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Portrait of a Cork Family: The Two James Barrys

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In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one family in Cork produced two remarkable figures who bore the same name. The first James Barry was a celebrated artist, while the second rose to become Inspector-General in the British Army. The artist was born in Cork on 11 October 1741 and died in London on 22 February 1806. His career coincided with the opening decades of the Royal Academy of Arts, and he played a significant, though controversial, role in the formation of a distinguished British school of history painters. The career of the Inspector-General belongs to a later generation and in its own way was no less controversial. This James Barry, who died in London on 25 July 1865, was in fact a woman. In order to receive a medical degree and serve in the British Army, she was forced to masquerade as a man for her entire adult life. Obviously it was imperative for her to obscure her origins, which until now have posed a tantalizing mystery. Dr. Barry, however, never concealed the fact that she was related to the painter; even her choice of a name affirmed this bond. Two albums of family papers now in the Lewis Walpole Library in Farmington, Connecticut,[1] demonstrate that she was the artist's niece Margaret Bulkley.[2] These albums not only provide insights into her early life and that of her mother but also into the fortunes of the entire family, and in order to place her and her uncle's careers in proper perspective, this larger history becomes of critical importance. The story properly begins with the artist, the family's one indisputable genius.

James Barry was the eldest child of John Barry and Juliana Reardon.[3] He was born in a modest house (Fig. 1) in Water Lane (now Seminary Road) in Blackpool, a suburb of Cork which had recently been built on the city's northern boundary.[4] The artist's biographer Dr. Edward Fryer described John as a builder, although a less sympathetic writer chose a different wording: 'his father was a bricklayer in Cork; and the [future] professor of painting [to the Royal Academy] was wont to carry the hod'.[5] There is also evidence that John was a publican keeping a tavern in Henry Street, Hamon's-marsh, but his final occupation was as a coasting trader between Ireland and England. The family eventually grew to include three brothers, Patrick, Redmond and John, and one sister, Mary Ann.[6]

Fig. 1: Wood-engraving after a sketch by Crofton Croker, *Barry's House in Water Lane* (marked by the two women at the door). From Mr. and Mrs. S.C. Hall's *Ireland* (London, 1841), I, p. 20.

While Fryer described John Barry as a

Protestant, presumably his faith was more a matter of convenience than conviction, for the children were raised as Roman Catholics by their mother. The artist's statement about his parents that they were 'violent in a tenderness and affection for their children'[7] suggests they were extremely solicitous for their welfare, and the evidence of the letters in the family papers reveals that all of them had at least a rudimentary education. Yet, if the children's later conduct is indicative, their home enivronment was not as tender as the artist would allow.

Although John Barry wanted his eldest son to follow him in his profession as a seaman, James stubbornly held to his desire, formed early in life, of becoming an artist. Cork offered few resources, but he was able to study with John Butts, a gifted landscape painter, and it was also in Cork that he first experimented with etching, a medium he was later to pursue with distinction. The young artist was credited with having executed signboards for his father's public house and 'for an Imperial Hotel among the pot-houses of that day',[8] but his ambition was always to excel in history painting, which, according to traditional academic doctrine, was art's highest category. Fryer lists several high-minded subjects that the young man attempted: *Abraham's Sacrifice, Susanna and the Elders, Daniel in the Lion's Den, A Dead Christ,* and *Aeneas escaping with his Family from the Flames of Troy.* Then in 1763 at the age of twenty-two, he left for Dublin, where he exhibited his painting *The Baptism of the King of Cashel by St. Patrick* at the Dublin Sociey for the Encouragment of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Unfortunately, this last painting, which is now on loan from Terenure College to the National Gallery of Ireland, is the only one of his pictures executed in Cork whose present whereabouts is known.[9]

In Dublin, Barry attracted the support of Edmund Burke, who arranged for him in the spring of 1764 to begin working under James 'Athenian' Stuart in London. From October 1765 until spring 1771, he studied on the Continent, first in Paris and then in Rome, under the sponsorship of Edmund and his kinsman William Burke. On his return to London, he was well received, being elected an associate member of the Royal Academy on 2 November 1772 and a full academician on 9 February of the following year, and from 1782 until his expulsion in 1799 he served as the Academy's professor of painting. In the years immediately following his return to London, he exhibited a total of fifteen works at the Academy, and from 1777 until 1784 he painted his six large murals at the [Royal] Society of Arts, which today form one of the greatest historical cycles in Great Britain. Discouraged by the indifference of the public to his masterwork, the remaining years were not so fruitful; he was to complete only four additional history paintings, among which was *The Birth of Pandora*, his largest and most ambitious canvas outside of the Society of Arts series.

Barry suffered from persecution mania, the documentation for which begins as early as his stay in Rome in the late 1760s, and throughout the remainder of his life one can trace his misanthropic withdrawal from his colleagues and friends. For example, soon after his return from the Continent he alienated Burke and later quarrelled publicly with Sir Joshua Reynolds, who had also befriended him. His later attacks on other fellow-academicians made in his lectures and publications proved so extreme that they eventually led to his expulsion from the Academy. The poet Robert Southey has left a poignant description of the artist's condition around the year 1802:

> I knew Barry, and have been admitted into his den in his worst (that is to say, his maddest) days, when he was employed upon his Pandora. He wore at that time an old coat of green baize, but from which time had taken all the green that incrustations of paint and dirt had not covered. His wig was one which you might suppose he had borrowed from a

Fig. 2: William Turner of Oxford, *Barry's House in Castle Street,* watercolor, 1805. Victoria & Albert Museum. London.

scarecrow; all round it there projected a fringe of his own grey hair. He lived alone, in a house which was never cleaned; and he slept on a bedstead with no other furniture than a blanket nailed on the one side. I wanted him to visit me. "No", he said, "he would not go out by day, because he could not spare time from his great picture; and if he went out in the evening the Academicians would waylay him and murder him."[10]

The dilapidated appearance of Barry's house at 36 Castle Street East (Fig. 2), where he had moved in 1788, reflected his despair, and the Irish lawyer William Henry Curran penned a vivid description of its ruinous state in 1804:

The area was bestrewn with skeletons of cats and dogs, marrow-bones, waste-paper, fragments of boys' hoops, and other playthings, and with the many kinds of missiles, which the pious brats of the neighbourhood had hurled against the unhallowed premises. A dead cat lay upon the projecting stone of the parlour window, immediately under a sort of appeal to the public, or a proclamation setting forth that a dark conspiracy existed for the wicked purpose of molesting the writer and injuring his reputation, and concluding with an offer of some pounds as a reward to any one who should give such information as might lead to the detection and conviction of the offenders. This was in Barry's hand-writing, and occupied the place of one pane of glass. The rest of the framework was covered with what I had once imagined to be necromantic devices — some of his own etchings, but turned upside down, of his great paintings at the Adelphi.[11]

These characterizations of Barry as paranoid and reclusive should, however, be qualified on two accounts. First of all, one should stress that his withdrawal into indifferent squalor was a gradual one. In his memoirs, Henry Angelo even claims that the youthful artist was something of a dandy:

'Barry, though of late years eminently known as a rival, both in his household economy and personal appearance, to Dirty Dick, the hardware-man of Leadenhall Street, was nevertheless, when a young man, recognized as a prime macaroni.'[12] Angelo goes on to relate that Barry's transformation 'from an extravagant fop to the miser and misanthrope' may have been caused by his loss to a worthless peer of 'a fair frail one, whom he ardently admired'. Even Angelo does not take this last suggestion too seriously, but the fact that Barry had an eye for the ladies is confirmed by a letter in the Family Albums. On his way back to London from Rome, he visited a number of Italian cities, and when staying in Parma at the

end of 1770 and the beginning of 1771, he wrote a letter to a friend, the expatriate painter William Keable, whose reply recites with coarse humour the artist's earlier frustrations with the opposite sex:

> I recd your dolefull Letter two days after its arrival in which you tell me of your damn'd Melancholly, and that you are also half dead with cold, that in your present state you can compare yourself to no other object so like as that of a poor lanquishing Fly, who on a Chimney-piece is crawling upon his last Legs. If this is truly your present case I own it is very deplorable, yet I'm convinced youl get the better of it, because I remember you in a situation (as I think) much worse, when not far from a certain Chimney you play'd the part (già per forza d'Incantesimo [already by force of enchantment]) of an Insect much more abject than a Fly (cioe [namely]) that of a wretched bewildred Piatoli [crab-louse] who in the seems of a Wollen Pettecoat had lost his way, and tho' within the smell of his *casa Patria* [home country] such was his dappocaggine [ineptitude] that he never arrived there.[13]

The second qualification is that, despite his isolation from the majority of his peers, even late in life Barry had a few close friends, among whom were the physician Dr. Edward Fryer and the Venezuelan revolutionist General Francisco Miranda, both of whom were later to befriend his niece. The Scotsman David Steuart Erskine, eleventh Earl of Buchan, also came to his aid, as he was instrumental in securing for him an annuity of £120, though the artist unfortunately died before receiving the first payment. Yet the fact remains that the artist found it difficult to achieve intimate relationships, and obviously many of his self-destructive patterns were forged in his earliest years.

