

JOHN WILKES & ISAAC BARRÉ:



Politics and Controversy
in Eighteenth Century Graphics

JOHN WILKES & ISAAC BARRÉ

Politics and Controversy in Eighteenth Century Graphics

*Based on Engravings from the
McClintock Collection of Wilkes College*

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Exhibition organized by Judith H. O'Toole
 Annie Bohlin and F. Charles Petrillo, Guest Curators
 Essays by Harold E. Cox, PhD, and F. Charles Petrillo
 Catalog design by Annie Bohlin

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The idea for this exhibition began in 1985 when we were compiling research for the exhibition, *Vale of Wyoming: Nineteenth Century Images from Campbell's Ledge to Nanticoke*. At that time we discovered important materials relating to John Wilkes and Isaac Barré which had been collected by Gilbert S. McClintock and given to Wilkes College at the time of his death in 1959. Among these were books, letters, and contemporary engravings that reveal the political exploits of the two men for whom our city is named. The majority of items included here are from that extraordinary collection.

I am indebted to Annie Bohlin and F. Charles Petrillo for initiating the exhibition and for organizing all phases of it. Annie became aware of the significance of the McClintock Collection while working on an inventory of its books in association with Rita Wolberg, whose assistance with this exhibition and the McClintock Collection is also very much appreciated. Charlie became interested in the historical value of the engravings and subsequently enlisted the help of Dr. Harold E. Cox, Professor of History at Wilkes College, in interpreting their often complicated 18th century references. Professor Cox's essays provide contemporary historical context and explain the complex images that a modern audience might otherwise find obscure and puzzling. Charlie's essay describes men and events of the Wyoming Valley in that era, and tells how Wilkes-Barre was named.

Robert Paustian, Director of the Farley Library, and Lorna Darte, Librarian in charge of Special Collections, were helpful in permitting access to the McClintock Collection. Roberta Waddell, Curator of Prints at The New York Public Library; Georgia B. Barnhill, Curator of Graphic Arts at the American Antiquarian Society; and Arlene Shy, Head Reader -- Research at the William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan, were generous with their time and resources in helping us to locate important prints not in the McClintock Collection and to secure loans from their respective institutions. The following people were also gracious in helping our research: Joan Hall Sussler, Curator of Prints, The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University; Catharina Slautterback, Administrative Assistant, Yale Center for British Art; Susan Naulty, Assistant Curator, and Thomas Lange, Associate Curator, Rare Book Department, The Huntington Library - Art Collections - Botanical Gardens; Inge Dupont and the staff of the Reading Room of The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; James Tyler, Department of Rare Books of the Olin Library at Cornell University; and Joan Diana, Librarian of the Wilkes-Barre campus of Pennsylvania State University. In addition, we thank the many other historians and librarians who gave us suggestions on sources and assistance in locating materials during our research.

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Judith H. O'Toole, Director



DER GENERAL WOLF,
 Ober-Befehlshaber des Englischen Kriegs Heeres in Nord Amerika, wird in der Schlacht bei Quebec
 am 13. September 1759 verwundet, und stirbt indem er seinen Sess erfuhr.

Exhibition No. 1

POLITICS AND CONTROVERSY IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GRAPHICS

The active political life of John Wilkes (1727-1797) coincided with the golden age of portraiture in England. This was stimulated initially by Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) who had established himself as a portrait painter in London in 1753. His immediate success inflated his prices which rose from about five and one-half pounds for a head, when he first began work, to twenty-five pounds only seven years later. Reynolds was followed by such figures as Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788) and George Romney (1734-1802). Gainsborough gained renown as a portrait and landscape painter. He treated nature in an imaginative rather than topographical fashion, and combined portraiture with landscape backgrounds. Romney became a popular English portrait painter, particularly in the late nineteenth century. The new enthusiasm for native art spread beyond portraits into fields such as historical painting. Reynolds chose figures from classical mythology and concentrated on classical attire. Since this was also a period in which England was rising to a position of dominance in the world, only temporarily disrupted in the 1770s by the American Revolution, historical painting became more contemporary. Reynolds' examples in the "grand style" were not expanded upon. Rather there was a vogue for paintings of current events.

The earliest exponent was Edward Penny, who first attracted attention with his painting "The Death of Wolfe." During the French and Indian War (1754-1763), British General James Wolfe had led a daring ascent of the Heights of Abraham from the banks of the St. Lawrence River in September 1759 to capture the city of Quebec, the key to control of Canada. Wolfe and his French adversary Montcalm had been mortally wounded almost simultaneously during the battle. Wolfe came to be the symbol of the new English imperial position, and probably no single historical event has generated more artistic activity with more wildly varying results. The most famous version of "The Death of General Wolfe" was by Benjamin West (1738-1820), who was born in Springfield, Pennsylvania, although he spent his career in England. West was the favorite painter of King George III, who purchased historical works from him for forty years, spending more than 34,000 pounds in the process. The West painting has specific significance to this exhibit. Since the average Englishman could not afford the prices charged for such works, a lively market developed in engravings copied from these pictures. An engraving of West's picture netted 6,000 pounds for the engraver and 15,000 pounds for the seller by 1760, an incredible sum in a time when the working head of a family might make only ten shillings (half a pound) a week. An increasing market for engravings and prints developed, and art came within the means of the middle-class, if not the workers. The picture is also of interest for the historical personages included. Directly above Wolfe in the center of the picture, with his chin virtually resting on Wolfe's head, is Isaac Barré.

Another major contributor to the art of Georgian England was William Hogarth (1697-1764), whose satirical works are a history of contemporary English manners. It was Hogarth who moved to prints and discovered the profit potentials in the wide circulation of cheap prints among all classes. In a politically charged atmosphere, the print soon came to be used for political purposes, and Hogarth became the most famous political cartoonist of his age. John Wilkes, the son of Israel Wilkes, a malt distiller, had the benefit of a liberal education and a fraternity of influential and profligate friends who established him as a member of parliament from Aylesbury in 1757. He was an opponent of both the domestic and foreign policy of John Stuart, 3d Earl of Bute (1713-1792), the prime minister to King George III, and England's first Scottish prime minister. Wilkes blamed Bute for blocking Wilkes' hopes for certain political appointments, including the governorship of Quebec. Early in his political career, Wilkes had published anonymous political pamphlets which attracted the attention of both the public and the King.

No. 1

No. 1A

No. 1B

When Wilkes became politically prominent, it was inevitable that Hogarth would depict him. The unflattering image Hogarth made was the result not so much of political disputes as of personal dislike, the fight being initiated by Wilkes. Wilkes and Hogarth were friendly until June 1762 when Wilkes began publication of the anti-administration journal *North Briton*. Wilkes received word that Hogarth was about to publish a political cartoon in which Wilkes, Churchill, Temple and Pitt would appear. Charles Churchill was an Anglican clergyman who became Wilkes' closest friend and whose tastes for debauchery probably surpassed even those of Wilkes. He had helped Wilkes establish the *North Briton*. Richard Temple was a follower of William Pitt the elder (1708-1778), who had led the country as prime minister during the Seven Years War. He resigned his position in 1861, being replaced by the Earl of Bute. By this time Pitt was involved in a struggle with the "King's Friends" for control of the government. Temple encouraged Wilkes to establish the *North Briton*.

Wilkes wrote to Hogarth declaring that the proposed cartoon, entitled "The Times," would be unfriendly and asked him not to publish it. Hogarth replied that the cartoon contained Pitt and Temple, but not Wilkes and Churchill. Wilkes then stated that attacks on his friends would result in counter-attacks and followed up his threat with publication of the *North Briton No. 17* in September 1762 in which he attacked Hogarth personally. Hogarth was described as having a rancorous and malevolent mind and as being a declining painter. Wilkes made much of Hogarth's new title of "serjeant-painter" to the king, stating that it meant "house-painter." Churchill is believed to have made additions and revisions to the text. For some unknown reason Wilkes didn't think that Hogarth would be offended, but he was mistaken. On 23 April 1763, Wilkes published his famous *North Briton No. 45*, which attacked the administration and resulted in Wilkes' arrest for libel. On 6 May, Wilkes appeared before a packed court and was discharged on the grounds of parliamentary privilege, as he was an elected member from Aylesbury. He was hailed by the crowd with the cry, "Wilkes and Liberty." Hogarth was at the trial and made sketches from which, ten days later, came an unflattering print of Wilkes bearing a liberty cap on a pole. It is worthy of note that the table contains not only a document labeled *North Briton No. 45*, but also one labeled *North Briton No. 17*. Hogarth had exacted his revenge. He would get even with Churchill in August when he published a caricature of the former clergyman as a bear in clerical garb.

Wilkes was a caricaturist's dream. Joshua Reynolds described him as having a low, short forehead, "shorter and lower" nose, "long and projecting" upper lip, crooked jaw, and "eyes sunken and horribly squinting." Hogarth obviously made the most of what he had to work with. Another source indicates that Wilkes also had very bad teeth in his later years. Hogarth's drawing shows that the deterioration was already setting in. The Hogarth picture spawned a host of copies. These include a French version which prominently shows (and misspells) *North Briton No. 17*, while hiding *No. 45* in the frame of the portrait. Another version, obviously copied from Hogarth, but reversed, shows Wilkes holding a copy of the Magna Carta. A relatively late picture of Wilkes, presumably made when he was Mayor of London in 1775, and containing no political significance, is a softened version of Hogarth, also with the pose reversed. The eyes are not as pronouncedly crossed as in Hogarth and the earlier copies. While the teeth are as bad as ever, the chin has been softened and, if an oil painting of Wilkes made in 1779 by John Zoffany is accurate, is much closer to his actual appearance.

The Hogarth caricature could also be turned against the enemies of Wilkes. This reversed copy is a faithful reproduction of Hogarth's original with the addition of Lord Bute to the picture. One of the mainstays of the *North Briton* had been charges of corruption and bribery against Bute and his allies. Wilkes, in March 1763, had launched a direct attack on Bute to supplement the otherwise anonymous references in the *North Briton*. It is likely that the cartoon dates from May or June 1763, shortly after publication of the Hogarth original. In this print, Bute is shown trying to bribe Wilkes:

B**t humbly entreats you will now condescend,
To tell at what price he can make you his friend,
He only implores you will lay down your pen,
And say, on your honor, you'll not write again.
"The empire of Canada lyes at your feet,
To plunder and fleece -- what a delicate treat

No. 2

No. 2A

No. 3

No. 4

No. 5

No. 6

But if a round sum in the dark you should like
Not offensive, now that bargain I'll strike."
Asham'd of such meanness, disdain their gold
Wilks answer'd thus, as I'm credibly told,
"Avaunt, vile corrupter, I'll take no such thing.
I'll be true to old England, the Whigs, And the King!"

Wilkes had taken care to attack those around the king but not George III directly. The fact that George III appears in the background expressing dismay about his country would indicate that the cartoon was commissioned by Wilkes or a close associate. The two small figures climbing up Bute's shoulder labeled *Temora* and *Fingal* were a non-too-subtle contemporary reference to Bute's Scottish origins. One James MacPherson had made a career of "translating" Scottish epic poems which he had "discovered." *Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem...translated from the Gaelic Language* appeared in 1762. *Temora* was published the following year, probably only weeks before the appearance of this cartoon. MacPherson was accused by Samuel Johnson of having fabricated the poems from fragments, and MacPherson never produced the originals.

The dispute over *North Briton No. 45* also generated other pro-Wilkes materials. A formal, heroic portrait credited to J. Miller, with appropriate accompanying verse from Alexander Pope, appeared on 30 June 1763, six weeks after the Hogarth caricature. Straightforward and unsubtle, it described Wilkes as "member of parliament for Aylesbury Bucks" and as being

Great without Title, beyond fortune bless'd;
Rich, ev'n when plunder'd, honour'd, while oppress'd;
Lov'd without Youth, & follow'd without Power;
At Home, tho' exiled; free, tho' in the Tower.

The piece was credited to a publisher named Miller who probably also did the engraving. A much more flattering portrait than Hogarth's, it came to be copied by pro-Wilkes forces with the same enthusiasm with which Wilkes' opponents copied Hogarth's work. A German version shifted the body slightly to the front but faithfully copied the head.

Another work published in June 1763 at the peak of the furor over *North Briton No. 45* was designed as the frontispiece of a pro-Wilkes pamphlet. Engraved by Bickham, the portrait purports to show Wilkes in the Tower and bears not the slightest resemblance to the subject, including the eyes, which both stare steadfastly forward at the reader. The cavalier attitude of the engraver was covered in part by the heavy black grid placed over the picture as a symbol of his imprisonment. This bears the same similarity to real bars as the picture behind does to Wilkes. The top of the print is captioned

A Wit's a Feather, and a Chief's a Rod;
An honest Man's the Noble work of God.

This was taken from Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man*, and was drawn from Pope's discussion of fame. Pope divided famous men into two classes: wits (meaning wise men in general) and heroes, giving little credit to either. The wise men are compared to feathers, which are flimsy and showy; the heroes, whom he considers the scourges of mankind, to rods. His opinion of honest men is then given, an opinion obviously extended by the artist to cover Wilkes. The choice of a selection from *An Essay on Man* was ironic considering that only five months later, in November 1763, Wilkes would come under attack for publishing an obscene parody of the work entitled *An Essay on Woman* and, as a result, would be expelled from parliament on 19 January 1764. By this time, Wilkes had fled to Paris and a self-imposed four-year European exile. The cherub in the foreground holds the obligatory liberty cap, while the inscription on the sword blade reads, "Let Justice hold the Scale."

