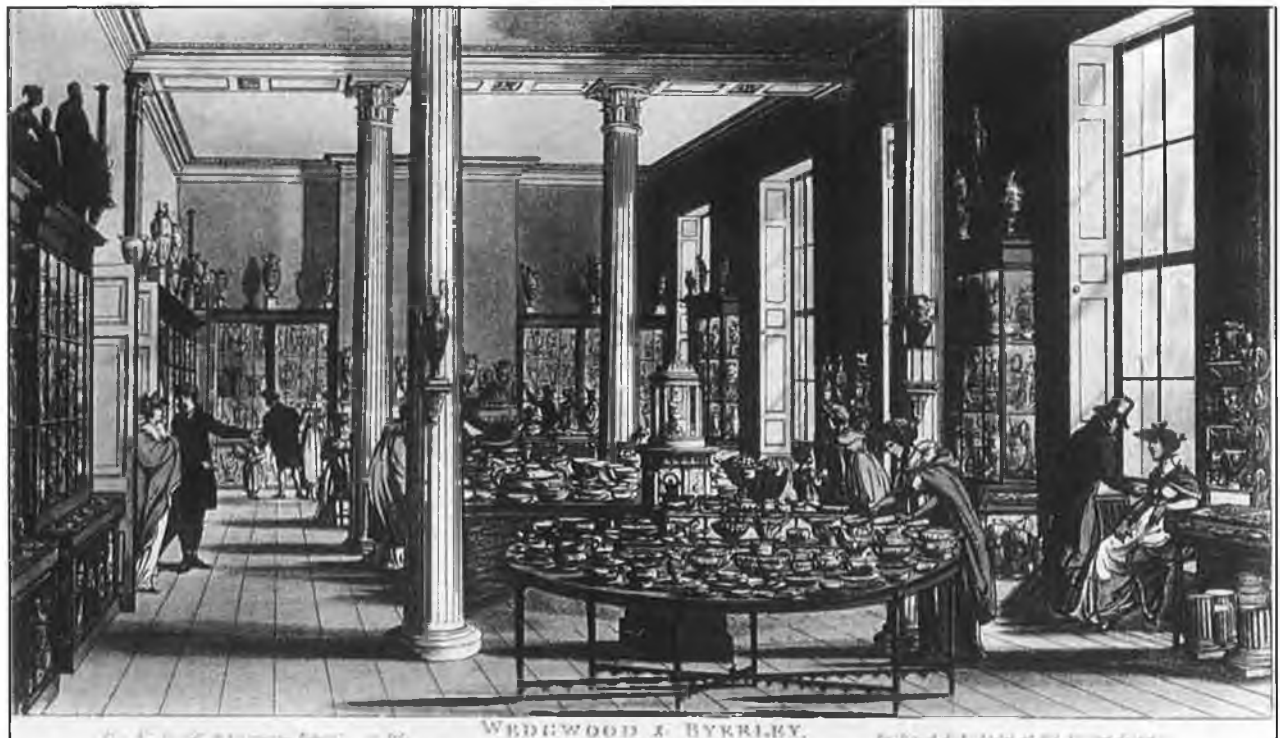


Plate 5.15. No extant images of the Dublin showroom are known to exist, but this print depicts the Wedgwood and Byerley showroom of London in 1809 (Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston).

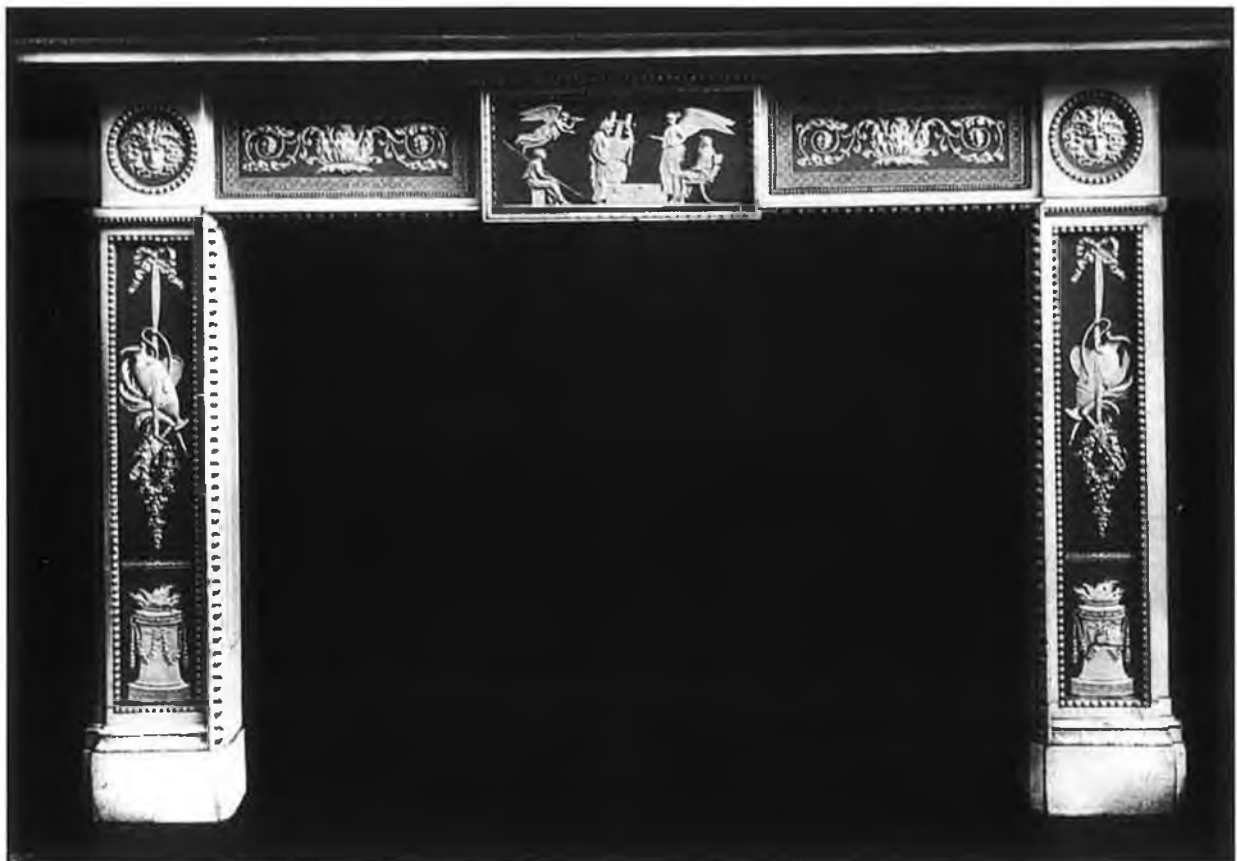


Plate 5.16. This white Carrara marble chimneypiece was decorated with white and green jasperware inlays and was made for the Irish Master of the Mint in 1785 (Reilly, *Wedgwood illustrated dictionary*, p.106).



Plate 5.17. A selection of jasperware items exhibiting the different shapes and colours that this new product could be manufactured in. Jasperware was first released for sale in 1774 and became a staple of Wedgwood's business shortly thereafter (Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston).



Plate 5.18. 'The Apotheosis of Homer', modelled by John Flaxman junior, 1778 (Wedgwood museum, Barlaston). This kind of jasperware relief was intended to be set into furniture and interiors as a piece of lavish neoclassical decoration.



Plate 5.19. The bottom of a Wedgwood mug, c.1780 (Ballymoney Museum, County Antrim). The most common mark on such wares is "WEDGWOOD" in the upper right, but the wedge shaped mark and the impressed circle, which are also visible on this mug, were also common



Plate 5.20. A plate from the Wedgwood queensware catalogue of 1774 (Wedgwood papers, University of Keele).

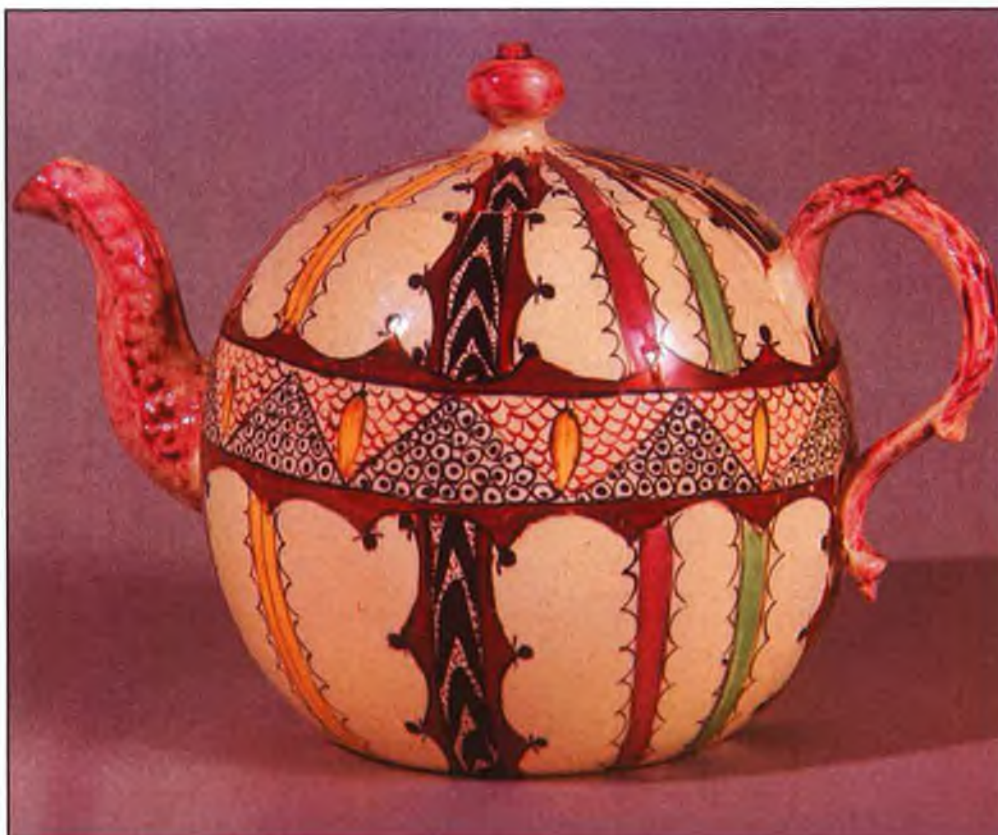


Plate 5.21. A Wedgwood tea-pot enamelled by David Rhodes, c.1760s. Rhodes was employed by Wedgwood for a long period in the mid to late eighteenth century and they enjoyed a fruitful professional relationship (Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston).



Plate 5.22. A David Rhodes teapot from the 1760s, decorated with an oriental scene (Wills, Wedgwood, p.32).

