

Title	Dutch influence in the urban landscape of Cork City pre-1800:
	Fact or myth?
Author(s)	McCarthy, J. P.
Publication date	2011-03-01
Original citation	MCCARTHY, J. P. 2011. Dutch Influence in the Urban Landscape of
	Cork City pre-1800: Fact or Myth? Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low
	Countries Studies, 35, 63-88. doi:
	10.1179/155909011X12930363744188
Type of publication	Article (peer-reviewed)
Link to publisher's	http://www.maney.co.uk
version	http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/maney/dtc/2011/00000035/000
	00001/art00005
	http://dx.doi.org/10.1179/155909011X12930363744188
	Access to the full text of the published version may require a
	subscription.
Rights	© W. S. Maney & Son Ltd 2011
Item downloaded	http://hdl.handle.net/10468/565
from	

Downloaded on 2017-02-12T07:47:35Z



# Dutch Influence in the Urban Landscape of Cork pre-1800

J.P. McCarthy

# Dutch influence in the Urban Landscape of Cork City pre-1800: Fact or Myth? By J.P. McCarthy

#### **Abstract**

The early years of the eighteenth century Irish port town, Cork saw an expansion of its city limits, an era of reconstruction both within and beyond the walls of its Medieval townscape and a reclamation of its marshlands to the east and west. New people, new ideas and the beginnings of new wealth infused the post Elizabethan character of the recently siege battered city. It also brought a desire for something different, something new, an opportunity to redefine the ambience and visual perception of the urban landscape and thereby make a statement about its intended cultural and social orientations. It brought an opportunity to re-imagine and model a new, continental style of place and surrounding environment.

**Keywords:** Cork City, Urban Landscape, Dutch, Merchants, Marshland Development, Meer Dyke.

#### **Introduction**

Tradition speaks of Dutch bricks being brought to Cork as ballast on returning merchant ships - thereby gradually introducing brick construction as a replacement for timber and stone masonry facades along its streets and laneways. Its marshland location provided the potential for development to the east and west along natural canals and their islands rather than north south, ridge and shoreline, ribbon development already in place. Perhaps the advantage of small vessel water transport to the city, *lightering*, of imported goods - from the deeper draft holds of ships anchored further down river and within the tidal reaches of the inner harbour, was seen by city merchants as an important commercial consideration in deciding on a new urban design. The time and cost elements involved in overland transport from harbour hamlets such as Passage West could be reduced. A canal city emerged with merchant houses having a *'canal side'* location; wharf facing doorways at ground level facilitated easy handling of offloaded trade goods, above them external stairways rising to the front doors of the residences. Several of these buildings survive today.

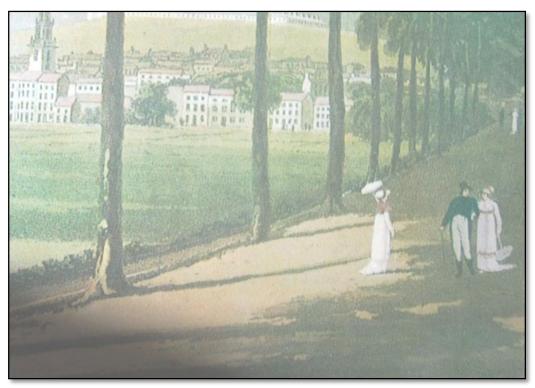
On the western side of the city a mayorality house was built with a bowling green adjacent to it. A terrace of nearby houses facing westwards to the setting sun was known as Prospect Row and indeed, at the far end of such a 'prospect' was a teahouse situated at the end of a tree-lined promenade; a ditch sided embankment symbolising the emergence on the west side of the city of a fashionable quarter for polite and leisurely living complete with pleasure grounds. This was in contrast to the eastern side where communications and commercial aspirations opened to the outer harbour and the enticements of an emergent New World trade – often the last port of call *en route*, and a continuance of longstanding associations with Britain and the European continent. This promenade which is still a part of today's Cork was called the Meer Dyke or more commonly in later years, the Mardyke. It is perhaps at this place that a

questioning of Dutch influence in the imagining and modelling of aspirations to create a water city at Cork might begin; the then town clerk of the city was of Dutch ancestry.

This paper will seek to identify indicative sources and a rationale for a more in-depth investigation.

# Clues to a Dutch Association: Looking for a needle in a haystack?

Charles Smith's *Ancient and Present State of the City and County of Cork* was first published in 1750. In it he describes the building of a fashionable promenade through the west marshlands adjacent to the Medieval city. He states that the person responsible for this work was Edward Webber. Subsequent writers speak of Webber as of Dutch origin and state that the name given to the promenade was the Meer Dyke, a place in Amsterdam with which Webber was familiar.



The Mardyke looking towards Prospect Row with St. Ann's Shandon steeple (Source: The Mardyke by Richard T. Cook 1990. From John Carr's The Stranger in Ireland, 1806)

The Meer Dyke (Mardyke) was built in 1719 as a raised, ditch sided, embankment overlooking the lake like flood plain of the marshland. It was subsequently walled and tree-lined along with lamplight, a watchman, gates and a gate-lodge. At its west end Webber built a red brick residence which was known as the Red House (Dyke House) connected with which was a teahouse. These were set in ordered gardens: luxuriant with flowers and fruit-trees through which gravel walkways -with occasional benches, ran. The residence, perhaps in keeping with a Dutch or Anglo-Dutch theme, may have been both a building and a home of Dutch influence and taste. The promenade, gardens and teahouse became a fashionable place -frequented through the

18<sup>th</sup> century by trend setters, the 'well to do' and the not so 'well to do'. A mystery Dutch landscape artist painted two pictures of the house and gardens which survive.



Dyke House (The Red House) by a mystery Dutch artist. (Source: The Mardyke by Richard T. Cook, 1990)

The Webber family, were prominent in the civic and mercantile life of the city. An Edward Webber was mayor in 1684 after suspension of its Corporation for a 10 year period during what was described in Smith's words as the 'Cromwellian usurpation'. When it was reformed the names of merchants and others on its civic council had changed. Many of the long standing traditional Catholic merchant names were gone. New names had appeared reflecting the impact of politics, religious wars, plantation and a melting pot of circumstances cultural and personal.

By 1700 it was possible to reflect on the previous century. It had been a very turbulent one beset by a fire in 1622 and the final phase of the Munster Plantation (1602-22), a siege in 1641, Cromwellian occupation in 1649/50 with much devastation of its buildings, further arrivals of settlers, then followed by a siege by the Williamite army in 1690 along with a further influx of settlers from Britain, the Low Countries and France; particularly Huguenots bringing their industries, business acumen, religion, colonial contacts and European social connections with them. It was a bruised and battered city, socially and architecturally, at 'fin de siecle'. But things were now in the process of change.