Perhaps the most widely-copied pro-Wilkes portrait was that painted by Robert Pine. A Dutch/English bilingual version was engraved and published in 1764. The individual whom Reynolds had described in such uncomplimentary terms was, in this portrait, almost handsome. Even the crossed eyes had been downplayed by placing the right eye in shadow. The book in the extreme left of the picture is marked *Sydney on Government* and refers to the book *Discourses*

No. 7

No. 8

No. 9

No. 10

Concerning Government by Algernon Sidney, published in 1681, in which he upheld the doctrine of mutual compact between ruler and ruled. This also may have been a veiled reference to Wilkes' dismissal from parliament, because Sidney had been expelled from parliament in October 1680. The rolled document directly below is labeled "Magna Carta," and the letter next below is addressed to "Mr. Cotes, Esq, London." Humphrey Cotes was a London wine merchant who was a close friend and admirer of Wilkes. He may have been the second at the duel between Wilkes and Samuel Martin on 16 November 1763, when he reportedly carried the injured Wilkes home, possibly saving his life. The duel occurred after Martin called Wilkes a coward, among other slanders, after the publication of *North Briton No. 45*. During the difficult economic times which Wilkes experienced in the mid-1760s, Cotes handled many of Wilkes' financial affairs, at least until Cotes himself went bankrupt.

No. 11 A remarkable reversed copy of the painting, signed by John Philipp, re-reversed all of the print in the picture so that it could still be read. An interesting feature is the cameo in the lower right. Almost obscured in the bilingual version, it is clearly shown in this view as is the name "Hampden." This reference to John Hampden, one of the leaders of the opposition to King Charles I, suggests a shift from the views of the earlier version of this print. Royalty, apparently, was no longer sacrosanct.

Nos. 12-16 Several obvious copies of the head of the Pine painting survive. One is credited to the same "J. Miller" as the print mentioned above. Another copy, credited to E. Bocquet, also credited Pine as the painter of the original, an infrequent practice for engravers of such prints.

Wilkes' next period of prominence began with his election as a member of parliament for Middlesex on 28 March 1768, after his return from the European continent. A classical portrait with the inevitable cherub holding a liberty cap and references to John Locke and Algernon Sidney, obviously copied from the Pine portrait, commemorated his election. A broadside illustrated with a crude woodcut described the election at Brentford town from a Wilkesite viewpoint. Another contained Wilkes' address to the Court of Common Pleas on the day after the election.

No. 17 Wilkes had been convicted of libel for the publication of *No. 45* in February 1764. He had not appeared to receive judgment but instead had taken refuge in Paris, and was outlawed by parliament on 1 November 1764. Much of his time until February 1768 was spent in France and Italy. He surrendered to the outlawry on 29 March 1768, one day after his Middlesex election. The portrait at the top appears based on Miller's 1763 engraving. The usual references were made to Sidney, Lock, Hampden, and the Magna Carta. An engraving showing the court appearance was published in *Gentleman's Magazine* in May 1768. It was based on the Pine portrait or some copy thereof, but any resemblance to Wilkes was coincidental.

No. 18 Wilkes was committed by Lord Mansfield to the King's Bench Prison on 27 April. He issued an address to his sympathizers on 5 May, which brought gatherings of his followers to St. George's Field, near the jail. This mob was fired upon by military forces on 10 May, and the event became known as the St. George's Field Massacre. The official responsible was a magistrate of Surrey named Samuel Gilliam, who was tried for murder and, after a long debate, acquitted. Gilliam was apparently a person of limited scholarship, a fact commented upon in the *Public Advertiser* for 17 August 1768, and reprinted in the *Oxford Magazine*. The magazine followed up with a cartoon printed about October 1768 entitled "Midas, or the Surrey Justice." Gilliam, with ass's ears, is seated writing a letter which says, "Send me the Ax Re Latin to a Gustis of Pease," this being the note which reputedly had first raised questions concerning Gilliam's literacy. Wilkes looks on, frowning thoughtfully and saying, "Not satisfied with the Murder of the English he must also Murder the English Language." A cat lies sleeping under the table on a discarded copy of the Statutes at Large, while a copy of Fenning's Spelling Book lies on the table. On the wall is a picture of a cat holding a drawn sword and a balance, in the scales of which she is weighing her victims, a cock and a goose. Both this and the musket lying on the table refer to the "massacre." The explanation appended described Wilkes only as "the great Patriot." The name "Midas" in the title referred to the none-too-bright lead character in a burletta -- a type of farce set to music -- which was then playing at Covent Garden.

Lord Mansfield reversed the outlawry on 8 June 1768, but held Wilkes guilty under his prior convictions and on 18 June sentenced him to twenty-two months imprisonment, fined him 1000 pounds, and required posting of bond of 1000 pounds to guarantee seven years of good behavior after his release. This stirred Wilkes to another appeal to his constituents on the same day. Mans-

field was depicted at the top of this broadside with the motto "Justice without pity." A seven-headed serpent appears at the bottom, a more conventional snake at the top, and the devil at the right side. The thistles at the top were a reference to the Scottish connection which had so long been the subject of Wilkes' writings. Wilkes' picture, naturally, contained a cap of liberty and a stylized lion in place of the snake and thistle.

No. 19
No. 20
No. 21
No. 21 Wilkes' return to political prominence was marked by a portrait by Richard Houston of Wilkes, together with his political allies, Serjeant Glynn and John Horne. The notation concerning Wilkes' election in 1768 reflects the fact that he had been expelled from parliament again on 4 February 1769 as a result of new libel charges. The expulsion was also the inspiration for an engraving appearing in the pro-Wilkes journal, the *Oxford Magazine*, in March 1769. Entitled "Hieroglyphics," Wilkes is shown being attacked by Sir Fletcher Norton, wearing a lawyer's wig, and the Duke of Grafton. Both are depicted as bloodhounds. Wilkes states, "You may tear me in pieces, I care not! but spare, oh spare my bleeding Country!" To the left of the picture is Horne who says, "They know not what they do," and Glynn, who declares, "There is no Precedence for this, either in Law or Equity! I declare it to be illegal." To the right are members of the government and opponents of Wilkes' election. Included are Lord Holland with the head of a fox, and the Duke of Bedford as a pig, saying, "Let us kill him, or he'll blow our secrets." Lord Mansfield appears dressed as the Lord Chief Justice and with the head and claws of a wolf. He is saying, "If they don't do for him, we'll all have at him." Glynn had defended Wilkes in the expulsion proceedings before Commons while Norton had served as the prosecutor.

No. 26 Although Wilkes was re-elected in three new elections, his opponent, Colonel Luttrell, was declared elected instead, and the returns falsified by the House of Commons. Glynn had been Wilkes' counsel during the disputes of 1763 and had gotten him released on the grounds of parliamentary privilege. Glynn and Horne managed Wilkes' election campaign in Middlesex in 1768. Glynn in turn was elected to the other parliamentary seat for Middlesex in December 1768 in an election marred by rioting and at least one death. John Horne was a radical clergyman from Brentford who changed his name to Horne Tooke on acquiring by bequest the estate of a Mr. Tooke. He was the last Anglican clergyman to sit as a member of parliament. A political radical, he appears to have used Wilkes and traded on Wilkes' popularity to gain his own political ends. Horne was an extraordinary political organizer who was behind the Society for the Defence of the Bill of Rights. This was a political action committee formed in February 1769 to get Wilkes into parliament and to defend him against the government. The Society also paid 3000 pounds in election expenses and 12,000 pounds in general debts and provided 1000 pounds to get Wilkes off to a new start. In one election Horne was responsible for distribution of at least 40,000 handbills, arranged carriages for transport, and controlled the crowds of supporters.

The Houston painting dates from 1769. Signs based on the painting became popular marks for houses of refreshment. At least four London taverns were so marked and named "The Three Johns." Horne and Wilkes parted company in 1770. A Mr. Bingley, who had printed Wilkes' attacks on the courts, had been convicted of contempt and given a three-year term. Wilkes refused to allow money to be used for Bingley's support on the grounds that he needed it himself. Horne, in protest, left the society and formed a new group known as the Society for Constitutional Information, taking the wealthier and more radical Wilkes supporters with him. Wilkes now began fighting a two-front political war against the political conservatives, who were his traditional enemies, and against the radicals allied with Horne as well. Horne opposed Wilkes when he ran for sheriff of London, charging him with embezzling foundling hospital funds and of swindling French jewelers. Other charges included having drunk claret wine while in prison and the unforgivable sin of having had three *French* servants.

No. 22
No. 23 The dispute between Horne and Wilkes was commemorated in an engraving for the *Political Register*, dated 1 July 1771. Horne, in clerical garb, and Wilkes, dressed as an alderman, are throwing books at each other. *Horne's Speeches at Mile End*, thrown by Wilkes, has just missed Horne's head. Three documents collectively labeled *Wilkes's Addresses to the Freeholders of Middlesex* have been thrown at Wilkes. Each has one foot on a book labeled *Political Connections*, while Wilkes' other foot is on a paper marked *Horne's Letter*. Horne's campaign against Wilkes was unsuccessful. Whatever his abilities as an organizer, he was no match for Wilkes in verbal sparring. He challenged Wilkes to a duel after Wilkes disproved many of his earlier charges. Wilkes declined. Wilkes and his new running mate, a rich merchant named Frederick Bull, were elected as sheriffs of London on 24 July 1771 by a wide margin. The two spent their year's term in

an attempt to reduce the abuses of the penal system and Wilkes at the end of his term proposed "a revision of those laws which inflict capital punishment for many inferior crimes." This would not happen for another forty years. As might be expected, Wilkes' election was not universally approved. A cartoon labeled "Patriotick Meteors" was first printed in the *London Magazine* for 1 November 1771, which predicted Wilkes' political downfall. Three heads, their necks decorated by chains symbolic of civic office, are being drawn into the jaws of a hippopotamus labeled "The Gulf of Oblivion." Wilkes is followed by Brass Crosby, the outgoing Lord Mayor, and a bull, representing Frederick Bull, who had been elected sheriff with Wilkes. Resting on the gown lying on the ground are the arms of the city and two sheriff's staves.

No. 24

Wilkes did not disappear into the gulf of oblivion, but remained to plague his numerous enemies. After his term as sheriff, Wilkes stood for Lord Mayor of London but was blocked by his enemies in 1772 and 1773 even though he was supported by a majority of the voters. He finally secured election as Lord Mayor on 8 October 1774, and his new office was commemorated by a broadside which is included in this exhibition. After winning another election in which he and Glynn were unopposed, Wilkes was finally seated in parliament as a member for Middlesex in December 1774. Wilkes was a reform mayor who still maintained a love of entertainment. His dinners and banquets became legendary, although probably not in the manner depicted in one drawing. This commemorated the Easter party in 1775. It was noted that "the food was much warmer than commonly is the case at these great dinners." There was dancing until 3 A.M. and a large assortment of lords, ladies, and celebrities, including Boswell and Prince Pallavinci, described as "the late Pope's nephew."

No. 25

No. 27

Following his term as mayor (he was not eligible to succeed himself) Wilkes concentrated on his parliamentary duties. He remained a member of parliament from Middlesex until 1790 when he did not seek re-election. As a supporter of the Rockingham whigs and later of William Pitt the younger, Wilkes remained a reformer but achieved a measure of respectability which he had not previously enjoyed. Even George III, who had spent many of the earlier years trying to block his efforts to achieve office, was reconciled with Wilkes. Wilkes' term as Lord Mayor coincided with the early events of the American Revolution, and in April 1775, Wilkes presented to the King a remonstrance in favor of the American colonies. Wilkes acquitted himself well on this occasion, and George III confessed that he had never known so well-bred a Lord Mayor. Wilkes had been long estranged from his wife, Mary Mead, and he shared his later years with their daughter Polly, who never married. Polly performed the duties of "lady mayoress" during Wilkes' term as Lord Mayor, her continental education helping to make her the perfect hostess. The last oil portrait of Wilkes, painted by John Zoffany in 1799, shows Wilkes seated looking up at Polly. This was the painting from which most of the later prints of Wilkes were copied. An engraving by Freeman, printed in 1804, left the pose unchanged but made Wilkes look considerably younger than in the painting. Another undated picture shows Wilkes looking forward and is apparently a reversal based on the Zoffany portrait. Another view, published on 17 June 1782 by C. Bretherton, shows an aging, toothless Wilkes dressed in what appears to be the cloak of a colonel of militia. He had been similarly attired in the Zoffany portrait and in a caricature printed on the occasion of his death in 1797.

Nos. 28-30

In his last years, he attempted repeatedly to find a country home on the Isle of Wight. He finally found a small property overlooking the sea which he called his "villakin." He secured a fourteen-year lease and spent at least two months a year during the summer there until his death, dividing the remainder of his time between two town houses in London. The print appeared in *European Magazine* in 1798, after Wilkes' death on 26 December 1797. He died insolvent and was buried at Grosvenor Chapel.

Nos. 31-36

There was no dearth of pictures of Wilkes published both in England and on the continent over the years. Some of these bore no discernible relation to the portraits already mentioned. Included in the exhibition are other examples of work by the prolific J. Miller, two more with the Magna Carta theme, and two foreign prints. One in French shows Wilkes as a London alderman in 1769. He had been elected to that office in January. The head is flattering and bears little apparent resemblance to the subject. Another, apparently also French, bears little resemblance to any other view of Wilkes. The only identifying characteristics are the name in the title, the hair style and the ubiquitous Magna Carta in his right hand.