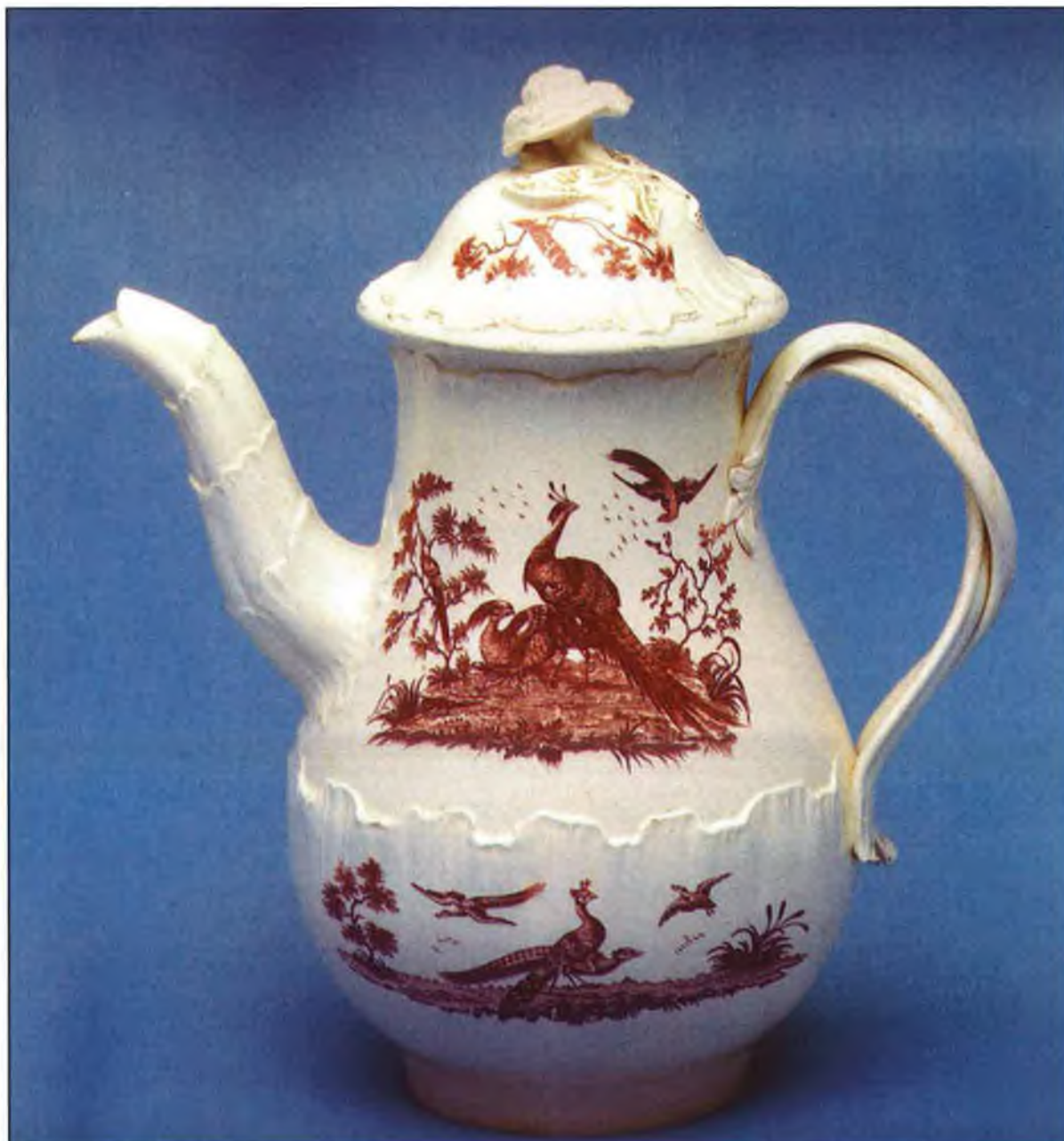


Plate 5.23. A transfer printed coffee pot, by Sadler and Green of Liverpool, c.1775 (Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston). Transfer printing was a revolutionary innovation in the decoration of creamware which allowed complex, yet accurate reproductions of copper plate prints. One of the key effects of transfer printing was to give the decoration of creamware a massive boost in marketability in comparison to more expensive porcelains.



Plate 5.24. Four tiles from the factory of Zacchariah Barnes of Liverpool, c. 1760s (E.N. Stretton Collection). These delftware tiles all feature images that were known to the print-buying public through the medium of copper plate prints. Such tiles were used to decorate interior areas.



Plate 5.25. 'The triple plea', Sadler and Green, Liverpool, c.1760 to 1765 (E.N.Stretton collection). This print was a satire upon the triple threat of lawyers, physicians and the clergy upon the purse of their clients. Satirical reference to such figures was common in eighteenth century literature, such as the novels of Voltaire or Oliver Goldsmith.





Plate 5.26. Frederick "the great" of Prussia printed on a Wedgwood teapot c.1763 (Reilly, *Wedgwood illustrated dictionary*, p.189). Frederick II was well liked outside Prussia, especially by military men who adopted his methods of training soldiers in attempts to emulate



Plate 5.27. Queen Charlotte printed on a Wedgwood teapot, c.1761 to 1762 (Reilly, *Wedgwood illustrated dictionary*, p.101). Although the queen was a great patron of Wedgwood in his early years, she had a relatively plain taste in material goods, hence her choice of Wedgwood creamware for much of her personal services.



Plate 5.28. Admiral Augustus Keppel, a great hero of the British navy from the mid to late eighteenth century printed on a Wedgwood teapot of the late 1770s (Drakard, *Printed English pottery*, p.154). Another iconic image of Keppel was produced in oil on canvas by Sir Joshua Reynolds, but this teapot



Plate 5.29. John Wesley, founder of Methodism on a Wedgwood teapot of the early 1770s (Reilly, *Wedgwood illustrated dictionary*, p.486). Wedgwood met Wesley while still in his early twenties and seems to have found solace in his teachings.

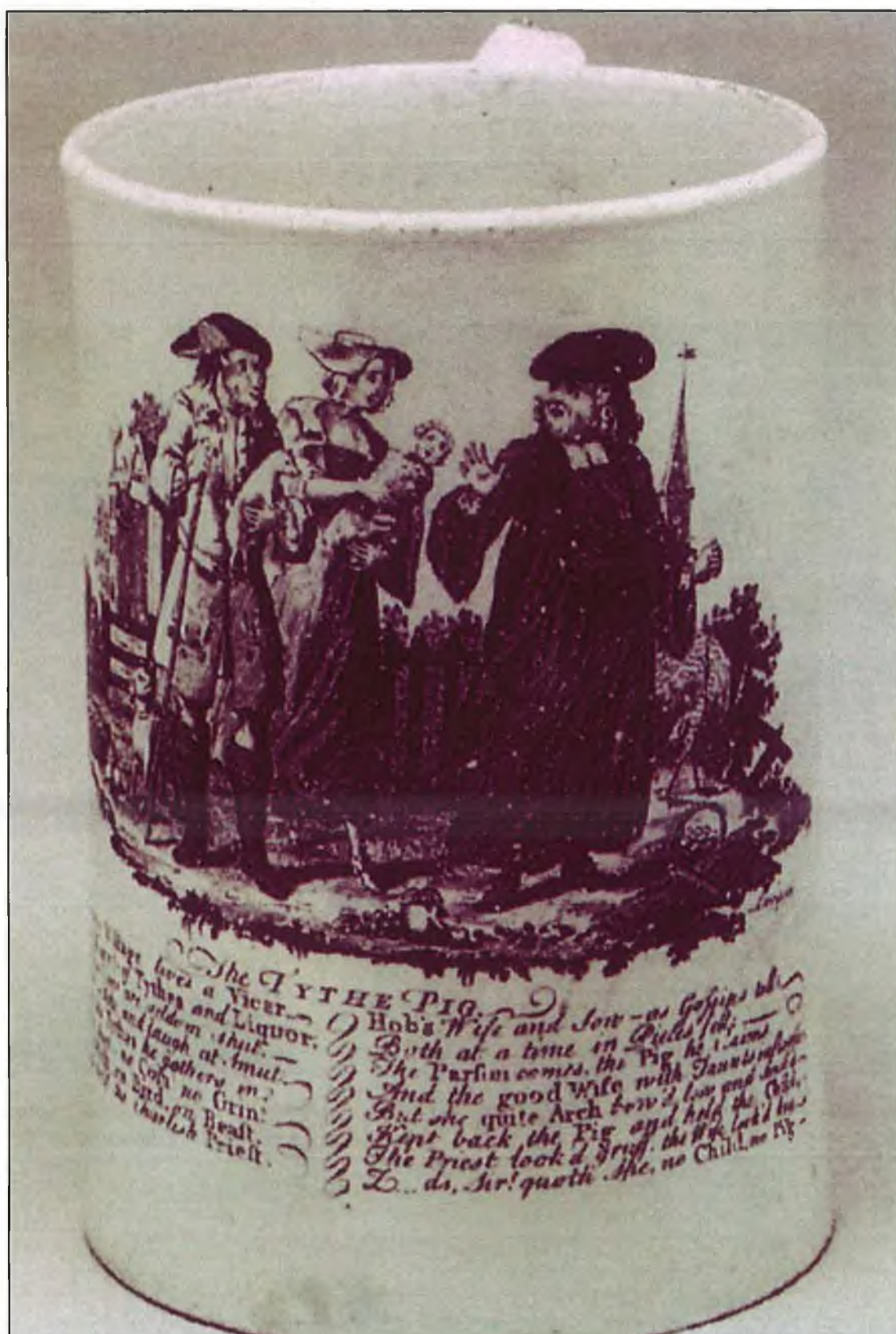


Plate 5.30. 'The tythe pig', Sadler and Green, Liverpool, early 1760s (E.N. Stretton collection). This print was the first ever ordered by Wedgwood from Sadler and Green of Liverpool to be printed on his creamware pottery. Wedgwood was greatly impressed by the sharpness of the printing process and he employed Sadler and Green as his printers for several decades.



Plate 5.31. The most frequently repeated print by Guy Green and Co. of Liverpool, that decorated Wedgwood's Irish Volunteer wares from the late 1770s onwards (U.M.B.).



Plate 5.32. A detail showing the Hibernia at the top of the composition in plate 5.31 (Ballymoney Museum, County



Plate 5.33. A detail of the centre company infantryman on the left of plate 5.31 (Ballymoney Museum, County Antrim).



Plate 5.34. A detail of the light infantryman on the right of plate 5.31 (Ballymoney Museum, County Antrim).



Plate 5.35. A Masonic jug presented by Henry Munro to Irish lodge number 193 in 1794 (Maguire, *Up in arms*, p.243). Personalized Masonic jugs were also very common at this time and were presented to Masons by their lodge in recognition of their services, or the esteem in which they were held by brother Masons. Volunteer ceramics of this nature were presented for similar reasons.



Plate 5.36. A porcelain Masonic mug bearing the arms of the Masons, c.1760 (E.N. Stretton collection). Masonic wares were common at this time and were mainly produced for their use at Masonic meetings, which were often centres of conviviality, much like the activities of Irish Volunteer



Plate 5.37. A Wedgwood Masonic mug bearing the same coat of arms as plate 5.36, c.1785 (Reilly, *Wedgwood illustrated dictionary*, p.275). This mug has been modified by a silversmith after production with silver mounts to make it a tankard for Masonic meetings.



Plate 5.38. A Society of Bucks mug, printed by John Sadler, c.1758-1760 (E.N. Stretton collection). The Society of Bucks were another convivial club of the mid to late eighteenth century in Britain. The society celebrated the quintessentially English rural way of life, especially the hunt. The customs of this association were also convivial in nature, and it was for such meetings that such ceramic wares



Plate 5.39. The mounted Volunteer, printed by Guy Green for Wedgwood's Irish Volunteer wares (U.M.B.). The artist's depiction of a Volunteer on horseback was not informed by any real experience of what Volunteer cavalymen actually looked like, but is rather a very accurate depiction of the uniform of a British light dragoon at this time. The sword the cavalryman wields is good proof of the lack of knowledge of military equipment on the artist's part. British light cavalry in this period were usually armed with a hanger, a short curved sword, used more for its bludgeoning qualities than the sharpened edge.



Plate 5.40. The print of three Volunteer infantrymen produced by Guy Green for Wedgwood in the late 1770s. Imagery taken directly from manuals of drill and military regulations were very prominent during the American war in the public consciousness. Many Volunteer companies were enthusiastic about regular drill and attention was always paid to the successful completion of such manoeuvres in reports of reviews in the press (Willett Collection, Brighton and Hove Museum).





Plate 5.41. A grenadier of the 1<sup>st</sup> (Royal) Regiment of foot of the British Army, standing at attention. This plate was reproduced in a set of regulations published in the late 1780s (Reid and Zlatich, *Soldiers of the revolutionary war*, p.138).



Plate 5.42. A British Volunteer of the early 1790s in the act of priming the pan of his musket. Prints of the correct form of military drill were also popular in the late eighteenth century in times of war, as a means of educating the citizenry in the handling of arms (Ian V. Hogg, *The Encyclopaedia of weaponry* (London, 1992), p.58).



Plate 5.43. A light infantry Volunteer loading a musket from a contemporary Volunteer almanac (*The Lady of the house*, Christmas 1907).



Plate 5.44. A Volunteer loading a musket, with a Volunteer encampment in the background. Several extant copies of this image exist. It is thought to have first been printed in *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*, February



Plate 5.45. 'The death of Wolfe', Benjamin West, 1771, oil on canvas (National Gallery of Canada).



Plate 5.46. 'The death of Wolfe', engraved by William Woollett, 1777 (British Museum, London).



Plate 5.47. A teapot featuring the death of Wolfe as its decoration on one side (U.M.B.).



Plate 5.48. A jug featuring the death of Wolfe (U.M.B.).