Although the complex texture of Barry's childhood experiences is no longer recoverable, his lack of sustained contact with his family after his departure from Cork suggests a wish to shut out an unhappy past. Symptomatic of his disengagement is the fact that when his favourite brother John died in 1769, he learned of his death only third-hand through a letter sent to Edmund Burke by their mutual friend Dr. Joseph Fenn Sleigh. In his letter to his parents of 8 November, written in response to this unwelcomed news, Barry expressed surprise that he had also heard his father was making his will,[14] but in another letter written to Dr. Sleigh on the same day he rationalized that even if his father was ill it would be to no purpose for him to return to Cork.[15] Even when William Burke counselled the artist on 7 December 1770, 'Inclosed you have a letter from your father, who is in a bad state of health, and, with great deference, it were wise and not improper to see him before he dies',[16] Barry still did not budge from his determination to continue his studies abroad. His father, however, apparently lived a few years longer, as the artist complained in a publication of 1783 that the abusive lies circulated about him in London in the 1770s had embittered his father's last years. Of greater interest is his assertion that his father had believed these reports, accepting 'that his son was the most worthless of all our artists, or so much unusual labour and pains would not have been employed to prove it'.[17]

There is also the possibility that Barry's emotional disorders were exacerbated by a severe biochemical imbalance, as it has been suggested that he suffered from acromegaly.[18] The basis for this diagnosis is the late portrait of the artist by William Evans (Fig. 3). Evans's drawing is distinctly unflattering and does not resemble any of the artist's late self-portraits. It would, however, be a mistake to dismiss it as a poor likeness as it has two claims to authenticity. First of all it was engraved as the frontispiece to *The Works of James Barry,* the authoritative account of the artist's life and writings published in 1809. Presumably the drawing, which was supplied by General Miranda,[19] would have been rejected if it were not accurate. Secondly, the engraved frontispiece is inscribed, 'From an original Cast,

Fig. 3: William Evans, *James Barry* (from a life mask), black chalk. National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 4: William Blake, *James Barry*, pencil. Private collection.

Fig. 5: George Dance, *James Barry*, pencil, 1793. Royal Academy of Arts, London.

Fig. 6: Henry Singleton, Detail of Barry from *The Royal Academicians assembled in their Council Chamber*, oil on canvas, 1795. Royal Academy of Arts, London.

piece is inscribed, 'From an original Cast, taken a short time before his Death.' Thus, the fact that it is based on a life mask strengthens its claims to objectivity. There is, however, only one other portrait of Barry that resembles Evans's interpretation, a crude sketch by William Blake contained in a copy of Barry's book *An Account of a Series of Pictures . . . at the Adelphi* (Fig. 4), and in this case one cannot be certain if Blake's sketch is from the life or is based on the engraving after the Evans portrait. In any event, the Evans drawing differs from earlier depictions such as George Dance's portrait of Barry of 1793 (Fig. 5) and Henry Singleton's portrait found in his 1795 painting *The Royal Academicians assembled in their Council Chamber* (Fig. 6). Acromegaly offers one explanation for these dramatic changes. This disease affecting the pituitary gland leads to the coarsening of facial features, producing a protuding lower jaw or prognathism, thick lips, an enlarged nose, and excessive growth of the orbital ridges, all of which features appear to be present in Evans's rendering. Because these changes occur gradually and can stretch over several decades, the victim is often unaware that this transformation is the result of an illness. Particularly in his last years Barry complained of suffering from a paralyzing melancholia; and depression, anxiety, and lethargy are all symptoms of the disease. The untreated acromegalic patient rarely lives beyond his sixth decade, with the male usually succumbing to cardiovascular and respiratory disease, a profile that again fits the artist. One should also point out, however, that judging from images of the artist's brother Redmond (Fig. 8) and his niece Margaret (Figs. 11 and 12) the lantern jaw and enlarged nose were family characteristics. Interestingly, the question of whether or not Barry suffered from acromegaly is resolvable through an examination of his remains, but since disinterment is such a radical solution, the question is best left unanswered. In addition, even if the artist's behaviour was influenced by this disease, his personality disorders would still be for the most part traceable to his upbringing rather than to a malfunctioning gland.

As for the fortunes of James's three brothers, their lot was an extremely unhappy one. As has been mentioned, John died young in 1769. Although James had looked forward to assisting John's career as an architect or builder, he took little interest in the lives of his two remaining brothers, Patrick and Redmond, abandoning them to their unpleasant fates.

James's first reference to Patrick is highly unfavourable, for, when writing to his parents on John's death, he added: 'It seems you have another son remaining with you who is of a very different cast; can this be Patrick, and is it possible that his own future prospect in life, the death of his poor brother, and the situation of his parents in their decline, can work no other effects upon him?'[20] Barry's complaint proved well founded, for a letter of 20 November 1772 from Patrick to the artist reveals his life was already in shambles.[21] Written from Gravesend aboard the *Latham*, a ship of the East India Company, its contents suggest that Patrick had already been to London to see his brother but had received little help. Patrick curiously signed himself as his 'Loveing friend Patk Riordan', but a later note written by James around 1786 explains why his brother had adopted their mother's maiden name as an alias:

> Patrick enlisted at Bristol in Octobr. 1771, in the third division of marines. he deserted from them at Sheerness about August or Septbr. 1772 & very shortly after enlisted in ye service of ye India Company, but after remaining 14 years in ye service in India got his discharge & came away.[22]

Presumably on his arrival back in London around 1786 Patrick again solicited aid from his brother, but the first letter to have survived

Fig. 7: Benjamin West, *Christ healing the Sick in the Temple,* oil on canvas. (*Courtesy of Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia*).

is dated a few years later. This letter of 12 July 1789 reveals that after their mother had died, their sister Mary Ann had deprived Patrick of any inheritance, and he feared that she and her husband had now turned James against him as well. He also complained he was destitute and in poor health and only wanted James to secure for him a 'little settled way of bread, untill the ships of the season were going to India which will not be before November next'.[23] This appeal did not succeed as Patrick wrote again on 1 August saying he had been sleeping on the floor at their brother Redmond's unsatisfactory lodgings and was in extreme need.[24] At this point Patrick is heard from no more, but in the legal documents of 1806 involving the artist's estate he is presumed to have died many years earlier in the East Indies.[25]