Overlooking the medieval city on its southern side stood Elizabeth fort; a place of canons cooling. With the Williamite forces were naval captain Gillis Schey, close to Prince William of Orange. The nature of the strengthening of defenses at Elizabeth fort in the 1640s during the Confederate Wars (Lenihan 2001), by Cromwellian forces and by Williamite forces in the 1690s is also an intriguing question as is that of Dutch troops among the ranks. One wonders if there is something more than Viking in the association of the name Keyser with the fort.

# Titulados, Mercantile Astuteness, Migrant Affinities and the Genesis of Change

Among the new names appearing were Vandeleur, a mayor of the city in 1663 only seven years after the Corporation's return to office. Other surnames appearing in the city and in the county

were Pike, Penn, Lavitt, Browne; invitees as well as land grantees and adventurers who had served in Cromwell's forces.

Richard Pike's sons became private bankers, retailers, investors, and property developers. Penn's son, William, founded Pennsylvania and gave Joseph Pike 10,000 acres there to found a township. The Brownes became prominent in the civic life of the city and were related to two of the city's bishops. The Brownes were deeply involved with the construction industry and were connected with the building of the new exchange building, hospitals, asylums and perhaps churches. William Penn became a Quaker in Cork and associated with the Pikes and with influential others at the new meeting house building in the west marshland. 'Meeting house and counting house' blend into one (Tolles 1963).

An influx of Huguenot settlers had arrived, some direct from France, some from their displacement to Holland and England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Many would call it a brain drain. James Fontaine their first minister was in touch with members of his family in Holland. Penn the elder's wife was the daughter of a Rotterdam merchant.

The Dutch Golden age now passing it zenith, was seen in influential circles as a social and cultural exemplar. Through the century there has been much trade with Amsterdam and Rotterdam. In the early years interaction between Cork and the Lowlands was frequent, a consequence of its role as a trading and provisioning port for colonies in the New World. The West Indies fleet on occasion sheltered in its harbour. Some degree of local Dutch settlement may have been associated with this, as related in the story of a ship named the Greyhound sailing out of Enckhusen under the commission of the Prince of Orange laden with silverware and other goods for settlers either at Cork or the West Indies. It was attacked by the Cork based privateer Ruaidri Ellis off the south coast of Ireland (Ellis 2009). According to O'Sullivan (1937) the Cork economic historian, referring to the early years of the seventeenth century states 'during these years very little native shipping existed, most of the carrying trade [ European and New World ] being in the hands of the Dutch' and it is also to this time that he attributes the beginnings of the Irish cattle, provisioning and butter trades.

In response to Cromwell's introduction of what were to become known as the Penal Laws prohibiting Catholics from public office and landownership, and in response to the subsequent events of 1691, the sons of many traditional merchant families emigrated to Bruges, Ostend, Lisbon and French ports such as Bordeaux; places with which they already had established mercantile associations. They became part of what came to be known as the Wild Geese or as some would say in their particular case, Wine Geese.

# Engineers, Surveyors and Builders

In connection with the need to map, assess, describe, legally attribute ownership and record the resources of a confiscated landscape now being settled, the Cromwellian settlers introduced the skills of land surveyors; who themselves became part of the rural and urban population. Builders, architects, tradesmen —such as house carpenters, masons, tilers, and other craftsmen

came with the various migrant groups. By 1700 the skills and influences of these people found expression in the urban landscape. Influences were both Dutch and Anglo-Dutch in the formal and vernacular architectural fashions of the time. The citizens/ denizens of Cork needed a remodeling and expansion of the city in response to a major increase in population and a legacy of structural devastation. The marshlands to the east and west were seen as prime real estate for development. It was a wetland of marshes and islands. In Europe, Dutch civil engineering was greatly admired for its expertise in reclaiming and developing such environments. It is not surprising that the result would be a new cityscape comparable in at least some of its elements with cities in the Netherlands though the architects, canal engineers, designers and builders at Cork are as yet unidentified.



The Exchange Building, Cork constructed in the early  $18^{th}$  century. (Charles Smith's  $Cork \dots 1815$  edition)

The first step was to build some bridges and quays linking the islands together, then to follow with stabilising the land through pile driving, wharf foundations, survey and allotment processes followed by street, quay and canal layout. The islands became the focus for construction work on buildings some residential, some industrial and commercial, as dictated by their owners and lessors. From this activity emerged, here and also in the eastern marshlands, a city of canals, tree-lined malls, basement doors of merchant houses opening onto wharves and canal-side frontages with residential and office space above reached by steps rising to first floor level -a safety against the ever present threat of flooding. Further enhancements were the aspirational pleasure ground amenities of a garden city, assembly areas public and private, indoor and outdoor, such as a riding ground and bowling green. All part of a cityscape which the 19<sup>th</sup> century antiquarian Thomas Crofton Croker would reminisce about as 'the Venice of the South'.

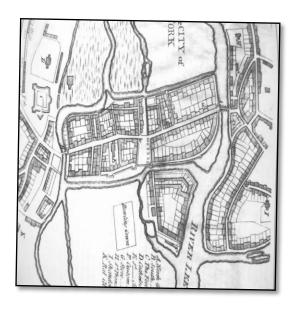
# A Map Before and a Map After

Two early maps were selected to contrast the development of the city's marshlands between the years 1690 and 1726. The earlier one is Storey's map for 1690. The later one is by John Carty of Cockpit Lane, Cork dated to 1726. Much expansion, to all cardinal points of the compass, had

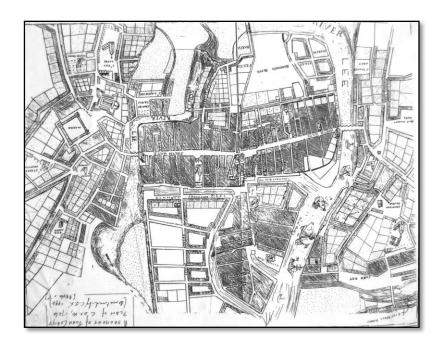
taken place within the intervening space of time expressive of population increase needs: with street layouts, lots and plots, buildings and gardens, field systems and new quays making an appearance. Storey's map contains evidence of early marshland settlement in an area which would later become known as the French or Huguenot quarter. This settlement activity was located on an island at the northern side of the east marshland which in earlier times contained a large enclosure, perhaps a pallisaded earthen embankment or a stone built structure, which was known as the Entrance Fort as represented on Speed's map of 1610. Might it represent a place of arrival for those immigrants coming shortly after Cromwell's occupation of the city and a place of first settlement for them i.e. a disused or still fortified position to protect the arrival of ships bearing troops as well as a place of accommodation and assembly for such forces?

It is interesting to note that during the 18<sup>th</sup> century this island would become a new point of location for the principal quay (King's Quay) where a new Custom's House was located, a place for the construction of Dutch Billy style terraces, a place for architecturally reminiscent Dutch / Anglo-Dutch style buildings and early Cork building in red brick, a principal place for ships sailing and arriving from Britain, Europe and the colonies, a place for merchants, commerce, industry and shipping activities – including repairs on the opposite bank of the river. From an initial use as a military / naval bridgehead, to a safe place of disembarkation for migrants families and settlement this island is suggestive of the pattern of settlement in the colonies. In was also the place where the first Huguenot church was built. As an initially parallel community to that occupying the old Medieval core of the city, it to some extent may have stolen the spotlight from Castle Street and its Exchange building; the original hub of mercantile activity and the portcullised canal within the precincts of the walled city which gave it its coat of arms.

