

Title: The anatomy of the Volunteers in Cork, 1775-1782. Part 1

Author: O'Donovan, James

*Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 1982, Vol. 87, No 245,  
page(s) 27-42

Published by the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society

Digital file created: December 9, 2016

---

Your use of the JCHAS digital archive indicates that you accept the Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://corkhist.ie/terms-and-conditions/>

The Cork Historical and Archaeological Society (IE-148166, incorporated 1989) was founded in 1891, for the collection, preservation and diffusion of all available information regarding the past of the City and County of Cork, and South of Ireland generally. This archive of content of JCHAS (from 1892 up to ten years preceding current publication) continues the original aims of the founders in 1891. For more information visit [www.corkhist.ie](http://www.corkhist.ie).

# The Anatomy of the Volunteers In Cork, 1775-82: Part I\*

By JAMES O'DONOVAN

## INTRODUCTION

This year is the bicentenary of the granting of legislative independence to the Irish Parliament in 1782 as well as of the famous Volunteer convention at Dungannon. Although the events are inextricably bound together in the popular imagination, they were only part — and perhaps not even the most important part — of a long and tortuous process whose antecedents reached back into the seventeenth century. The various elements and conflicting forces evident in eighteenth century Ireland were intensified and crystallized during the period of the American Revolution and particularly in the most significant phenomenon of that era — the Volunteers. On one level the Volunteers were a continuation and a reiteration of the old Protestant militia, an isolated community banding together for the protection of their lives and property. But the Volunteers were also no less a product of the changes evident in Irish society from the 1750s onwards. The driving force behind the Volunteers in Cork and Munster came from the lesser gentry and Protestants of the middling order, confident and politically ambitious men like Lord Kingsborough, Richard Longfield and Ben Bausfield, less insecure, less intolerant of Catholics, covetous of their own growing commercial and political strength and suspicious of anyone or anything which might deter or impede it. The irony of the Volunteers is that while they were initially raised to secure and defend what was in effect a 'closed' society, imperceptibly, almost unknown to themselves, they were to become the champions and advocates of an expansionist and vigorous 'open' society.

## ORIGINS

The Volunteers emerged against a background of political, economic, military and social uncertainty. A Cork Quaker in July 1778 was expressing common feelings when he wrote in his diary, 'I became rather suddenly and unexpectedly possessed with apprehensions of public danger and calamity . . . the uncommon gloomy prospect of affairs at this juncture, together with the numerous and repeated testimonies of weighty concerned friends for a series of years.'<sup>1</sup> Protestant Ireland felt itself threatened from without and even possibly from within. In March 1778 Richard Longfield, M.P. for Cork city, moved for heads of a bill to be introduced to regulate and improve the police of the city. French and American privateers were active off the south coast and there were continual fears of a French invasion. Lord Shannon, writing in early 1778, tells of information received from the lord lieutenant, Buckinghamshire, that 'the French mean to make an attempt upon Ireland this summer'.<sup>2</sup>

Of the fifty-six or so Volunteer societies which existed in Cork, both city and county, by 1782, eleven were in existence prior to 1778. Amyas Griffith, who claimed to have been one of the founders of the Volunteers, states that the movement began in 1774 when the inhabitants of Carbery, Bantry and Bere in West Cork formed an association called the Constitutional Society to preserve the peace of the country and bring delinquents to justice. Later, similar societies arose in coastal districts

\* This is an extract from 'The Volunteer Movement in Cork and other Southern Counties, 1745-85', a M.A. thesis presented at U.C.C. in 1980;

with the object of suppressing riotous mobs who were trying to prevent the export of provisions. Whiteboy activity was prevalent in the area during the period and in May 1777 the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland issued a proclamation against Whiteboys in Carbery and East Carbery in County Cork; a reward for the capture and conviction of some was offered. In Cork city itself a club called the Amicable Society began to form a battalion 'to defend themselves against the attack of a foreign enemy, they having no internal insurrection to dread'.<sup>3</sup> A society called the Bandon Boyne, a corps of yeomanry, consisting of one company, was enrolled in 1777 and was the genesis of the Bandon Cavalry and Independents formed in 1778. The Bandon Boyne had their origins in a masonic lodge established in Bandon in 1738 styled 'No. 84 or the Ancient Boyne'; this society had no apparent political aspect.<sup>4</sup> The Bandon Cavalry were strong supporters of non-importation and parliamentary reform, and were one of the first Volunteer societies to officially invite Catholics into the ranks in 1782. The Bandon Independents actively supported a short-money bill in 1779 and non-importation in 1784. They also strongly opposed the formation of fencible regiments in 1782.

As well as being largely Protestant the Volunteers would appear to have been influenced to an extent by freemasonry. A number of corps were raised exclusively from masonic lodges and there was a considerable masonic element in others. Among the founding members of the Mallow Loyal Protestant Society established in 1745 are names which keep recurring both in the 1756 militia lists and those of the Cork Volunteers — Newman, Lysaght, Welstead, Stawell, Chinnery, Lombard, Longfield, Smyth, Swayne, Aldworth, Wrixon, Purdon, Cotter.<sup>5</sup> An Adam Newman was one of the first members of the society and this was also the name of the colonel of the Loyal Newberry Musqueteers, enrolled in

1777; presumably a near relation. Another founding member of the society was James Cotter and a James Lawrence Cotter, bart., later emerged as colonel of the Mallow Boyne, enrolled in 1776. The Volunteers most disposed to tolerance towards Catholics and later alliance with them, were masonic members, as typified by the Ancient Boyne and Belfast Orange Lodge No. 257. Another aspect of freemasonry which the Volunteers may have adopted was that of secrecy. Though the Volunteers made extensive and effective use of the newspapers to advertise their activities, meetings and resolutions, and air their opinions, actual proceedings at meetings were kept secret. It was resolved at a meeting of the Doneraile Rangers on 6 November 1779 'to keep secret different debates that shall in future happen among said society'.<sup>6</sup>

#### RULES AND REGULATIONS

The strong social motif of the Volunteer movement, which throughout was to run parallel to its military and political activities, is reflected in the 'Rules and orders to be observed and kept by every member of the Boyne Society of the city of Cork. As agreed to by said society on 1 June 1776:'

We the members of this society, having considered the many disasters and calamities incident to mankind, and the uncertainty and fickleness of the things of this world, have formed ourselves into a society, or united body, to the end we may glorify God, honour our sovereign lord, King George III and all his Protestant heirs and successors, support our sick, bury our dead, and help the fatherless and widow.