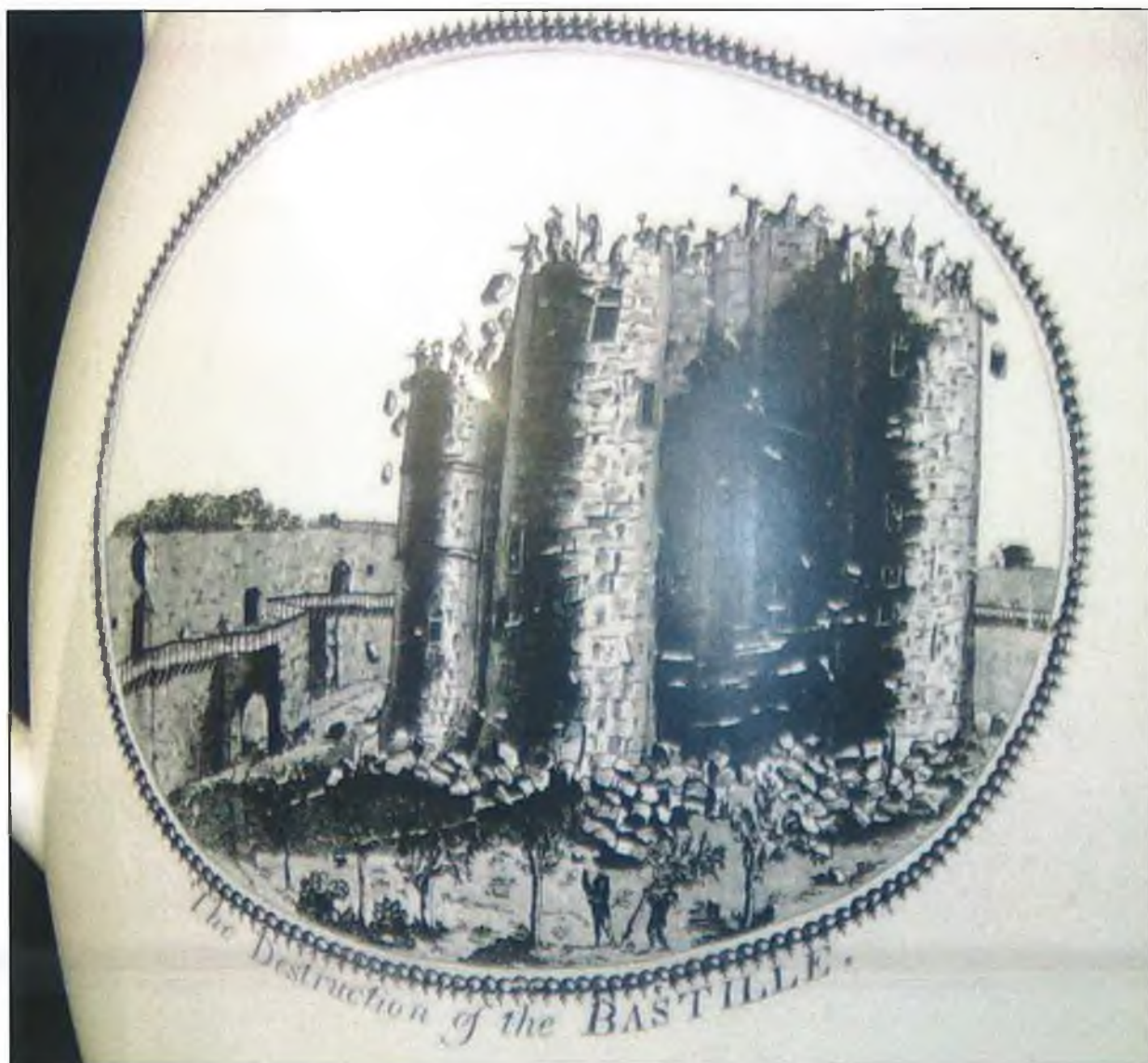


Plate 5.49. 'The destruction of the Bastille', unknown artist, 1791, from the Comber jug (U.M.B.).



Plate 5.50. 'The smoking party', c.1775, printed by Guy Green (Reilly, *Wedgwood illustrated dictionary*, p.210).



Plate 5.51. 'The tea party', c.1777, printed by Guy Green (Reilly, *Wedgwood illustrated dictionary*, p.420). Images of genteel social customs like this were popular and frequently repeated on both ceramics



Plate 5.52. One of the rural scenes on the exterior of the Dundalk punch bowl (N.M.I.).



Plate 5.53. Interior of the Dundalk Volunteers punch bowl (N.M.I.).



Plate 5.54. The interior of the Balocols Volunteers punch bowl (John May (ed.), *The Richardson collection of Irish political and British royal commemoratives* (Bonham's, Knightsbridge, 2000), p.5).





Plate 5.55. Typical floral decoration of late eighteenth century creamware pottery from the Ballymoney jug (Ballymoney Museum, County Antrim).



Plate 5.56. Wreathed decoration under the rim of a ceramic jug was also common to fill out blank spaces and make products more marketable (U.M.B.).



Plate 5.57. Floral decoration on a jug beneath the most frequently repeated Volunteer print (Willett collection, Brighton and Hove Museum).



Plate 5.58. Further floral decoration from a creamware jug (U.M.B.).



Plate 5.59. A slightly larger version of the common print was used on this mug, but the size of the print was a little too large for the vessel (N.M.I.).



Plate 5.60. A smaller version of the print on a mug of the same dimensions (Ballymoney Museum, County Antrim).



Plate 5.61. Both the name of the unit and its commanding officer are printed on this piece from Springhill, County Londonderry (Willett collection, Brighton and Hove Museum).



Plate 5.62. Decoration from the front of the Kilkenny Rangers jug, showing the name of the unit, its commanding officer, and a proud testament of how long the unit had been in existence (N.M.I.). While it is doubtful that this was the first Volunteer company in Ireland, the foundation of this corps occurred in 1770. However, this company were founded to act as a policing and local defence force.

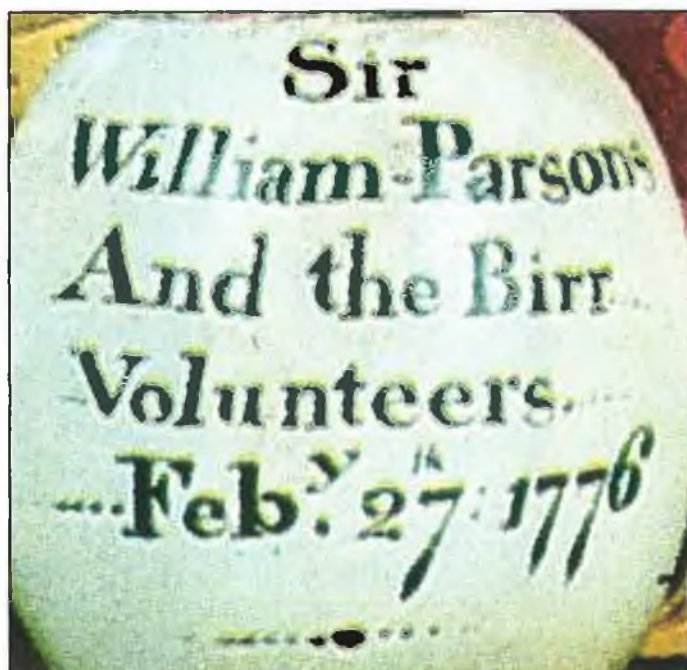


Plate 5.63. The name of the commanding officer, the date of foundation and the name of the company on a Wedgwood teapot (Birr Castle, County Offaly).

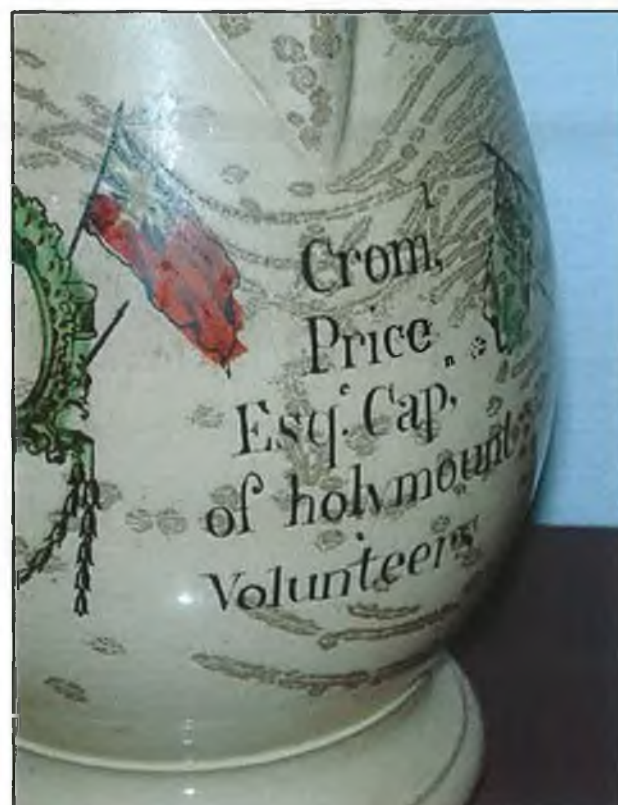


Plate 5.64. A jug probably produced at the Downshire pottery, c.1787, displaying the name of the unit and its commanding officer (Private collection).

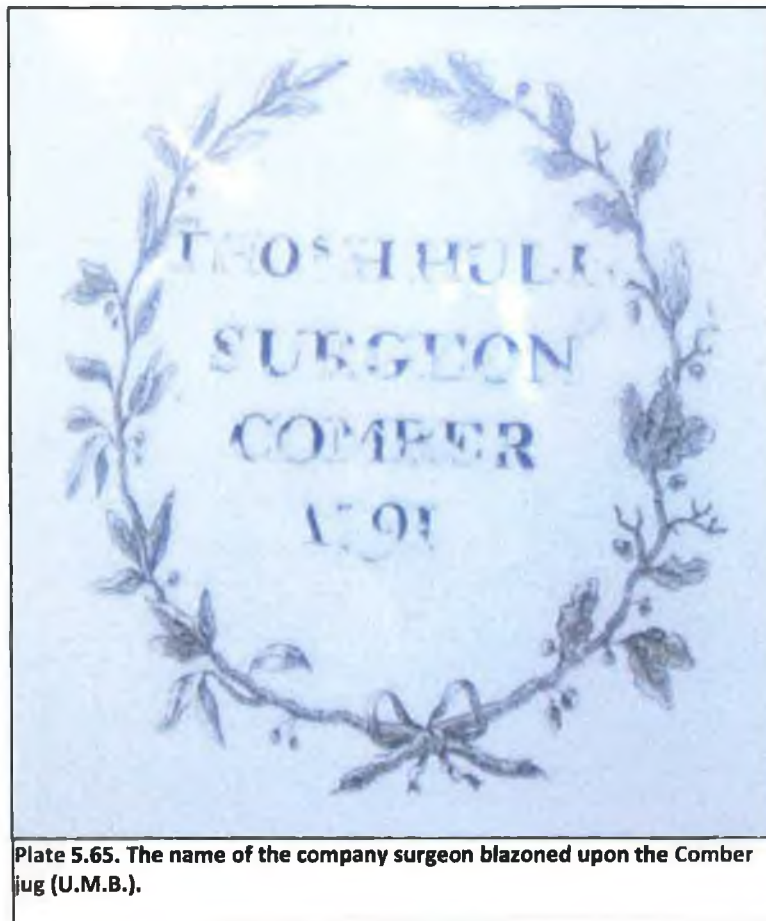


Plate 5.65. The name of the company surgeon blazoned upon the Comber jug (U.M.B.).

The Rev.<sup>d</sup> JOHN WRIGHT  
Chaplin to the Volunteer  
Company of DUNAGOR



Plate 5.66. A proud dedication to a Volunteer chaplain of Dunagor, County Down (U.M.B.).



Plate 5.67. A depiction of a member of the Kilkenny Rangers from the company jug (N.M.I.).



Plate 5.68. The reverse of the Kilkenny Rangers jug displaying a further depiction of a company member in uniform (N.M.I.).

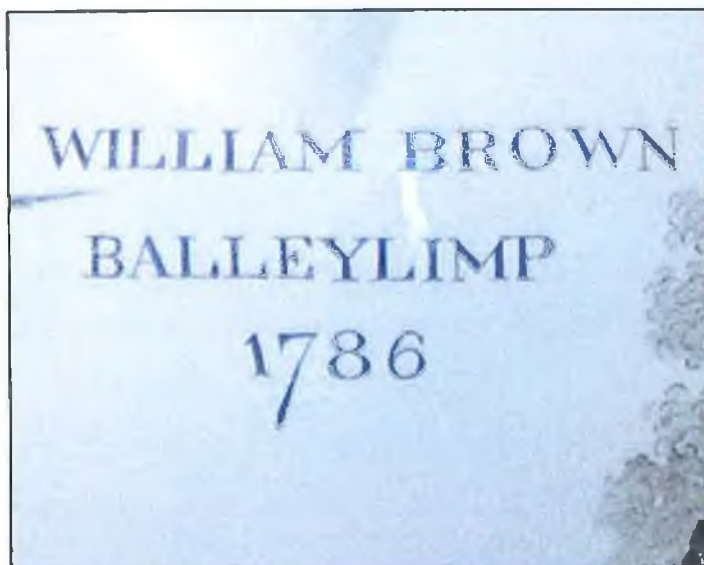


Plate 5.69. The year of production printed on a jug from Ballylomp, County Down (U.M.B.).