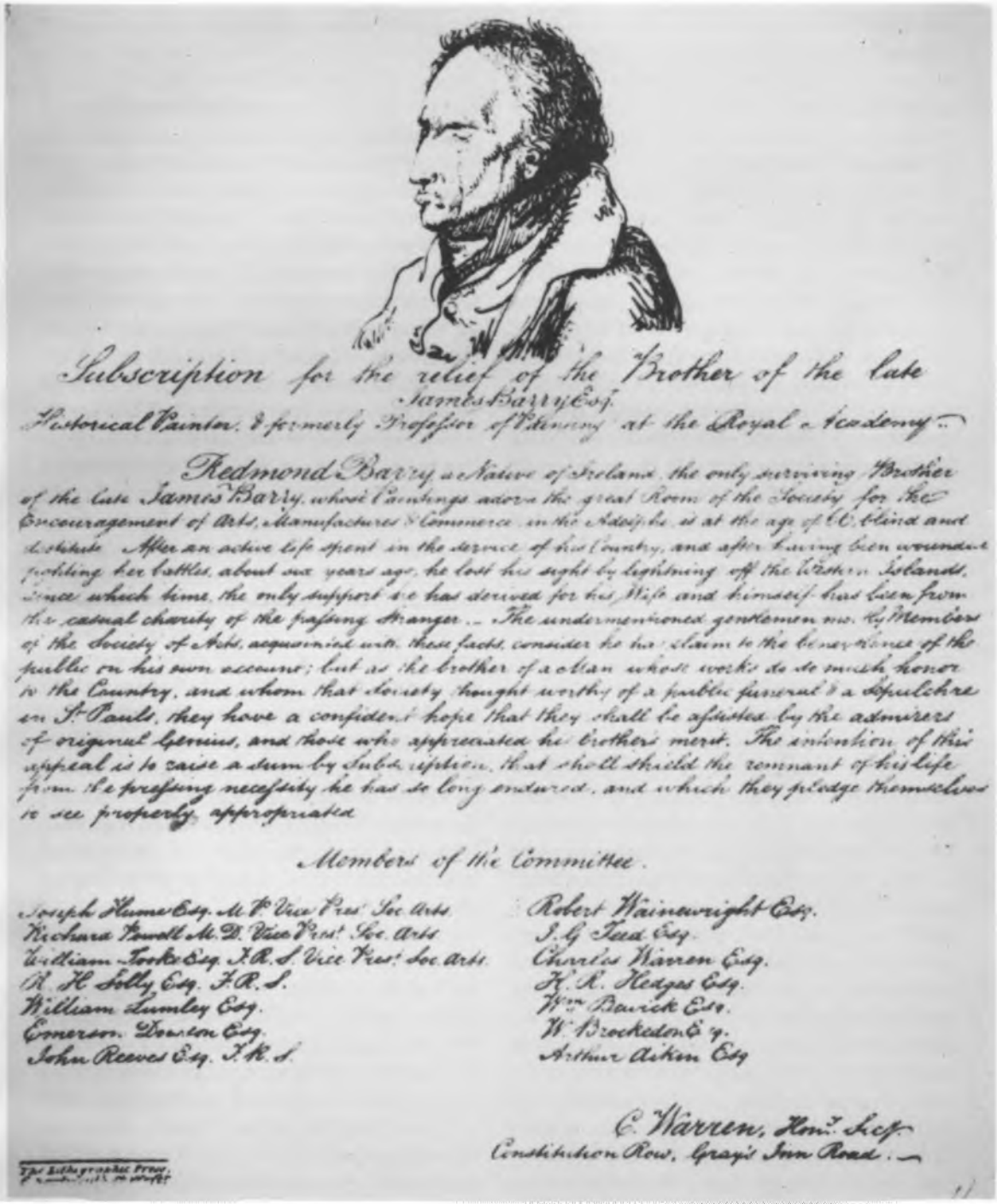
As for Redmond, his career was more colourful than Patrick's but equally difficult. He first wrote to James in the early 1780s while on board the sloop *Hound* in Sheerness.[26] Complaining of ill health, he described his recent service on behalf of his country as a seaman fighting in the Caribbean in Britain's naval war with the Americans and the French. Not surprisingly, he hated life on board a Man of War and wanted James to secure his discharge that he might pursue his trade as a bricklayer, and in hopes of strengthening his case he struck a more repentant note than Patrick had ever done: 'I was a Verry Undutifull Son to a Verry Good Father but Now I See my Folly.' On 9 March 1785, Redmond, writing this time from the ship *Cumberland*, was still pleading with his brother to secure his release. He next surfaces in Patrick's letter to James of 1 August 1789, in which Patrick reports that 'Redmond and his Woman' had fled their lodgings as 'they stand charged with robbing a sailor who had been drinking with them and indeed treating them'.[27] Patrick pleaded ignorance of their innocence or guilt, but later events make it likely that the charge was not unfounded.

Redmond next reappears in 1802 when in a letter of 23 July he reproached James: 'Brother your Undeserved Cruel treatment to me Almost has broke my heart. was it that Infernal Sister of yours that [has] been the cause of that cruel reception I received from you.'[28] In another letter of 25 April of the following year it is clear that in the meantime he had tried his luck in Ireland with their 'Infernal Sister' and had received the same cruel response from Mary Ann and her husband of which Patrick had complained.[29] Returning from Ireland on a Man of War, presumably the *Mars* from which he was then writing, he called James his only friend, though one doubts that even this pathetic appeal moved his unresponsive brother.

Redmond is not heard from again until after James's death, when he is cited as an 'Invalid on board Suffolk Prison Ship *Portsmouth*'.[30] In claiming his share of the estate, he was first legally represented by Alexander Poulden of Portsea and by Thomas Shelton in London, but he then joined his sister in an administration under her lawyer Daniel Reardon. In the family papers are several receipts signed by Redmond for small loans from Reardon, the most important of which is one for fifteen guineas dating from 11 September 1806 for the purpose of purchasing a substitute for the navy.

This was the moment of Redmond's prosperity, but he soon sold his birthright to his sister, allowing Mary Ann to purchase his share of their brother's estate for approximately £400.[31] Soon he and his wife Mary had dissipated even this substantial windfall,[32] the speed with which it was consumed suggesting an addiction to drink and gambling.

Redmond did not stay out of trouble for long, for on 29 October 1809 he was writing Reardon from the prison ship *Captivity* at Portsmouth to intercede again with his sister, maintaining that he did not even have a penny with which to buy tobacco. Apparently he had been incarcerated in the previous year as he



Subscription for the relief of the Brother of the late James Barry Esq.
Historical Painter, & formerly Professor of Painting at the Royal Academy.

Redmond Barry a Native of Ireland, the only surviving Brother of the late James Barry, whose Paintings adorn the great Room of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures & Commerce in the Adelphi, is at the age of 80, blind and destitute. After an active life spent in the service of his Country, and after having been wounded fighting her battles, about six years ago, he lost his sight by lightning off the Western Islands, since which time, the only support he has derived for his Wife and himself has been from the casual charity of the passing Stranger. — The undermentioned gentlemen two Ly Members of the Society of Arts, acquainted with these facts, consider he has claim to the benevolence of the public on his own account; but as the brother of a man whose works do so much honor to the Country, and whom that Society thought worthy of a public funeral & a Sepulchre in St Pauls, they have a confident hope that they shall be assisted by the admirers of original genius, and those who appreciated his brother's merit. The intention of this appeal is to raise a sum by Subscription, that shall shield the remnant of his life from the pressing necessity he has so long endured, and which they pledge themselves to see properly appropriated.

Members of the Committee.

Joseph Hume Esq. M.P. Vice Pres. Soc. Arts
Richard Powell M.D. Vice Pres. Soc. Arts
William Tooke Esq. F.R.S. Vice Pres. Soc. Arts
R. H. Solly Esq. F.R.S.
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Charles Warren Esq.
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Wm Barrick Esq.
W. Brockedon Esq.
Arthur Aikin Esq

C. Warren, Hon. Sec.
Constitution Row, Gray's Inn Road.

The Lithographic Press of Rudolph Ackermann, 101 Strand

Fig. 8: Subscription for the Relief of Redmond Barry, lithograph, c. 1820. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

mentioned having received £2 a year ago through Reardon's intercession, and knowing all too well Mary Ann's likely response to his latest appeal, he made a special plea to be remembered to her daughter Margaret.[33] On 18 March of the following year, Redmond wrote from the same prison what he claimed was his sixth letter in almost two years; sadly he had yet to receive a reply. Pleading total poverty, he pathetically wrote that he had to sell his daily ration of bread in order to get a penny with which to buy the paper for his letter.[34]

The next surviving letter from Redmond to Reardon is dated 5 April 1824. Written after a lapse of fourteen years, it is another plea for assistance: 'I have had dealings with you Many Years ago and have paid you Honorably your demand but now this is the Last Shift not being able to Travel any more through age and illness.'[35] One might speculate that the lawyer had earlier helped the seaman but had demanded in return that Redmond should never contact him again. In any event, there is documentation, though far from conclusive, suggesting that Redmond was back in London around 1810, for in 1821 a Philadelphia newspaper reported that he had posed for the sick man in Benjamin West's painting *Christ healing the Sick in the Temple* (Fig. 7), which was then, as now, in the Pennsylvania Hospital in Philadelphia.[36] This picture, however, was a version of the one exhibited at the British Institution in 1811. Although this last picture, which is in the Tate Gallery, was severely damaged in the flood of 1928, engravings after it indicate that the figure of the invalid is the same in both versions. Though West began his first picture in 1801, he did not take it up in earnest until 1810, and the resemblance between Redmond's later woodcut portrait (Fig. 8) and West's figure helps support the story of Redmond's having posed. After having undergone years of deprivation, Redmond surely would have made a most suitable model, and in using him West was able to help the distressed brother of a fellow artist.

Redmond's story is next picked up by George Lewis Smyth, who devotes a paragraph to him in a book of 1843.[37] Smyth's information is sketchy and at times inaccurate (he even refers to Redmond as Richmond), but his description does account for the invalid seaman's last years. According to Smyth, Redmond was struck blind by lightning in the West Indies about 1814,[38] and he returned to London with his aged wife in hopes of finding aid among James's surviving friends. He was then forced to resort to begging in the streets, usually stationing himself near the Catholic chapel in Sutton Street, Soho.[39] When an illness confined him to bed, he addressed a petition to the Society of Arts, and £40 was raised on his behalf. The broadside printed for the subscription is reproduced here (Fig. 8), and a date of 1820 or slightly later seems likely.[40] Since the text describes Redmond as sixty-six years old, this places his year of birth around 1754, a not implausible date. As Smyth points out, the payment of old debts almost exhausted the fund raised by the appeal and the remainder was soon expended. In his last letter of 5 April 1824 to Daniel Reardon, Redmond requested a pound in order 'to get a Stand to sel frute', lamely promising, 'I will Honorably pay you again by Installments or all together'. Whatever Reardon's response, the request came too late to be of help to the exhausted petitioner.