The question may be asked were those quays adjacent to King's Quay, associated with Dutchman Theodore Vansenhoven and Huguenot Joseph Lavitt, indicative of the beginnings of a new commerce in Cork, one which would eventually give it its merchant princes and substantial wealth in the later part of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries?



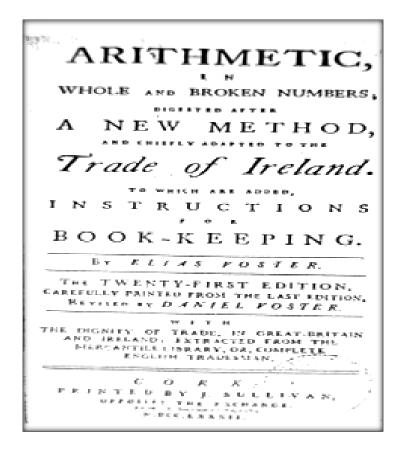
Storey's map of Cork 1690 (Medieval core at centre with Huquenot Quarter below at right)



John Carty's plan of Cork 1726. (Orientation as with Storey's map above i.e. west marsh at top of illustration)

# Meet the People: The Dutchmen

- •Theodore Vansenhoven a sugar refiner/ sugar baker and merchant for whom a quay was named. Was the raw sugar imported coming from the Caribbean? Gable fronted terraced buildings along the quay had 'Dutch Billy' frontages. Today it is part of Lavitt's Quay named for Joseph Lavitt a Huguenot merchant and a mayor of early 18<sup>th</sup> century Cork (Johnson 2002).
- •James Vandeleur became major of the city in 1663. Earlier in a census of 1656 he is recorded as one of the principal residents (titulado) of the city. Perhaps a son or relative was the Dr. Vandeleur who died in 1727 described as the 'ablest surgeon of his time in Cork' (Johnson 2002). One wonders where he received his professional education.
- •Elias Voster. In 1699 a young scholar Edward Browne, of the merchantile Browne family, arrived back in Cork from receiving an education in Holland with a 17 year old Dutchman, Elias Voster, in tow to join the family business. Within a short while Elias married his sweetheart from Holland, Joanna Schuurmans and acquired land on the slopes of the north ridge of the city to build his home Vosterburgh -having Dutch elements in the design of the house as well as its gardens with their mini canals and statuary, as described by Smith in 1750. This house is still occupied today (Meagher 1994).



In time Elias opened a mathematics school and published a textbook which remained popular for the next century and ran to over 20 editions. Money exchange questions in the text refer to Rotterdam and Amsterdam exchange rates in guilders. Among many sections dealing with measurement there is one dealing with distances and area. His son Daniel who would also run the school became well known as an instrument maker and noted for a slide rule he invented, an important surveyor and builder's tool.

# Meet The People: Dutch influenced men?

The Browne family sent their son Edward to Holland to receive a mercantile education. Originally ex-Cromwellian army and land grantees as was William Penn, ex-Cromwellian navy, like the families of other New English including the Pikes, the Brownes became prominent in the envisioning of the city's transformation. Further research is required, one strand of which might be the extent of their interest/admiration - or that of individual family members. In Dutch and Anglo-Dutch fashions, education, entrepreneurship and civility at that time. They were involved in several major construction projects which included the new Exchange building, hospitals and asylums, including possibly Skiddy's almshouse and perhaps St. Stephen's Hospital with its blue coat orphans school. They are related to Peter Browne, a Dubliner and Provost of Trinity College Dublin, a favourite of Queen Anne, the builder bishop who had four steeple fronted churches of the same basic design built in Cork; the only one surviving fully intact is St Ann's

Shandon: with distinctive 'pepper-pot' top layers to its spire; calling to mind images of decorative spired churches in England and the Netherlands. In this era of a building boom in both city and county the Brownes appear to have been very active and probably extended their mercantile portfolio interests well beyond the construction industry and hardware supplies. They may also have interacted with George Coltsman a local limestone quarry merchant and builder/mason whom folklore relates was active in dismantling damages stone structures and the building of new ones incorporating window moldings and door surrounds from earlier buildings.



Peter Browne, Bishop of Cork 1710-1735, a relative of the Browne family of Cork.

The banker Joseph Pike acquired much of the west marshlands form Cork Corporation in the early years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and divided it into three segments one of which he kept for himself to develop as a fashionable residential area, the other two to sub-let to persons named Haman and Fenn. On Pike's marsh facing Haman's (Hammond's) marsh a terrace of houses named Shuttle Row was built. Haman's Marsh developed as a centre of linen manufacturing and had a market which survived into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Fenn's marsh developed as a terraced residential area and spreading north from it as time progressed, an industrial area with glassmaking, the Vulcan iron foundry and street names such as Hanover and Anne. Woollen weavers and linen weavers appear to be very active at this time but the woollen industry failed after 1699(Lipson 1965) when its exports were banned, which ruined the efforts of James Fontaine the first Huguenot minister whose son John would later settle in the Colonies like those of others from Cork. One is tempted to ask about the extent to which Dutch prominence at this time in matters of commerce, industry and property development might have influenced the enterprising linen draper and banker Joseph Pike.

There are possibly several other Dutch associations hidden behind either deliberate or unwitting name changes and corruptions e.g. Voster becomes *Foster*, Vansenhoven becomes *Seven Ovens*. It is worth enquiring also as to how many other Dutch and Dutch associated names lie within the records of the Cork Quaker and Huguenot communities.

# The West Marshlands: lost and surviving structures

As a property developer Joseph Pike and his brother Samuel drove construction activity at Pike's Marsh. The infilling of this island with streets, quays and residential buildings took place from the early years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century through to the later part of that century in tandem with developments on the adjacent island of Haman's Marsh and along the canal bank facing it from Pike's Marsh. Today that channel dividing the two marshes is known as Henry Street, the quay at the northern side of Pike's Marsh being Bachelor's Quay and opposite it on the other side of the river the North Mall earlier known as Abbey Walk in association with a monastery once located there. During the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century the administrative civic and residential centre of the new city would move to this area, the Sherriff's House (subsequently called the Doll's House) in Queen Anne style being build there while the Mayoralty House incorporating the older Assembly Rooms was erected on Haman's Marsh in 1764. The latter was the work of architect Davis Ducart, a Franco-Italian who had worked as a canal engineer in earlier years. Much comment has been made about architects such as Edward Lovett Pearce as possibly the architect for Cork's early 18th century Customs House. It is well to bear in mind that the mindset of architects and those seeking their services can reflect a desire for designs from many fashionable influences and experiences in other countries often reflected in their compositions. So Italian, French, Dutch influence can intermingle according to choice and taste.