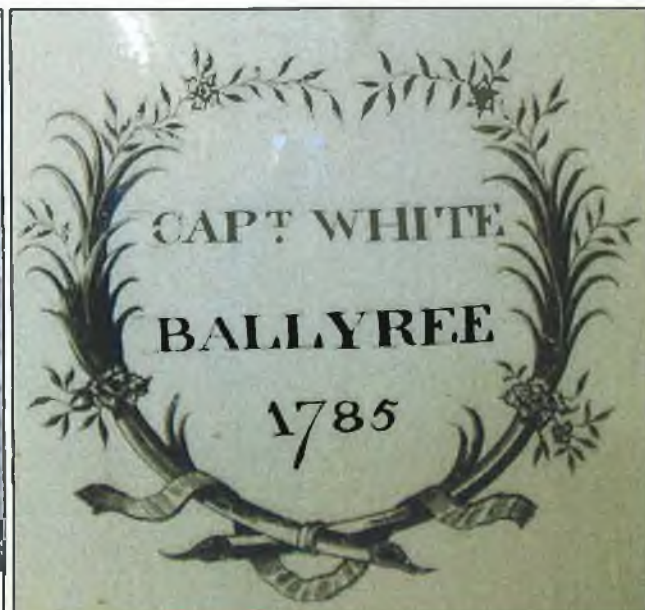


Plate 5.70. A jug from Ballyree clearly showing a further date of production (U.M.B.).



Plate 5.71. An accompanying piece to that in plate 5.63 of the Parsonstown Volunteers (Birr Castle, County Offaly).



Plate 5.72. The coat of arms and initials of James Leslie of Ballymoney (Ballymoney Museum, County Antrim).



Plate 5.73. The Wexford Volunteers jug bearing frontal decoration and the familiar Volunteer cavalrman (Buten Collection, Hempstead House, New York).

May they and their Commanders,  
 live a happy many Years;  
 Their Country's best Support,  
 The Bangor Volunteers,  
 Major Crawford

Plate 5.74. A unique piece of decoration from a jug dedicated to the Bangor Volunteers of County Down (U.M.B.).



Plate 5.75. A generic Volunteer slogan within a wreath from a jug (U.M.B.).





Plate 5.76. A generic composition wishing success to Ireland's Volunteer companies. This is the only known extant example of this design, but this composition may have been very common at this time (Ballymoney Museum, County Antrim). This example also provides two more examples of Volunteer poses taken directly from drill manuals. In this case, the Volunteer on the left is drawing a bayonet from its frog, while on the right the figure is in the act of returning the ramrod to its hollowed groove in the furniture of the musket.

Chapter six: Prints

(75 plates)



Plate 6.1. 'The death of General Wolfe', engraved by William Woollett, 1777 (British Museum). This painting was first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1771 and was an instant success. Consumers were eager to own a copy of a painting that became central to the mythology of the British empire, its ideals and the cult of British military heroes in the late eighteenth century. A detailed treatment of the image can be found in chapter five of this study.



Plate 6.2. 'George III', Allan Ramsay, 1762, oil on canvas (Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II).



**Plate 6.3. A print of the above plate 6.2 (British Museum). Such prints of heads of state, politicians and military leaders were very popular and sustainable products for print sellers and formed a significant part of the industry as a whole.**



Plate 6.4. 'The able doctor, or America swallowing the bitter draught', *London Magazine*, April 1774 (Winterthur Museum, Delaware).

**JOHN MAGEE**

At the Ready Money Wholesale and Retail Stationery  
 Map, and Print Warehouse, No. 11, College Green,

of **AKES** the Liberty of informing the Public, and the Mer-  
 chants, that they may at all Times be supplied with the  
 greatest Choice and Variety of well-seasoned, ready-made

**Account Books, of every Denomination;**  
 Consisting of London and Dutch Super, Royal, Royal, Medium,  
 and Petty, and Treasurer's

- |                |                         |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| Ledgers,       | Cash Books,             |
| Journals,      | Memorandum Books, &c.   |
| Day Books,     | Receipt Books,          |
| Invoice Books, | Labourers Books,        |
| Letter Books,  | Receipt Books for Rent, |
| Bill Books,    | Library Books,          |

They may be had in separate Books, to suit every Purpose  
 and Convenience, or in complete Sets, from Two to Twenty  
 Pounds. — The Account Books are finished and bound by Irish  
 Workmen, and will be found upon Inspection, equal to any in  
 this or any other Kingdom. — Also, a large, complete, and  
 most extensive Assortment of

**English, Dutch, and Irish Writing Papers,**  
 laid in upon the very best Terms from England, Holland, and  
 the principal Paper Mills in Ireland. The English Papers  
 were chosen upon the Spot, with the greatest Care and Discre-  
 tion, from the various Warehouses of the most capital Paper  
 Merchants in London, and will be found upon Inspection, to be  
 greatly superior to any Writing Papers ever imported into this  
 Kingdom. The Assortment of

**IRISH Writing Papers,**

is extensive, and consists of several hundred Reams; particu-  
 larly Demy, thick and thin Post, fine and common Propriety,  
 fine and common British Arms, &c. manufactured at the Mills  
 of the most esteemed Reputation, and will be sold by the Score  
 to the Wholesale Purchaser, on as low Terms as by any Paper-  
 Maker in the Kingdom. — Likewise, plain, pouring, and gilt

**Quarto, Letter Papers, viz.**

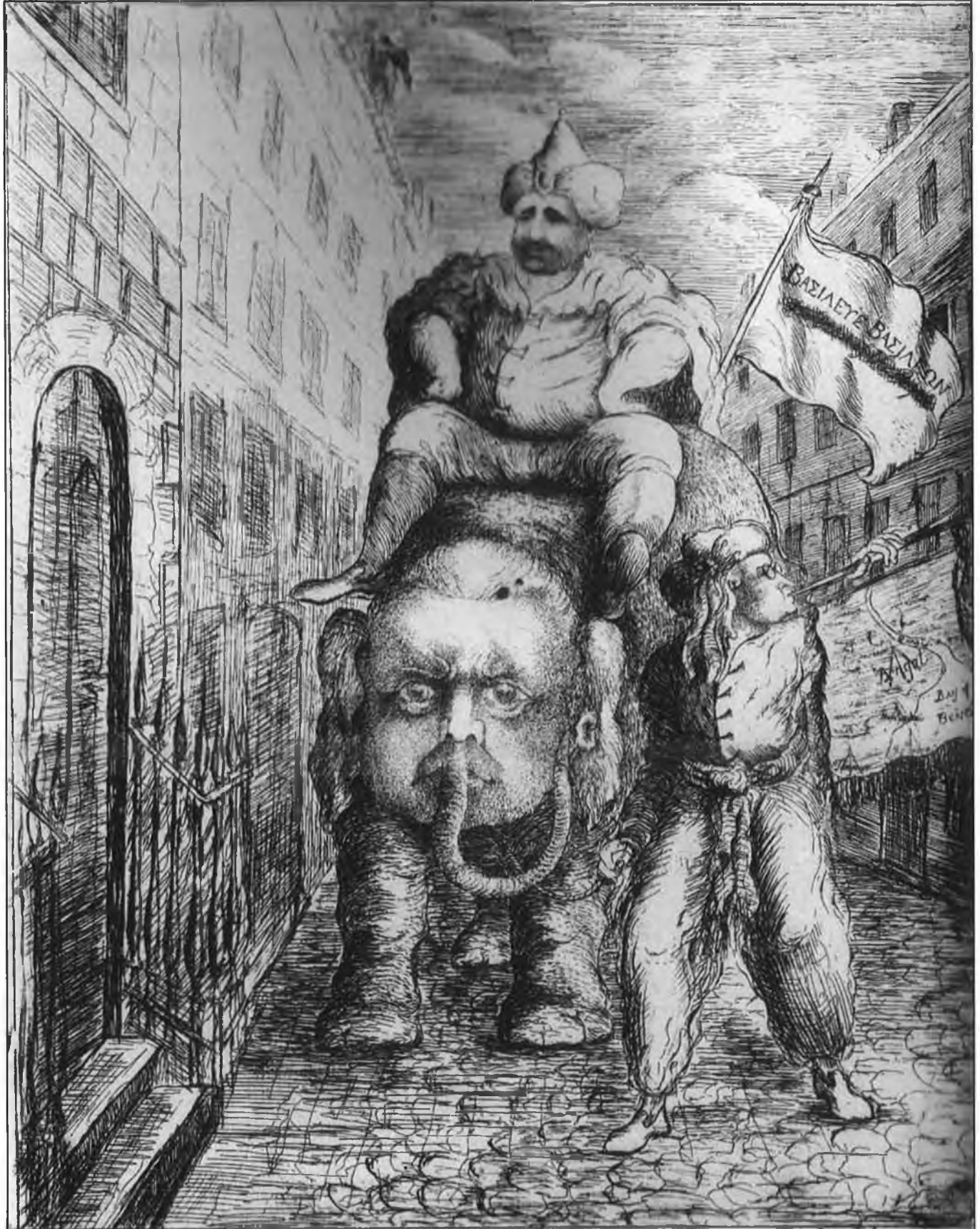
- |                                      |                              |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Irish, Dutch, and English thin Post, | Super fine London thick Post |
| English and Dutch thick Post,        | Parliament Paper,            |
| Irish and Dutch Demy,                | Lined Paper,                 |
| English Demy,                        | Baker's glazed Post          |
|                                      | Message Paper,               |
|                                      | Lined Ditto.                 |

Plate 6.5. Commercial listings for John Magee of College Green, Dublin Evening Post, 5 January 1779 (N.L.I.). In this advertisement a vast array of products were pitched to the public, including ledgers, account books, many different kinds of paper, writing utensils of all sorts, travelling cases, maps and prints.



Plate 6.6. 'A picturesque view of the state of the nation for February 1778', *Westminster Magazine*, February 1778 (BMC 5472).





*Carlo Khan's triumphant Entry into Leadenhall Street.*

Plate 6.7. 'Carlo Khan's triumphant entry into Leadenhall Street', published by Thomas Cornell, 1783 (Donald, *The age of caricature*, p.64).



Plate 6.8. 'Dumourier dining in state at St. James's on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May 1793', James Gillray, published by H. Humphrey, 1793 (Donald, *The age of caricature*, p.167). Fox was typically caricatured with a jowly face, heavy stubble and during the revolution in France, with a cap of liberty and a tricolour cockade. Here he serves the head of his political rival, William Pitt the younger, to a famished General Dumourier.