At this time Redmond and his wife lived on a shilling a day, which she earned at an army clothier. But in June 1824, after falling behind in their rent, he was forced to return to the streets to beg. After his wife had spent most of his meagre earnings on food to revive him, he expired as the exasperated landlord was ejecting him from his lodgings. Smyth concludes, 'The corpse was buried at the charge of the parish; and thus was extinguished the family of James Barry the painter.' Yet this last comment was premature; the sister's story and that

of her daughter remain to be told.

THE SECOND 'JAMES BARRY'

Neither Patrick nor Redmond had had any success in their appeals to their sister Mary Ann; relentlessly focused on survival, she was tough and possessive, her generous impulses reserved only for the future of her children. Two letters written by her to James, the first on 14 April 1804 from Cork and the second on 14 January 1805 from London, supply the earliest extensive information on her life.[41] The one of 14 April was the first she had ever written her brother, and her feeble excuse that she had presumed correspondence was unnecessary since their mutual friend Penrose (either Cooper or William Edward) of Cork would have kept him informed of her progress was hardly a propitious beginning. Mary Ann was writing at this time because she was in severe financial difficulties. The story that unfolds over both letters is that their father had left his property to their mother with reversion to James, who was the eldest son, after their mother's death. On that occasion James had sent a letter resigning his title in favour of their uncle John Reardon, at whose death it should revert to Mary Ann.

Mary Ann, who had continued to live in Cork, had married Jeremiah Bulkley. Jeremiah had lost his job in the weigh-houses because of his religion, but the family had continued to prosper due to their business as grocers. Their problems only began in their attempts to advance the career of their son John. John had been apprenticed to an attorney in Dublin, and here he had met a Miss Ward, 'a young Lady of genteel connexions (sister to the late General Ward who was guilotined in France in Robespier's time).' Miss Ward had fallen in love with John, but before her remaining brothers would permit such a match, they required that he should bring to the marriage more substantial holdings than he then possessed. John pressured his father, reminding him of how important a catch Miss Ward would prove to be: 'such a Connection could not be got in the most respectable Familys in Cork.'[42] Jeremiah, unable to resist so tempting an alliance, settled on John a farm, but once his creditors learned he had made his money over to his son, he was instantly besieged. Unable to meet these unexpected demands, the family went bankrupt, for John, now secure in his estate, was unwilling to help. In her first letter to her brother, Mary Ann ruefully wrote of her unresponsive son, 'the property settled upon him was intentionally for the purpose of assisting me, and my two Daughters if Ocasion required his doing so.' In the second letter one of the daughters is identified as Margaret, and, as her age is given as fifteen, she must have been born in 1789 (this presumes her birthday did not fall in the first two weeks of January). The other daughter is never heard of again. Perhaps she married, but since she is never mentioned in any other family letters, it would seem more likely that she died.[43]

In her second letter Mary Ann was very specific about what help she wanted from her brother, not having received an answer to the first. She asked James to make over to her daughter, Margaret, the house in Cork left to him by their father. Of course, she was pretending that he had not originally made it over to their uncle and then to her so that it was still his to give away. Of interest too is that Daniel Reardon was the attorney she had chosen to represent her, marking the beginning of their long association. Indeed, he may even have been a distant relative since his last name was the same as her mother's. In appealing to her brother, Mary Ann lamented that she had been 'thrown out of house & home by a Husband & son', but perhaps closer to the truth was that she and her husband had rashly promoted their son's career at the expense of their own, and she had abandoned her husband to debtors' prison. James surely remained coldly indifferent to his sister's pleas,

for in her second letter Mary Ann chastised him for his earlier treatment of Margaret: 'What did you give my Child when she was here last June, did you Ask her to Dinner, in short did you act as an Uncle or as Christian to a poor unprotected, unprovided for Girl who had not been brought up to think of Labor and, Alas! whose Education is not finished to put her in a way to get Decent Bread for herself & whose share has been given to a Brother.'

After James died intestate on 22 February 1806, Mary Ann moved aggressively to claim the entire property held by the estate's managers who consisted of four of the artist's friends.[44] On 8 July 1806 she wrote to Reardon that she had seen a letter from 'the Man who stiles himself Redmond Barry' and 'she does not think it is her Brothers writting'.[45] Brother and sister, however, as we have seen, were eventually united in a joint administration under Reardon, and Mary Ann was then to purchase from Redmond his share of the estate.

James had left more substantial holdings than his austere life-style would have led one to suspect. Mary Ann and Redmond split the £41.14.9 that was on his person at the time of his death, and in the same packet were two receipts totalling £163 for money paid into the Banking House of Messrs. Wright & Co. The furniture was sold at Christie's on 22 October 1806 for £41.12.0, from which £5.4.6 was deducted for the commission and duty.[46] Interestingly Mary Ann herself bought lot 13 for £1.4.0. This lot consisted of 'A mahogany elbow chair covered with red leather', and one presumes it was Sir Joshua Reynolds's sitter's chair, which had been given to Barry after he delivered his eulogy on Reynolds at the Royal Academy and which is now in the Academy's possession. The principal sale of Barry's effects was held on 10 and 11 April 1807. The total came to £1595.4.0, but there were a number of expenses to be deducted; the commission and duty came to £178.19.0 and legal fees and incidental expenses to the large sum of £726.13.6.[47] When the £35.3.6 realized from the sale of the furniture is added to the remaining profits, the final total for the sales comes to £724.15.0. On Reardon's sheet detailing his accounting, there is also a cash debit of £300 for 13 April 1806, rendering the final balance as £424.15.0. Obviously Mary Ann had already gone through a substantial portion of the estate, but she had ambitious plans for realizing further profits.

Apparently all of the copperplates for Barry's many prints were in the sale of 11 April, and the fourteen plates composing the small and large set of engravings after the Society of Arts series were grouped into one lot.[48] The engraver Charles Warren bought this lot for £210 with the intention of publishing his own edition. However, he soon regretted his action, and in a letter to Reardon of 4 May 1807 he begged to be allowed either to pay a reasonable sum of money on being permitted to abandon the purchase or to pay the amount with interest in instalments.[49] Mary Ann accepted the first option as she began plans to publish an edition of her own. Though never relinquishing control she relied heavily on Reardon, whom she put in charge of the business transactions, and on Dr. Edward Fryer, her brother's old friend, whom she asked to write the dedication. On 9 February 1808 Mary Ann quoted a Mr. Payne as saying that four hundred sets would not be too much, and the book, which sold for five guineas stitched and six guineas elegantly bound, was released by April of that year.[50] Although she obviously had high hopes as to the work's reception, the later receipts from the booksellers suggest it found few buyers.

Mary Ann Bulkley also hoped to profit by a book devoted to her brother's life and writings. This is the two-volume edition *The Works of James Barry* of 1809 prepared by Dr. Fryer for the firm of Cadell and Davies. This scheme was first put forward within months

after the artist's death, when *The Gentleman's Magazine* in its July 1806 issue remarked that the Earl of Buchan was 'collecting all the Manuscript Works and Drawings of the late Mr. Barry, with an intention to publish them for the advantage of some indigent relations of the departed Artist'.[51] Of course, Redmond was soon excluded as a beneficiary, and in a letter of 20 July 1808, Mary Ann reported to Reardon that Dr. Fryer felt that £500 was a fair price for the copyright but that General Francisco Miranda had advised her that the publication was worth £1000.[52] The book appeared in May 1809, and the dickering over the amount of the copyright continued to the end, though the final amount remains unstated.

Mrs. Bulkley had yet another resource from her brother's estate left to her. She had bought in his large painting *The Birth of Pandora*, hoping to dispose of it separately for a handsome profit. The painting, however, was to remain at Christie's for some time, and on 11 February 1812 she wrote to Reardon that 'a Subscription has been set on foot which will be the more advantageous way of getting the picture disposed of — Mr. West's picture sold for £3000 [this is the first version of *Christ healing the Sick*; for the later version see Fig. 7] & I have been informed by good Judges that it is very inferior to my Brother's. We will at all events dispose of the Pandora this winter.'[53] This plan, however, came to nothing. Mrs. Bulkley had also vainly tried to sell the painting through the intervention of General Miranda, Dr. Fryer, and the Earl of Buchan, and indeed at one point the Earl himself became a prime candidate. Then as a last resort she approached the Society of Arts, but it too refused her offer.[54] It is possible that the work, which is now owned by the Manchester City Art Galleries, may never have left Christie's, for it was eventually sold there on 31 January 1846 (lot 119) for the incredibly low sum of 11½ guineas.