Despite such sentiments the society had an exclusive air about it: 'that no apprentice, menial servant, papist, or any person married to a papist, be admitted a member of this society; and if any member hereafter shall be married to a papist, he shall be excluded'. Fines were imposed on those found drunk or

swearing at assembly and guilty of 'indecent quarrelsome behaviour'; those who engaged in riots or assaulted a fellow member were 'totally excluded'. None were admitted under twenty-one or over forty-five years of age. The number of members was not to exceed 150. Aspirants to joining the society had to be democratically elected, through a secret ballot, by a majority of the members. A committee of twelve was elected yearly to oversee the activities of the society. Any member who fell ill was to be allowed seven shillings weekly for his support and those 'whose disorders shall continue six calendar months' were to be allowed 3.6d. per week 'and he is to pay no dues to fund, and so to continue during life except where he recovers' subject to approval by three stewards appointed by the society. On the death of a member of the society, or his wife, all necessary arrangements were to be made by the stewards and all members were to attend the funeral. Each member had to pay 1s.6d. to the widow or widower within one month of his or her spouse's death.<sup>7</sup>

The military corps of the Cork Boyne as set forth in the 'Rules, orders and regulations of the military corps of the Cork Boyne Society', at a meeting in the county court-house on 12 December 1779 clearly evolved from and co-existed alongside the existing society. Those who aspired to join the military wing of the society, on being approved by the general committee, were then proposed as members and only on their being democratically elected to said society were they admitted to its military corps.

The Cork Boyne are a vivid example of the dramatic metamorphosis which the Volunteers underwent in the years 1776-83. Though the society at its foundation barred all Catholics and those married to Catholics from membership, by 1782 it was openly inviting Catholics to join its ranks. The *Munster Military Journal* (March 1890) describes the society as attending a service at Christ Church in February 1776 to 'implore the divine blessing on the British

arms and for the termination of the American rebellion', yet the society was ultimately to support free trade, non-impotation, the Dungannon resolutions and to oppose the fencibles.

#### SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS MILIEU

In these embryonic Volunteer societies certain aspects and trends are particularly noticeable. Their seminal quality is the banding together of the local Protestant populace to defend their lives and property against what they regarded as the common enemy. Traditional aspects of banding whether social or para-military, e.g. the militia, social and political clubs and societies, masonic lodges, naturally helped to foster and encourage the growth of such armed societies in times of danger. The Hawke Union of Cobh was largely made up of members of the old Water Club of the harbour of Cork. The Volunteers took their aspect, colouring and shape very much from the society from which they emanated.

It was the opening of the war with France however and the anticipated invasion which gave real impetus to the formation of Volunteer societies. On 26 March 1778 some 150 of the principal citizens of Cork signed a declaration agreeing 'to associate ourselves for the purposes of protecting the peace of the city, and the property of the inhabitants thereof'.<sup>8</sup> An ardent appeal was made at the time, in view of the incipient war, that 'the citizens of Cork ought to form themselves into societies for the preservation of the peace and good order of the city', and to the True Blues in particular, 'formerly a respectable body and I make no doubt will be so now, if the people of consequence that were formerly of that society, will but exert themselves with spirit'.<sup>9</sup> In April the *Freeman's Journal* reported that 'the inhabitants of Bandon have formed themselves into three companies armed with fowling pieces'.<sup>10</sup> By May 1778 Volunteer activity was being reported from Dublin and

Belfast as well as Cork. As early as July Volunteers were mounting guard in Waterford in place of the regular troops.<sup>11</sup> The first major public demonstration of Volunteering in Cork took place during the assizes of April 1778. Preceded by the boys of the Blue Coat Hospital, the True Blue, Boyne, Aughrim and Culloden Societies as well as the Cork Union, numbering near 300, marched to Christ Church where a sermon was delivered by Rev. Dr. Pigott.

John Wesley, who was visiting Cork in May 1778, has left us a brief if vivid cameo of the Volunteers at the moment of initiation:

I was a little surprised at a message from the gentlemen of the Aughrim Society (a company of Volunteers so called) that, if I had no objection they would attend at the new room in the evening. They did so with another Independent company, who were just raised (the True Blues) a body of so personable men I never saw together before. The gentlemen in scarlet filled the side gallery, those in blue the front gallery: but both galleries would not contain them all: some were constrained to stand below. All behaved admirably well, though I spoke exceedingly plain on "We preach Christ crucified". No laughing, no talking, all seemed to hear as for life. Surely this is a token for good.<sup>12</sup>

The convening and meeting of the armed societies was to become in itself something of a ritual and this was particularly to be seen during days of celebration. The anniversary of the Glorious Revolution, the 12 July and 4 November, the anniversary of the king's birth, that of the prince of Wales and the battle of Aughrim, as well as St. Patrick's Day, were red-letter days in the Volunteers' calendar. A typical such celebration occurred in Cork in the summer of 1778 to mark the anniversary of the Boyne. The Boyne, True Blue, Aughrim and Culloden Societies marched to Christ Church where an 'excellent' sermon was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Sandiford. These societies having **being joined on the Mall by the Cork Union, fired three rounds 'to the entire satisfaction of**

an amazing number of spectators'. The evening concluded with the ringing of bells, firing of guns, bonfires and 'every other demonstration of joy' in which the above societies were joined by the Blarney Volunteers.<sup>13</sup> These social occasions had a decidedly Whiggish tone about them — indicated above by the names of the various societies — and a bewildering variety of patriotic and loyal toasts were drunk, from the king and constitution, the earl and countess of Buckinghamshire, to the colonels of the various armed societies.

An ardent Protestantism is also a feature of these occasions and a Volunteer service and sermon before the celebrations became a permanent feature of the movement, fines being imposed, in some instances, on those Volunteers who failed to attend. The Doneraile Rangers, celebrating the anniversary of King William's birth on 4 November 1779, resolved 'to go to church to hear a sermon suitable to the day to be preached by the chaplain of said society, after church to fire three volleys in order of the day, and to dine together, officers and men to pay alike'.<sup>14</sup> The Protestant clergy, both Anglican and particularly Presbyterian, were among the most enthusiastic supporters of the Volunteers and each society had its own chaplain as well as secretary and, on occasion, surgeon. The quality and tone of these Volunteer sermons is reflected in one preached before the Clare Volunteers on 9 January 1780 by the Rev. Samuel Levingston entitled, 'The obligations men are under to exert themselves for the defence of their country'. For the Rev. Levingston because 'man is a social animal — it must be the duty of every individual to exert himself for society's safety and happiness' and when society was under threat the recourse to arms was not to be despised: 'nations and communities are frequently reduced to make the last appeal and trust to their arms, and the providence of God for their safety, and for the preservation of their religion and liberties'. Men who assume arms in this situation 'show

that they are actuated by the noblest principles of human nature (and) act a most generous and God-like part'. Nor did the Rev. Levingston remain aloof from current political feelings, praising the Volunteers for having 'co-operated with the manly efforts of our senators in removing those unjust restrictions with which a blind and illiberal policy has long shackled our commerce, to the poverty and ruin of the nation'.<sup>15</sup>