Lovett Pearce's training was with his first cousin architect Sir John Vanbrugh of Blenheim Palace fame. Entrepreneurial interest in canal building and in modeling the ambience and appearance of rural landscapes and urban streetscapes were central to envisioning new social landscapes and philosophies during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries; a new consciousness of place, space and time. At Haman's (Hammond's) Marsh industry and commerce played a major part in its initial development. Looking at Carty's 1726 map and focusing on what is today the Grattan Street end of Henry Street, the importance of the introduction of the linen industry is intriguing. On one side located on what was Pike's Marsh a row of houses survives which is known as Shuttle Row. On the opposite side of its canal frontage (what is now Henry Street) was Haman's Marsh where linen manufacture and an associated marketplace were established. An echo of this industry may survive in Shuttle Row which has high mansard style hipped gables and a stout molded, stepped, curvilinear gable in the Flemish style at one end. Perhaps the terrace name itself is reminiscent of weaving activity in its high attic rooms and the sound of the shuttle could be heard before the riotous arrival of John Kay's flying shuttle in 1733. One might speculate on the reason for the choice of a Flemish style in the construction of the row and particularly in the design of the east end building; the shop outlet for linen products perhaps. Encouragement of settlers from the Lowlands to establish an industry in an accommodation designed in the style to which they were accustomed?

Before entry to the banking world Joseph Pike opened the first linen drapery in Cork at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In subsequent years John Hearn a linen draper appears at the Sign of the Roll of Holland and Isaac Mee seller of 'dye stuffs' was open for business at the Phoenix Head, both premises on Haman's marsh. In nearby Cockpit lane a linen draper sold Dutch whale bone, fans and ivory combs and in Peter's lane Richard Pyne had a china shop (Johnson 2002).

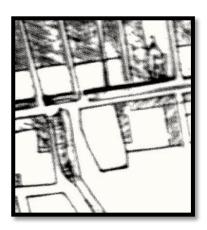
Further research needs to be undertaken regarding Fenn's Marsh and its terrace of early 18<sup>th</sup> century houses facing Haman's Marsh; as does the origins and progress of those original

communities of this area, once lovingly called The Marsh. Along with the Blackpool valley, 'the valley of the mills', they would appear to be the original centers of new industry within the city and its precincts, while the later survival of the linen industry, unlike that of the woollen industry, would find its home at Douglas village, the focal point of the Besnard family another migrant family who came from France through Holland. At Fenn's Quay what role such buildings might have played as residences, workshops and as ground floor commercial outlets as the progress of time entered the Georgian period awaits consideration. Perhaps in this there is also a story of emigrants from abroad, their hopes, prospects and visions of a future at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Other stories may lie in the history of artisans within the construction industry and the foundation of craftsmen's unions within the city in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The survival of the mason's language (Macalister 1997) known as the Bearlager (Bayarlager?) until recently, may offer some insights into their origins, introduction of different craft techniques or local continuity from earlier times (Salzman 1952). The Red Houses of the bricklayer may be indicative of a new entrant to the stone masonry tradition at this point in time. The study of historic carpentry may also highlight the introduction of new skills and techniques and migrant associations.



Shuttle Row from west side



Henry Street junction with Grattan Street 1726. Foreground shows Shuttle Row at left, Haman's Marsh at right.



*Linen shop(?) at Shuttle Row* 



Fenn's Quay terrace, early 18<sup>th</sup> century

In spite of dampness and health issues as describes by Doctor Rogers(1734) writing about medical issues in the city at this time, development continued though some choose to settle elsewhere out of town, some having both town and country houses: the move to Montenotte and the Tivoli Ridge had already begun and reflects elements of a town house and country house desire among the mercantile and professional *nouveau riche*. Cornelius de Jong of the Dutch Navy visiting Cork harbor in 1793 notes the home of the Rogers family at Lotamore on the Tivoli Ridge. One wonders if Dr. Rogers also received his medical education at Leyden (Leiden) as had Sir William Petty, physician and member of the Hartlib Circle (Barnard 1975, 214-216) who produced the first national cartographical survey of Ireland, some decades earlier. Such an association with Leyden is related by Tanner (1879) in connection with Edward Barry M.D. a Cork contemporary of Rogers.

#### The East Marshlands: North Side

In examining the north side of the East Marshlands on early maps showing its development we are looking at a confluence of current needs and a changing, innovative, absorptive mindset focused on the arrival and embarkation of shipping and the generation of wealth through international trade, provisioning for and importations from colonial settlements, the gathering of fine goods, travel memorabilia, ethnic and natural history curiosities which would later enter the collections of the Royal Cork Institution's museum as recorded in its Book of Presents when the Custom's House became the centre for this learned institution in the early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There was a tradition of museological and bibliographic collection building which survived into the later years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century which was reflective of Cork's maritime heritage and associations with the East and West India companies. One is curious as to the extent British interests subsumed the routes and connections established by the Dutch originators of such companies, even to the extent of Cork's subsequently strong associations with the East India Company and its history in colonial India now preserved in the Crawford manuscripts and Sexton Anglo-Indian and Oriental collections at University College Cork. Source materials connected with West Indies associations also awaits research; a story which stretches in time span from as early as 17<sup>th</sup> century Rostellan estate in Cork harbor and a connection to Barbados.

Three buildings survive which draw attention to the importance of this part of the east marsh at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Two are associated with the Huguenot Quarter and the third is on the opposite side of the river which once had a ferry crossing. Today the buildings in question are known as 11 Emmet Place, the Crawford Art Gallery and 50 Pope's Quay. The Crawford Art Gallery incorporates the Custom's House of 1724. Emmet Place, once the Grafton Club, is in Queen Anne style and has interesting similarities with West India House in Amsterdam. Another house in Queen Anne style was the Sherriff's House on Bachelor's Quay noted above. 50 Pope's Quay is referred to as Queen Anne in style also though in its upper story some remodeling may be present or alternatively the influence is a mixture of Georgian and Queen Anne. It is said to be associated with the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Cork; an example of an aristocrat's townhouse perhaps. It was originally set with gardens front and rear.



11 Emmet Place



50 Pope's Quay

#### **Custom House Debates**

As to a possibility of Dutch influence in early eighteenth century architecture in Cork city the historical section of the Crawford Art Gallery's website states in describing the Custom's House,

It is far more constructive to look to other early eighteenth-century houses in the Cork area for clues as to the architect of the Custom House; and in the seaport of Youghal, less than thirty miles from Cork city, a large house in the main street known as the 'Red House' provides solid grounds for comparison with the Cork building. The Red House, probably so-called because brick buildings were comparatively rare in Munster up to the eighteenth century, was built by the Uniacke family in 1710. It has been traditionally ascribed to the Dutch architect and builder Leuventhen, and the design for the town house in Youghal contains key features which also appear on the Cork Custom House, such as the distinctive string course at first floor level, a gentle breakfront facade, quoins and window surrounds of carved limestone, and a lunette over the entrance doorway.