The remainder of the story belongs to Margaret Bulkley, who, rather than Redmond, was the last surviving member of the artist's family,[55] and in changing her name to James Barry, she fittingly brings the story full circle. The earliest substantial glimpse of Margaret's character is to be found in a letter she wrote to her brother John. Despite the self-sacrifice of his parents, John had not prospered. Apparently there was too much of the character of Patrick and Redmond in his blood for him to succeed as a lawyer, and when he is heard from again in a letter to his mother of 2 September 1808, he was serving in the Royal York Rangers on board the *Adriatic Transport* at Spithead, where he was preparing for an expedition to the West Indies. He begged his mother, 'for the love of god try and do something to promote me. I am very unhappy',[56] but one imagines that his fate was little better than that of his wild uncles. Margaret's letter to John presumably dates to around this same time, but only her draft which she kept as a copy of the letter survives. It deserves quotation at length in light of her later metamorphosis:

By this time I dare say you have experienced the wisdom or folly resulting from your substituting a musquet for a goose-quill — either (in the opinion of a girl) may reflect honor on a man if used with spirit, in a good cause. Indeed my Dear John A Soldier fighting for his King his country & his rights as a Brittain or Hiber[nian] in my mind acts nobly honorab[l]y & Gloriously, and the old phrase of 'there is a reward in Heaven for all who die fighting for their Country' is an article in my Creed & I most firmly believe in it. if you have not quite forgoten your Lattin read what Horace says on the subject Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori — Was I not a girl I would be a Soldier! — however I must honestly confess I would prefer a sword to a musquet & I should like a pair of Colours at least then I should use them to promote myself and perhaps *you* may also prefer these necessary appendages to a Soldier. We must see what can be done for you. Write therefore an acct. of your situation & the names of

some of the principal Officers, John write like a Gentleman or Margt will blush for you.[57]

For the moment a military career for Margaret was impossible. Although she and her mother had benefited from her uncle's estate, the profits were hardly enough to sustain them for long, and a short note dated 19 May 1808 suggests she was considering some domestic position such as that of a governess: 'Miss Bulkley presents her compliments to Mr. Reardon & would be glad to know if he has done any thing respecting the Lady at Camden town, Mr. Reardon will himself perceive the sooner that Miss B__ could be placed there would [be] better.'[58]

Whatever the outcome of this overture, Margaret, obviously with the encouragement of her mother, soon turned to a far more ambitious scheme. In December 1809 she enrolled as James Barry in Edinburgh University, where she studied medicine. She later always maintained that she had been extremely young when she matriculated,[59] but she was actually around twenty. Given her beardless appearance one can understand why she chose to push back dramatically her real age. Her maturity also helps to explain how she was able to succeed in so difficult a deception.

There are a number of convincing reasons for identifying Margaret with the second James Barry. First of all, it is precisely at this time that Margaret disappears. A letter of 27 November 1809 from her father was sent to her at hers and her mother's London address (27 Charles Street, Hampstead Road) but was then rerouted to Daniel Reardon, as the two women had already left.[60] In the letter, Jeremiah Bulkley wrote he could not understand why he had not heard from Margaret for such a long time, and he reported gossip which, despite his reservations, may well have had more than a grain of truth: 'Old Tobin told his son David he had seen your Mother in London, that she appeared *shabby* and seemingly much *distressed*. He sd. Tobin said you got your livelyhood by Teaching in a Family. He is and ever was remarkable for dealing in Lies. I did not believe a word of what he said.' Jeremiah then invited both Margaret and her mother to join him in Dublin if they were in financial difficulties, but it is clear from the rest of his letter that, though he was out of debtors' prison, his situation was still a precarious one. Next on 24 February 1810 Jeremiah wrote to Reardon asking him to pass on a letter to his daughter as he had not received a reply to his last three. Then on 16 March he wrote him again asking if anything had happened to either Margaret or her mother, and finally on 9 April he wrote a distraught, disjointed letter asking if either was dead, even proposing to undertake a journey to London depending on the lawyer's reply. What in fact Reardon did reply, if anything, is not known, but clearly Margaret and Mary Ann had vanished without even informing Jeremiah of their destination.

There is also the evidence of the letters written by James Barry from Edinburgh. The first is dated 14 December 1809.[61] It is to Reardon, and in it James refers to herself as the nephew of Barry the artist. She goes on to call Mrs. Bulkley her aunt, but the fact that Mary Ann had accompanied James to Edinburgh demonstrates that this was no ordinary 'nephew'.[62] James added a postscript: 'I have no *friend* or *acquaintance in London* but you & Doctor Fryer but I am *Sure* I can rely on your Friendship.' The next letter to have survived is to General Miranda, who, judging from the postscript to Reardon, had not at first been in on her secret. In this letter of 7 January 1810, James acknowledged that Dr. Fryer had by that time spoken to the general about 'his' circumstances, and then added a cryptic postscript: 'As Lord B__[Buchan] nor anyone here knows any thing about Mrs. Bulkley's Daughter I trust my dear General that neither you nor the Doctor [i.e. Fryer] will mention in any of your correspondence any thing about

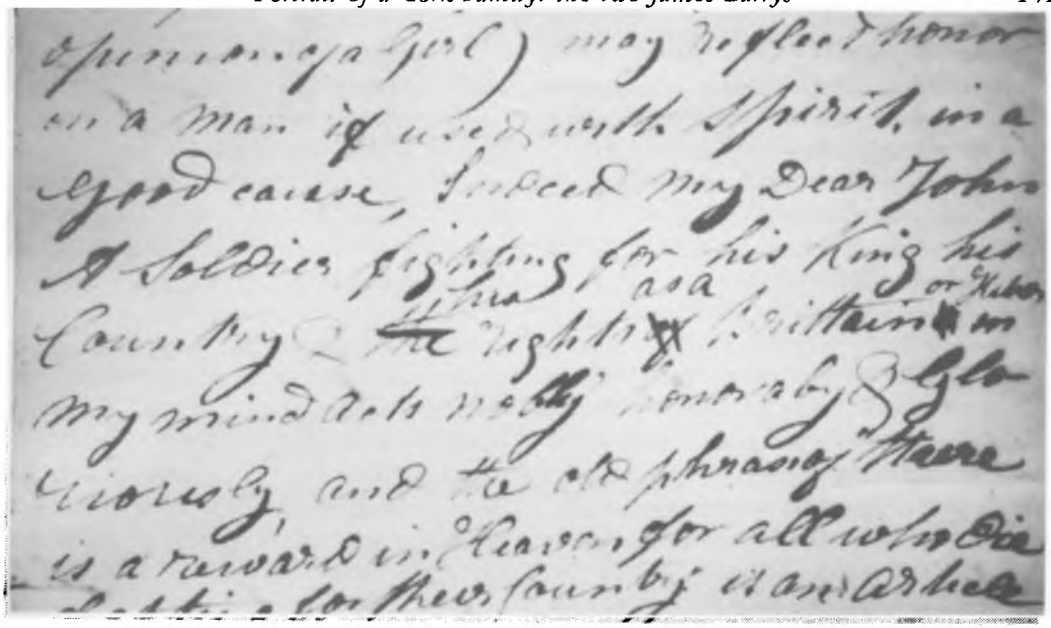

Fig. 9: Margaret Bulkley's Draft of her letter to her brother John, 1808 (?).