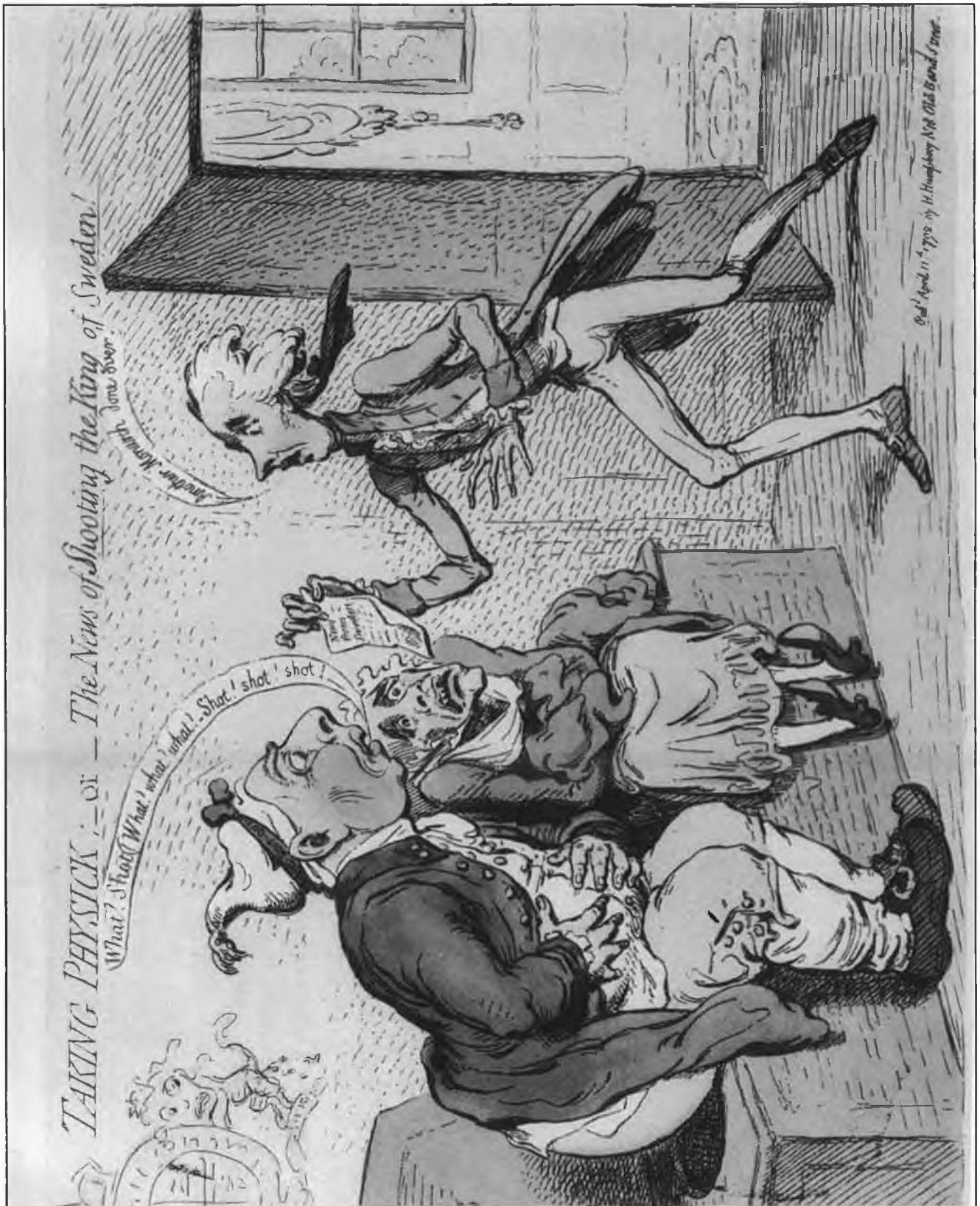


Plate 6.9. 'Taking physick; or the news of shooting the king of Sweden', published by H. Humphrey, 1792 (Donald, *The age of caricature*, p.146). Pitt's appearance was frequently ridiculed in visual satire. He was usually depicted with a tall spindly physical appearance, complemented by a cold and haughty manner. Here, he brings news of the assassination of the king of Sweden to George II and Queen Charlotte. Even the king was occasionally the subject of humorous caricaturing for the amusement of the populace.



Plate 6.10. A detail from 'The thistle reel', *London Magazine*, March 1775 (British Museum, BMC 5285).



Plate 6.11. A detail from 'The colossus of the North, or the striding Boreas', *London Magazine*, November 1774 (Wynn-Jones, *Cartoon history*, p.55).



Plate 6.12. 'The parricide, a sketch of modern patriotism', *Westminster magazine*, April 1776 (British Museum, BMC 5334). Charles James Fox is the figure fifth from the right. His father, first Lord Holland had also been represented in such a manner in visual satire.

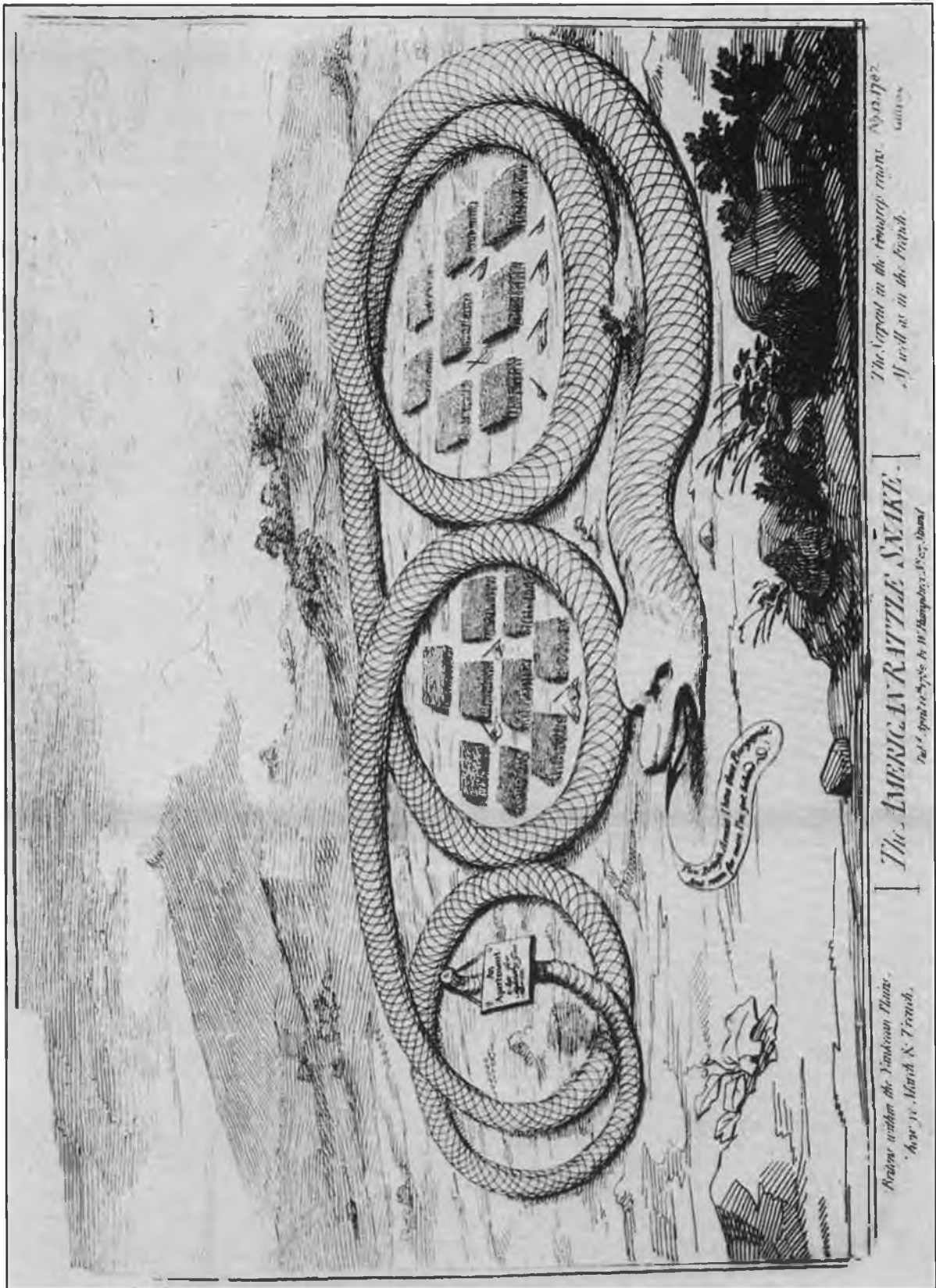


Plate 6.13. 'John Bull triumphant', James Gillray, 4 January 1780 (British Museum, BMC 5624).



Plate 6.14. Detail from an untitled print, *London magazine*, August 1778 (British Museum, BMC 5486).





*The serpent in the treasury ruins. Nov. 1782.*  
*It will sit in the trap.*

**The AMERICAN RATTLE SNAKE.**  
*And I speak to you in W. Hamilton's No. 1782.*

*And you within the Indian's Throat.*  
*Nov. 17. March 8. 1782.*

Plate 6.15. 'The American rattle snake', James Gillray, 12 April 1782 (British Museum, BMC 5973).

## FRONTISPIECE

Lon. Mag. 1775



*When fell Debate & civil Wars shall cease,  
 Commerce shall spread her Sails o'er all the Seas.  
 ENGLAND unrivall'd in the liberal Arts,  
 Shall bear her Geniuses to remotest Parts.  
 Take to thy Breast, AMERICA again,  
 Thou mayst defy ambitious FRANCE & SPAIN.*

**Plate 6.16.** Frontispiece of the *London Magazine*, January 1775 (British Museum, BMC 5283). Shortly before the outbreak of conflict in the colonies, this print still optimistically predicted a peaceful reunion between America and Britain.



**Plate 6.17. 'What is this my son Tom?', 1774 (Library of Congress, Washington). A farmer's son returns from abroad sporting the latest macaroni fashions. There was a significant market for such social satire in the print industry. One of the main artists and printsellers in this field was Matthew Darly of London.**



Plate 6.18. 'Destaing showing how he cut the Englishmens heads off', 24 February 1780 (British Museum).



Plate 6.19. A detail from 'Proclamation of peace', 21 October 1783 (British Museum, BMC 6267).



Plate 6.20. A detail from 'The reconciliation between Britannia and her daughter America', May 1782 (British Museum, BMC 5989).



Plate 6.21. A detail from 'Proclamation of peace', 21 October 1783 (British Museum, BMC 6267).



Plate 6.22. A detail from 'The reconciliation between Britannia and her daughter America', May 1782 (British Museum, BMC 5989).



*John Wilkes Esq.<sup>r</sup>*  
*Drawn from the life and Etch'd in Aquafortis by Will.<sup>m</sup> Hogarth.*  
*Printed according to the Act of Parliament, May 4 1765.*  
Printed by L. Saillors.

Plate 6.23. 'John Wilkes Esqr.', William Hogarth, 16 May 1763 (British Museum, BMC 4050).



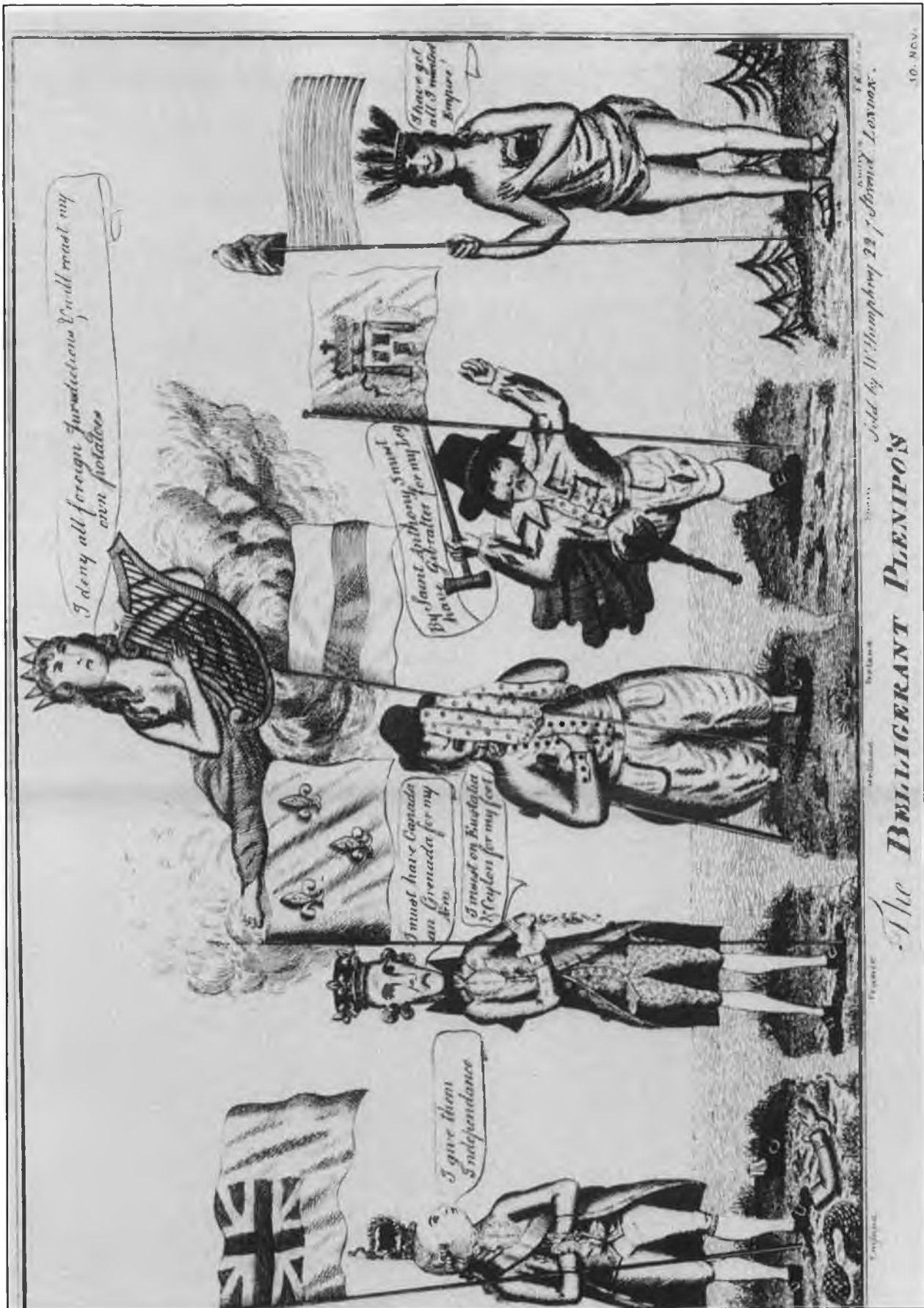


Plate 6.24. 'The belligerent plenipo's', 30 November 1782 (British Museum, BMC 6051). Each of the continental powers begs George III for parts of their empire back, but Hibernia is pleased saying 'I deny all foreign jurisdictions and will roast my own potatoes'.