There are caricatures and political cartoons which deal with incidents not directly involved with the progress of Wilkes' career. One of these was entitled "The Times," reflecting the title of

Hogarth's famous cartoon of 1763. This was published early in 1770 and purported to represent an actual event which had taken place on 21 December 1769 at a masque in Lincoln. Wilkes used his distorted appearance and delighted in playing the role of the court jester or fool. As John Brewer states, "Physical affliction was traditionally associated with extreme sexual potency, again a characteristic of fools, which Wilkes was eager to claim for himself. He certainly saw himself, like the court fool, as a specially licensed critic and, to his followers at least, he seemed gifted with the acute perception often attributed to the simpleton, madman, or oddity. Contemporaries actually referred to Wilkes as a political jester. He became a regular character at masques, complete with motley, and erratic behaviour to match. This so-called political Bedlamite [Wilkes] had two rivals. One appeared as a squinting Alderman, [with Wilkes as himself as the second personage], and a third dressed as 'The Times', with half of his dress in Wilkite guise, the other half in the Scottish manner." The last was supposed to have been the model for the cartoon. The totals on the two arms indicate the results of the recent election in which the loser had been declared the winner over Wilkes. The items on the figure's right side were a listing of bribes and irregular judicial actions taken by the group in power. Those on the left reflected the numerous petitions which had been submitted on behalf of Wilkes. The numeral 45 appears on the left side of the vest and as the winning number on the lottery ticket.

No. 37

Isaac Barré was a much less prominent political figure than Wilkes and a correspondingly smaller group of prints exists. Barré is shown in West's painting "The Death of Wolfe" holding Wolfe in his arms as a surgeon attends to the fatally wounded general. Two other prints are to be found in the McClintock Collection. One appeared in the *London Magazine* for May 1780. The occasion was the crisis in the North ministry which peaked in early 1780. A popular resentment against the corruption of the government arose towards the end of 1779 which resembled the Wilkesite movement of a decade before, but included many men of great respectability and property. The objections to high taxes, excessive power in the hands of the king, and a venal and corrupt parliament caused the parliamentary opposition to join the cause. Barré's contribution was a proposal which called for a commission to examine the public accounts, which was passed by Commons. This was Barré's major contribution to British politics. Just as Wilkes was identified by the presence of copies of the Magna Carta in his pictures, Barré came to be associated with the Commission of Accounts. While the 1780 picture has no political commentary, the larger portrait of Barré, published in 1787, shows Barré holding a copy of the Commission of Accounts bill.

No. 38

No. 39

The third Barré item in the McClintock Collection is an undated letter, addressed to "My Lord," recommending a relation, Lieutenant Isaac Phipps, for consideration. The letter indicates that Barré had served under the addressee in North America. This indicates that the letter was to Lord Shelburne, who had been Barré's commander in the Quebec campaign and was well-known in later years as Barré's political patron. An approximate date can also be determined, based on the contents of the letter. Lord Bristol is noted as having made promises to Phipps which were not kept due to his resignation from office. Bristol served as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from October 1766 to August 1767, when he resigned. Shelburne was then serving as Secretary of State for the Southern Department, a position which he would hold until October 1768. This would probably date the letter in the fall of 1767.

No. 40

The collapse of the North ministry in 1782 was the occasion for a flurry of political cartoons in which Barré appears, usually in the role of supporting actor, and sometimes he can be identified only by the context of the cartoon or the resemblance of a caricature to his portrait. "The Political Mirror, or an Exhibition of Ministers for May 1782" was probably published in one of the numerous political periodicals. Members of the North ministry are falling into a pit, clutched by demons. Lord Bute, attired in Scottish dress, is about to fall from the back of a witch on whom he has been riding. Barré is the fifth figure from the right in the picture, holding a document inscribed "Bill for the Examination of Accounts" and declaring "Your Army Expenditures have been Enormous & Shameful." This refers to a speech made by Barré on 26 April 1782 attacking the Army budget and affirming his position as a watchdog of the treasury, which he had staked out some three years earlier. This print also appears to include Wilkes standing in the center background and saying, "Your tax on Women Servants fills our Streets with Whores." While identification is uncertain, the figure seems to have the distinctive hair style and peculiarly-shaped head which characterized many pictures of Wilkes.

No. 41

The fall of the North ministry was the occasion for another somewhat cluttered cartoon by

No. 42 James Gillray (1757-1815), entitled "Banco to the Knave" and published on 12 April 1782. On this occasion, the members of the old and new ministries surround a gaming table. Lord North in the center of the far side of the table placed his cards down saying, "It's all over." To the viewer's right sits Charles James Fox (1749-1806), who at that moment was in the opposition and who was commonly represented in Gillray's cartoons by a fox's head, saying, "Gentlemen the Bank is mine, & I will open every Night at the same hour." No less than twenty-two members of the opposition are at the table, shouting, "Huzza." This group includes John Wilkes seated at the table at the viewer's left, recognizable by the crossed eyes. The person next to Wilkes on the viewer's right is apparently Lord Shelburne. While Gillray took some liberties with the appearance of his subjects in this cartoon, the shorter of the two individuals standing behind Shelburne appears to be Barré. An engraving of Barré published by C. Bretherton on 17 June 1782 is a companion piece to the engraving of Wilkes which was published on the same day. Like the picture of Wilkes, it is an unflattering caricature.

No. 44

The new ministry was headed by Lord Rockingham, who died on 1 July 1782. Since Shelburne had been in charge of colonial affairs, he had been pursuing peace with the American colonies. Fox, on the other hand, had become secretary of state for foreign affairs and was in charge of ending the war with France. Since the two had conflicting views of how best to end the war and Fox had powerful political ambitions, disputes were inevitable. When Rockingham died, Shelburne was appointed by George III to head the government and Fox resigned. James Gillray was not a friend of Shelburne, as is demonstrated in the cartoon "Jove in his Chair" published on 11 September 1782. Shelburne in a triumphal car is drawn by two decrepit asses bearing the faces of John Dunning (Lord Ashburton), an opponent of North and a member of both the Rockingham and Shelburne cabinets, and General Henry Conway, a long-time enemy of North and his friends. The rear footman is William Pitt the younger, the chancellor of the exchequer in the new ministry. In the front of the parade as a running footman is Barré wearing an unhappy expression. In actuality Barré was slowly advancing his political career. He had served as treasurer of the navy under Rockingham, and he became paymaster-general under Shelburne. But any prospects of further advancement were cut off shortly thereafter when Barré became completely blind.

No. 43

WILKES, BARRÉ, AND REVOLUTION

Among the legacies of the American Revolution is a group of cities and towns whose names commemorate those who presumably made American independence possible. These include generals, American political figures, and some, like the ubiquitous Benjamin Franklin, who defy categorization and whose influence encompassed a wide range of fields. Also included in the pantheon of the champions of liberty are individuals whose contributions to the separation from England are more obscure. Included in this group are the two English political figures for whom the city of Wilkes-Barre was named, John Wilkes and Isaac Barré.

There is ample evidence that both Wilkes and Barré enjoyed the respect of revolutionary Americans. At least one other city, Wilkesboro, North Carolina, was named for one of 18th-century England's most controversial political figures. Barré enjoyed even more popularity, his name being given to a city in Vermont, two towns in Massachusetts, and a village in New York. This may be explained by Barré's involvement in the Battle of Quebec. Not only were New Englanders moved to commemorate his somewhat limited activities as a political dissenter in England, but they were also disposed to recognize an individual who had helped free New England from the French threat.

Pinning down exactly what Wilkes and Barré did which contributed to American independence is an extremely difficult task. While Barré was a member of the House of Commons in England, his political career was relatively uninspired. Even though Wilkes was at the center of political turmoil surrounding the political struggle in England in the late 1760s and early 1770s, his career was in decline by the time that the American Revolution began. Nor were Wilkes and Barré close political allies. Both were products of the English political system and their occasional appearance on the same side of an issue was more a case of happenstance or a marriage of convenience than a demonstration of a strong alliance against privilege or political corruption.

Wilkes was a political symbol. The accidents of history, the ineptitude of his political opponents, and Wilkes' skills as a demagogue brought him to a position of prominence. To understand Wilkes' role in George III's England, one must first examine the state of politics in the country at the time. George III has never received a particularly good press in the United States, being viewed with the same lack of enthusiasm as a medieval monk would view the memory of the Emperor Nero. In his own way, however, George was a remarkable individual. He had been trained to succeed his grandfather as king after the death of his father in 1751 when George was but thirteen years of age. He was seventeen when Lord Bute, a Scottish nobleman who was widely read but who had only limited experience with the rough and tumble of British politics, became his tutor and his mother's political advisor. Bute gave George a strong sense of morality, a conviction that British politics was rotten to the core, and the belief that only George could save the country by becoming chief executive in fact as well as in name. As George would write, "No good and great Prince born in a free country will ever despair of restoring his country to virtue, freedom, and glory, even though he mounts the Throne in the most corrupted of times."

During his career, George tried to set an example for his subjects. When he replaced his grandfather on the throne, he issued royal proclamations against vice and immorality and practiced what he preached. He was loyal to his wife, Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, who bore him fifteen children. There were no royal mistresses and no evidence that George ever produced an illegitimate child. On one occasion, the King refused to sit for a portrait by Thomas Gainsborough because he disapproved of the artist's morals. He drank sparingly and preferred quiet evenings at home to elaborate court functions. He had a deep interest in science, particularly astronomy, and amassed a personal library of 65,000 volumes. George may well be characterized as the first Victorian and his subjects initially questioned his piety, economy, and overall dullness. It was not until after the American Revolution that his personal qualities attracted the admiration of the English people.

George's desires to lead England personally to a state of virtue created great political turmoil in the 1760s and 1770s. His predecessors were transplanted German princes who had been content to allow parliamentary leaders to run the country. The so-called Whigs had become accustomed to rule without interference, the Duke of Newcastle, for example, having held high office for most of the previous forty years. When George became king, he appointed Bute as one of the two secretaries of state. Bute had political ambitions and hoped to displace the Whig ministers or to become the power behind the throne. The two chief Whig leaders, William Pitt and Newcastle, both resigned within fifteen months. With the most masterful politician and the most skilled dispenser of patronage gone from the government, George now felt in a position to achieve his objectives.

Unfortunately, this was easier said than done. England in 1762 was not a representative democracy but, rather, was ruled by a small oligarchy. Scotland was represented by forty-five members of the House of Commons. Out of a population of about one and one-half million, these forty-five seats were elected by a total of 3963 voters. The common Englishman had little faith in the government and his faith lessened when Bute imposed a tax on cider to balance the budget. The population of London made a hero of Pitt and attacked Bute's carriage in the streets, frightening Bute into resigning from the government in April 1763. There was no suitable alternative. George Grenville was followed in July 1765 by the Marquis of Rockingham, the former wanting too much personal power, the latter being unable to exercise what he had. In July 1766, George tried bringing back William Pitt to rouse the country. However, Pitt was not the consummate politician of a few years previously. He accepted a peerage, weakening his political position, then became a recluse, leaving the cabinet members to fight for power among themselves. In November 1768, he retired from the government, leaving the Duke of Grafton, his second-in-command as the unquestioned leader of the government. Unfortunately, Grafton preferred his mistress and horses to running a government. It was not until 1770, when Lord North became first lord of the treasury, that some measure of stability was achieved. North remained in office for twelve years. A seasoned politician uncommitted to any faction in the increasingly fragmented English political arena, he became dependent upon the King for guidance and support, which benefited neither party. The results of George III's early political activities thus were a period of instability which created both political and social turmoil in England and contributed to the coming of the American Revolution.

JOHN WILKES

Wilkes was a product of this turmoil. The son of a well-to-do distiller, Wilkes received a good education, including time at the University of Leyden and travelling in the Rhineland. At the behest of his father, Wilkes married Mary Mead, the daughter of a wealthy London grocer. The marriage provided him with an estate in Aylesbury with an income of 700 pounds a year. His mother-in-law had an estate of 100,000 pounds. However, Wilkes' personal habits met with the disapproval of the two women, and a separation was arranged, leaving Wilkes with a comfortable income but one often insufficient to keep pace with his style of living and his political ambitions. He entered politics in 1754 when he served as high sheriff of Buckinghamshire. The same year, he ran unsuccessfully for parliament from Berwick-upon-Tweed, as he was unable to match his opponent's skills in bribery and the importation of voters. By an arrangement with William Pitt, he secured a seat in the House of Commons from Aylesbury in 1757. The two contests cost him more than 11,000 pounds. He retained the seat in the general election of 1761.

At the time, Wilkes was a loyal member of the establishment. He supported Pitt in parliament and joined with Pitt's brother-in-law Lord Temple to establish the Bucks militia, being appointed a colonel in 1762. He hoped to be rewarded for his loyalty by appointment either as ambassador to the Ottoman Empire or as governor of Quebec. Neither was forthcoming and Wilkes spread the blame around. He felt that Pitt had not done enough for him, but he primarily blamed Lord Bute and he began his career as a political polemicist in 1762 with an attack on Bute's foreign policy. The attack was answered by Tobias Smollett (1721-1771), a surgeon turned novelist and journalist, who defended Bute in a publication called the *True Briton*. Encouraged by Lord Temple, Wilkes now began an anti-government publication called the *North Briton*, the first number of which appeared on 5 June 1762. The journal fit well in London's political environ-

ment. The city had fourteen newspapers, four of which appeared daily, numerous magazines, and a continual flood of political pamphlets. Most of the writing consisted of anti-government diatribes. As Lord North would comment, "Libels, lampoons and satires constitute all of the writing, printing, and reading of our time." Even in this environment, Wilkes was able to make his mark. His savage attacks on Bute and his associates quickly transcended the bounds of good taste, even by 18th-century British journalistic standards. He acquired a considerable following, fought a duel over one of his charges, and capped his efforts with the publication of *North Briton* No. 45 on 23 April 1763. In this he accused the King of lying in his address to parliament describing the recent (and unpopular) peace treaty between England and France in February 1763 as "honorable to my crown and beneficial to my people."