Doric at ground level, Ionic above, rising two storeys and surmounted by carved pineapples and a lunette. The pineapple motif was widely used as a symbol of hospitality in eighteenth-century European and American architecture, but it is particularly linked with Newport, Rhode Island, a seaport which prospered on the West Indian trade. Stone pineapples are found on several buildings in Cork dating from this period, and hint also at the close trading links which existed between Cork and the West Indies. The pineapples are carved of a particularly white limestone that is native to Cork. The engaged columns and lunette are also of this stone, as are the quoins and window surrounds.

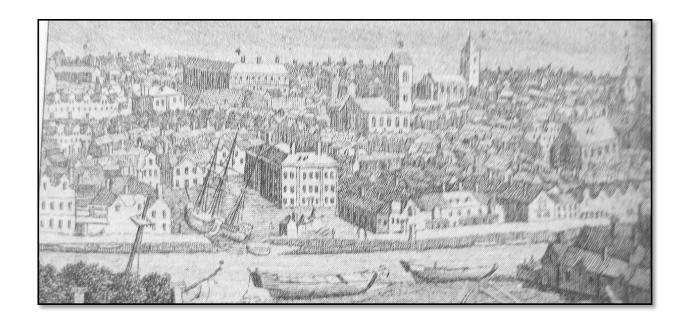


18th Century façade of the Customs House, now Crawford Art Gallery

Quoting *Voyages en Anglois et en Francois d'A. de la Mortraye, en divers provinces* published in 1732 the author notes Mortraye describing it as *'the Handsomest of the public Edifaces & built after the Italian Manner'* something which echoes in descriptions of the Mayorality House built in the 1760s. One wonders if a range of influences from both Dutch and Italian fashions impacted on architect and client in determining design choice.

Some twenty years later, Charles Smith says of the building

The Custom House is a large elegant building, of one main structure, and two returns; it consists of three stories; the angles, door-case, and window-frames, are of hewn stone, as is the cornice and balustrade at top; the other part of the building is of brick. In this house, are several offices of the management of the affairs of the excais and custome of this port; together with an elegant apartment, and all proper conviences for the collector, who resides in the house.



Detail from Charles Smith's view of Cork circa 1750 showing the Customs House and adjacent quays with examples of Dutch Billy style terrace at right and left

On either side of the building are the store-houses, which form two handsome piazzas. Here is a good quay, furnished with cranes and other conveniences for the discharging of goods; and a new canal made almost quite around the Custome-house, so that several vessels may lie there at a time. In the year 1724, the old Custom-house being too small, was taken down, and this elegant building was then begun to be erected, at the King's expense, which was finished the following year.

In summary, a closer study of the three buildings mentioned above and their architectural clues may indeed help reveal more of a story of the extent to which initial Dutch colonial influence through the activities of shipping merchants in the locality of Cork was replaced by English influences as time progressed from the mid seventeenth through to the mid eighteenth century.

#### East Marsh: South Side

A visually distinctive aspect of this part of Cork today is its remaining 18<sup>th</sup> century buildings with steps leading to a first floor entrance. Examples of very similar buildings occur in contemporary Dutch ports. Though appearing on a later 18<sup>th</sup> century map as at the east end of the South Mall, it would seem that the Reap Marsh at one time encompassed the South Mall as well. This is a familiar ring in the words of the Quaker surveyor Joshua White writing in his diary in 1753 as quoted by Dickson in his book *Old World Colony* 

I remember the Reap Marsh...to have been a field of several enclosures and I surveyed them, the bounds a black ditch and but few houses upon it: which now and within a few years is become a specious set of buildings, it may soon be worthy to be called such a city as New Cork.



Merchant houses at South Mall.

Cork folklore as related by McNamera (1981) speaks of buildings number 73 and 74 South Mall as being constructed of bricks which arrived in the city as ships ballast either in part payment of a debt or as a gift from the Dutch government.

The South Mall streetscape was laid out and built upon within the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Initially a canal-side, tree lined mall it gradually lost this aspect as the adjacent Morrison's Island was developed along with Union, George's and Cotter's Quays on the opposite side of the river channel there. Streetscape evidence and reconstruction of its mercantile and social history may return this area to the light of history and in so doing illustrate a further story of colonial associations and the importation of hardwood timbers to supply construction work within city and county as well as the fur trade. To what extent the networks of supply for such materials in the colonial settlements of North America reflect initiatives by the original Dutch settlements remains to be seen, encased though such stories may be by the extent and record of cargo ships *en route* to England and elsewhere.

It is tempting to try to envision Cork merchants of this time in frock coat, tricorn hat, periwig, breeches and brogues standing at the front doors of their residences peering down as cargo is offloaded from shallow bottom ships or lightering boats: at their own wharf fronts beneath the steps of their residences; as goods are manhandled through cellar doors for storage and subsequent marketing locally or abroad.

### Enhancing the Cultural and Physical landscapes: Painters and Sculptors

Apart from an influence on commerce, on the built landscape and on the social character of early 18<sup>th</sup> century Cork there are also a few indicators of influence on the artistic and cultural life of the city as well. Perhaps suggesting more, as yet un-noticed or undiscovered, there are the following:

- Van Nost's bronze statue of George 11...the 'celebrated statuary' artist who resided at Kift's lane.
- Nathaniel Grogan (Elder),the Cork landscape painter stated that his key influences were the Dutch artists Hobbema and Heemskerck.
- Willem Van der Hagen who flourished 1720-45 produced what is now the earliest surviving Cork painting (Ships entering Cork Harbour c.1738) as part of his tour in Ireland.

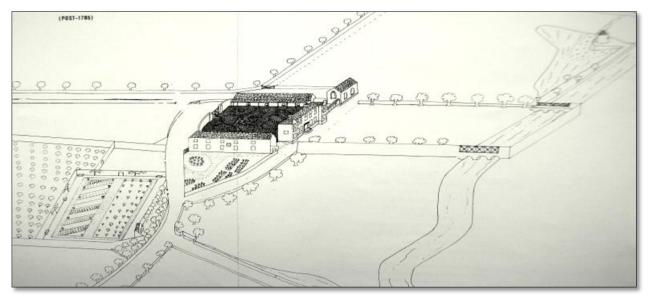
# Footnotes elsewhere in Cork County

**Palace Anne.** Located in west Cork, in the Bandon / Innishannon area, Palace Anne was built by the Barnard family in 1714. It was often described as being in the Queen Anne style. Perhaps there is something of a fashion evident in the choice of building design for demesnes as well as urban residences constructed at this time; considering the close dates for the Uniacke's family house at Youghal and the Bishop of Cork's demesne at Bishopstown. Is there a possibility of

architect builders - initially invited for a single project acquiring further work elsewhere in the county or is all the work of unconnected individuals?