Although official attitude to the formation of the Volunteers was rather mute and circumspect, there were official and establishment figures both at local and central level, who were prepared to accord them recognition in view of the circumstances of the time. In June 1778 the colonel of the Culloden Society 'gave an elegant entertainment to Major-General Mocher, commanding the troops here, to Governor Lysaght, colonel of the Cork Blues, and the rest of the officers of that society'. Later in the evening the mayor of Cork 'entertained them to a cold collation', beer being given 'in profusion' to a doubtlessly grateful populace.<sup>16</sup> During the same month Lord Shannon reviewed the True Blues and Boyne Society at the camp field, Ballyphehane, and on 7 September the first general field-day of all the armed societies of the city took place. As Dr. Smyth has pointed out, the action of Shannon, the governor of the county, 'was an act of recognition which would scarcely have been bestowed on illegal forces'.<sup>17</sup>

#### POLICING FUNCTION

The initial and primary function of the Volunteers was the maintenance of law and order, in the advent of external invasion or internal insurrection, and the defence of property. At a meeting of the several officers of the armed societies in the Cork council chamber on 11 May 1778 it was resolved

that the several armed societies of the city were determined to aid the civil power in the execution of its office, on every occasion that may be necessary

and particularly in suppressing all tumultuous and illegal assemblies in their very infancy in and about this city.<sup>18</sup>

With much of the country denuded of troops by virtue of the American war, the Volunteers gradually assumed those duties previously performed by the regular army. The council of Cork advised the mayor in July 1778 to inform Mr. Secretary Heron that the city was without any of the crown's forces and that it would be necessary to have forces immediately for the protection and peace of the city. The mayor was requested to employ persons to watch and guard the powder magazine and armoury until some regular forces came to garrison the city. In June 1778 on the departure of the regular troops the guard was mounted in the city by the True Blues and their example was followed by the Boyne and Aughrim Societies. William Gogan and Daniel McCarthy 'two notorious cow-stealers' were escorted to Bandon in March 1779 by a party of the Dunmanway Association and from there to Cork by the Bandon Blues under the command of Captain Briggs. At a meeting of the officers of the several armed societies of the city in May 1778 thanks were proffered to the Passage Society for their attendance on the execution of three malcontents. French prisoners were brought from Kinsale to Killarney in August 1779, in two divisions, the first being escorted by the True Blue and detachments of other societies, the second escorted by the Blackpool Association and detachments from the Boyne and other societies. It was remarked that 'nothing can equal the tenderness and humanity with which the prisoners were treated by the gentlemen of the societies'.<sup>19</sup> The Cork Union resolved in February 1780 'to assist the civil magistrates of the city in suppressing all unlawful combinations amongst the journeymen, tradesmen and artificers of the city'.<sup>20</sup>

These policing activities of the Volunteers were reflected throughout Munster and the country as a whole. The neighbourhood of

Killorglin, County Kerry, being infested with Whiteboys, a representation was made to Sir Barry Denny, commander of the Tralee corps, who 'sent his light company during the night, double mounted, and they succeeded in bringing a large number of prisoners on a Shrove Tuesday and lodged them in the old gaol, which by this accession, was then filled to almost suffocation'. Acting on another request Sir Barry sent his light infantry corps in pursuit of an outlaw named Canty who had kept the barony of Clanmaurice 'in constant terror' and 'after a great deal of fatigue' they apprehended him and lodged him in gaol.<sup>21</sup>

The community in general were grateful for their endeavours. In October 1778 the mayor, sheriffs and common council of Cork city expressed thanks to the armed societies, for preserving the peace during the absence of regular troops and the clergymen of the South Friary expressed sincere thanks to the gentlemen of the armed societies for their efforts. Nonetheless the policing activities of the Volunteers were on occasion arbitrary and hamfisted. Confusion arose between the True Blues of Cork and the Rathcormac Society in September 1779 over the guarding and escorting of French prisoners.<sup>22</sup> At a meeting of the inhabitants of Drimoleague and its neighbourhood 'to the number of 75' in October 1779, it was resolved to form an armed society to be called the Drimoleague Foresters with Captain Tonson as its colonel. It was further resolved

that any of our neighbours who reside within the distance of three miles of Drimoleague, that are able and qualified to bear arms, and will not join our society . . . (will) receive no sort of aid or assistance whatsoever from us, but will be looked on as enemies to our situation.<sup>23</sup>

William Kelly of Skull related how the Volunteers in West Cork proved unaccommodating on his request for escorting prisoners: ' . . . how great was my disappoint-

ment to find they can be influenced by motives, such as private pique and resentment, that ought never to take the place of the public good'.<sup>24</sup>

#### MILITARY DIMENSION

The Volunteer movement was military in structure and democratic in organization and this combination was at once the reason for its political success and a symbol of the inherent duality of the movement. The Volunteers were first and foremost a military force. They saw themselves as part of the old militia tradition, in effect a people's army, precipitating government action as they did in 1756. The Volunteer societies however, coming into being in 1778 had no comparison with the militia proposed by Ogle in March 1778 and differed radically, in certain respects, from the old militia tradition. The Volunteers received no financial aid from the government and were not bound to it by oaths of loyalty. Nonetheless most Volunteers in 1778 probably regarded it as only a question of time before they were arrayed under the new Militia Act and formed into regiments.

Their military structures and concerns were clearly set forth at a meeting of the gentlemen of Doneraile and its neighbourhood held on 12 July 1779, when they resolved to 'form themselves into an armed society consisting of one troop of horse and one company of foot, to be called the Doneraile Rangers, each troop to be officered by one captain and one lieutenant'. Each horse was to have 'a carbine, bayonet, sword, pistols, cartouch box, two buff belts and goatskin furniture', and the foot 'a musket, bayonet, cartouch box and belts'.<sup>25</sup> Each troop of horse usually comprised a farrier, trumpeter, sergeant and some forty rank and file, not including officers. Where there were two troops in a corps there were not more than thirty rank and file to each. Infantry corps of more than one company usually consisted of two sergeants, two corporals, a

drummer, fifer and some fifty rank and file, not including officers. Such corps as consisted of one company only, usually had sixty to 100 in their ranks. As well as horse and foot the Volunteers in Munster also had meagre artillery detachments. The Cashel Volunteers, the Tipperary Volunteers, the Limerick Independents, the Royal Glin Artillery and the Imokilly Blue Artillery mustered between them a smattering of field-pieces, four-pounders, and grasshoppers made of brass.<sup>26</sup>