The *North Briton* was published anonymously but Wilkes was arrested under a general warrant for seditious libel. The legality of such a warrant was questionable and its use made Wilkes into a popular hero overnight. Lord Temple, as lord-lieutenant of Buckinghamshire, was ordered by the King to cancel Wilkes' militia commission. Wilkes' papers were seized, and he was imprisoned in the Tower; he was released on grounds of parliamentary privilege on 6 May 1763. The experience did nothing to chasten Wilkes, who determined to challenge Lord Egremont, one of the secretaries of state, to a duel. This was prevented by Egremont's death of natural causes in August while Wilkes was in France. Egremont's successor in office was Wilkes' old friend, the Earl of Sandwich, who with Wilkes had been a member of the group known as the Monks of St. Francis, whose nightly orgies on the site of the former Medmenham Abbey earned them the title of the Hell-Fire Club. However, in the British politics of the age, friendship was never allowed to interfere with political advantage. Wilkes returned to England in November and on 12 November 1763 published *North Briton* No. 46, resuming his attack on the government. Sandwich immediately revealed a poem entitled "An Essay on Woman." The poem was anonymous and apparently had been written by Wilkes' dead friend Thomas Potter, son of an archbishop of Canterbury. It appears to have been updated with topical allusions by Wilkes and according to printers' depositions it had been printed by Wilkes' direction at his private press. On 15 November, only three days after the appearance of the new *North Briton*, Sandwich arranged to have the House of Lords attack the "Essay" as an obscene and impious libel (which it unquestionably was) and a breach of privilege; Commons resolved that seditious libel was not covered by privilege. Wilkes was seriously wounded in a duel on 16 November with Samuel Martin, a British secretary of state who slandered Wilkes, but Wilkes showed his continued willingness to fight by issuing a reprint of the entire *North Briton*. Then his nerve seemed to fail him, and he retreated to Paris. He carried on a running battle *in absentia* with Commons and the courts; he was expelled from the former and convicted and outlawed by the latter.

When Rockingham came to power in 1765, Wilkes returned briefly to London in hopes of obtaining a pardon and position or pension, but he was disappointed. He returned again in October 1766, but he would not deal with Chatham (Pitt), whom he distrusted, and he received no satisfaction from Grafton. Wilkes appeared yet a third time on 6 February 1768, stood for parliament unsuccessfully in London, then secured a seat in Middlesex on 28 March 1769. It was a tempestuous time in London. The winter had been exceptionally severe and the Thames River was frozen over. There had been considerable economic distress. The Common Council of London had opened a subscription for the relief of the poor, and the price of wheat and bread had risen sharply in the new year. A number of industrial disputes had arisen, particularly among the weavers, coal-heavers, hatters and tailors. In short, a popular movement with strong anti-government tendencies was well underway when Wilkes returned to London. Wilkes' controversy with the government made him a popular figure and his election in Middlesex was the occasion of celebration and rioting. According to the *Annual Register*,

the rabble was very tumultuous; some person who had voted for Mr. Wilkes having put out lights, the mob paraded the whole town from east to west, obliging everybody to illuminate and breaking the windows of such as did not do it immediately. They demolished all of the windows of Lord Bute and many other gentlemen and tradesmen in most of the public streets of both cities, London and Westminster.

Wilkes' election caused great concern within the government, and the cabinet was divided between those who wished to bring Wilkes to account on the various charges accumulated

against him and those who preferred moderation. Wilkes again took the initiative and announced that he would surrender to face the outlawry charges. In the judicial maneuvers which followed, the government took steps to avoid popular disturbances, but these proved to be inadequate. Wilkes was seized by the mob on route to prison and taken to a tavern. But he managed to escape and to commit himself to jail. The government was humiliated and the mob, encouraged by the lapse, rioted almost continuously for the next two weeks. On 10 May 1768, the unrest culminated with the so-called "St. George's Fields Massacre." Large crowds had assembled near the prison, the number being estimated to be as high as 40,000. A confrontation ensued between magistrates and British troops on one side and the mob shouting, "Wilkes and Liberty for ever!" and, reportedly, "No Wilkes, no King!" During the disturbances, at least eleven rioters and innocent bystanders were killed, the government was further embarrassed, and the Wilkesite movement was provided with its first martyrs. As for Wilkes, he arranged publication of the original instructions for the maintenance of order in April, with suitable comments. As George Rudé, a Wilkes biographer, stated, "the massacre was made to appear among a wider public not merely as the mishandling of a difficult situation by a weak though well-intentioned administration, but as an affair deliberately staged by a brutal and tyrannical executive."

Wilkes was ultimately fined 1000 pounds and sentenced to twenty-two months of imprisonment. This was only a minor inconvenience. He was supported by gifts from those who saw him as a symbol of opposition against an unpopular government. This included not only English supporters but colonials. The Sons of Liberty in Boston and the South Carolina colonial assembly sent tokens of their esteem. Wilkes' popularity with the mob and other governmental opponents continued and in early 1769 some of his wealthier supporters, including merchants and members of parliament, formed the Society of the Supporters of the Bill of Rights. The organization was set up to pay off Wilkes' outstanding personal debts and political expenses. By April 1770, the group raised and paid out some 20,000 pounds, reducing Wilkes' debts by about two-thirds. This activity showed support for Wilkes from a new quarter. The merchant classes of London disliked the king and considered parliament to be corrupt. Their hostility focused on taxation, which they felt bore primarily on the business classes of the city. They also were supporters of the colonials, who shared their aversion for taxation and who provided much of their commerce. The Wilkesites adopted the colonial slogan of "no taxation without representation" and called for the reform of parliament to provide more equitable representation, more frequent elections, and a broader franchise -- though few if any of these advocates were proposing votes for the poor.

The concept of a corrupt parliament was strengthened by its reaction to Wilkes' election as a member from Middlesex. Wilkes was refused his seat despite his re-election three times. On the final occasion on 13 April 1769, Wilkes' opponent, a Colonel Luttrell, was seated and the election returns falsified to support this contention. Wilkes' cause was championed by an anonymous writer known only as Junius. Junius published letters in the London press between 1767 and 1772, although the use of the pseudonym dated only from January 1769. His attacks on Grafton and other members of the government were often more savage than those published in the *North Briton*. The identity of Junius remains a mystery and candidates include a diverse group of prominent Britons of the day, ranging from Edmund Burke and Isaac Barré, to Wilkes himself. Current opinion tends toward Lord Shelburne or Sir Philip Francis, the latter being more likely. Francis was a clerk in the war office, a bureaucratic maze with which Junius demonstrated great familiarity in his letters. The sudden cessation of the letters of Junius at about the time when Francis was sent to India as a high government official provides additional circumstantial evidence.

Wilkes was released from prison on 17 April 1770. Prison had been beneficial: his finances had been restored by his friends. However, he had lost much of his political support. The deep factional divisions within parliament and his facility for alienating former supporters -- such as Lord Temple -- through some of his more intemperate writings and remarks reduced his influence as a national politician. He also reached a parting of the ways with the Supporters of the Bill of Rights and its founder, the clergyman John Horne. Originally the organization was dedicated to the financial rescue of Wilkes, but Horne and others wanted to use the organization as a device for the advancement of political reform. Wilkes laid claim to the funds of the Society for his own personal support, and Horne and others broke with Wilkes, leaving the society and forming a group called the Society for Constitutional Information. The Supporters, while reduced in numbers, still included men of affluence and would continue to provide for Wilkes' considerable

financial needs for many years.

Wilkes would once again be elected to Commons from Middlesex on 29 October 1774, running without opposition and assuming his seat without challenge. He held the position until 1790, when he did not seek re-election. However, by 1774 the focus of Wilkes' political career had shifted to the city of London. A political dispute, between parliament and the city over a perceived infringement of the London charter, provided Wilkes with an opening and he supported Lord Mayor Brass Crosby. Elected sheriff of London and Middlesex on 24 July 1771, Wilkes gained the further support of the poorer classes by prison reform and the advocacy of a reduction in capital offenses which would anticipate these reforms by some forty years. In 1772, Wilkes ran for Lord Mayor but experienced a repetition of his difficulties in acquiring a seat in Commons. Influenced by George III, the aldermen refused to elect Wilkes as mayor even though he had received a majority of the popular vote. He was again defeated in 1773, but finally achieved success in his third attempt on 8 October 1774, three weeks before he was seated in Commons.

His later career was far less dramatic than his beginning. As a member of parliament, he supported the economic reforms of the Rockingham ministry. However, he took a stand which went far beyond them in a proposal which he made in 1776 for the redistribution of parliamentary seats. This anticipated the major features of a proposal introduced by William Pitt the younger seven years later. Throughout the American Revolution, Wilkes opposed the government's measures, a policy in keeping with the views of his political constituency in London. In 1777, he supported efforts to provide better funding for the British Museum. In 1779 he supported a bill for the relief of dissenting ministers and schoolmasters from the subscription to the thirty-nine articles of religion then required by English law. His term as Lord Mayor was also more dignified than his efforts to achieve the position. His appointment had been celebrated by rioting, but this was to be the last riot inspired by Wilkes. Wilkes reportedly thanked the king for not having sent him a pardon when he was in Paris since he would have accepted it. "I am obliged to him," said Wilkes, "for not having ruined me." Horace Walpole, son of England's first prime minister and a lifelong observer of England's turbulent politics, gleefully noted, "thus all of the power of the Crown, all of the malice of the Scots . . . all of the treachery of his friends, could not demolish him." As Lord Mayor and earlier as sheriff, Wilkes worked for the benefit of the citizens. He reduced the price of bread, punished tradesmen who gave short weight, and cleared the streets of prostitutes. He established fixed court fees and went so far as to look after the treatment of animals being sold at market. The most notable event of his tenure was a petition made to George III in 1775 on behalf of the American colonies. After extended negotiations, the petition was presented to the King by Wilkes, the first time that the two had met, the stipulation having been made first that the King would not speak to the Lord Mayor. The ritual was played out in this fashion with Wilkes on his most dignified and tactful behavior. The King noted afterwards that Wilkes was a very well-bred Lord Mayor.

WILKES AND LIBERTY

What was Wilkes' relation to political reform in England and what did he contribute to the revolutionary cause in America? The difficulty in answering these questions lies in the difficulty found in assessing Wilkes as a person. Wilkes, had he been rewarded by the government for his political loyalty in the early 1760s, might never have become the rabble-rouser of the *North Briton*. Once he became a symbol of dissent, there is ample evidence that he exploited this position for his own financial and political advantage. Yet, once he achieved office in the 1770s, he was often found in the forefront of movements for political and social reform. He advocated parliamentary changes which would not finally be achieved until many years after his death. While one could dismiss his advocacies as taking a position which he knew would appeal to his constituents without changing the system significantly, the sweeping reforms which he made in London as sheriff and Lord Mayor suggest that his actions were motivated more by sincerity than by political expedience. As a member of parliament, his role and influence was limited. By the time that he finally achieved a seat in Commons, there were enough other prominent political figures moving toward a reform of the more blatant political and social problems in England that Wilkes' unique position in British politics had vanished. To paraphrase Ignatius Donnelly,

an American politician of the late 19th century, commenting on the demise of the independent populist movement in this country, Wilkes had sent the Whigs to school, but they had stolen the schoolbooks.

In his later years, Wilkes served as a sort of parliamentary conscience. During the 1780s, the problem of governing India received considerable attention. Charles James Fox, one of the Whig leaders in parliament, hated George III as much as George hated him. He felt that the influence of the King should be limited but that the East India Company was not capable of handling Britain's interest, and proposed a board of commissioners named initially by parliament. The arrangement was similar to the government corporations now common in modern American administrative practice. Wilkes, motivated perhaps by the violent political struggle generated in Commons over the issue and a personal animosity towards Fox, opposed the bill. This ironically put him on the same side as George III, who intervened directly, causing the fall of the Fox-North ministry and the coming to power of William Pitt the younger. Wilkes initially gave Pitt independent support but the India problem would cause a break in 1787. The Governor-General of India from 1773 to 1785 was Warren Hastings, a remarkable administrator, who virtually single-handedly saved the East India Company and extended its power. One of his chief assistants and a man with great personal ambition and plans was Philip Francis, already mentioned as the most likely person to have been Junius. Hastings worked towards an India wholly controlled by the East India Company, while Francis believed that the government should run the administration in Bengal, the Company should stick to making money, and the rest of India should be left to its own devices. Francis lost the struggle in India and returned to England in 1780 to undermine Hastings' position. When Pitt came to power, the new India Act condemned further expansion in India. Hastings had little choice but to resign and return to England in 1785. Francis, his revenge still incomplete, continued to press his charges and Pitt allowed the impeachment of Hastings in May 1787. As Fox was one of the leaders of the move, Wilkes opposed the action and broke irrevocably with Pitt. This placed him in opposition to Francis as well, another political irony if Francis was in fact Junius. Apparently tiring of the rough and tumble of British politics, Wilkes did not stand in the next election in 1790 but retired from politics.

As for the American Revolution, Wilkes' role was even more symbolic. His most important function was before the revolution when his opposition to the established political forces in England made him useful to dissident colonials. As Lord Mayor of London and a member of parliament at the beginning of the American Revolution, his influence was limited. His famous petition to the King of 10 April 1775 served those commercial interests that opposed the war. His speeches against the war in Commons were now a minor voice in the steadily strengthening opposition to the conflict.

ISAAC BARRÉ

The relations between Wilkes and Barré were limited. Their first meeting was not until 1765 and, except for Barré's support of Wilkes at the time of the publication of the *North Briton*, they had little political or personal association. While Wilkes was a bawdy individual, Barré was far more pedestrian and cautious, despite his considerable skills at parliamentary debate and invective. Originally trained as a lawyer, Barré preferred the military and entered the service in 1746. He served during the French and Indian War in America and was with Wolfe in the Battle of Quebec. His commander was Lord Shelburne, who also became his political patron. Barré's experience with the elder William Pitt was similar to that of Wilkes. In 1760, he applied to Pitt for a promotion, feeling that fourteen years was long enough to wait. Pitt thought differently and rejected the request.