**Bishopstown House.** This country residence for the Bishop of Cork, Peter Browne was created in the 1720s. No illustrations of it are known to survive though the existence of a string course of limestone forming part of the foundations of the house still exists, suggesting a possibility that it may have been a brick construction in contemporary style. The portfolios of journeymen architects and landscapers comes to mind. The courtyard also survives with a bishop's mitre and the date 1726 displayed in yellow cobbles; a rare example of such work in Ireland now covered over as a carpark. Footbridges across the river, a once ornately decorated shellhouse and an interconnected system of fish ponds all recall a place of beauty with woodlands, countryside vistas, flower gardens and water gardens. An association between its second occupant Bishop Robert Clayton and the celebrated eighteenth century diarist - and decorative gardening enthusiast, Mrs. Delany is also to be noted.

In the sphere of Protestant religious debate of the time, philosopher bishop Peter Browne was - as was his one time alumnus at Trinity College Dublin the celebrated philosopher George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, Co. Cork - deeply involved as an Age of Enlightenment scholar. Some of his writings were composed at Bishopstown; pamphlet writings which were the dread of some of his contemporaries, as was the case with philosopher John Tolland, a graduate of Leyden among other distinguished academic institutions of the time (Olscamp 1970).



Bishop Browne's country demesne 1726 at Bishopstown. Conjectural reconstruction based on surviving landscape features as in footbridges, shell house and decorative cobbled courtyard.

It is likely that more of the contemporary county architecture of that time awaits consideration from the viewpoint of early eighteenth century influence on demesne and country house design.

#### **Cork Yacht Club:**

The Royal Cork Yacht Club claims the accolade of being the oldest of its kind in the world. Their Archivist, Dermot Burns relates the following story with a Dutch connection

Sometime in the early 1600s, the idea of sailing for private pleasure started to take root in the Netherlands. Later that century, during the Cromwellian years, King Charles II of England was in exile in the Netherlands and while there he became aware of this new and exciting pastime. In 1660 after his restoration to the English crown and return from exile, Charles was presented with a yacht called Mary by the Dutch, which he sailed enthusiastically on the Thames. Soon several of his courtiers followed his example and we feel pretty certain that one of them was Murrough O'Brien, the 6th Lord Inchiquin (Murrough of the Burnings). Murrough retired to Rostellan Castle in Cork harbour. We know that not only had he attended the court of King Charles from 1660 to 1662, but also that he had been created the1st Earl of Inchiquin by Charles in 1664. We also know that private sailing started to become popular in Cork Harbour shortly after his return, quite possibly because of his direct encouragement. In any case, by 1720, interest in the sport had progressed so much that his great-grandson, the 26 year old William O'Brien, the 9th Lord Inchiquin, and five of his friends got together to formalize their activities and in so doing established "The Water Club of the Harbour of Cork".

## Dutch Youghal: A postscript



The Red House, Youghal built c.1706-15 by Dutch Architect/Builder Leuventhen for Uniacke family

The story of Dutch influence at Youghal awaits research. Extracts which create a basis for further investigation are given below. Particular attention needs to be given to the interests of M.J.C. Buckley who was local secretary of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in 1903 and who acted as tour guide for their visit to Youghal in that year. Buckley was also local representative for the woodworkers of Bruges and apparently had a strong interest in historic

carpentry. The story of Dutch influence in Youghal makes for an interesting comparative and parallel story with that for Cork city.

To quote from the Crawford Art Gallery's website again

There is also in Youghal the famous clock gate straddling the main street, which although it bears the date 1771, was apparently modeled closely on an earlier structure. Maurice Craig mentions Coltsman as a possible architect for the clock gate, and compares it with the similar St.Ann's Shandon, the clock gate and the custom house are quite dumpy in appearance, and in spite of the classicizing features of both buildings, they, and the Red House, share a homely feeling, and could possibly have originated from the same journeyman-builder's portfolio of designs.

**Youghal Delft Manufacturing.** Extracts from the commentary on the Royal Society of Antiquaries' visit to Youghal in 1903 contain the following insights

Notices of the earthenware works, which were owned and for many years success-fully worked by the Drury family, occur but of the higher class glazed and decorated delf, which was made there during the first half of the eighteenth century, there is no notice.

The local tradition concerning the delft is that 'a vein of white clay was discovered in the neighbourhood, and some trials were made with it, but only in a very small way; that the place was covered up, and the locality entirely forgotten. A surviving cup 'has the initials 1751 and a mock Chinese ornamentation outside, colour light blue'. In another example 'The glaze a very pale bluey-white, the decoration a full deep blue, the ornamentation Chinese in character'.

In 1784, Thomas Lord, a printer in Youghal, published *The Ancient and Present State of Youghal, containing a natural, civil, ecclesiastical, and topographical history thereof...* Writing of the manufactures of Youghal at that time, he places earthenware at the head of the list... 'a considerable quantity of which is made in Youghal' and he goes on to say

...it is far from being brought to the perfection the manufacture requires. A considerable branch of this trade, and which we continue to import in vast quantities from Holland, is the article of tiles for roofing and flooring, as also chimney tiles, in many of which one meets with no unelegant designs done by children in that industrious country, and sold extremely cheap.

Of Sir Walter Raleigh's House at Youghal he also says 'Upstairs there are handsome rooms wainscoted with dark oak. One of these retains in its fire-place the old blue Dutch tiles with scriptural subjects enclosed in a circular border'. Additionally, Lord mentions the 'exceeding good brick made in Youghal'.

**Youghal brickwork.** Further comment on the use of brickwork in Youghal appears in the quotation below in connection with the Red House. It appears to be derived from M.J.C. Buckley. Speaking of the Red House he says

...was built by one of the Uniacke family, between the years 1706-15, from the plans and under the superintendence of a Dutch builder named Leuventhen. It is a fine example of the domestic architecture of the Netherlands at that period; with its Dutch Renaissance details, its wide doorway and portico approached by a flight of steps, and its tall windows. It is of the baroque William and Mary style (1689-1702), free standing over a basement with a unifying, pedimented, large central breakfront and doorway. The roof is hipped, has two dormer windows and is decorated with finials and ridge tiles. It is built with imported red brick -the quality of local brick was not good enough at the time. It originally had two acres of outbuildings, gardens and kennels. The whole of this edifice is built of red bricks, which are, most probably, of Dutch origin, as it is doubtful whether brick kilns had been established in Youghal at this period. I may here remark that similar brickwork in houses of this date can still be seen in some of the older parts of towns and cities in the New England States, in the narrow streets of Manhattan Island, New York, formerly called New Amsterdam. The interior of this antique Dutch residence is paneled in memel pine-wood, which is still in good preservation.

**Youghal Exchange.** Towards the end of 1671 the English topographer Thomas Dingley [Dineley] was engaged to become one of the suite/embassy of Sir George Downing, then about to return as ambassador to the States-General of the United Provinces. Dingley recorded his time in the Netherlands in a journal entitled *The Journall of my Travails through the Low-Countreys*. In a subsequent journal of circa 1681 he describes a tour in Ireland and this work contains two views of the Exchange building at Youghal.