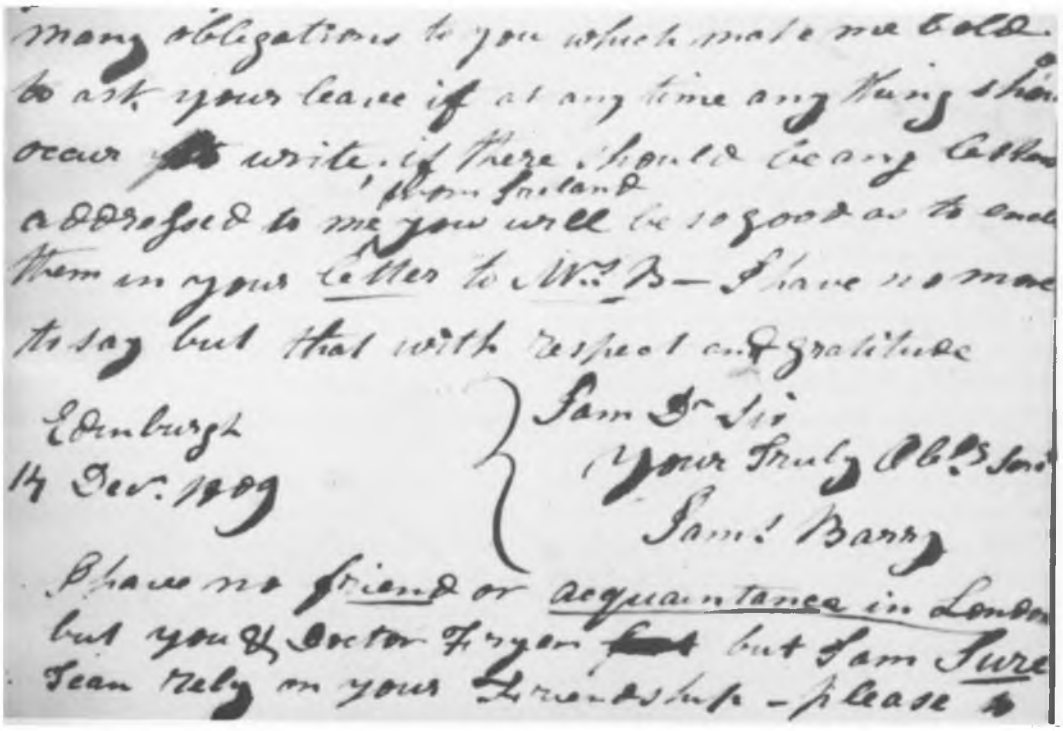

Fig. 10: James Barry [Margaret Bulkley] to Daniel Reardon, 14 December 1809. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

my *Cousin's friendship &ca. for me.*'[63] Of course Margaret's transformation into Barry explains all these otherwise mysterious allusions; she was that very cousin whom she did not wish to have mentioned to those who were ignorant of her masquerade.

If additional proof is needed, it should at this point come as no surprise that the handwriting is identical between James Barry's letters and those of Margaret Bulkley. Figure 9 reproduces the first page of the draft of Margaret's letter to her brother John, probably written late in 1808, and Figure 10 the conclusion to James Barry's letter of 14 December 1809 to Daniel Reardon. Because the first letter is only a draft, it is written in a bolder hand, but the similarities between the two pages are nonetheless unmistakable as can easily be seen in those words appearing in both. Furthermore, while there are few letters from Margaret in the Family Albums, she wrote all of her mother's correspondence because Mary Ann suffered from a severe tremor,[64] and of course the handwriting in these letters also corresponds to that of James Barry.

On the same day, 14 December 1809, that Barry had written Reardon, Mrs. Bulkley also wrote from Edinburgh, where she was to remain until at least August 1810, around which time she returned to London.[65] Since Reardon was the family lawyer and banker, it is hardly surprising that her letters are almost exclusively concerned with financial matters, but obviously too this had always been a central preoccupation, and Mrs. Bulkley's many enquiries were sorely to try Reardon's patience. One of her concerns was that he should attempt to reclaim the family house in Cork, which was presumably under the absentee ownership of her son John or was in the hands of his creditors. Reardon, however, declined to pursue this claim as he thought the legal complications too difficult. Mrs. Bulkley also charged him with monitoring the London printsellers who were handling the sets of Society of Arts etchings, and she had hopes as well of developing a new market in Scotland, for soon after her arrival she wrote that the Earl of Buchan 'will not only patronize my prints but also find me a proper person to dispose of them after the holidays'. In her eagerness to exploit every potential resource, on 29 January 1810 she also queried if it were possible 'to recover any part of the money from Sir Robert Peele'. Peele had earlier agreed to pay her brother James an annuity of £120 in return for the £1000 subscription raised on his behalf. When the artist died before even the first payment was due, Peele felt sufficiently embarrassed by his good fortune that he offered £200 toward the artist's funeral and the erection of a memorial tablet.[66] Still, there is no reason why he should have given money to the artist's sister, whose suggestion seems unwarranted.

On Reardon's side of the correspondence all that remains is the draft of a letter of 30 March 1810 and an audit of the Bulkley account dated four days later.[67] Interestingly he referred to Margaret as Miss Bulkley, not bothering to adopt her fictitious persona in private correspondence discussing legal matters. He was clearly extremely annoyed with Mrs. Bulkley, scolding her for questioning his management of her and her daughter's funds to others rather than to him, and he staunchly asserted that he was 'able and most willing to pay at a moments notice'. Presumably Mrs. Bulkley, who had repeatedly requested funds be sent her, was unhappy at what she felt were unnecessary delays, and her complaints were probably made to Reardon's brother Michael, who was involved in these transactions. Reardon testily concluded that he was anxious to settle the matter of the painting *The Birth of Pandora* 'as I am very desirous indeed to wind up this concern as far as I have any thing to do with it finding that I shall not be thanked in the end for my interference'.

Reardon also chastised Mrs. Bulkley for the rapid rate at which she and her daughter had

been exhausting their capital. His audit of 3 April 1810 shows an expenditure of £132.17.9 since 28 November of the preceding year, leaving only a balance of £289.14.3.[68] Judging from the remaining letters, the expenses never abated, for on 11 February 1812 Mrs. Bulkley, who was again in Scotland, lamented, 'next July will please God put an end to all my *extraordinary expenses in Edinburgh*'.[69]

Mrs. Bulkley made her final return to London around 10 May 1812,[70] and two letters written in November of that year give her new address as 301 Southwark High Street.[71] Presumably her daughter joined her there, as on her graduation from Edinburgh Barry began studying surgery for a year in Guy's and St. Thomas's Hospitals, both of which were at that time located in this same street. The two letters of November 1812 are the last ones to Mrs. Bulkley in Reardon's possession; either she died soon thereafter or she no longer required his services. Since in Edinburgh Mrs. Bulkley had abandoned the idea of obtaining an annuity for herself in exchange for the picture *The Birth of Pandora* because of the state of her health and since Barry was soon to be on her own, the first alternative seems the more likely of the two. In any event, she had the satisfaction of seeing Barry fully launched on a highly successful and, to say the least, remarkable career.

Originally Barry had planned to join General Miranda in Caracas once she had obtained her medical degree,[72] a plan which fell through when the general, who was attempting the liberation of Venezuela, was captured and imprisoned by the Spanish authorities. Denied this exciting prospect, she instead joined the British army in June 1813, becoming not only the first woman to earn a MD in Britain but also Britain's first woman officer.[73] After having served on the hospital staff at Plymouth, she was sent in 1816 as an assistant-surgeon to the garrison of Cape Colony in South Africa, and the bold audacity and seriousness of purpose that had led her to transform herself into a second James Barry were characteristics that were to shape the remainder of her career. At Cape Colony she quickly earned a reputation as a compassionate reformer with unusual sympathy for the oppressed blacks. She also was highly regarded for her considerable professional abilities, often succeeding where other doctors had failed. Yet her independence of judgment coupled with a fiery temper created enemies. Dictatorial and uncompromising in her views and unwilling to sacrifice principle to privilege, she often found herself combating incompetent or corrupt superiors. On one occasion while serving in the important civil post of Medical Inspector for Cape Colony, her acerbic defiance of authority in support of a wretched sailor so annoyed a judge he handed down a prison sentence.

Barry went on to serve in posts throughout the Empire, eventually rising to the rank of Inspector-General, but hers was not an easy ascent. She left South Africa in 1829 to become an assistant staff-surgeon in Mauritius, but here she quarrelled so bitterly with her superiors that she soon decamped for London. Then in 1836 after serving a gruelling four years in Jamaica, she was sent to St. Helena as the Principal Medical Officer, but her obstreperous conduct led to a court-martial in which she successfully mounted her own defence. Yet only two years later she was sent back to London under arrest pending a Court of Inquiry. Although surviving this ordeal, on her next posting, which was to the Windward and Leeward Islands in 1838, she was demoted from principal medical officer to a staff-surgeon. Before long, however, she had regained her former rank and was to face the even greater challenge of surviving a severe case of yellow fever. After a prolonged recovery, she was next to serve with distinction in Malta and Corfu.

The harsh conditions, both mental and physical, under which she worked,

Fig. 11: Caricature of Dr James Barry [Margaret Bulkley], attributed to Edward Lear, pen and ink, 1852. The Royal Army Medical College, London.