Unlike Wilkes, Barré remained a fairly reliable and consistent political ally. Shelburne secured him a military command and a seat in parliament in 1761. He remained there continuously for the next twenty-nine years until, after a disagreement with Shelburne, he joined Wilkes in retiring from Commons. Like Wilkes, he was not a friend of Pitt, and in the early 1760s his first speech in Commons had been a violent attack upon that gentleman. Unlike Wilkes, he received a political appointment from the Bute ministry worth 4000 pounds a year in early 1763. However, he lost the appointment and his military command the following September because of his support for Wilkes in Commons. He was reconciled with Pitt in February 1764 and main-

tained this political attachment until Pitt's death. Pitt restored him to the army and made him vice-treasurer of Ireland. King George's hatred of Barré, described as second only to his dislike for Wilkes, blocked Barré's promotion in the army, and he retired in 1773.

Barré was a radical, but, unlike Wilkes, he chose to work within the system. He became an expert on financial questions, and took a prominent position in such matters in parliament. He opposed the taxation of the colonies not because he considered it unfair but rather because he thought it inexpedient. His opposition to the American Revolution, like that of Wilkes, was a lesser voice among those political giants who opposed the war and was consistent with his political alliances. His political fortunes rose and fell with those of his patron Shelburne, culminating in his appointment as paymaster colonel in the Shelburne ministry in July 1782, his last administrative position.

As in the case of Wilkes, Barré's association with the American Revolution was purely symbolic. Barré was a less dramatic symbol than Wilkes, but he had closer ties to the new world through his service in Quebec.

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Professor Harold E. Cox is a graduate of William and Mary College and holds Master's and Doctor of Philosophy degrees from the University of Virginia. Since 1963 Professor Cox has been a member of the Department of History of Wilkes College, where he holds a joint appointment with the Department of Earth and Environmental Sciences. Dr. Cox is well known for his publications on trolleys and interurban railroads and for his weekly column in the Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent; his current work-in-progress is a history of street railways in the Wyoming Valley.



John Wilkes Esq.
 Drawn from the Life and Etch'd in Aquafortis by Will. M. Hogarth.
 Published according to Act of Parliament, May 7 1763.

Exhibition No. 2

INSULTING A KING: THE NAMING OF WILKES-BARRE

The history of the naming of Wilkes-Barre began with a King's error. In 1662 King Charles II of England gave a charter to the Connecticut colony to certain lands in North America that included the Wyoming Valley. At the same time, King Charles II owed a large debt to Admiral Penn of the English navy, father of William Penn. In 1681 King Charles II granted William Penn a charter to the Pennsylvania region in repayment of the debt owed to Penn's father. Inadvertently, the Pennsylvania and Connecticut charters both covered a prized Susquehanna River valley known as Wyoming. The name Wyoming was derived from a corruption of Maugh-wau-wame, a Delaware Indian name for The Large Plains.

The Penns respected the Indians' right of conquest to the land, and there was no felt necessity to settle the area. By the 1750s, however, soil exhaustion and a tripling population compelled Connecticut settlers to consider settlement of the Wyoming Valley.

The Susquehannah Company was formed in July 1753 in Windham, Connecticut, for the purpose of purchasing the Susquehanna lands, including the Valley of Wyoming, from the Indian natives, and to explore and organize a settlement in the region. The settlement urge was blocked by the intervening French and Indian War (1754-1763) which pitted the French and their Indian allies against the English and the American Colonists. By 1758 the Iroquois had entered into a general peace with the English, and Delaware Indians under Chief Teedyuscung settled in the Wyoming Valley.

In September 1762 about 119 Susquehannah Company settlers arrived at Mill Creek, near the current site of the Wilkes-Barre General Hospital, to plant grain and erect shelters, after which they returned to Connecticut. They returned to Mill Creek in May 1763, shortly after Teedyuscung had burned to death in his home, near the site of present Riverside Drive in South Wilkes-Barre. Whether the fire was accidental or deliberate is not known. There were warring factions among the Indians. Then, on October 15, 1763, the Mill Creek settlement was attacked and twenty settlers were killed by marauding Delawares from outside the area. The settlers and local Indians both fled the Valley.

Permanent settlement of the Valley was not encouraged until 1768. The Proprietaries who had long ignored their claim to the region of Pennsylvania had a survey of Wyoming completed in December 1768. The west side of the river valley was called the Manor of Sunbury. The east side, including the present Wilkes-Barre area, was called Manor of Stoke. Pennsylvania lessees settled at Mill Creek in the same month, but as the year closed, the Susquehannah Company resolved in Hartford, Connecticut, to also resettle the Wyoming Valley.

The Susquehannah Company sent the "first forty" settlers to the Wyoming Valley in February 1769. Twice the Connecticut settlers were arrested by the Pennsylvania party, and taken to Easton, where they were released on bail, and each time the Connecticut settlers returned to the Valley. Two hundred additional Connecticut settlers arrived in May 1769 under the leadership of Major John Durkee. Fort Durkee was erected near the present location of the Wilkes College Center for the Performing Arts.

The Susquehannah Company plan was to survey five towns in the Wyoming Valley, each about five miles square, and to divide the towns among the 240 Connecticut settlers. The Company also invited certain malcontented Pennsylvanians called the "Paxton Men," from the Lancaster-Dauphin County area, to join the Wyoming settlement in opposition to Pennsylvania authority. In the summer of 1769, amid a warring atmosphere between the Pennsylvania and Connecticut claimants, Major John Durkee made daring preparations to survey the region and to create settlements.

John Durkee (1728-1782) is an important but unheralded figure in our community's history. Durkee, born in Windham, Connecticut, moved to Norwich in 1750. In March 1756 he obtained

a commission to serve a Connecticut regiment in the hostilities between England and France. Durkee was to serve in a distinguished manner in the English invasion of Canada and he was appointed a major for his regiment in March 1759. During the course of his service in 1759, Durkee met Isaac Barre, an officer in the English Army who served in Canada in 1758-59. The son of a French refugee, Barre was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1726, and educated at Trinity College. His parents hoped he would become a lawyer. He also had promise as an actor. But Barre preferred a military career and entered the service in 1746. Barre was with General James Wolfe of England when Wolfe was fatally shot during the defeat of the French on the Plains of Abraham in the Battle of Quebec in September 1759. Barre himself received a severe bullet wound to his right cheek which distorted his appearance and blinded his right eye. But Barre was denied an army promotion by William Pitt, blind to Barre's commendable years of service.

After the war, Barre returned to England and entered Parliament for Chipping Wycombe from 1761-1774 and for Caine from 1774-1790. Pitt had resigned from the King's cabinet and sat in the House in opposition. The King's men, now under Lord Bute, sought to challenge the feared Pitt. Immediately after his seating in Parliament, Barre received considerable notice when he attacked Pitt in a critical speech in the House of Commons. Barre was later awarded the rank of Lieutenant Colonel by Bute in 1863. Barre reconciled with Pitt in 1764, partly over the government's treatment of Wilkes.

The careers of Durkee and Barre were again joined during the Stamp Act controversy. The Stamp Act was introduced in the House of Commons in February 1765. Barre was the single most vocal opponent of the tax in the House; he predicted rebellion in the Colonies. In a famous speech in opposition to the Stamp Act which stunned the House, Barre called the British Colonists in America the "Sons of Liberty," a catch-word which ignited passion in the New England settlements, but did not stay passage of the Stamp Act by Parliament.

In America, radical patriotic groups called the Sons of Liberty were organized to oppose the Stamp Act. John Durkee was active in these pre-Revolutionary activities as Norwich was the center of the Sons of Liberty resistance in Connecticut. In September 1765 Durkee organized a gang of five hundred men to capture and harass Jared Ingersoll, the Stamp Act agent for Connecticut. The Sons of Liberty grabbed Ingersoll in Wethersfield and took him to Hartford and forced him to resign. Among the Sons of Liberty with Durkee were Captain Zebulon Butler, future leader of the Wyoming forces defeated in the Wyoming Massacre of July 3, 1778, and Benjamin Harvey, who later settled in West Naticoke and Plymouth. Harvey became an important figure in Wyoming Valley frontier life, and he discovered the lake named for him in 1781. When the Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, the town of Boston had a portrait of Barre hung in Faneuil Hall. The portrait was later destroyed by British troops during the Boston siege of 1775.

Durkee only knew John Wilkes by reputation since Wilkes never visited America. The Wilkes name was well-known among the Colonials in the decade before the Stamp Act crisis. He, like Barre, also had a grievance with Pitt after Wilkes was denied the governorship of Quebec in 1762. Wilkes was a vocal opponent of the King's ministers. Whether he was a dedicated reformer, or an opportunist with unusual wit, can be debated. Nevertheless, Wilkes became a symbol of British and Colonial national rights and liberties which an oppressive government sought to suppress. His confrontations (or antics) were closely followed in Massachusetts and Connecticut newspapers, and Colonial assemblies would periodically meet in local taverns to cheer Wilkes' legal victories over Parliament.

During the *North Briton* controversy in England in 1762-1763, Barre supported the rights of Wilkes in the House of Commons. This led the government to temporarily dismiss Barre from the Army and his rank. Barre was more fond of the constitutional rights Wilkes represented than of Wilkes himself, and he once spoke of Wilkes as "a wicked, daring infamous incendiary" and as an "infernal parricide."

When Durkee arrived in the Wyoming Valley in May 1769, Wilkes had been the talk of England and America for a decade. At the time of Barre's Stamp Act speech, Wilkes had been popularly re-elected to Parliament. But the House of Commons voided the election to prevent Wilkes from being seated, which only provoked additional outbursts of support for Wilkes on both sides of the Atlantic. Wilkes wrote to the Sons of Liberty in Boston in March 1769, expressing his wish to have the Stamp Act repealed, if he were ever seated in Parliament. Durkee was the extreme patriot. In October 1767, he named his third son Barre Durkee, after Durkee's comrade in Parliament. In July 1868, Andrew Durkee, a cousin of John Durkee, named his son Wilkes Durkee.

In July 1769, Major John Durkee, President of the Settlers, began to use the name "Wilkesbarre" for the region near the Connecticut fort in his official correspondence. In September 1769 five towns authorized by the Susquehanna Company were surveyed: Wilkesbarre, Naticoke (renamed Hanover a year or two later), Pittstown (later Pittston), Forty Township (renamed Kingstown in 1770, later Kingston), and Plymouth. Durkee's designation of the critical center of the settlement as Wilkesbarre, of course, honored John Wilkes and Isaac Barre. The name Wilkesbarre assuaged Durkee's patriotic ardor, and was a shot across the Atlantic in the direction of the King's ministers. But the Connecticut settlers did not press their effrontery to the mother country. Pittstown honored the British Minister William Pitt. A settler, Ezra Dean, offered a quart of Connecticut whiskey to his friends to have the honor of renaming Forty Township. He called it Kingstown, after the birthplace of his wife in Rhode Island, and, therefore, by descent, a compliment to the King. Naticoke Township was given to the "Paxton Boys," who renamed it Hanover, a town near York, an area populated by German immigrants from Hanover, Germany. King George III descended from the House of Hanover.

However, open warfare broke out when Pennsylvania troops captured Fort Durkee on November 14, 1769, causing the first Yankee-Pennamite War (1769-1775). The Connecticut (Yankee) settlers were driven out of the Valley, and Durkee among others was jailed in Philadelphia. In 1770, Captain Lazarus Stewart and the "Paxton Boys" retook Fort Durkee on behalf of the Yankees. There were additional sieges between the Pennsylvania and Connecticut forces, but the Pennsylvanians were defeated in August 1771 by Yankee forces led by Captain Zebulon Butler. The local war was not fully abated until the Yankees again defeated a Pennsylvania invasion force at Rampart Rocks near Harvey's Creek at Christmas 1775.

Durkee was kept in a Philadelphia jail until August 1772, nearly two years. After his imprisonment, Durkee did not return to settle in the town he named along the upper Susquehanna River. He returned to Norwich where his wife, Martha, and children resided. They were nearly destitute during Durkee's confinement, a reason he was released. He returned to the Wyoming Valley only for brief visits in 1773 and 1774.

In the years immediately before the Revolutionary War (1775-1781), the Wyoming Valley was under the control of the shareholders of the Susquehanna Company. The townspeople created their own government which was neither formally attached to Connecticut nor recognized by the settlers as subject to Pennsylvania authority. In January 1774, however, the Wyoming townships were organized under a general town name of Westmoreland and attached to the county of Litchfield, Connecticut.

During this time Major John Durkee returned to active military duty in Connecticut. He participated in major battles of war for the patriotic cause, including Bunker Hill and the Battle of Trenton. Durkee crossed the Delaware River with General George Washington on Christmas Day 1776. He became Colonel of the 4th Regiment, Connecticut Line, in January 1776. His regiment spent the winter of 1777-78 at Valley Forge. At the Battle of Monmouth, Durkee received a wound of the right hand which left him permanently disabled. He retired from active military service in 1781, and exhaustion from the war years contributed to his death in Norwich on May 29, 1782.

John Wilkes finally regained a seat from Middlesex to Parliament in December 1774, having also secured his election as Lord Mayor of London three months earlier. The Common Council of London and Wilkes protested the government's coercion of the Colonies in 1775; Wilkes continued his opposition to governmental policies during the Revolutionary War. During the 1780s he was still an anti-authoritarian advocate and was involved in controversial British-Indian politics. Wilkes finally left politics in June 1790 when he did not seek re-election. He spent his declining years, usually dressed in scarlet, gold lace and ruffles, writing essays and his memoirs. His wit and entertaining manner had served to reconcile him with the government and his political opponents. He died on December 26, 1797, and was buried at Grosvenor Chapel in London.