Plate 6.26. 'Irish na gebraugh', Owen Rowe Oneil (pseudonym), 21 December 1779 (British Museum, BMC 5572).



Plate 6.27. 'Paddy on horse-back', published by W. Humphrey, 4 March 1779 (British Museum, BMC 5605). This print adds two further swipes at Paddy in its details, a sack of potatoes and a list of heiresses in London. Stereotypically, Irishmen were notorious legacy hunters, eager to seduce wealthy heiresses for monetary gain.



Plate 6.28. 'The retreat, from Concord to Lexington of the army of wild Irish asses defeated by the brave American militia' (Michael Wynn-Jones, *A cartoon history of the American Revolution*, pp 68-69).



Plate 6.29. 'Cinccinatus in retirement falsely supposed to represent Jesuit Pad' driven back to his native potatoes', James Gillray, 1782 (Donald, *The age of caricature*, p.61). Being a very prominent opposition politician, Burke was frequently sent up in caricatures. He usually had spindly physical stature and squinting sight, coupled with frequent reference to his Irish roots.



Plate 6.30. A mid-nineteenth century view of Henry Grattan (Richard Robert Madden, *The United Irishmen, their lives and times* (London, 1843).

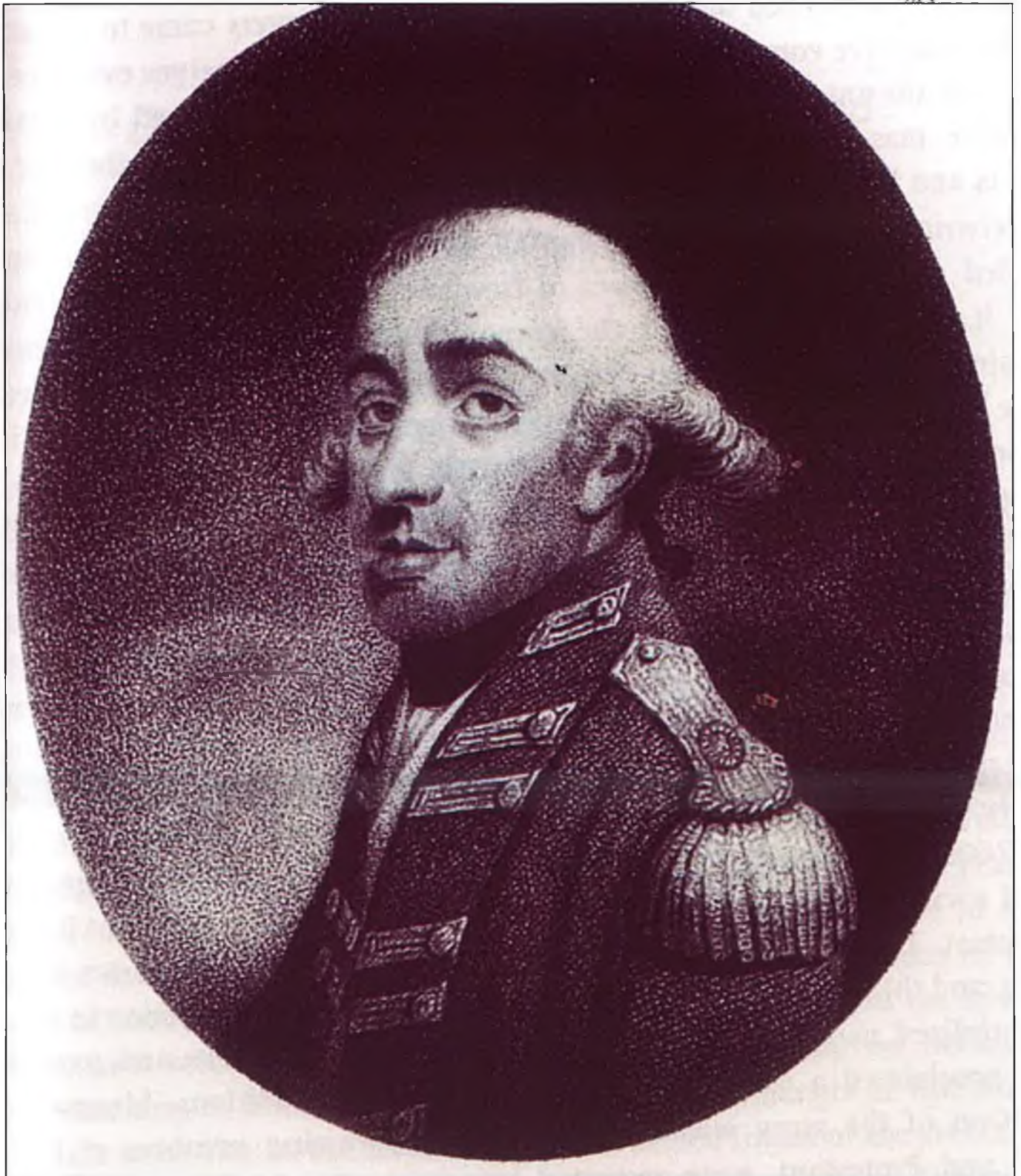


Plate 6.31. 'Colonel Thomas Conolly of the Londonderry Militia', 1796 (N.G.I.).



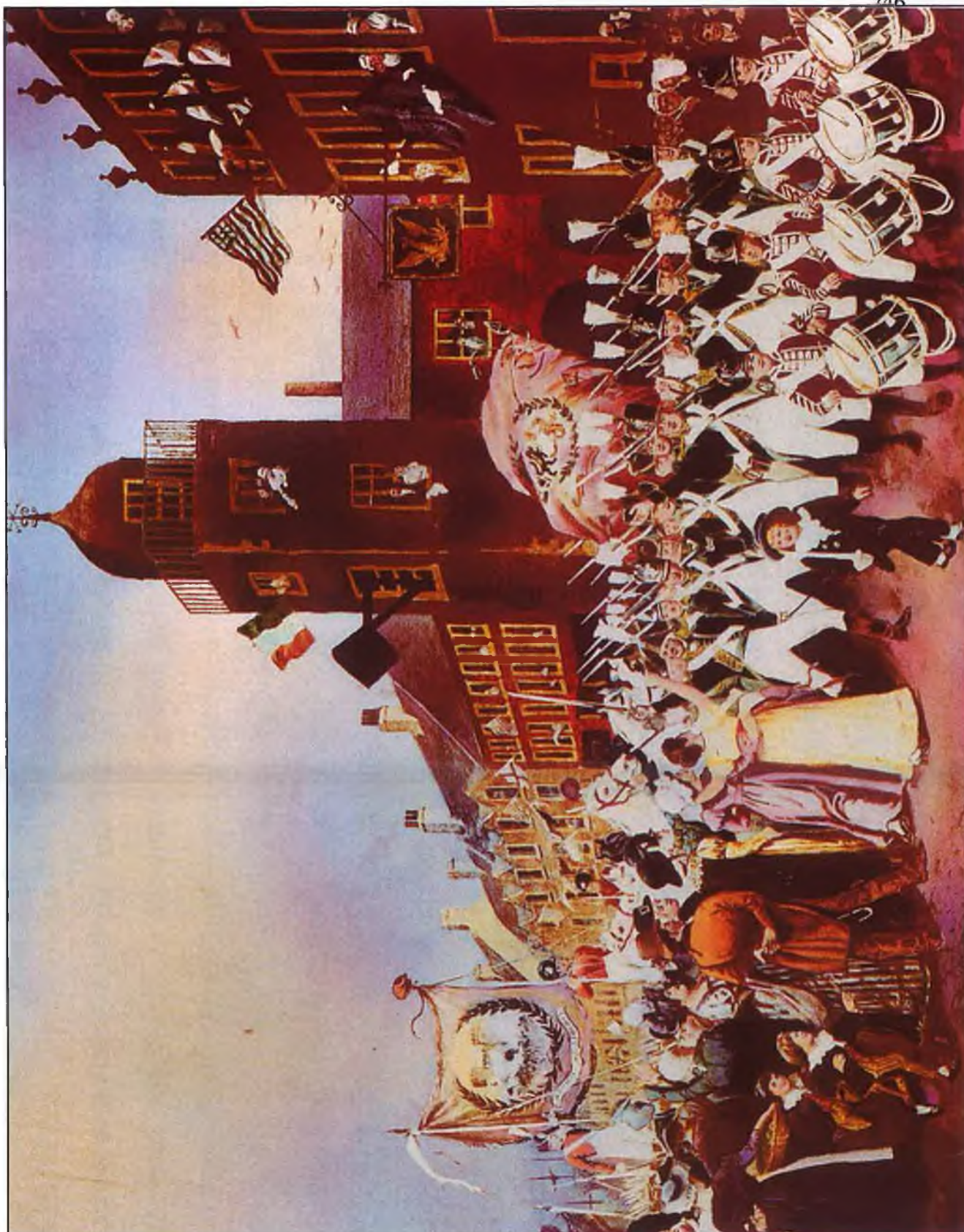


Plate 6.32. 'Volunteer demonstration in the old High Street of Belfast, 1793, in honour of the destruction of the Bastille', John Carey, 1907 (N.L.I.). Many details of this composition stand out as inaccurate. The uniforms of the Volunteers are reminiscent of British uniforms of the early nineteenth century, as are the clothes of the spectators. The Irish tricolour also stands out as a particularly glaring inaccuracy.



Plate 6.33. 'The Lisburn and Lambeg Volunteers firing a feu de joie in the market square at Lisburn, in honour of the convention of 1782', John Carey, 1943 (N.L.I.).



Plate 6.34. 'Henry Grattan, Esq' (C.H. Wilson, *A compleat collection of the resolutions of the Volunteers, Grand Juries, &c. of Ireland, which followed the celebrated resolves of the first Dungannon diet, to which is prefixed, a train of historical facts relative to the kingdom, from the invasion of Henry II down, with the history of volunteering &c.* (Dublin, 1782, printed by Joseph Hill).



Plate 6.35. 'AMYAS GRIFFITH, Esqr.', Joseph Wilson, 1785 (Amyas Griffith, *Miscellaneous Tracts* (Dublin, 1788)).



**JAMES NAPPER TANDY Esq.**  
*Captain of the Liberty Artillery &c. &c.*

Plate 6.36. 'James Napper Tandy Esqr. Captain of the Liberty Artillery &c. &c.', unknown artist, 1780-1781 (N.L.I., NGIP 10,648).



Plate 6.37. George Washington. Many prints of America's most famous soldier were produced in this era, but the artist of plate 6.36 most obviously drew on this particular piece as his inspiration (Kevin Whelan, *Fellowship of freedom, the United Irishmen and 1798* (Cork University Press, 1998), p.6).



Plate 6.38. 'An engraving of General Richard Montgomery from an original drawing of Enoch Stapleton, Philadelphia', *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*, August 1777.



Plate 6.39. 'Henry Grattan', Francis Wheatley, 1780, oil on canvas (National Portrait Gallery, London).



Plate 6.40. 'Henry Grattan', engraved by Valentine Green, September 1782 (N.G.I.).





Plate 6.41. 'James Caulfeild, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Charlemont, art patron, Commander-in-chief of the Irish Volunteers', unknown artist, c.1780 (N.G.I.).



Plate 6.42. 'Earl of Charlemont', after Horace Hone, engraved by Thomas Nugent, 1 February 1790 (N.L.I.).



Plate 6.43. The printed version of Wheatley's College Green painting that appeared in 1784 (N.G.I.).