Fig. 12: Dr James Barry [Margaret Bulkley] with her Servant, photograph, c. 1856. The Royal Army Medical College, London.

undermined her health, and the sketch made in Corfu in 1852 (Fig. 11) and the photograph of a few years later (Fig. 12) poignantly document her haggard and angular features in old age. Interestingly, there is now little to distinguish her appearance from that of her uncle Redmond. Accustomed to the hotter climates of South Africa, the Caribbean and the Mediterranean, her health deteriorated dramatically in her last post in Canada, and despite her vehement protests on her return to London in May 1859 she was invalided out of the army on half pay, dying six years later.

Barry's deception as a man of course made her unusually vulnerable to gossip. Throughout her career there were often derogatory allusions to her feminine appearance, and a very few even discovered or guessed her gender. In South Africa she had to endure the scandalous charge of being the lover of the governor Lord Charles Somerset, an accusation which may well have been true but ironically not as the implied homosexual relationship. Ultimately, however, she played her role so successfully that even after her death the authorities were in doubt as to whether or not the Inspector-General had been a man or a woman, a doubt that was in their self-interest to leave unanswered.

Because the background from which the two James Barrys emerged was not unusual, it makes the family's story all the more instructive for assessing the period as a whole. The family's history vividly demonstrates the difficulties faced by Roman Catholics in Ireland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

centuries. Their story is in microcosm that of the Irish diaspora; although all of the family members were born in Cork, apparently none of the children for two generations who did not die young remained there. Confronted with enormous obstacles, many of them failed miserably, yet even for those who succeeded, the story is hardly a reassuring one, all of them bearing deep emotional scars from their ordeal. Ultimately, however, it is not the fact that the two James Barrys succeeded which is of interest; rather it is the originality they showed in responding to their predicaments, one beginning with few advantages in the difficult career of an artist, the other seemingly doomed to the unrewarding role of a governess. In these situations, talent was hardly enough; each showed enormous mental toughness and courage in forging a professional career of high purpose.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 These volumes, a haphazard assembly of a number of revealing letters and documents, were acquired by Wilmarth Lewis in 1950. Almost certainly they are composed of materials that came down in the possession of Daniel Reardon, the lawyer who handled the artist's estate after his death; most of the documents are addressed to him and it would not be surprising to find any of the remainder in his hands given his intimate involvement in the family's affairs. The last letter written to him by one of the members of the family is dated 5 April 1824, and the collection can be said to end with this year. The first reference to this material appears in 1867, when many of the documents are cited in lots 84-87 in the posthumous sale of Robert Cole held at Puttick's, London, from 29 July through 1 August. According to the annotated sale catalogue in the British Library, the contents of all four entries were purchased by a Mr. Burn for nominal sums. Either shortly before the sale or more likely at some time afterwards an article on Dr. Barry was added to the collection ('A Mystery Still', *All the Year Round* [18 May 1867] pp. 492-5). The only other late document in the albums is a letter of 4 September 1884 in which the correspondent, Frederick W. Joy of The College, Ely, thanks the unidentified owner for lending him 'the interesting letters of "*Doctor James*".' He goes on to say, 'I have much pleasure in adding to my collection the one which you are good enough to give me.' One hopes there were few such dispersals of this material, although not all of the documents mentioned in the Cole sale are presently in the albums.

2 It was the author's discovery of the artist's sister's letters of 14 April 1804 and 14 January 1805 in the National Library of Ireland, Dublin, that suggested one of Mrs. Bulkley's two daughters as the likeliest person to have assumed the character of James Barry, but until now both he and the Inspector-General's biographer June Rose felt the presumably younger and unnamed daughter the more likely candidate (see June Rose, *The Perfect Gentleman: the Remarkable Life of Dr. James Miranda Barry* [London, 1977], and William L. Pressly, *The Life and Art of James Barry* [New Haven and London, 1981], pp 224-25, n. 31).

3 For more detailed information on the artist, one should consult the author's book *The Life and Art of James Barry* and his exhibition catalogue *James Barry: The Artist as Hero* (London: The Tate Gallery, 1983).

4 Although the house was torn down toward the end of the nineteenth century, Mr. C.J.F. Mac Carthy has kindly pointed out that a limestone plaque commemorating the artist's birthplace is imbedded in the north gable of the dwelling which replaced it.

5 Anthony Pasquin [John Williams], *An Authentic History of the Artists of Ireland* (London, 1796), p. 48.

6 Since he is often mentioned in the family correspondence, the maternal uncle, John Reardon, should also be included within this small circle. Apparently John Barry also had at least one brother, for the artist's Commonplace Book, which has passed by descent to the Daly family in Cork, was at an earlier point owned by William McGill Barry, who identifies himself in an inscription as James's cousin.

7 Barry to Dr. Joseph Fenn Sleigh, 8 November 1769, *The Works of James Barry*, 2 vols. (London, 1809), i, 164.

8 'Irish Art and Artists', *Bolster's Quarterly Magazine*, ii, January 1827, p. 56.

9 One can still hope that other pictures will resurface. There were frequent sightings of Barry's work in Ireland throughout the nineteenth century, but one suspects that most of the following attributions are spurious: *Nymph decorating the Shrine of Pan*, exhibited Limerick, *Catalogue of Paintings*, 1821 (92); *Christ casting the Devils from the Man Possessed*, according to Strickland sold in Dublin on 28 May 1851 (*A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 1913, i, p. 44); *The Entombment*, exhibited Dublin, *Irish Industrial Exhibition*, 1853 (259), perhaps the *Dead Christ* mentioned by Fryer; *Burial of Jacob in the Cave of Macphelah*, exhibited *RDS*, 1861, and Dublin, *Exhibition of Irish Arts and Manufactures*, 1882 (1521); 'Uncle of Councillor Hewitt', cited in C.B. Gibson, *The History of the County and City of Cork*, 1861, ii, 320; *Warrior at Riverside*, according to Strickland exhibited in Dublin in 1873 (p. 44); *An Eviction*, exhibited *Cork Industrial Exhibition*, 1883 (343); *Taking down from the Cross*, exhibited *Cork Industrial Exhibition*, 1883 (398).

10 Robert Southey to Allan Cunningham, 23 July 1829, *The Life & Correspondence of the Late Robert Southey*, ed. Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey, 6 vols. (London, 1850), vi, 54.

11 William Henry Curran, *Sketches of the Irish Bar*, 2 vols. (London, 1855), ii, 171-72.

12 *The Reminiscences of Henry Angelo*, 2 vols. (London, 1904), i, 378.

13 William Keable to Barry, Barry Family Albums, vol. i. The letter is simply signed 'Keable', undoubtedly the artist of that name (also spelled Keeble). William Keable was born in England in 1714, was a member of the St. Martin's Lane Academy in London in 1754, departed soon thereafter to Italy (the author of the letter states he had written little English for sixteen years), was in Naples at least by 1761, and then settled in Bologna four years later, dying there on 12 January 1774 (see Ellis Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of British 18th Century Painters*, Antique Collectors' Club, 1981). On 8 September 1770 Barry credited Keable as one of two friends who had helped him become a member of the Accademia Clementina in Bologna (see *Works*, i, 216).

14 Barry to his parents, 8 November 1769, *Works*, i, 153.

15 Barry to Dr. Sleigh, 8 November 1769, *Works*, i, 164-65.

16 William Burke to Barry, 7 December 1770, *Works*, i, 196.

17 *An Account of a Series of Pictures . . . at the Adelphi*, in *Works*, ii, 396.

18 I would like to thank Dr. Brian Barraclough of Southampton for this suggestion. After seeing the portraits and self-portraits of the artist in the 1983 exhibition at the Tate Gallery, he kindly wrote to me about the possibility of Barry having suffered from acromegaly.

19 General Miranda is said to have supplied the drawing used as the frontispiece in a letter of Mary Ann Bulkley to Daniel Reardon, 20 July 1808, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

20 Barry to his Parents, 8 November 1769, *Works*, i, 152-53.

21 Patrick Riordan [Patrick Barry] to James Barry, 20 November 1772, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

22 Barry Family Albums, vol. ii. The note concludes by explaining that Patrick had come back from India in the same ship with Governor 'Mackpherson' and his aide-de-camp Captain Gordon. Indeed he was a secretary to Gordon before an injury to his hand prevented him from writing. Since this note is scribbled on a fragment of a letter addressed to James at Sherrard Street, it was presumably written before he moved to Castle Street East around August 1788.

23 Patrick Barry to James Barry, 12 July 1789, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii. Although he signed the letter as Patrick Barry, when he left his name with a neighbour, he, as he had earlier, used Riordon.

24 Patrick Barry to James Barry, 1 August 1789, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

25 See Deed of Trust of 2 June 1806 and the draft of a document to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, Barry Family Albums, vols. ii and i respectively. Earlier on 25 April 1803, Redmond had also written to James that 'Patrick is no more' (vol. ii).