Isaac Barre's political career is no longer cherished in the public memory. But his motivation in championing the Colonies was probably more legitimate than that of Wilkes. With his disfigured face, Barre could rattle the House of Commons with "a savage eye" and unparalleled censure of his opponents. He was acclaimed in America for his opposition in the House to measures against the Colonies. Nevertheless, Barre managed to walk the waters of eighteenth-century British politics with more conventional grace and official honors than Wilkes. At various times, he held the offices of Adjutant General in the British Army, Governor of Sterling Castle, Vice-

Treasurer of Ireland, and Clerk of Pells. He became totally blind in 1785, a consequence of his war wound in 1759, but he retained his seat in Parliament. Barre served in the House of Commons for thirty years, finally retiring in 1790, the same year as Wilkes. Colonel Barre, who was heirless, died at his home on Stanhope Street, in Mayfair, London, on July 20, 1802.

Events in the Wyoming Valley subsequent to the naming of Wilkes-Barre also had a colorful history. During the Revolutionary War, the settlers of Westmoreland organized troops to join Washington. Consequently the settlement was largely defenseless, which contributed to the infamous Wyoming Massacre of local settlers and militia by British and Indian forces in July 1778. In response, Washington sent Major General John Sullivan on an expedition which arrived in Wilkes-Barre in June 1779. Sullivan's troops marched into New York State to destroy the Indian bands known as the Six Nations.

The Revolutionary War ended with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown on October 23, 1781. The Treaty of Peace with England also ended the proprietary control of Pennsylvania by the Penn family. A new state government immediately asked the Congress to resolve the Pennsylvania-Connecticut claims in the Wyoming Valley. A court established at Trenton, New Jersey, ruled on October 31, 1782, that Pennsylvania owned the Wyoming Valley but that the claims of Connecticut settlers to land titles should be honored.

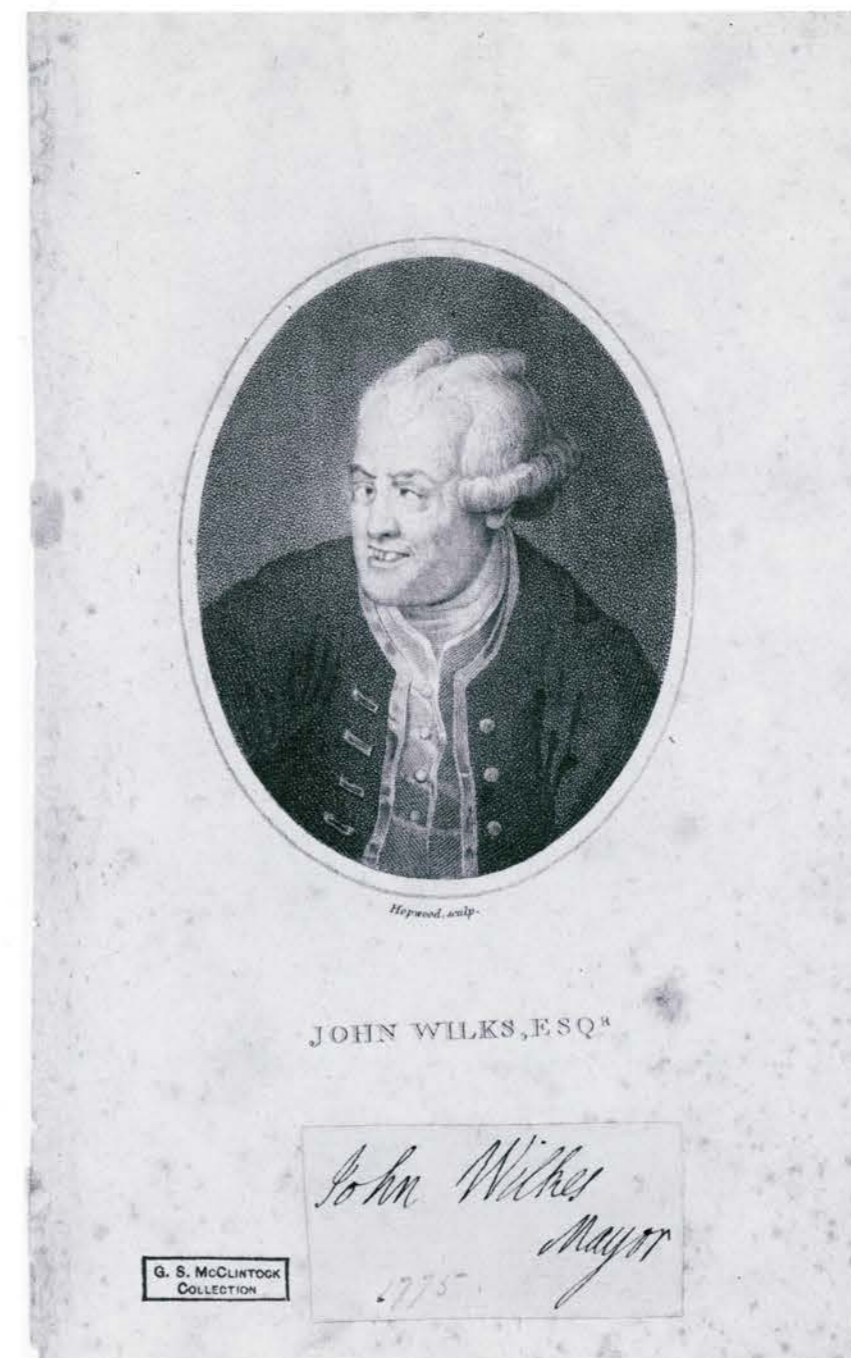
The Connecticut settlers were not satisfied with the Trenton Decree, and in March 1783 a local delegation went to Connecticut to request the Connecticut General Assembly to petition the Congress for another trial of the Wyoming claims, but Connecticut took no action. A second Yankee-Pennamite War erupted in the Wyoming Valley in October 1783, ending with another Connecticut victory in November 1784. The Pennsylvania General Assembly created Luzerne County in 1786, and the claims of Pennsylvania and Connecticut settlers were eventually settled, in general conformity with the Trenton Decree.

SUGGESTED READINGS

The best historical source for a study of frontier Wyoming, exhausting and masterful in detail, is O. J. Harvey, *A History of Wilkes-Barre* (Wilkes-Barre, PA., 1929). Harvey also provides a full treatment of the various spellings and pronunciations of Wilkes-Barre. (The hyphenated Wilkes-Barre came into general use after the 1840s.) Harvey's work contains a large chapter on Wilkes. His chapter on Isaac Barre may be the most extensive history of Barre available anywhere.

Other standard local sources are Charles Miner, *History of Wyoming* (Phil.: J. Crissy, 1845), and Stewart Pearce, *Annals of Luzerne County* (Phil.: J. B. Lippincott, 1886). A children's history of the Wyoming Valley may be found in the reference section of local libraries: Louis Frank, *The Story of Wyoming* (Wilkes-Barre, PA., 1930). For the Valley's west side, see William Brewster, *History of the Certified Township of Kingston* (Kingston, PA., 1930). An article or summary biography of Isaac Barre appears in *Proceedings of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society* (1900), VI, 113-136.

F. Charles Petrillo is a graduate of Wilkes College, Class of 1966, and the Dickinson School of Law. He currently serves on the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society and he has published several local historical studies in recent years.



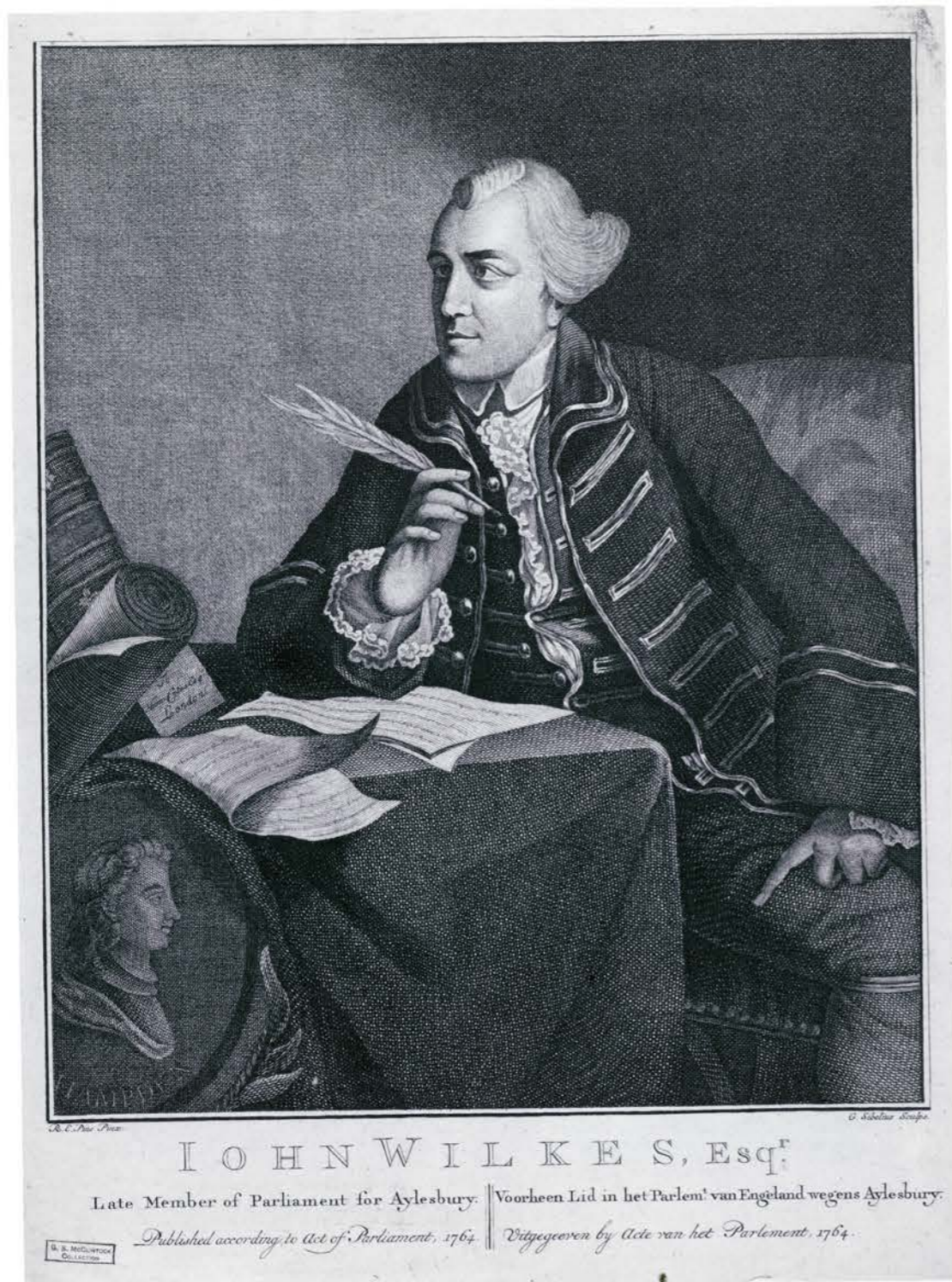
Exhibition No. 5



Exhibition No. 6



Exhibition No. 7



Exhibition No. 10



Exhibition No. 11

Brentford in its Glory: Or, Wilkes in TRIUMPH.



ON Thursday March the 24th 1768, John Wilkes, Esq; set out accompanied by several others, in a post coach and four, to Brentford, in the County of Middlesex, to offer himself a candidate for the ensuing Election, where he received the greatest approbation of many of the Freeholders, and excepted of as a candidate to represent that County, when he afterwards made the following Speech.

In deference to the opinion of some very respectable friends, I presume to offer myself a candidate for this noble County of Middlesex, at the ensuing general election, the approbation you have been pleas'd on several occasions to express of my conduct, induces me to hope that the address I have now the honour of making to you will not be unfavourably received. The chief merit with you Gentlemen, I know to be a sacred love of LIBERTY, and of those generous principles, which at first gave, and have since secured to this, my native kingdom, the great charter of Freedom. I will yield to none of my countrymen in this noble zeal, which has always characterized Englishmen, I may appeal to my whole conduct, both in and out of Parliament for the demonstration that such principles are deeply rooted in my heart, and that I have steadily pursued the interests of my country without regard to the powerful enemies I created, or the manifest dangers in which I must thence necessarily be involved; and that I have fulfilled the duties of a good subject. The two important questions of public LIBERTY, respecting General Warrants and the seizure of Papers may perhaps place me among those who have deserved well of mankind by a undaunted firmness, perseverance, and probity: These are the Virtues with which your Ancestors never failed to exert in the same national cause of LIBERTY, and the world will see renewed in their descendants on every great call of Freedom and our Country. The nature and dignity of the trust Gentlemen, which I now solicit, strike me very forcibly, I feel the warmest zeal for your interests, and affection

for your service. I am conscious how unequal my abilities are, my fidelity and integrity shall in some measure compensate that deficiency, if I am honoured with so near a relation to you, I shall discharge my service with spirit and assiduity in which I may have the honour of being placed.

On the Monday following, being the day of Election, John Wilkes, Esq; came into Brentford Town, about eight o'clock, in a coach, drawn by six grey horses, adorned with blue ribbons, attended by several of the nobility, where he was received in a very polite manner by the sheriff of the County, and to the great joy of all the inhabitants, he immediately mounted the Hustings where he continued until near one o'clock before the two other candidates came. As soon as they arrived into Brentford Butts, the place where the Booth was erected, their horses was, by demand of the populace stripped of their ribbons, which was the same colour as Mr. Wilkes's, before they were suffered to proceed to the booth. As soon as they came upon the Hustings, there was a shew of hands which was given in favour of Mr. Wilkes and Sir William Proctor, when Mr. Cooke demanded a poll, which came on immediately, the poll books, which was fifteen in number, one for each division, were not closed till half past seven when the numbers stood thus.