There was certainly no shortage of men with military experience or a military tradition behind them in Munster. The Protestant ascendancy were essentially a military caste; there was a strong militia and local defence tradition in Munster, and the province had many veterans of the Seven Years' War and more recently the American war. Of the 115 officers, from captain upwards, in the 1756 militia array in Cork, some thirty names recur among the ranks of the Volunteer officers: Stawell, Warren, Hyde, Newenham, Uniacke, St. Leger, Colthurst, James, Atkins, Lawton, Beecher, Longfield, Busteed, Westropp, Newman, Lombard, Cooke, Hungerford, Roberts, Clark, Bernard, Sealy, Freeman, Aldworth, Staward, Welstead, White, Green, Herrick, Jackson; all of which would tend to suggest a continuing militia tradition.<sup>27</sup> The military aspects of volunteering were taken with great seriousness. Military manuals were published (e.g. 'Exercise of a company of foot'), drill sergeants were appointed for the purpose of teaching military drill and discipline, and fines were imposed for failing to attend such drills. Medals were awarded to those who distinguished themselves in proficiency and skill with arms. Relations between the regular army and the Volunteers was generally good if somewhat circumspect. The Ennis Volunteers resolved in August 1779 'for the future to apprehend any deserters that may appear in and about the town of Ennis'.<sup>28</sup> In July 1780 the freedom of the city of Cork was

presented to Lieut. Colonel Crosbie of the 67th Regiment, at the behest of the united corps of Cork under the command of Colonel Morrison.

The validity and effectiveness of the Volunteers as a military force has often been questioned. How would they have fared in the face of an invasion force? Would they have militarily collapsed as the Dutch free corps did in the face of the Prussian army? These questions are purely hypothetical. The Volunteers were never to be called upon to play a military role as such. But its military structure did provide the means by which the movement, physically at least, was held together. Like the social aspects of volunteering its military structures were crucial in holding together the disparate elements and curbing the centrifugal tendencies of the movement.

#### INFLUENCE OF THE GENTRY

The main impetus behind the formation of the Volunteers in Munster came from the gentry and the country gentlemen. The Hungerfords in Rosscarbery and Clonakilty, the Uniacke-Fitzgeralds in Imokilly and Youghal and the Colthursts of Blarney were all actively involved and influential in the Volunteers in their respective areas. Lord Kingsborough at Mitchelstown, Lord Egmont at Kanturk, Lord Mountcashel at Kilworth and Lord Doneraile headed Volunteer associations in their districts and were influential colonels. Members of the Newman, Foot and Lombard families made up the entire officer list of the Loyal Newberry Musqueteers. The motto of the Waterford Artillery commanded by Captain Joshua Paul was the same as that of the Gordon family. The Blennerhassets were actively involved in the Volunteers in Limerick and Kerry and the Riddlestown Hussars reflect their influence, Riddlestown being the family mansion of the Blennerhassets. It was the gentry, making up the bulk of the officer corps, who, through family and political connections, set up a



network of communication between often disparate Volunteer societies. The Volunteers were also closely attached to and often integrated into prevailing political structures and alliances. Richard Longfield was M.P. for Cork city between 1776 and 1783 and was also colonel of the Aughrim Society during the same period. His brother John, colonel of the Mallow Independents, was a defeated candidate for Mallow borough in 1781. The victorious candidate was Anthony Jephson whose family was closely attached to the Shannon interest. The Hungerfords and Uniacke-Fitzgeralds were also closely aligned with the Shannon interest. Robert Uniacke was M.P. for Youghal and colonel of the Youghal Independent Blues contemporaneously. John Bagwell, colonel of the Cork Boyne, was an unsuccessful candidate in the election in Cork in 1783. The Mitchelstown Light Dragoons provided Lord Kingsborough with a potential political launching pad. The compactness and cohesion of the Volunteer societies made for the development of political consciousness and activity and thus they came to be feared by political suzerains who saw them as a threat to the prevailing political order and structure. However, it also rendered them vulnerable to manipulation by these self-same politicians and by aspiring ones.

A number of Volunteer corps were raised, equipped and commanded by local landlords. In a letter to Shannon from Mallow on 9 November 1779, a petitioner begged leave 'for five and twenty stand of arms for my brother-in-law J. Sorruff, who has raised a society at Buttevant and clothed them at his own expense'. Confidences were however on occasion misplaced. The letter goes on to tell of a Mr. Devonshire who had forty stand or arms from Shannon and another thirty from the corporation of Cork,

and now has no society under his command, nor does he know how he intends to employ the arms,

for he seems to me to have turned his sword into a plough-share, and laid out the value of his intended colours — for his late Union Society — on sheep which he has at Bellview near this, where he has gone to live.<sup>29</sup>

Volunteer corps raised and equipped exclusively by a landlord were not common however and did not provide the dynamism of the movement. The involvement of the greater landed and political magnates such as the earls of Shannon and Inchiquin was vague, tentative and latent; though they did colonel the True Blue of Cork and the Inchiquin Fusileers respectively, they took little or no part in the life of these corps. Shannon's involvement with the Volunteers in Cork apparently went little further than reviewing the various corps and securing arms. As subsequent events were to show he had little conception or understanding of the internal political life of these corps. A curious incident which reflects the lack of communication and understanding which existed between the acknowledged and ostensible leaders of the Volunteers and the main body of the movement is recorded in an entry in the minutes of the Ennis Volunteers for April 1780. Thanks were expressed to Lord Inchiquin for his generous offer of mounting two pieces of cannon, but it was resolved that as the mounting of the cannon would cost £50, which the corps regarded as too much 'particularly as many of this corps, who are tradesmen, are not completely appointed or able to provide themselves with proper accoutrements', and there being already a subscription from the inhabitants of the town for the better support of the corps, they proposed, it being agreeable to his lordship, that any subscription he pleased to give 'be accepted of this corps as a further aid to the fund for the purpose of purchasing grenades and side-arms, in the place of cannon'.<sup>30</sup>

The role played by the gentry and country gentlemen in the Volunteers in the county was

emulated by the professional and commercial elements in the city of Cork. The officer list of the Cork Boyne, enrolled in 1776, included Lieut.-Colonel Hugh Lawton (collector of revenue and excise); Major John Bass (linen-draper); Captains: Thomas Chatterton (attorney and clerk of the crown and peace of Cork), James Chatterton (barrister), Daniel McCarthy (probably a woollen-draper or glass warehouse owner); Lieutenants: Kearns (probably a carpenter) and Travers (attorney). The True Blue of Cork, one of the oldest societies in the country, enrolled in 1745 and colonized by the Earl of Shannon, included among its officers Godfrey Baker (alderman), James Morrison (alderman and probably a timber merchant), Michael Roberts Westropp, Francis Gray, Jasper Lucas, John Thompson and Charles Denroche, (merchants). The officer list of the Cork Union included Henry Hickman (wine merchant and woollen draper), Benjamin Hayes, James Gregg (attorneys) and one Galway, probably a merchant. The Aughrim of Cork included a timber-merchant and a barrister among its officers. The office list of the Blackpool Horse consisted of a merchant, malster and tanner, a shoemaker and a cotton manufacturer.