#### To quote Buckley again

In these the Exchange is shown as a building of the same type as the Bourses in several of the Flemish and Hanseatic towns. The Youghal edifice is represented as having four circular arcades, with wide mullioned windows over them, and dormer windows in the roof. A tower, terminated by a domed cupola (which appears to be covered with copper scales), stands in the centre of the facade. The gables are very lofty, and are surmounted, as well as the cupola, by wrought-iron vanes. On the south side of the Exchange is seen the fortified water-gate, immediately over which, in the distance, is shown the windmill, which formerly stood at the top of Windmill-lane.

It is interesting to compare this with the early eighteenth century view of the Cork Exchange building built by the Brownes and with other Cork city buildings from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century such as Skiddy's almshouse.

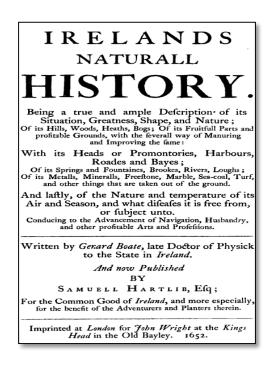


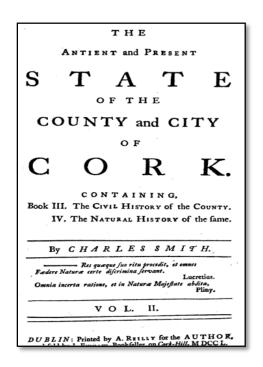
Skiddy's Almshouse.

# Concluding Remarks

In an introductory letter to Dutchman Gerard Boate's natural history of Ireland first published in 1652 Samuel Hatlib remarks to Lord Cromwell

I look also somewhat upon the hopefull appearance of Replanting Ireland shortly, not only by the Adventurers, but happily by the calling in of exiled Bohemians and other Protestants also and happily by the invitation of some well affected out of the Low Countries...





In the introduction to his history of Cork city and county published in 1750 Charles Smith states

No other country in Europe can boast of such a multitude of hands as the United Provinces: nor any spot of ground, of the same extent, can equal its riches. The persecution in the empire, for religion, under Charles V. in France, under Henry II and in England, under Queen Mary, forced great numbers out of all those countries, to shelter themselves in the Netherlands, where the laws protected those oppressed strangers; who peopled their towns, filled them with manufacturing...

If we cannot, like Italy or Holland, boast of the beauties of art, and improvements of planting and building in this country, we may, at least, present our readers with natural beauties, no less pleasing and attractive. It is a true piece of wisdom in any state, by the magnificence of its public structures, by a neatness and symmetry in its private one, which may atone for splendour and ornament, and by adorning towns with pleasant and regular plantations of trees, and public walks, to invite travellers to come and see them.

Among other methods of inviting artists and traders to settle in a country, artful descriptions, even beyond the truth, have been used by other nations. When the Dutch first began to plant their East India settlements, almost every wharf and landing place in Batavia, beside their churches, fortifications, and buildings, were pompously engraved on copper, and embellished with all the pleasing variety of landscape the painter's art was master of; and this, to induce the European Hollanders to quit their native soil, and strengthen their infant colonies: many years grown so powerful, as to vie with their mother country.

Between these two topographical surveys roughly 100 years apart the story of a Dutch presence and more particularly that of a Dutch and Anglo-Dutch influenced city becomes apparent. It is not distinctly Dutch but it does reflect the spirit of its time; to what degree is a matter for research and discussion. Perhaps in this context the backgrounds of members and the influence of Samuel Hartlib's Circle (Barnard 1975) should be considered.

So, a Dutch Cork ... Fact or Myth? Perhaps it is closer to the truth to say that it was 'Going Dutch' as is the apt title of Lisa Jardine's publication. However, as new generations grew up and architectural styles and fashions changed, as the American War of Independence impacted on trade and provisioning, as migration slowed, as maintenance costs became a problem, that vision that had begun to take shape as a Dutch like 'canal city' was lost to Cork. Dutch interest in Cork would continue however as evidenced in the description of its harbour by Dutch naval officer Cornelius de Jong written in the 1790s which says of the town of Cobh situated there

At present, the town seems to be in a boom period. There is life and movement everywhere, not only because of the warships, but also because of our six East Indies and because of the great number of transport ships, all of which have their troops, both infantry and cavalry, on board and collect fresh supplies here every day (O'Reilly 1999).

This starkly contrasts with Crofton Croker's description of the city itself penned some time not too long after 1815, which says

The convenience of Cork harbour in time of war rendered it the rendezvous where all vessels trading with the new world assembled for convoy, and the victualling of such fleets alone created an extensive consumption for its staple commodities – few cities therefore felt the transition to peace more severely, being without manufactures, and solely dependent on trade for the support of its inhabitants.

The failure of several banking and commercial houses produced a depression of credit, and checked the means by which Cork had attained its commercial eminence. Vacant stores and untenanted houses are melancholy proofs of the declension of its prosperity; and to those who remember what that city was previous to 1815, its present appearance is entirely cheerless – this gloomy effect, it is to be hoped, may prove of a temporary nature, and confidence and prosperity be again restored without the renewal of hostilities. (Croker 1824, 203-204).

Acknowledgements. My thanks goes to Dr. Barbara Browne, School of Information and Library Studies, University College Dublin who encouraged my endeavours, to Mr. Ronan Madden, Boole Library, University College Cork for assistance in locating source material and to Rosemary McCarthy for typing and editing. Richard Cooke for permission to reproduce images relating to the Mardyke from his book of that name.

#### Bibliography.

Andrews, J.H. (1985) *Plantation Acres. An Historical Study of the Irish Land Surveyor and his Maps*. Ulster Historical Foundation, Tyrone.

Alexander, Edward Porter. (1972) *The Journal of John Fontaine. An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia 1710-1719*. The Williamsburg Foundation, Virginia.

Barnard, T.C. (1975) Cromwellian Ireland. English Government and Reform in Ireland 1649-1660. Oxford Universoty Press, London.

Bielenberg, Andy. (1991) Cork's Industrial Revolution 1780-1880. Development or Decline. Cork University Press, Cork.

Boate, Gerard. (1652) Irelands Naturall History. John Wright, London.

Buckley, M.J.C. (1903)Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Munster Meeting, (commentary on M.J.C. Buckley's contribution to tour of Youghal). Published Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 1903, Part L, Vol. xxxiii, pp.302-344.

Buttimer, Cornelius G. and O'Flanagan, Patrick. (1993) *Cork History and Society*. *Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*. Geography Publications, Dublin.

Canny, Nicholas and Pagden, Anthony. (1987) *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey.

Caulfield, Richard. (1876) The Council Book of the Corporation of the city of Cork, from 1609 to 1643, and from 1690 to 1800. J. Billing and sons, Guildford (Surrey).

Caulfield, Richard. (1878) *The Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal, from 1610 to 1659, from 1666 to 1687 and from 1690...* J. Billing and sons, Guildford (Surrey).