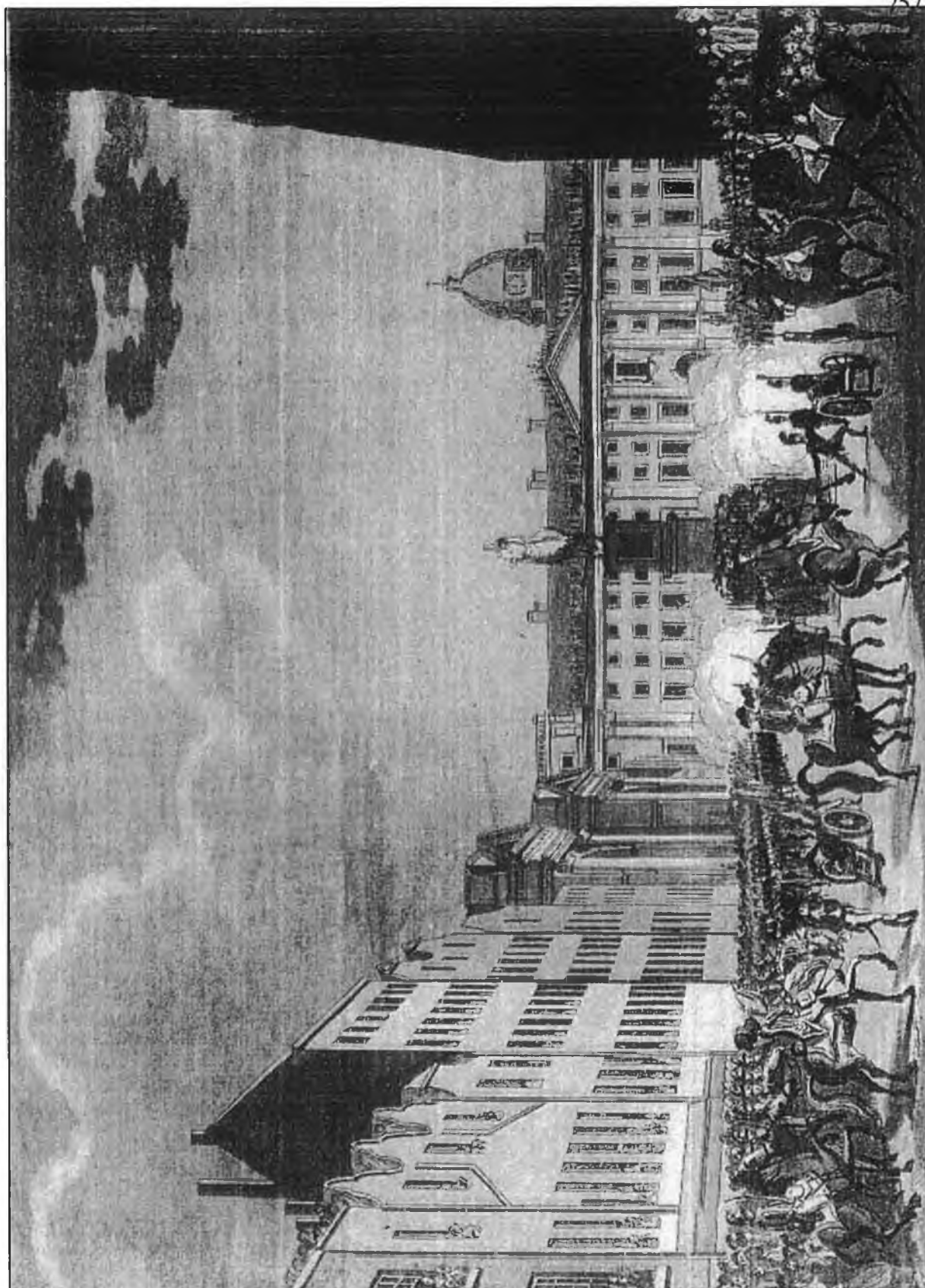


Plate 6.44., 'The Dublin Volunteers on College Green, 4<sup>th</sup> November, commemorating the birthday of King William III', unknown artist, London, 6 December 1784 (N.G.I., NGIP 11,626).



Plate 6.45. 'Leinster House Lawn, Dublin with a military parade', John James Barralet (1747-1815), published by Thomas Milton (1743-1827), early 1780s (N.G.I., NGIP 11,615).



Plate 6.46. 'An elegant figure of an Irish Volunteer', *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*, February 1781 (N.L.I.).



Plate 6.47. A Volunteer from the cover of *Magee's miniature almanac* taken from *The Lady of the House*, Christmas 1907.



Plate 6.48. A Volunteer from the cover of *Magee's miniature almanac* taken from *The Lady of the House*, Christmas 1907.





**Plate 6.49.** The first Volunteer from the Volunteer binding (*De Burca rare books catalogue*, no.79 (Winter, 2006), p.48).



**Plate 6.50.** The second Volunteer from the Volunteer binding (*De Burca rare books catalogue*, no.79 (Winter, 2006), p.48).



Plate 6.51. An Irish state lottery ticket printed by John Magee, 1787 (N.G.I., NGIP 11,613).

BETHNAL-GREEN COMPANY OF IRISH IMPRESST VOLUNTEERS



I  
See in de Face our Great Redoubt, just  
All of de peace, and Bismarck.  
Whose sleep the pill on, or He about just  
II  
De best and honest, or He about  
N' was found by just for the death  
The reason just, de Wood, Copman's

III  
What he der Linn, or Cardinal's Gannet,  
Dat better and de worth of Warrner,  
Ee sing de Song, and his machine in E  
IV  
Hue dare der Sock, Advance de just,  
De Man of Georgey - Linnan frate,  
Dat just de Whinn, by de train

V  
Behold de Man of Wain, from de  
How much He only appear, He Wain  
His art of Mangin, He's a Dull  
VI  
Observe de Sock, Great Man before  
Tisart Cobler and de Black o' mine,  
Dat was de Cabrel, or Legg, before, Deat

VII  
A not dare's de Linn, or Ughet, Son  
Whel Bismarck, but been been to see  
Nou dare! He's a Vain, in Charge de Gun, De  
VIII  
Who be dare, der Linn, Ireland's  
E be de Linn, de Shere, de Bard's  
When Linn, BOMBS, He cannot but, Deat

Plate 6.52. 'Bethnal-green company of Irish impressment Volunteers', designed by Richard Simpson, engraved by Robert Wilson, late 1770s (British Museum, London).

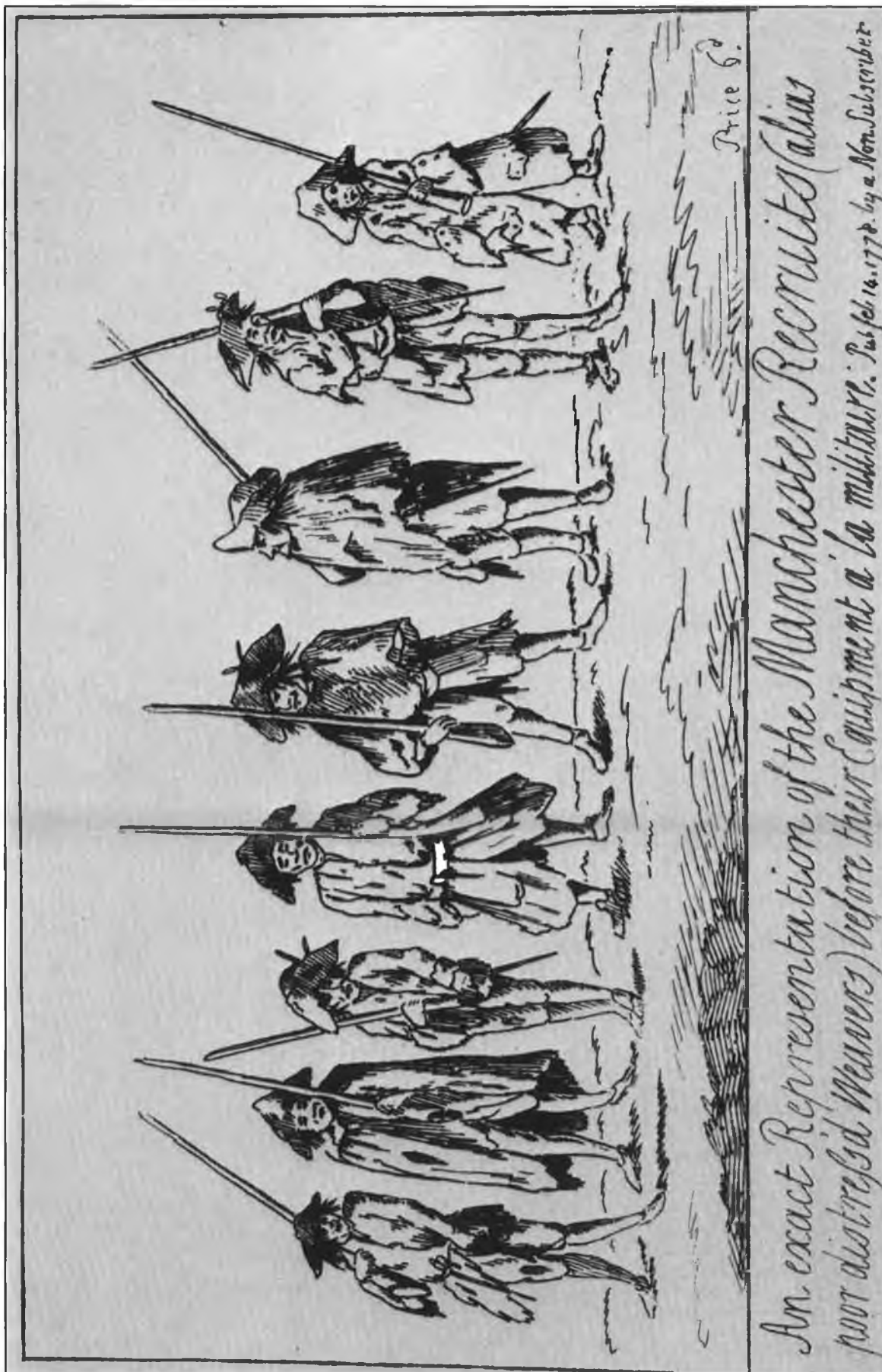


Plate 6.53. 'An exact representation of the Manchester recruits (alias poor distress'd weavers) before their equipment a la militaire', 14 February 1778 (British Museum, BMC 5471).



*R. Dighton delin.*

He wou'd be a Soldier, &c.

*London, Printed for J. Smith, N<sup>o</sup> 35, Cheapside, and B. Sayer and J. Bennett, J<sup>rs</sup>, 53, Fleet-Street, as the Act directs, August 1<sup>st</sup> 1780.*

Plate 6.54. 'He wou'd be a soldier, &c.', R. Dighton, 1 August 1780 (British Museum, BMC 5783).



A VISIT' to the CAMP

Plate 6.55. 'A visit to the camp', Henry Bunbury, late 1770s, (British Museum, BMC 5620).



Pr. 6.

## THE RECRUITING CUCKOLD. a Song.

Since the Foes of Old England so Saucy appear,  
And the Land is in danger from Spain & Monsieur,  
For each Subject to Arm, in the Nations defence,  
Is the Language of Reason, the Language of Sense,  
Like bold Volunteers, let each Cuckold attend,  
For Cuckolds we know— have their Horns to defend!

Come Cuckolds, Come! Come!

At the sound of the Drum!

These boasting Invaders, we soon will drive Home.

2.

With Caps, Hats, or Feathers, delightfully Fine,  
The Troops ready rais'd, may amazingly shine,  
But a Regiment of Cuckolds, if once they appear,  
Their Antlers high Branching, our Foes soon would scare,  
So far in their Ranks, & so wide, they'd expand,  
And the best in the Nation, might have the Command.

Come &c. &c.

Great Caesar they say, was a Cuckold of Old,  
And Pompey the same, as the Story is told,  
They conquer'd each Foe, which they still hold in Scorn,  
And the Laurel of Victory, twinn'd round each Horn,  
From such great Examples, ye Cuckolds arise,  
For Cuckoldom no one, can surely despise.

Come &c. &c.

4.

Ye Free Hearted Ladies, assist now our Wars,  
Send your Cuckolds abroad, with the looks of stern Mars,  
Let their Tips be well Gilt, & our Foes they will say,  
"Here's the Death-dealing Cuckolds, so let's run away."  
The Land shall be sav'd by the Cornutes alone!  
For in England, there's surely enough, we must own,

Come &c. &c.

Printed Feb: 4<sup>th</sup> 1780 by W. Humphrey N<sup>o</sup>. 27 Strand.



**CAPT JESSAMY** learning the **PROPER DISCIPLINE** of the **GOUCH**.

471

*Printed and Sold by CARRINGTON BOWLES at his Map & Print Warehouse, N°69 in Old Bailey Street, LONDON. Published as the Act directs.*

Plate 6.57. 'Capt. Jessamy learning the proper discipline of the couch', printed for Carrington Bowles, London, early 1780s (British Museum, BMC 6156).