The members of the Bandon Boyne were all described as 'men of standing and position, gentlemen and the sons of gentlemen'.<sup>31</sup> Barington refers to an association called the Independent Light Horse who would admit none but the younger brothers of the most respectable families.<sup>32</sup> General Dundas remarked that 'in the south they are chiefly composed of the gentlemen in the country, shopkeepers in the towns and other ranks of men who have some degree of property'.<sup>33</sup> These men were bound together by a hierarchy of social bonds, marriage, political alliance, economic interdependence, king, country and the Protestant faith. The threat to their society not alone bred 'a garrison mentality' but also an 'aristocratic egalitarianism' which was reflected

in both the military structure and democratic organization of the Volunteer movement. Articles of association were drawn up by some corps and the egalitarian and democratic aspects of volunteering are aptly demonstrated in the resolution adopted by the Doneraile Rangers on 16 August 1779:

That no subordination shall be between officers and men, except under arms, that then it shall be in the power of any officer to fine or order any man out of the ranks for neglect of duty, by talking or other improper behaviour, and if any persons should find himself aggrieved by such officer, he may appeal to be tried by a court martial, and if found guilty of the charge to pay a fine of five British shillings, or be excluded, and if such persons shall be acquitted the officer shall pay the like fine and be censured by the court.<sup>34</sup>

The Boyne Society resolved in December 1779, 'hereafter the colonel and several other field and staff officers to be elected by the whole corps and the captains and officers of companies to be elected by companies to which they belong'. It was further resolved by the society

that all complaints made by the member of any company against a member of the same company, whether he be officer or private, be tried by the committee of such company; and that if the member so tried shall think himself aggrieved by the sentence of such committee of his company, he shall have liberty to appeal to the general committee, and if such appeal should be found groundless then the fine to be augmented to double the sum.<sup>35</sup>

At a meeting of the Ennis Volunteers in December 1778 one John McCarthy was sent for courtmartial before a committee on complaint made to the major, but was acquitted and was later promoted to the rank of sergeant and appointed as deputy to the Limerick Volunteers in 1780. The Munster Volunteer Registry stated that 'gentlemen of the first distinction are privates'. Officers were elected by the

corps usually for a duration of one year, as also were chaplains and secretaries and new members aspiring to join the corps. A committee of three was chosen from each company of the Cork Boyne — one of the three chosen to be an officer, to act as president of such committee — to represent the body at large and attend meetings of the other armed associations in Cork. The committee of the Clare Volunteers was appointed for only three months at a time. These resolutions were no mere idle gestures but were effectively carried through. At a meeting of the Doneraile Rangers on 1 August 1780 it was resolved that members negligent in paying fines, should in future strictly adhere to rules or incur the displeasure of the society or be expelled 'provided a meeting of the society be appointed to try and enquire into such complaints'.<sup>36</sup> It was in these elective, egalitarian and democratic aspects of the movement that the seeds of political consciousness were sown and nourished.

#### FINANCES

The Volunteers received no financial assistance from the government and were essentially self-funding, their sources of finance being diverse, haphazard and irregular. Some financial assistance was forthcoming from municipal corporations and local subscriptions. The corporation at Youghal ordered in 1779 that, 'half the sum granted to the Volunteer and ranger societies to buy powder and ball, be granted to the Union Society for the same purpose'.<sup>37</sup> The Ennis Volunteers paid public thanks in 1778 'to the worthy inhabitants of the town of Ennis, who have so liberally and voluntarily subscribed to aid our fund'.<sup>38</sup> Wealthy Catholic merchants in Cork, Limerick and Waterford also made contributions to Volunteer funds. Up to 1780 however the Volunteers consisted primarily of Protestants capable of carrying arms, who could clothe and accoutre themselves. Nonetheless a central fund or 'stock purse' was necessary to defray corps' ex-

penses. The Boyne Society had a 'convenient box' for entrance-money, dues, fines, forfeits etc. The Doneraile Rangers resolved on 16 August 1779 that each private man should pay the secretary 11s. 4d., each subordinate officer one guinea, each captain two guineas and the colonel four guineas, yearly, to help defray the expenses of the society. Each officer of the Ennis Volunteers had to pay an admission fee on entering the corps according to his rank:

Lieutenant Colonel	£2.16s.10½d.
Major	£2. 5s. 6d.
Captain	£1.14s. 1½d.
Lieutenant	£1. 2s. 9d.
Ensign	£0.11s. 4½d.

Officers who did not pay their commissions forfeited their rank and another officer was balloted for. A meagre financial return was secured from fines and in July 1779 the Ennis Volunteers resolved that each Volunteer should pay 1s.1d. monthly to defray expenses. Subscriptions were not however very regularly paid, as evidenced by the minutes of Volunteer societies, and differences on the question of money within societies, as set out in a letter from Robert Fitzgerald to Lord Shannon in October 1779, reflect the generally haphazard nature of Volunteer finances.<sup>39</sup>

The stock purse met the general expenses of the society. Drill sergeants, trumpeters and fifers were paid a fee for their services. Denis Hallaran, fifer with the Ennis Volunteers was paid a fee of 3s.3d. per week in 1778 as well as being supplied with a suit of regimentals. John McCarthy received 4s.4d. per week on his promotion to sergeant and had £1.2s. expenses paid when appointed as deputy to the Limerick Volunteers in June 1780. The clerk and beadle of the Boyne Society of Cork received 1d. each for every member in the society on quarter nights and a half-crown each time the society attended a funeral. The beadle was also provided with a pair of shoes by the society

each year. The general expenses of the Ennis Volunteers can be seen from a treasury report for the eighteen weeks ending 22 February 1779.<sup>40</sup>

Pay to sergeants during this period	£ 5.10s.6d.
Pay to drummers during this period	£ 1.16s.0d.
Pay to fifers during this period	£ 1. 6s.0d.
Ribbands for fifers	2s.2d.
Powder	£ 1. 1s.6d.
Door keeper	9s.2½d.
Drink and turf	1s.7½d.
	£10. 0s.0d.
Balance	£ 4.19s.7d.
Fines for not attending service the previous Sunday	1s.1d.