Cooke, Richard T. (1990) *The Mardyke – Cork City's Country Walk in History*. Seamus Curtin, Cork.

Croker, Thomas Crofton. (1824) Researches in the South of Ireland. John Murray, London.

Crowley, John et alia. (2005) Atlas of Cork City. Cork University Press, Cork.

Dickson, David. (2005) *Old World Colony. Cork and South Munster 1630-1830*. Cork University Press, Cork

Docking, Stanley J. (1937) The City of Cork: Its Residential Quays. *The Town Planning Review*, Vol.17, No.3 (July 1937), pp. 212-214.

Ellis, Peter Beresford. (2009) Terror of the Seas. *Holly Bough Christmas* 2009, p.12. Evening Echo, Cork.

Foley, Con. (1981) A History of Douglas. R. Lynch, Cork.

Gibson, Rev. C.B. (1974) History of the County and City of Cork. Fercor Press, Cork.

Harrison, Richard S. (1991) Cork city Quakers: a brief history 1655-1939. Cork.

Harrison, Richard S. (1999) Some Eighteenth-Century Cork Quaker Families: A key to Cork City Development. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Vol.104, pp.117-136.

Hobhouse, Penelope. (1992) Plants in Garden History. Pavilion Books, London.

Iredale, David and Barrett, John. (2002) *Discovering Your Old House*. Shire Publications, Buckinghamshire.

Jardine, Lisa. (2008) *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory*. Harper Press, London.

Johnson, Gina. (2002) The Laneways of Medieval Cork. Cork City Council, Cork.

Lee, Grace Lawless. (2008) The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland. Heritage Books, Maryland.

Lenihan, Padraig. (2001) *Confederate Catholics at War, 1641-1649*. Cork University Press, Cork.

Lipson, E. (1965) The History of The Woolen and Worsted Industries. Frank Cass, London.

Malins, Edward and The Knight of Glin. (1976) Lost Demesnes. Irish Landscape Gardening, 1660 – 1845. Barrie and Jenkins, London.

Macalister, R.A.S. (1997) *The Secret Languages of Ireland*. Craobh Rua Books, Armagh.

McCarthy, J.P. (1981) *Ballineaspigmore and Bishopstown House*. Bishopstown Community Association, Cork.

McCarthy, J.P. (1995) In Search of Cork's collecting traditions: from Kilcrea's Library to the Boole Library of today. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Vol. 100, pp. 29-46.

McCarthy, Mark. (2000) Turning a world upside down: the metamorphosis of property, settlement and society in the city of Cork during the 1640s and 1650s'. in *Irish Geography*, Vol. 33, pp. 37 – 55.

McCarthy, Mark.(2001) 'Geographical change in an early modern town: urban growth, economy and cultural politics in Cork, 1600 – 1641'. in *JCHAS*, Vol. 106, 2001 (pp. 53 -78)

McCarthy, Mark. (2001) The forging of an Atlantic port city: socio-economic and physical transformations in Cork, 1660 – 1700. *Urban History*, Vol.28, 1, pp.25-45.

McCarthy, Mark. (2003) 'Historical geographies of a colonised world: the renegotiation of New English colonialism in early modern urban Ireland, c. 1600 – 1610.' in *Irish Geography*, Vol. 36, pp.59-76)

McLoughlin, Peter. (2004) Cromwell's Revenge. A True Story. Mercier Press, Cork.

McNamara, T.F. (1981) Portrait of Cork. Watermans, Cork.

Meagher, John H. (1994) Elias Voster: the Father of Irish Accounting. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* Vol. 99, pp. 111-119.

Murray, Peter. (2005) *Maritime Paintings of Cork and Associated Historical Material 1700-2000*. Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, Cork.

O'Reilly, William. (1999) Dutch Writings on Southern Ireland in the 1790s. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* Vol. 104, pp.21-36.

O'Sullivan, William. (1937) *The Economic History of Cork from the Earliest Times to the Act of Union*. Cork University Press, Cork.

Olscamp, Paul J. (1970) *The Moral Philosophy of George Berkeley*. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague.

Prak, Maarten. (2005) *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Rogers, Joseph. (1734) An essay on epidemic diseases: and more particularly on the endemial epidemics of the city of Cork, such as fevers and small-pox; but most professedly on the endemial epidemic fever of the year MDCCXXXI, with an attempt to account for the general and special causes producing the same. Also, the method of cure found most successful. In two parts. To which is added, by way of appendix, A course of statical experiments and observations made by a curious person during a twelve-month. W.Smith, Dublin.

Salzman, L.F. (1952) *Building in England down to 1540. A Documentary History*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Schama, Simon. (1988) The Embarrassment of Riches. Fontana Press.

Shorto, Russell. (2005) The Island at the Centre of the World. Vintage Books, New York.

Smith, Charles. (1750) *The Antient and Present State of the City and County of Cork*. A. Reilly, Dublin.

St Leger, Alicia. (1991) Silver sails and silk: Huguenots in Cork 1685-1850. Cork Civic Trust, Cork.

St Leger, Alicia. (2005) A history of the Royal Cork Yacht Club. Royal Cork Yacht Club, Crosshaven (Cork).

Tanner, William Kearns. (1879) A Retrospect – Surgery in Cork. An Address Delivered at the Opening of the Section of Surgery At the Annual Meeting Of The British Medical Association, In Cork August 1879. *British Medical Journal*, Vol.2, No. 971 (Aug.9, 1879), pp. 225-227.

Tolles, Frederick B. (1963) Meeting House and Counting House. W.W. Norton, New York.

Truxes, Thomas M. (1988) *Irish-American Trade*, 1660-1783. Cambridge University Press, New York.

Maps consulted:

1610 John Speed's plan view.

1690 George Storey's map.

1726 John Carty's plan.

#### Websites consulted:

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland visit to Youghal 1903 at <a href="http://www.archive.org/stream/journalofroyalso33royauoft/journalofroyalso33royauoft\_d">http://www.archive.org/stream/journalofroyalso33royauoft\_d</a> <a href="mailto:jvu.txt">jvu.txt</a>

Gillis Schey at <a href="http://anglo-dutch-wars.blogspot.com/2004/02/gillis-schey.html">http://anglo-dutch-wars.blogspot.com/2004/02/gillis-schey.html</a>

Edward Lovett Pearce at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward\_Lovett\_Pearce

John Kay at <a href="http://www.saburchill.com/history/chapters/IR/009.html">http://www.saburchill.com/history/chapters/IR/009.html</a>

Bluecoats at http://www.pepysdiary.com/archive/1665/06/01/

Royal Cork Yacht Club, Dermot Burns, Archivist at <a href="http://www.royalcork.com/index.php?option=com\_content&task=view&id=15&Itemid=53">http://www.royalcork.com/index.php?option=com\_content&task=view&id=15&Itemid=53</a>

Wine Geese, Wild Geese at <a href="http://www.winegeese.ie/">http://www.winegeese.ie/</a>