26 Redmond to James Barry, 30 June [year not given]. Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

27 Redmond's 'woman' may have been the Mary Barry who was with him in 1806 when he claimed his share of his brother's estate. Mary was illiterate, for when she signed for two small loans from Daniel Reardon she could only make a mark.

28 Redmond Barry to James Barry, 23 July 1802, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

29 Redmond Barry to James Barry, 25 April 1803, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

30 See draft of a document to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, Barry Family Albums, vol. i.

31 James Christie, the son of the firm's original founder, was the auctioneer chosen to sell James's effects, and there is a note from him to Reardon of 1 December 1806 about the buying out of Redmond for £300 (Barry Family Albums, vol. i). Redmond obviously held out for more, for on 4 February 1807 he signed a receipt with Reardon for 'the Sum of two hundred Pounds out of the Sum of three hundred & eighty Pounds lodged by me in his Hands as my Banker' (vol. ii). Given the small sums he had already received from the lawyer, it seems probable that the total amount of the settlement was £400.

32 By 2 April 1807 Redmond had no more than £60 in his account with Reardon. In an effort to realize every benefit, he also pestered the lawyer about obtaining his brother's clothes (see Mary Ann's letter to Reardon, 19 November 1807, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii). With annoyance Mary Ann reported she had made every effort to get the clothes for her brother but Mr. Christie's clerk had impertinently replied that they were such rags he had not thought them worth securing.

33 Redmond Barry to Reardon, 29 October 1809, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

34 Redmond Barry to Reardon, 18 March 1810, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

35 Redmond Barry to Reardon, 5 April 1824, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

36 See *Relf's Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 1 August 1821, p. 2. The notice is listed in a section entitled 'Foreign Summary from the New York Commercial Advertiser'. I am most grateful to Professor Allen Staley for having supplied me with this material and for sending me as well information on the relationship of the first version of *Christ healing the Sick* to the second.

37 See George Lewis Smyth, *Biographical Illustrations of St. Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1843), pp. 61-62.

38 Confirmation of his being struck blind off the 'Western Islands' is found in the subscription for his relief (see Fig. 8).

39 *Relf's Philadelphia Gazette* of 1 August 1821 gave a different address: 'he is now blind and sits daily near the nursery ground opposite Euston-square, to solicit the alms of the benevolent who pass him by'.

40 The appeal states that Redmond lost his sight by lightning about six years ago. Since Smyth gives the date of this accident as c. 1814, the appeal would then date to c. 1820. On the verso is a list of the subscribers (the amount totals £39.13.6), and the fact that Benjamin West's name is conspicuously absent also argues for a date after the artist's death on 11 March 1820.

41 Mary Ann Bulkley to James Barry, 14 April 1804 and 14 January 1805, National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

42 John Bulkley to Jeremiah Bulkley, n.d., Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

43 A search for the Bulkley family in the available copies of Connor's Cork Directories from 1738 to 1844 turned up only two references, both to a Miss Bulkely, a dressmaker, who in 1826 and 1828 was living at 17 George's Street (now Oliver Plunket Street). If she was a relation (possibly, though unlikely, even the missing daughter), this address might be that of the family home. I would like to thank Mr. Kieran Burke of Cork City Library for having provided this information.

44 The managers of the artist's estate were Dr. Edward Fryer, Francis Douce, Thomas B. Clarke and Dr. Anthony Carlisle. Until their sale at Christie's, Barry's works of art were sequestered at the houses of these four men along with that of the architect Joseph Bonomi. Later on Mrs. Bulkley suspected Dr. Carlisle of withholding a portfolio of drawings,

placing James Christie in the awkward position of having to approach him. Only a few drawings, however, were still in his possession (see Christie to Reardon, 3 and 7 April 1807, Barry Family Albums, vol. i).

45 Mary Ann Bulkley to Reardon, 8 July 1806, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

46 The date on the catalogue of 22 October 1806 is in fact a misprint, for the sale is also said to have taken place on a Thursday, a day which fell on the 23rd. A few of Barry's effects also appeared in lot 79 of the second day of the preceding sale held on 22 October.

47 See Barry Family Albums, vol. i. The principal bills were for £241.10.0 to Reardon and £189 to Penrose, this last presumably going to pay bills back in Cork. Also included was a note from Charles Warren signifying he owed the estate £210, an obligation incurred, as will be seen, when he failed to pay off his bid on one of the lots.

48 This was lot 77. Although the plate of King George and Queen Charlotte was listed separately in the catalogue as lot 60, it was sold in the same lot as the others.

49 Charles Warren to Reardon, 4 May 1807, Barry Family Albums, vol. i.

50 Mrs. Bulkley presented a copy of the book to the Society of Arts on 26 April 1808.

51 *The Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxvi (July, 1806), p. 650.

52 Mary Ann Bulkley to Reardon, 20 July 1808, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

53 Mary Ann Bulkley to Reardon, 11 February 1812, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

54 See 'Minutes of the Society of Arts', 23 December 1812 and 'Minutes of the Committee of Polite Arts', 6 April 1813.

55 Margaret possibly had a child. For the best summary of the evidence for this, see Elizabeth Longford, *Eminent Victorian Women* (New York, 1981) pp. 235 and 246.

56 John Bulkley to Mary Ann Bulkley, 2 September 1808, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

57 Margaret Bulkley to John Bulkley, n.d., Barry Family Albums, vol. ii. I have edited out Margaret's cancellations and use of alternate wording in an effort to recapture the flow of the letter that was actually mailed. The first page of the draft is reproduced as Figure 9.

58 Margaret Bulkley to Reardon, 19 May 1808, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

59 Throughout her career James Barry falsified her birthdate, making it progressively earlier. At her army examination in 1813 she gave her age as eighteen, and in 1843 she listed her date of birth in an official document as 'about 1799' (see Isobel Rae, *The Strange Story of Dr. James Barry* [London and New York, 1958], p. 2).

60 Jeremiah Bulkley to Margaret Bulkley, 27 November 1809, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii. Jeremiah's other three letters of 24 February, 16 March, and 9 April 1810 are contained in this same volume.

61 James Barry to Reardon, 14 December 1809, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

62 Of course the only nephew the artist had was John Bulkley and there would have been no need for John to call his mother his aunt. Also there is the evidence of John Jobson, a fellow medical student at Edinburgh, who claimed Barry introduced Mrs. Bulkley to him as her mother (see Rose, p. 24).

63 James Barry to General Miranda, 7 January 1810, *Archivo del General Miranda*, 24 vols. (Caracas, 1950), xxiii, pp. 266-67. This published version of the letter has several obvious typographical errors which I have taken the liberty of correcting.

64 Just how severe Mary Ann's affliction was can be seen in her large but shaky signature to her will of 25 August 1809 (Barry Family Albums, vol. ii). In the first surviving letter Margaret wrote for her mother, she included a postscript explaining the necessity of her writing on Mary Ann's behalf, and on this occasion she signed her name as Margaret Anne Bulkley (this is the letter of 14 April 1804 to James now in the National Library of Ireland).

65 There are six letters in the Family Albums (vol. ii) from this period from Mary Ann Bulkley to Reardon dated as follows: 14 and 25 December 1809, 29 January, 10 February, 11 May and 10 August 1810.

66 See Robert Southey, *Letters from England, by Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella*, 3 vols. (London, 1807), ii, 9-10n.

67 Reardon's letter of 30 March 1810 and his audit of the Bulkley account are in vol. i of the Family Albums.

68 The most intriguing bill in the audit is for £3.1.5. It was paid on 2 April 1810 to a gentleman in Bristol for defending Mr. B on his trial. Perhaps Mr. B is John Bulkley, whose situation must have been going from bad to worse.

69 Mrs. Bulkley to Reardon, 11 February 1812, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii. The expenses in Edinburgh continued as there are two letters to Mrs. Bulkley in London from a Mr. Anderson, who was Dr. Robert Anderson, Barry's Edinburgh landlord. Dated 3 and 17 November 1812, they concern a bill for £70 drawn on Mrs. Bulkley for Dr. Barry. Anderson, who had endorsed the bill at Dr. Barry's request, was now inconvenienced over Mrs. Bulkley's refusal to pay it on the authorized date (see Barry Family Albums, vol. ii).

70 See Mrs. Bulkley's letter to Reardon of 25 April 1812, Barry Family Albums, vol. ii.

71 These two letters are the ones from Dr. Anderson mentioned in note 69.

72 General Miranda arranged that Barry should join him in Caracas when he departed London in October 1810 (see Rae, p. 7).

73 In his book *London in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1902), Sir Walter Besant mentions that large numbers of women, posing as men, enlisted in the army and navy, but apparently none of them became officers (pp. 283-84).