With the swelling of the ranks after 1779 however and the inclusion of the 'lower-kind' of Protestants, who were unable to clothe or arm themselves, the question of central finance became a crucial matter for each corps. 'A Citizen' writing in February 1778 declared:

It is the interest of every individual who has a family or property to protect, not only to patronize such a scheme (i.e. the formation of armed societies) but if necessary to put his hands in his pocket to purchase guns, or any other materials, that may not be within the reach of the lower kinds of Protestants to enable them to become members of these societies.<sup>41</sup>

The Doneraile Rangers met on 6 November 1779 in order to take into consideration the clothing and accoutring of the company of foot, and earlier it had been agreed that subscriptions should be received by the secretary to form a fund to clothe and accoutre 'such of the company of foot as shall be deemed not able to clothe themselves'. In May 1780 twenty persons of the company of foot were ordered to be clothed out of the stock purse in pursuance of the former resolution. Individual officers also purchased arms and clothing on occasion for men in the ranks. One Edward

Power, a member of the Ennis Volunteers, was supplied with a scarlet coat and breeches by the society in April 1780, the expense being met by Captain Crowe of said society. At a meeting of the Bantry Volunteers on 5 November 1779 'sincere and grateful thanks' were proffered to Colonel Hamilton White for his 'care and attention to them, his paying a drill sergeant, and furnishing them with many necessities, exclusive of his monthly subscription'.<sup>42</sup>

#### MILITARY EQUIPMENT

Because of the rather haphazard nature of Volunteer finances, they had, like the old militia, a continuous problem with the provision of arms. Influential figures like Lord Shannon and Lord Inchiquin were often the means through which government arms were procured. Thanks were proffered to Inchiquin from the Ennis Volunteers in February 1780 for sending them 150 stand of arms, colours and two field-pieces. Nonetheless the shortage of arms continued and it was resolved by the corps that only those properly equipped would be admitted to the ranks on field days. The Volunteers' involvement with the government was primarily on the question of arms, the country's defences and the means and ways of furthering them. In the early summer of 1779 Lucius O'Brien was calling on the lord lieutenant to form a militia in Clare and the earl of Clanricarde was offering the services of the Clanricarde Volunteers for the purposes of national defence. Buckinghamshire was writing to Weymouth in June 1779: 'applications are hourly made for arms in consequence of the late alarm (i.e. threatened French invasion) which shall in every instance be civilly refused'.<sup>43</sup> However, a number of weeks later Buckinghamshire was relenting, 'in case of invasion, it would not be in the power of gentlemen of the country to defend themselves, the people in general having no arms' and he submitted 'whether it might not be

justifiable and proper to lodge a number of them (arms) under the care of the commanding officers in some of the principal towns in the southern part of Ireland'.<sup>44</sup> In the autumn of 1779 some 16,000 arms — 500 to the governor of each county — were dispatched. Ferrar tells of 1000 stand of arms arriving in Limerick on 7 August 1779, 500 for the county and 500 for the city.

Almost a year prior to this however, on 1 April 1778, the corporation of Cork supplied, out of the city armoury, over 570 muskets, bayonets and cartouch boxes, to the True Blues, the Aughrim, Union Societies and the Cork Blues as well as the military society at Passage, on securities amounting to over £1,200.<sup>45</sup> On 4 December 1778 the corporation of Youghal resolved that 'Richard Uniacke be paid £40.5s.0d., the expense attending the packing, portorage, and carriage of the old militia arms to Cork, and carriage of new arms to Youghal'.<sup>46</sup> The provision of arms to the Volunteers by the Government, which hitherto had generally ignored or dismissed Volunteer activity, was at once a reflection of the financial and political bankruptcy of the Dublin administration and a tacit, if grudging recognition, of the Volunteers on its part.

#### NUMBERS AND DISTRIBUTION

There was a noticeable fall off in Volunteer activity towards the close of 1778. This was probably due to a lull after the initial flush of enthusiasm and the failure of any invasion threat from France to materialize that summer. It may also however have reflected a certain hesitancy and uncertainty on the Volunteers' part when the Militia Act failed to be implemented. Spain's entry into the war in June 1779 and the alarm caused by an apparently imminent French invasion swelled the ranks of the Volunteers. In Cork, where it was felt a French invasion force was most likely to attempt a landing, as many new corps were enrolled as in the previous year. The number

of men in the Volunteers at any one time is not easily determined. Some of the estimates — for instance that of Lenihan, who put the number of Volunteers in 1782 at 150,000 — are obviously far too high. MacNevin's estimate of 30,000 within a year of the Volunteers' initiation is also probably too high. General Dundas put the figure by the end of 1778 at 'above 10,000' and by the latter half of 1779 at 'about 25,000'. The figures given by the *Dublin Evening Post* in 1779 — 10,000 in April, 18,000 in July, 47,000 in August (surely an error) and 19,000 in September — would seem more in tune with the general development of the movement. The number of Volunteers up to mid 1779 was probably at the very most 20,000, and may have been considerably less than that. After the summer of 1779 however its membership gradually swelled. A correspondent in the *Hibernian Chronicle* put the number of Volunteers at 40,000 in April 1780 and by the end of the year they probably numbered 60,000. At their height in 1782 the Volunteers probably numbered some 60,000-80,000, though they probably never reached the figure of 100,000 (18,000 in Munster) suggested by the government. Given the general population level of the country at the time, the ratio of Protestants to Catholics, and males to females, as much as 20% of the Protestant male population was in the Volunteers by 1782. The Volunteers in Cork can be broken down into four main geographic focal-points — Cork city and its immediate hinterland, the area around Imokilly and Youghal in East Cork, the West Cork area centred around Bandon and the area of North Cork. With seventeen societies within the city and its surrounds, Cork was the greatest and most potent centre of Volunteer activity in Munster. There was a concentration of Volunteer activity also in and around Youghal and Bandon, though in West Cork societies tended to be more dispersed than in the east of the county. The societies in West

and North Cork were the most dispersed. Volunteer activity was much more conspicuous in the larger towns and the city than in the more remote country areas. The movement in the south of the county was in this sense much more active than in the north, with thirty-eight societies as opposed to eighteen in the latter. This was doubtlessly due, in part, to the maritime nature of the south of the county, where an invasion was most likely, but it was also due to the fact that 'towns in South Cork displayed growth and activity quite unknown in towns and villages in North Cork'.