For John Wilkes, Esq;	1292
For William Cooke, Esq;	827
For Sir William Beaucham Proctor	807

The Cryer then demanded silence, when the court broke up for that Evening, and the next morning at nine o'clock the sheriff opened the Court, and at ten Mr. Wilkes address himself to the Court, after which Mr. Cooke and Mr. Wilkes were declared duly Elected.

I return you my sincere thanks for the great honour you have now conferred upon me by making me one of your Representatives for the ensuing Parliament; and I shall always endeavour to support this County in the best manner I am able.

Exhibition No. 15



Exhibition No. 18



Hieroglyphics.
Exhibition No. 21

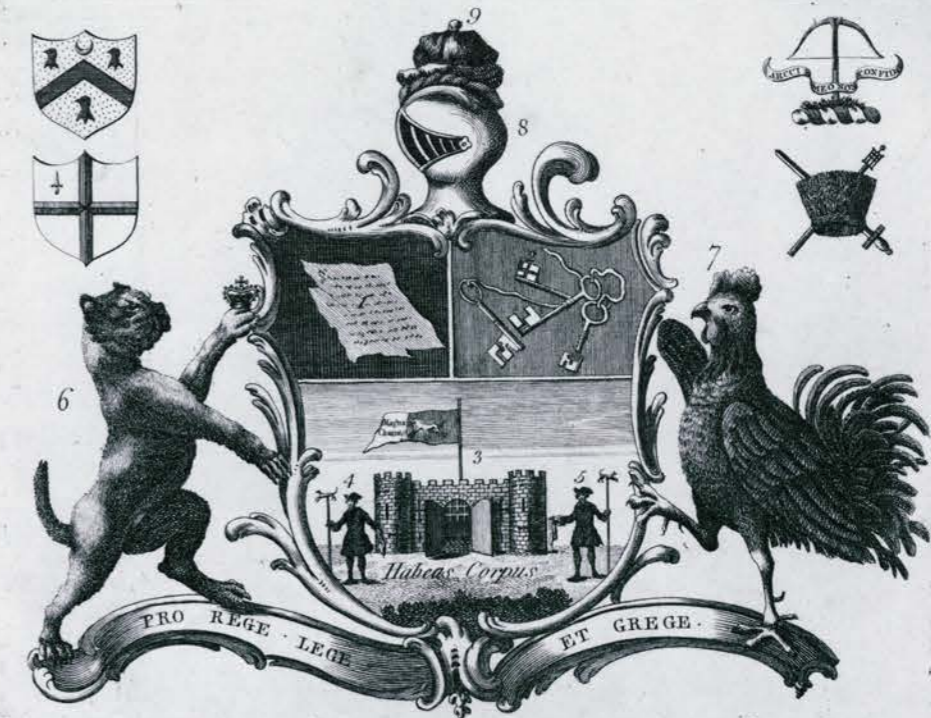


Exhibition No. 22



Exhibition No. 24

A R M S
Granted to the Right Honourable JOHN WILKES,
Lord-Mayor of the City of London,
ASSERTOR OF BRITISH FREEDOM,
At the United Request of the PEOPLE of ENGLAND, &c. &c.
BY LIBERTY KING AT ARMS.



E X P L A N A T I O N .

A R M S .

1. A General Warrant torn to rags.
2. A Bunch of broken Keys, denoting the Ruin of arbitrary Power.
3. The Tower of London, the Gates wide open, with a Flag bearing the white Horse (the Arms of the illustrious House of Hanover) and MAGNA CHARTA, denoting Freedom to all loyal Subjects and Friends to the Constitution; the Words HABEAS CORPUS, under the open Gates, imply, that no British Subject can be imprisoned contrary to Law.
- 4 and 5, Two Messengers in Mourning, with a Handkerchief in one Hand, lamenting their lost Places; and in the other, a Staff with a Greyhound on it, denoting their Offices.

S U P P O R T E R S .

6. An English Mastiff, expressive of Fidelity, Constancy, and Watchfulness; the regal Crown in his Paw, denotes Loyalty.
7. An English Game-Cock, emblematic of British Courage, never to be subdued but by Death.

C R E S T .

8. An Esquire's Helmet.
9. The Cap of Liberty, the indisputable Right of every Englishman, from the Prince to the Peasant.

M O T T O .

PRO REGE, LEGE ET GREGE.
VIVANT REX ET REGINA.

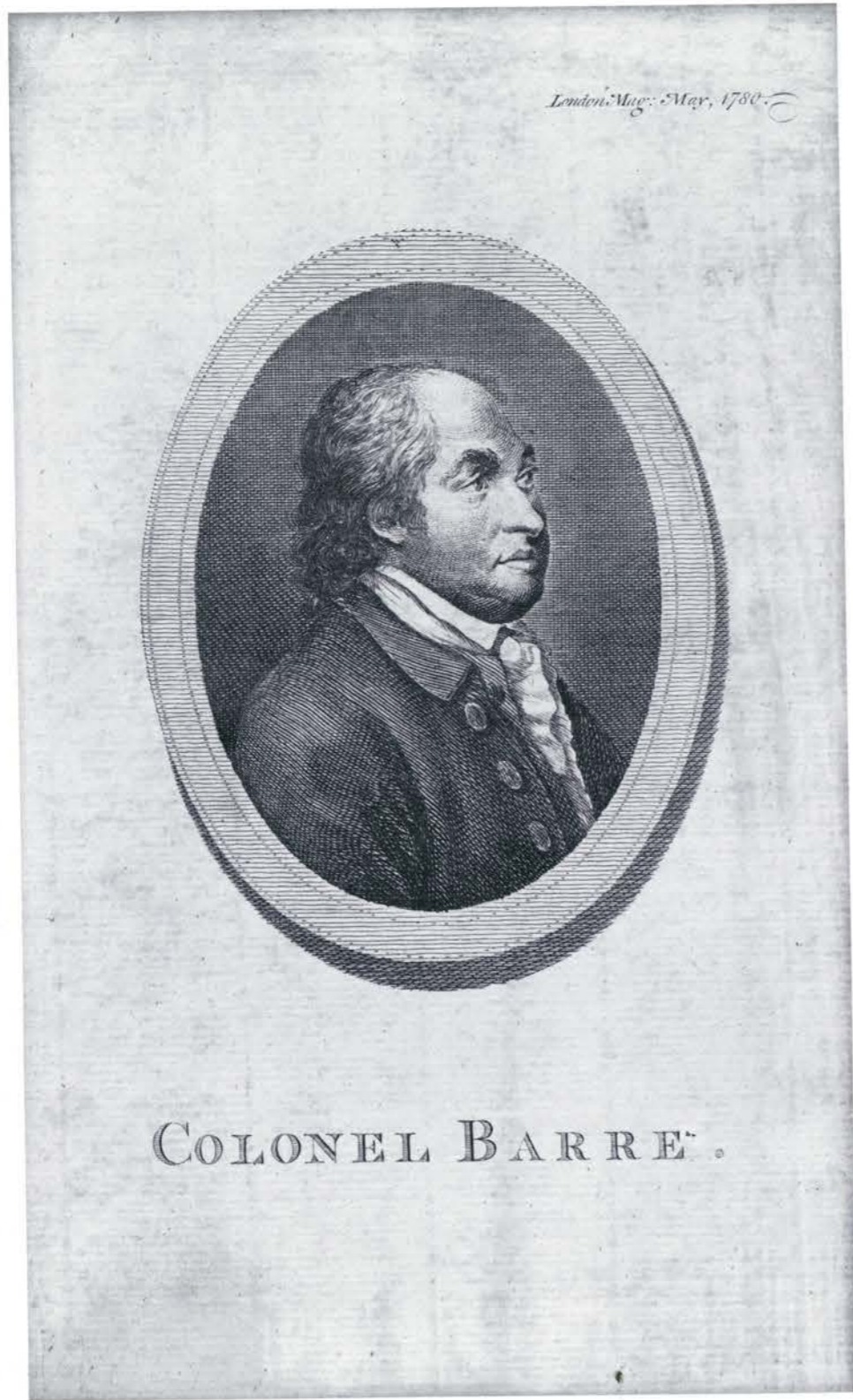
Exhibition No. 25



Exhibition No. 35



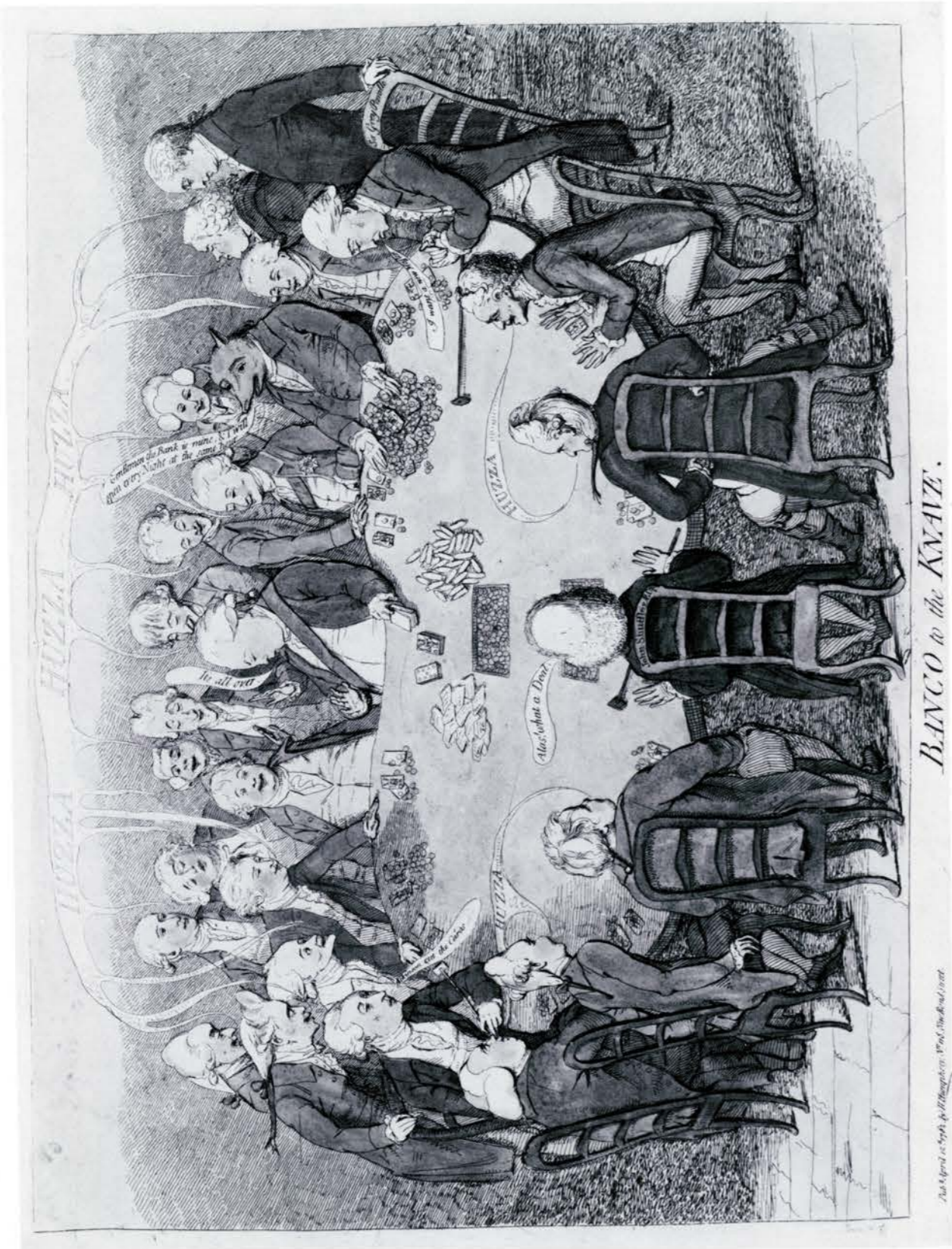
Exhibition No. 37



Exhibition No. 38



Exhibition No. 41



BANCO to the KNAVE.

Exhibition No. 42

The Knave is a copy of the original in the hands of the artist.



KNAVE in his Chair.

Exhibition No. 43

Shelburne

Sturmy

Barrow

1792



Exhibition No. 30



Exhibition No. 44

CHECKLIST OF THE EXHIBITION

(All dimensions in inches, height precedes width.
Unless otherwise noted all items are engravings.)