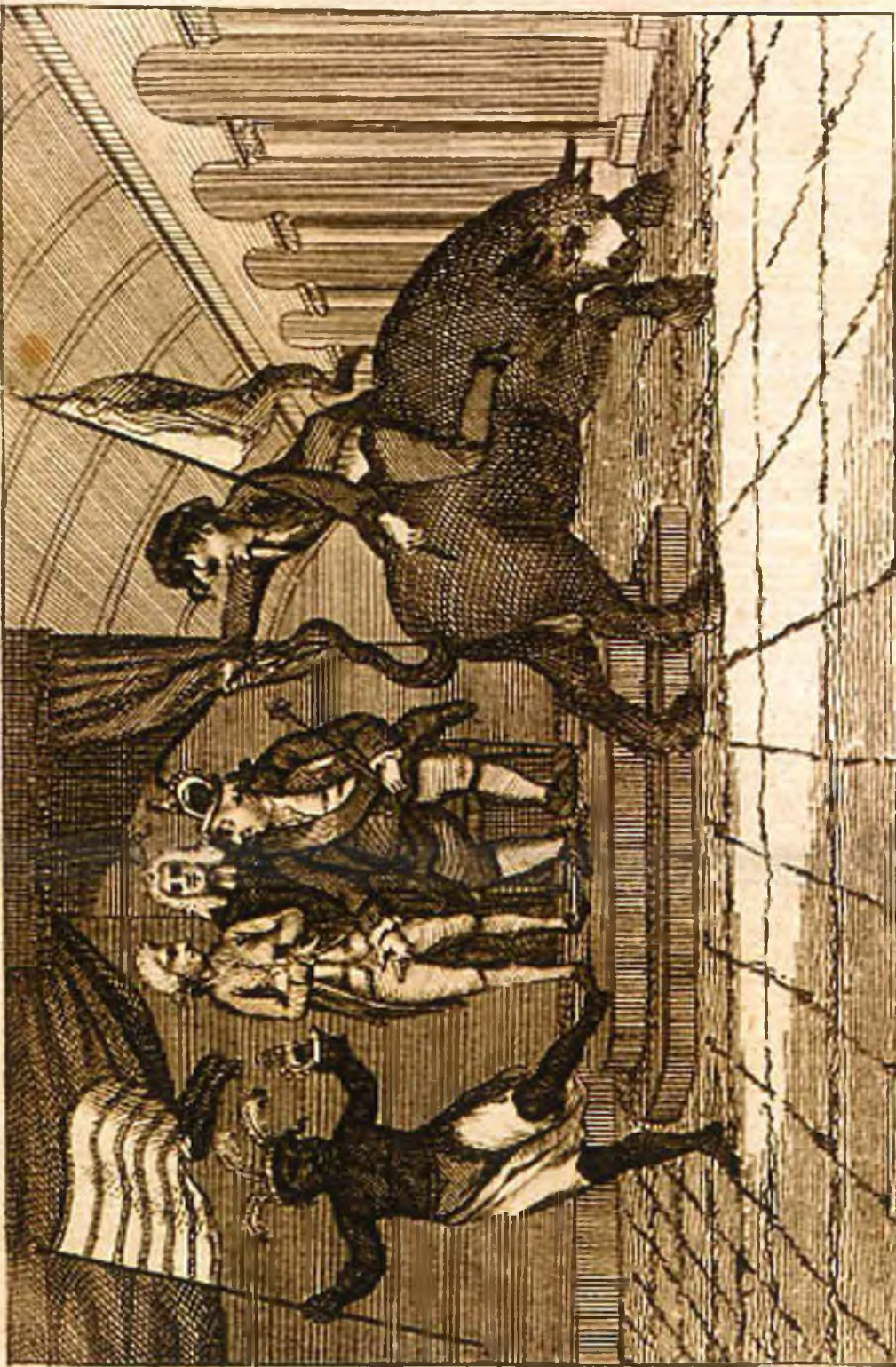
PREROGATIVES DEFEAT or LIBERTIES TRIUMPH

20 April 1780.

Published April 21<sup>st</sup> 1780 by D. Barclay of Glasgow.

Plate 6.58. 'Prerogatives defeat or liberties triumph', 20 April 1780 (British Museum, BMC 5659).

Rempl. Aug. March 1785.



*The Hibernian Attempt.*

Printed by G. G. & Co. in

America

Plate 6.59. 'The Hibernian attempt', March 1785 (British Museum, BMC 6787).



Plate 6.60. 'Argus', 13 March 1780 (British Museum, BMC 5667).



Plate 6.61. 'An Irish Volunteer taking Liberty under his protection', hand-coloured mezzotint by Jean Delatre after a drawing by Stothard, published by Thomas Macklin in London, 1786 (N.G.I.).



ap. 1782

THE RESCUE

Plate 6.62. 'The rescue', April 1782 (British Museum, BMC 6002).

# SAINT PATRICK FOR IRELAND.



Plate 6.63. 'Saint Patrick for Ireland', printed for Carrington Bowles, London, 1 January 1781 (British Museum, BMC 5945).



The IRISH PATRIOTS.

G — — N.

SIR, your Talents are not so great as your Life is infamous. — You might be seen hovering about the Dome, like an ill-omened Bird of Night, with sepulchral Notes, a cadaverous Aspect, and broken Beak, ready to stoop and pounce upon your Prey. — The People cannot trust you; the Ministry cannot trust you: You deal with the most impartial Treachery to both. — I therefore tell you, in the Face of your Country, before all the World; — nay, to your Beard, you are not an honest Man!

F — — D.

I HAVE heard a very extraordinary Harangue indeed; and I challenge any Man to say that any Thing, half so unwarrantable, was ever uttered in this House. — “The Right Honourable Gentleman set out with declaring, he did not wish to use Perfor-  
“ nality; and no sooner has he opened his Mouth, than forth-  
“ issues all the Venom that Ingenuity and disappointed Vanity,  
“ for Two Years brooding over Corruption, have produced; BUT  
“ IT CANNOT TAINT MY PUBLIC CHARACTER!” —  
As for me, I took as great a Part with the first Office of the State at my Back, as ever the Right Honourable Gentleman did, with Mendicency behind him.

*The Church Militant.*



*I am going to* **BRISTOL.**  
Dec 1779

*Heigh!* **DERRY Ho!**  
1780

Plate 6.65. 'The church militant', December 1779 (British Museum, BMC 6610).





*Spectatum admisi, risum teneatis, amici?*

Plate 6.66. 'Spectatum admisi, risum teneatis, amici?', late 1770s (British Museum, BMC 5343).



Plate 6.67. 'The church militant', James Gillray, 5 September 1779 (British Museum, BMC 5553).



*Sister, how treated by you may learn to rue,  
 As sure, you may yourself with me undo.*

*Bless the little Innocents!*

*Pray'd ye precious Suppl' ye judicious good!  
 We're not used that poor Ireland must wear cloths and food!  
 Now, land that Britains ruin'd with as fair a face,  
 To get shandlers out and your dear slaves in place.*

PRO-TECTING DUTIES

EQUAL PARTICIPATION

21 MAR 1784. H.C.

# HIBERNIA

## IN THE CHARACTER OF CHARITY.

*These sweet Slaves by Britania quite cast out,  
 At length have found a Parent brave and stout.* | *They'll, good children prove, she a fond mother  
 Because hence they may spite each other.*

Plate 6.68. 'Hibernia in the character of charity', 21 March 1784 (British Museum, BMC 6785).



*The Right Rev Volunteer*  
*B<sup>p</sup> of D---y*

*Published as the Act directs Aug<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1784 and sold by R. Payne N<sup>o</sup> 37 Broad Street Gold<sup>n</sup> Square*

Plate 6.69. 'The right Rev. Volunteer Bp. Of D---y', printed and sold by R. Payne of Broad Street, London, 30 August 1784 (British Museum, BMC 6653).



*The Right Rev. Volunteer*  
*B. of D---*

*Published as the Act directs Aug<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1784*



*Of base Ingratitude possess,  
 With rank Rebellion in his Breast  
 Tho' rich yet poor tho' proud yet mean,  
 Tho' rebel ev'rworst Larron, Uauleann*

*With such Hypocrisy of Heart,  
 As makes astonish'd Virtue start,  
 When such a Soul the Devil shall fish up,  
 Depend upon't his D — — — — — B — — — — —*

*Published as the Act directs Nov 5. 74*

Plate 6.71. A further copy of the Derry prints above, 5 November 1784 (British Museum, BMC 6662).



Plate 6.72. 'Paddy's resource', Dublin, 1780 (N.L.I.).



*Inish na Gebraugh.*

*Owen Roe Oneele sculp.*

*21 Dec. 1779*

*Published as the Act stands Dec 21 1779 by Owen Roe Oneele.*

Plate 6.73. 'Inish na gebraugh', by Owen Roe Oneele (pseudonym), London, 21 December 1779 (British Museum, BMC 5572).





*Capt. Paul Jones,*

*From an Original Drawing taken from the Life on board the*

*Swallow, Oct. 1779 by Geo. Kneller & Co. Delin. Sculp.*

Plate 6.74. 'Capt. Paul Jones, from an original drawing taken from the life on board the ----', October 1779 (British Museum, BMC 5559).

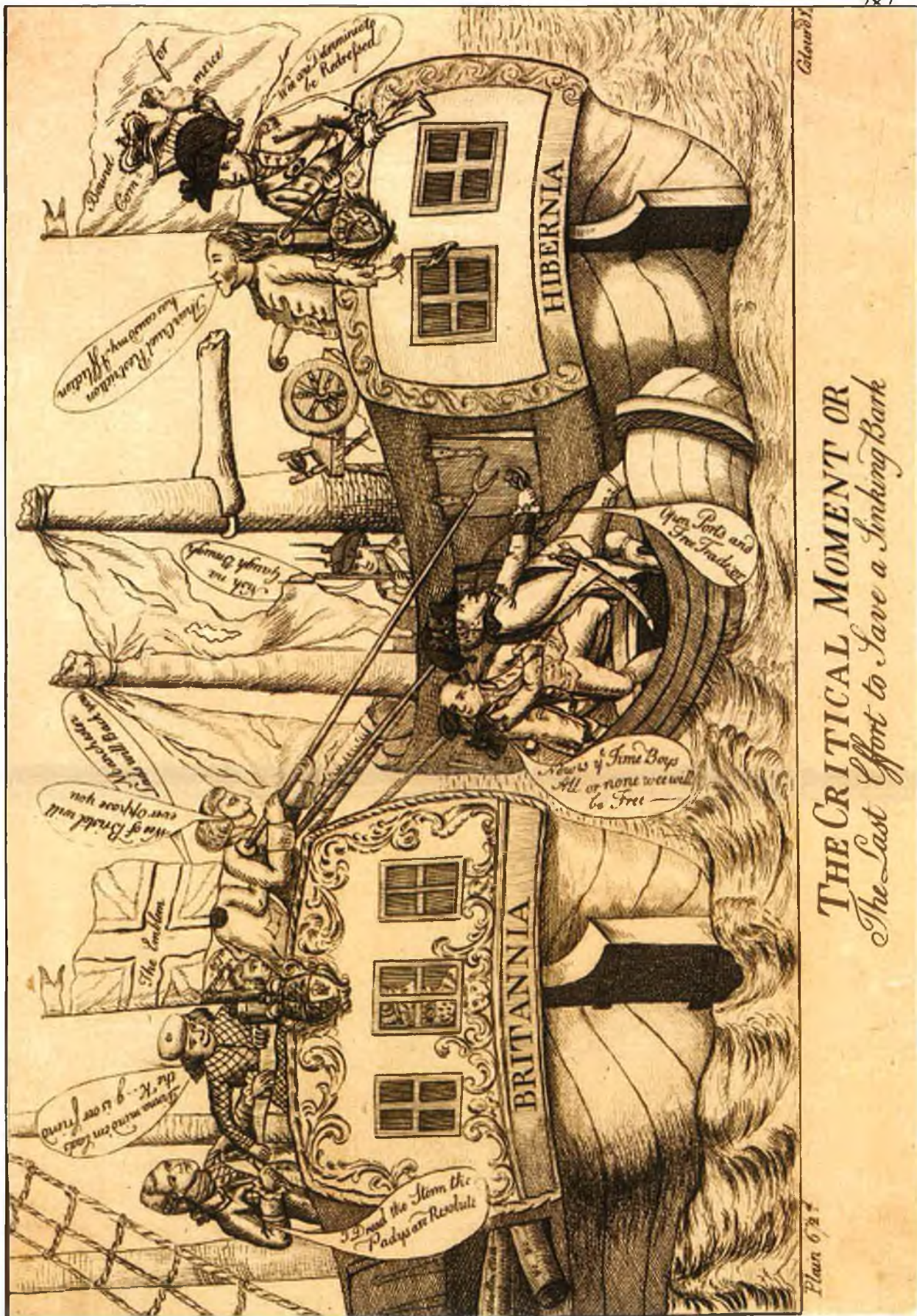


Plate 6.75. 'The critical moment or the last effort to Save a Sinking Bark', early 1780s (British Museum, BMC 6806).