#### CATHOLIC INVOLVEMENT

The summer of 1779 was a crucial period in the development of the Volunteers in Munster. In June a French fleet was reportedly sighted in Bantry Bay. This communication threw the inhabitants of Cork into the 'greatest consternation'. The armed societies in one body collected on the Mall. The True Blue society took the guard on the departure of the regular troops for Bantry and 'kept the peace in the greatest regularity for that night'. A 'great number' of Roman Catholic gentlemen immediately offered to join with their Protestant fellow citizens in the ranks and 'were well received'.<sup>48</sup> The Protestant bishop of Cork maintained that among 250 men in the city who offered to join the Volunteer ranks 'a few' were Catholics and were accepted.<sup>49</sup> In Fethard on 4 June, Sir Richard Fitzgerald and other Catholic gentlemen waited upon Lovelace Lowe, chief magistrate of the town and delivered the following address: 'We his majesty's loyal subjects, the Roman Catholics of the town and neighbourhood of Fethard, beg leave to offer our service at this time of public alarm, for the protection of the kingdom against foreign invasion or domestic disturbance.'<sup>50</sup> The French threat, though it proved groundless, was not without repercussions. The prestige of the Volunteers in the community soared. The mayor, sheriffs and com-

mon council of Cork thanked the armed societies for their action during the French threat and it was remarked that 'the care of this city now devolves on the armed societies'.<sup>51</sup> The action of Catholic gentlemen was also not lost on the Volunteers. The Passage Union thought it incumbent on them to 'return their sincere thanks to their Roman Catholic neighbours who so loyally and spiritedly offered to join them on Friday, the 14 ins., on the alarm of our perfidious enemies the French having landed in Bantry Bay'.<sup>52</sup> The Clonmel Association and other armed societies passed similar resolutions.

While Catholics were not included in the earlier militia arrays and were forbidden, officially at least, to carry arms, a measure of Catholic involvement in the Volunteers in Munster is noticeable from the outset. There were probably a number of reasons for this. Protestants were thin on the ground over large areas of Munster and needed Catholic support if they were to have any hope of repelling an attempted invasion. The surviving Catholic gentry and the emergence of a Catholic middle-class, who were, in every respect, the social equals of their Protestant counterparts, if religious differences were laid aside, tended to create a certain class solidarity which proved stronger than sectarian divisions. In the hierarchical and semi-feudal society which pertained over large tracts of Munster, loyalty and dependence on the local landed magnate often outweighed religious considerations. Growing religious tolerance and the mere fact of living together in the same community or even vicinity, whatever the divisions, tended to create a certain solidarity, particularly when this community was seen to be under threat from without.

Our knowledge, however, of Catholic involvement with, and participation in the Volunteer movement, particularly in its early years, is vague and scrappy. Amyas Griffith records that:

when it was rumoured that the French had landed in Bantry, did not all the principal Roman Catholics (who had not at that time been embodied) apply for arms to their Protestant brethren? and did they not keep the city of Cork quiet, whilst the well-disciplined Volunteers marched to Bantry to engage (as they thought) the enemy.<sup>53</sup>

Griffith goes on to tell of how at the time when he was lieutenant of the Carbery Independents, 'many of whom were Roman Catholics . . . the whole corps accompanied me at night from Skibbereen to Bantry, fifteen miles, and the Roman Catholics appeared to me as determined as any of the rest'.<sup>54</sup> The Ennis Volunteers at a meeting on 20 June 1779 resolved, 'that every member of this society do qualify themselves by taking the oath of allegiance prescribed by the government, at quarter sessions next month' which would tend to suggest some Catholic involvement in the corps.<sup>55</sup> Burke in his *History of Clonmel* maintains that the Carrick Union enrolled in September 1779 and the Caher Union, enrolled January 1781, were 'almost entirely Catholic'.<sup>56</sup> Coquebert de Montbret on his journey through Kerry in 1791 remarks that the region comprising Glenerough, Bantry and the whole of Kenmare Bay was Sullivan country:

Here there are perhaps 200 or 300 fathers of families bearing that name. A Mr. Mahoni, a Catholic gentleman worth £1,000 per annum, living three miles from Neddeen, was colonel of a Volunteer company, all Sullivans and all well-off men enjoying from £200 to £500 a year. The district around Neddeen is hardly recognizable since the Volunteers introduced a taste for order.<sup>57</sup>

Occurrences such as these were however rare. In February 1780 the knight of Kerry requested Maurice O'Connell to assist in the formation of a corps in Iveragh, but O'Connell subtly extricated himself from the situation by pointing to the fact that Catholics were forbidden to carry arms. It was also in Kerry that the

first 'open' invitation to co-operate with them was forwarded by the Volunteers to their Catholic fellow countrymen. At the formation of the Dingle Volunteers on 19 August 1779, at which several Catholic gentlemen were present and declared their intention to defend their country should it be attacked, it was resolved that,

We your Protestant neighbours and fellow subjects, members of the present association, return you our thanks for this your manly, loyal and liberal declaration. From a long acquaintance with your conduct and good behaviour on every occasion, we are induced to place the utmost confidence in the sincerity of your profession, and now declare ourselves ready to co-operate with you in the defence of this our native kingdom, and in the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in this part of the country.<sup>58</sup>

The example of Dingle did not go unnoticed. 'A Roman Catholic gentleman' in Dublin that September advised the Catholics of the city 'to associate and like their loyal and spirited brethren of the town of Dingle, reciprocally unite with their friends and countrymen in the common cause against their avowed enemies the French and Spaniards'.<sup>59</sup>

The continuing financial difficulties of the government had by May 1779 effectively made the array of a militia moribund. The safety, the very life of the Protestant nation now solely devolved on the Volunteers. By supplying them with arms the government had given them a tacit recognition: 'the thanks of parliament was given and the associations were established and acknowledged to all intents and purposes'.<sup>60</sup> Their ranks were swelling with new recruits. Their prestige and stature in the community had increased enormously. Offers of assistance had been received from Catholics and been graciously welcomed. The disparate Volunteer corps had reached a psychological maturity, becoming both self-conscious and self-confident.