1. Barré, Isaac: *DER GENERAL WOLF*, c. 1759, Gemahlt von B. West; Gegraben von Carl Guttenberg, 9 1/2 x 12 1/2.
- 1A. Barré, Isaac: *Wolfe's Tod in der Schlacht bei Quebeck*, n.d., Stahlstich Von F. Randel in Berlin, 14 x 17 3/4. Penciled on back: from J. T. Mitchell Collection.
- 1B. Barré, Isaac: *THE DEATH of GENERAL WOLFE*, n.d., Painted by B. West Hist. Painter to King of England; Engraved by P. Somebody, 7 1/4 x 7 5/8.
2. Wilkes, John: *John Wilkes Esqr.*, Drawn from the Life and Etch'd in Aquafortis by Willm Hogarth, Publish'd according to Act of Parliament May ye 16. 1763, 20 1/4 x 15 1/4. BM 4050.
- 2A. Wilkes, John: *Untitled*, n.d., Dent Sculp. 9 1/16 x 5 1/2. BM 4050-1.
3. Wilkes, John: *John Wilkes Esqr.*, n.d., grave d'apres l'original du Sieur Hogarth a Londres, 11 1/4 x 7 3/4.
4. Wilkes, John: *Untitled*, n.d., 7 1/2 x 4 5/8.
5. Wilkes, John: *JOHN WILKS (sic) ESQR.*, n.d., Hopwood sculp. Attached signature, dated 1775 in pencil: John Wilkes Mayor, 7 1/8 x 4 1/2.
6. Wilkes, John: *Untitled*, n.d., Political cartoon with captions, 10 1/2 x 12.
7. Wilkes, John: *IOHN WILKES, Esqr., Member of Parliament for Aylesbury Bucks*, I. Miller del. et sculpt.; Publ: acc: to the Act June 30, 1763, 14 1/2 x 10 1/2.
8. Wilkes, John: *IOHN WILKES, Esqr.*, n.d., 6 11/16 x 4 1/8. Penciled on back: from Mitchell Collection.
9. Wilkes, John: *Untitled*, Engrav'd by Bickham according to Act of Parliament, June 1763, R. E. Pine Pinx; G. Sibelius Sculps, 10 3/4 x 9 1/8.
10. Wilkes, John: *IOHN WILKES, Esqr., Late Member of Parliament for Aylesbury, Published according to Act of Parliament, 1764.*, (Also in Dutch), 14 x 10 1/2.
11. Wilkes, John: *John Wilkes Esq.*, n.d., Neovingri Academiae Caesareo Franciseere Excud. Aug. Vind.: Cum Gratia et Plivilegio Sac. Caes. Majestatis.: Ioh Philipp Haid Sculpsit, 19 1/2 x 13 1/2.
12. Wilkes, John: *IOHN WILKES Esqr.*, n.d., J. Miller Sculp., 8 3/16 x 5 1/4.
13. Wilkes, John: *John Wilkes Esqr.*, n.d., Engraved by E. Bocquet, From an original picture by Pine, Pub by Sherwood, Neely and Jones, Paternoster Row., 10 x 7.
14. Wilkes, John: *IOHN WILKES, ELECTED KNIGHT OF THE SHIRE FOR MIDDLESEX, ON THE XXVIII OF MARCH, MDCCLXVIII, BY THE FREE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.*, n.d., 6 7/8 x 4 3/8. Wilkes in oval, surrounded by Athena and Hercules.
15. Wilkes, John: *Brentford in its Glory: Wilkes in TRIUMPH.*, 1768, Broadside with woodcut, 18 3/4 x 14 1/2.
16. Wilkes, John: *Part of Mr. Wilkes's Speech to the Court of Common Pleas...*, n.d., J. June Sculp, 13 x 8 3/4. Illustration at top with portrait of Wilkes.
17. Wilkes, John: *John Wilkes Esq; before the Court of King's Bench*, From Gent. Mag. May 1768, 8 1/4 x 7 7/8.
18. Wilkes, John: *Midas; or the Surry Justice*, 1768, 6 1/2 x 3 15/16. BM 4201.
19. Wilkes, John: *ARMS of LIBERTY and SLAVERY; (Letter) To the Gentlemen, Clergy and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex, from: John Wilkes, King's Bench Prison, Saturday, June 18, 1768*, 14 3/4 x 8 15/16. BM 4207.
20. Wilkes, John: *Mr. Serjeant GLYN, JOHN WILKES Esqr, The Revd Mr. JOHN HORNE*, n.d., Richard Houston invt delin et fecit. Published by Robt Sayer, at No. 53 in Fleet Street. 12 x 15 1/2.
21. Wilkes, John: *Hieraglyphics*, 1769, 4 1/2 x 7 5/8. BM 4268.
22. Wilkes, John: *Acted for the Benefit of the Ministry*, Design'd and Engrav'd for the Political Register, 1771, 7 3/4 x 4 3/4. BM 4868.
23. Wilkes, John: *YOUR VOTES, INTEREST and POLL are earnestly requested at this important Crisis, for JOHN WILKES, Esq; Alderman and Joiner, AND FREDERICK BULL, Esq; Citizen and Salter*, n.d., 6 3/8 x 7 3/4. Small campaign poster.
24. Wilkes, John: *PATRIOTICK METEORS*, 1771, 4 3/4 x 7 1/2. Penciled on bottom: J. Wilkes. BM 4887.
25. Wilkes, John: *ARMS Granted to the Right Honourable JOHN WILKES, Lord-Mayor of the City of London, ASSERTOR OF BRITISH FREEDOM...*, 1768, 14 1/4 x 9 1/4. BM 4206.
26. Wilkes, John: *JOHN WILKES Esqr., Lord Mayor of London & Membr for Middlesex., JOHN GLYN, Esqr., Member for Middlesex.*, n.d., 5 1/16 x 8 1/4.
27. Wilkes, John: *THE BALL AT THE MANSION HOUSE, APRIL XVII. MDCCLXXV, THE RIGHT HONBLE IOHN WILKES, LORD MAYOR*, G.B. Cipriani inv. et del; F. Bartolozzi Sculp 1775, 8 x 7 1/8.
28. Wilkes, John: *John Wilkes, Esqr.*, Engrav'd by Freeman from an Original Portrait by Zoffani. Published by Longman & Co. November 5, 1804, 6 1/8 x 3 7/8. Penciled on back: Mitchell Collection.
29. Wilkes, John: *JOHN WILKES, ESQ.*, n.d., 4 3/4 x 2 7/8. Penciled on back: from J. T. Mitchell Collection.
30. Wilkes, John: *XIV [Wilkes], JS ff(Sayers)*, Published 17 June 1782 by C. Bretherton, 8 1/2 x 6. BM 6067.
31. Wilkes, John: *The COTTAGE of the late JOHN WILKES Esqr. in the ISLE of WIGHT*, European Magazine, Published by J. Sewell, Cornhill, April 1, 1798, Engraved by S. Rawle, 5 x 8 1/4.
32. Wilkes, John: *IOHN WILKES Esq.*, n.d., J. Miller at viv: fecit., 5 5/16 x 3 3/4. Penciled on back: Mitchell Collection.
33. Wilkes, John: *Untitled*, n.d., "Civis erat, qui libera poiset, Verba animi proferre, et vitam impendere vero. Iuv.", 4 1/16 x 4, mounted on paper 12 x 9 1/2. Penciled on back of mount: John Wilkes.
34. Wilkes, John: *JOHN WILKES Esqr.*, 1768, 8 x 4 3/8, mounted on paper 15 x 11. BM 4204.
35. Wilkes, John: *JEAN WILKES, Ecuyer*, Elu Alderman de Londres, le 2. janvier 1769, 8 1/4 X 5 1/4, mounted on paper 11 3/4 x 8 3/4.
36. Wilkes, John: *John Wilkes*, n.d., No. 37., Franz Heissig Cath. Sculp. et excud. Aug. Vind., 11 5/8 x 7 3/8.
37. Wilkes, John and Lord Bute: *The Times, Taken from an Original Character which appear'd at the Masquerade at Lincoln*, Decr. the 21st. 1769, 14 1/8 x 10 1/2. Written in ink at bottom: Captain Wilks. BM 4315.
38. Barré, Isaac: *COLONEL BARRE*, London Mag: May 1780, 8 5/8 x 5 3/16.
39. Barré, Isaac: *THE RIGHT HONORABLE ISAAC BARRÉ*, Painted by C. G. Stuart; John Hall sculpt Engraver to his Majesty 1787, 14 x 10 1/2. Penciled on back: from the James T. Mitchell Collection.
40. Barré, Isaac: *Untitled*, n.d., Manuscript letter-from Isaac Barré to Lord Shelburne regarding Lieutenant Isaac Phipps, 9 3/8 x 7 1/2.
41. Barré, Isaac and John Wilkes: *The POLITICAL MIRROR, or an EXHIBITION of the MINISTERS for April 1782*, Razo Rezio inv. Crunk Fogo sculp, 5 13/16 x 9. Lent by the American Antiquarian Society. BM 5982.
42. Barré, Isaac and John Wilkes: *BANCO to the KNAVE*, Pubd. April 12th 1782 by H. Humphrey, No 118 New Bond Street. 9 3/8 x 13. Lent by The New York Public Library. BM 5972.
43. Barré, Isaac: *JOVE in his chair*, Pubd. Sepr 11th 1782 by E. D'Achery St. James's Street, 9 x 13 1/8. Lent by The New York Public Library. BM 6032.
44. Barré, Isaac: *XII [Colonel Barré]*, JS ff(Sayers), Published 17th June 1782 by C. Bretherton, 6 7/8 x 4 3/8. Lent by the William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan. BM 6066.
45. Barré, Isaac: *The Royal Hunt, or a Prospect of the Year 1782*, South Briton fecit, North Briton Invt. Published according to Act of Parliament by R. Owen, in Fleet St Feby 16th 1782, 8 x 12 15/16. Lent by the American Antiquarian Society. BM 5961.
46. Barré, Isaac: *The Right Hon. Isaac Barré*, Published Feb. 1817 by T. Cadell & W. Davies, Strand, London, From original Picture by A.G. Stuart, in the Possession of the Earl of St. Vincent, Drawn by W. Evans, Engraved by W.T. Fry, 12 1/2 x 16 5/8. Lent by the William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan.
47. Barré, Isaac: *Colonel Barré*, 2 July 1771. H. D. Hamilton, del. R Sayer, excudit. R. Houston, fecit. Engraving. (15 5/16 x 13 5/8). Lent by the William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan.
48. Wilkes, John: *John Wilkes, Esq*, n.d., Crest with motto: Arcui Meo Non Confido, 3 7/8 x 3 1/8.

The Sordoni Art Gallery of Wilkes College was established in 1973 to encourage and support an appreciation of the visual arts in an academic setting. Founded in memory of Senator Andrew J. Sordoni, the Gallery is supported by Wilkes College; the Sordoni Foundation, Inc.; the Friends of the Gallery; and other corporate, private, and government grants. Representing more than the fine arts aspect of a liberal arts education, the Gallery is also a resource for the greater community of Northeastern Pennsylvania. All exhibitions are open to the public without charge.

Judith H. O'Toole, Director

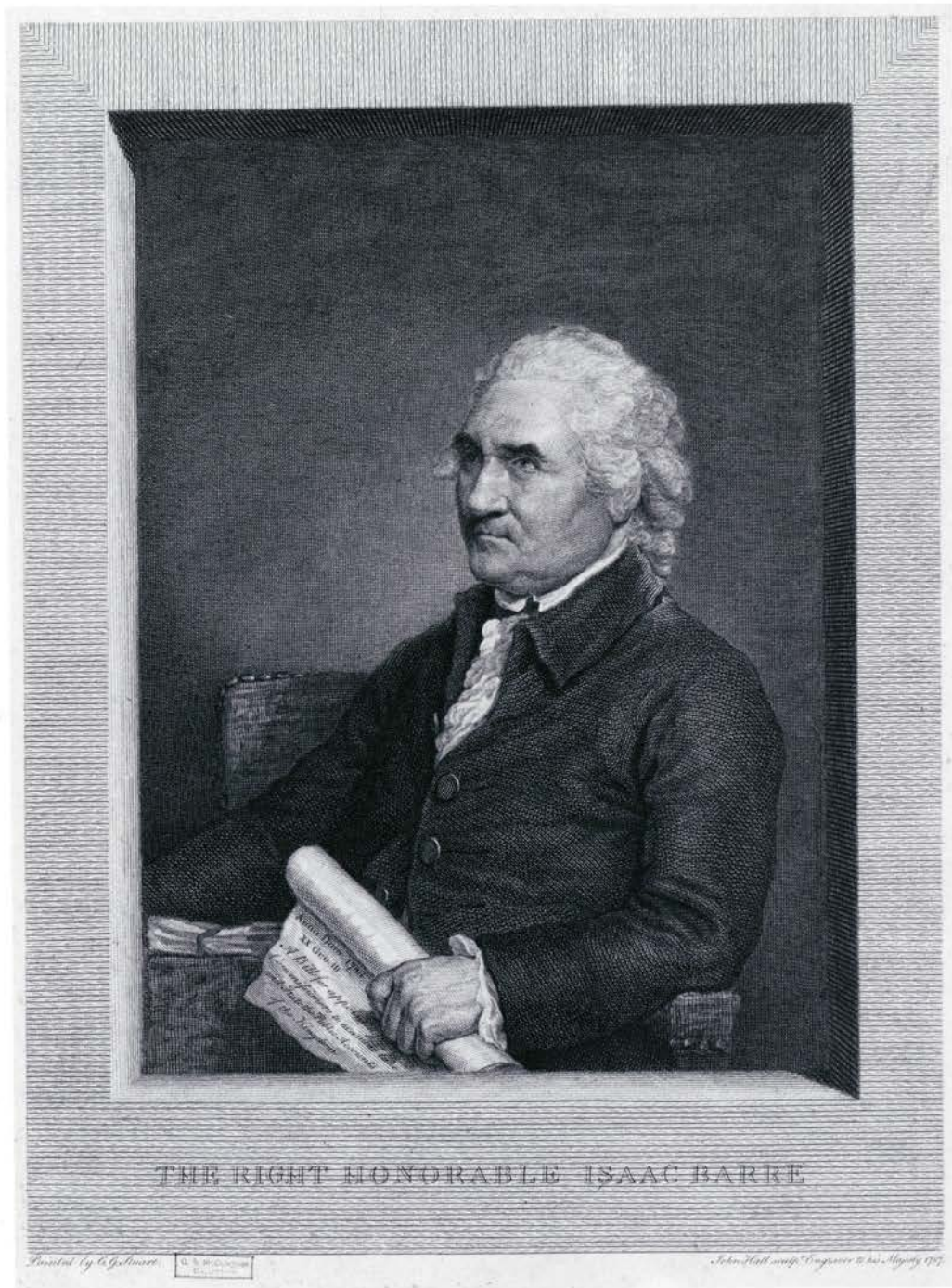
Jean Adams, Assistant Director



Exhibition No. 2A

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JOHN WILKES & ISAAC BARRÉ:



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