The view expressed in some quarters of the union of Irishmen appearing 'in the light of a

riotous mob, assembled in contempt of the law and in derogation of the constitutional prerogative of the crown' was dismissed. A 'Cork Associate' writing in October 1779 remarked 'the armed societies of Ireland seem to me to be her Protestant inhabitants, armed and disciplined, so as to be able to assist the civil magistrate when called upon and also to defend their country whenever attacked by a foreign enemy'. He went on to argue that it was not being 'armed or unarmed which makes an assembly illegal but either the intention to commit, or the actual commission of an unlawful act' and put the armed societies into historical perspective by referring back to Norman times when 'every man of landed property was obliged by the spirit of the feudal constitution to be armed and properly disciplined in order to perform the condition on which he held his property'. It was never contrary to the spirit of the free constitution, that 'the subject should be always well armed and disciplined'. Even if the armed societies were illegal they were justified in view of Britain's negligence of her duty: 'If government should neglect to make that provision when war is almost at our gates, the safety of three million inhabitants would require a suspension of that law.'<sup>61</sup> The new spirit of the times is epitomized in a rather eulogistic letter in the *Hibernian Chronicle* of 7 June 1779:

The generous youth, the veteran citizen, the Protestant and Papist uniting in common cause, and displaying such ardour and impetuosity to repel the invaders of their country, are subjects of lasting panygyrick . . . can any man suppose that the ardour these gentlemen testified was not the genuine result of a determined resolution, to fight and die for that country which preserved and protected everything they held dear?

REFERENCES

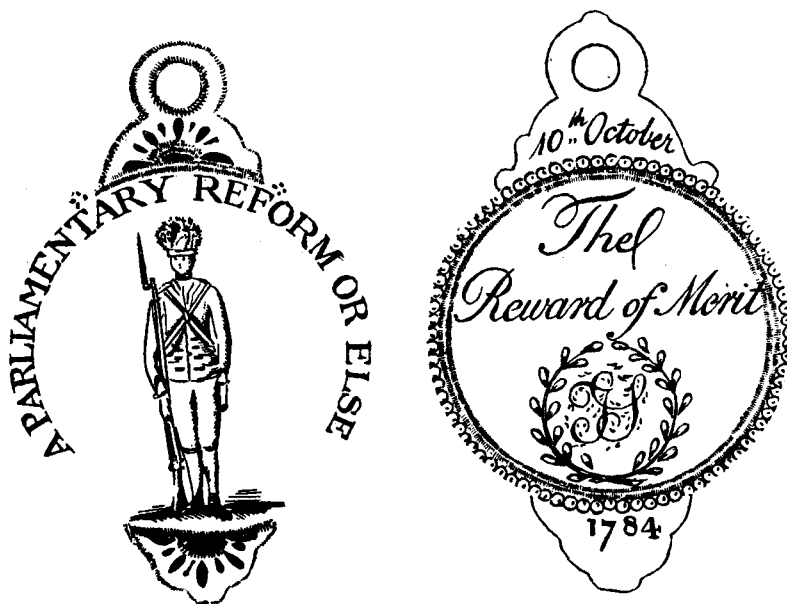
1 National Library of Ireland, MSS 4242-3, 6 July 1778.  
 2 N.L.I., MS 13301(2) (letter 326).

3 Gwynn, *Henry Grattan and his times*, p. 58.  
 4 Bennett, *History of Bandon*, p. 307.  
 5 *JCHAS*, xxxiii (1928) p. 22.  
 6 N.L.I., MS 12155.  
 7 All quotes in this paragraph taken from *Rules and orders to be observed and kept by every member of the Boyne Society . . .*, pp. 4,8,10,12.  
 8 Gibson, *History of Cork*, ii, pp. 217-18.  
 9 *Hibernian Chronicle*, 26 Mar. 1778.  
 10 *Freeman's Journal*, 11 Apr. 1778.  
 11 *ibid.*, 25 July 1778.  
 12 *Journal of Rev. John Wesley*, iv, p. 115.  
 13 *H.C.*, 2 July 1778.  
 14 N.L.I., MS 12155.  
 15 *The Obligations men are under to exert themselves for the defence of their country*, pp 9,13,16,22,27  
 16 *H.C.*, 4 June 1778.  
 17 *Irish Sword*, xiii, p. 193.  
 18 *H.C.*, 7 May 1778.  
 19 *H.C.*, 23 Aug. 1779.  
 20 *H.C.*, 31 Jan. 1780.  
 21 *Kerry Magazine*, ii (1855) pp 225-6.  
 22 *H.C.*, 6 Sept. 1779.  
 23 *H.C.*, 28 Oct. 1779.  
 24 *H.C.*, 14 Aug. 1780.  
 25 N.L.I., MS 12155.  
 26 *Munster Volunteer Registry* p. 51.  
 27 N.L.I., MS 4105 ('A list of officers in the several regiments . . .'); Gibson, *History of county and city of Cork*, ii, pp 219-30.  
 28 N.L.I., MS 838, p. 14.  
 29 N.L.I., MS 13301(3).  
 30 N.L.I., MS 838, pp 24-5.  
 31 *JCHAS*, ix (1903) pp 21-2.  
 32 *Irish Sword*, ii, p. 352.  
 33 N.L.I., MS 14, 306 (Irish military associations).  
 34 N.L.I., MS 12155.  
 35 *Rules, orders and regulations of the military corps of Cork Boyne Society*, pp 4,9.



- 36 N.L.I., MS 12155.  
 37 Caulfield, *Youghal Council Book*, p. 501.  
 38 N.L.I., MS 838, p. 22.  
 39 N.L.I., MS 13301(3). (letter 130).  
 40 N.L.I., MS 838, p. 6.  
 41 *H.C.*, 26 Mar. 1778.  
 42 *H.C.*, 8 Nov. 1779.  
 43 Grattan, *Memoirs . . .*, i, p. 359.  
 44 *Ibid.*, p. 361.  
 45 Caulfield, *Council Book of Cork*, pp 930-1.  
 46 Caulfield, *Council Book of Youghal*, p. 500.  
 47 N.L.I., MS 743.  
 48 *H.C.*, 3 June 1779.  
 49 *Irish Sword*, xiii, p. 195.  
 50 *H.C.*, 7 June 1779.  
 51 *H.C.*, 29 July 1779.  
 52 *H.C.*, 3 June 1779.  
 53 Griffith, *Miscellaneous tracts*, pp 142-3. (Griffith's description of events does not correspond with that of the *H.C.*, 3 June 1779).  
 54 *ibid.*  
 55 N.L.I., MS 838, p. 12.  
 56 Burke, *History of Clonmel*, p. 158.  
 57 *Kerry Arch. and Hist. Soc. Jn.* 6 (1973) p. 87.  
 58 *H.C.*, 27 Sept. 1779.  
 59 *F.J.*, 11 Sept. 1779.  
 60 N.L.I., MS 14, 306 (Irish military associations).  
 61 *A defence of the armed societies of Ireland with respect to their legality*, pp 6,7,9,12,13.

(The second part of this account, a complete list of all the Volunteer societies in Co. Cork, will appear in the next issue.)



Medal of the Irish Volunteers (both sides)  
 (From *JCHAS* 1896, p. 232)