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Dutch influence in the Urban Landscape of Cork City pre-1800 : Fact or Myth?

[Update, based on further research, of draft version of 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: http://doi.org/10.1179/155909011x12930363744188]

By J.P. McCarthy

The early years of the eighteenth century Irish port town, known as 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 upon its north and south ridge shorelines; ribbon development already in place in such areas. Perhaps the advantages 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 more substantial 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 mayoralty 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 the steeple of St. Ann's Shandon in the distance From John Carr, The Stranger in Ireland, 1806. Source: Boole Library Special Collections, University College Cork.

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 lamplights, 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 18th 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 (Cooke 1990). Perhaps here, as elsewhere in the city, as described in contemporary Cork poet George Sackville Cotter's poem *A Nightly Ramble; or, A Peep into a City. A Satyr* published in Cork City in 1788 by the well known - and more recently researched, William Flyn at the Sign of the Shakespeare, was

A China-loaded bar, where Hostess's daughter

Adapts the tea to sugar, milk and water.

The Beaus assemble; joking all are at her,

While the pert Minx enlivens them with chatter.

In Cotter's wonderful poem the reader is taken on a night-time journey through the streets and alleyways of the city sometime about, or prior to, 1788, and is introduced to the everyday lives of its characters, fun, places, ambience and nightshade colourfulness of a city imbued with the intimacy of a small town (Cotter 1788, Vol. 2, 156-180).

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 -1622), 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 defences 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 Ruaidrí Ellis off the south coast of Ireland (Ellis 2009). According to O'Sullivan (1937, 102) the Cork economic historian, referring to the early years of the seventeenth century *'during these years very little native shipping existed, most of the carrying trade to and from Ireland 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. He also states (1937, 101) that in the years 1610-11 '*commodities such as sugar, vinegar and salt were imported mostly in Dutch vessels'*. During the second decade of the 17th century due to harassment of Dutch and other shipping, a Dutch fleet temporarily cleared the harbour area of pirates and subsequently turned its broadside cannons upon a confederation of pirates frequenting the West Cork coastline.

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 remodelling 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. Cork cartographer, at Cockpit Lane off North Main Street, John Carty - and family, would create a map and prospectus for the new city, published in 1726. Some decades later in the century, at Broad Lane on the opposite side of North Main Street, Patrick Aher of the family of cartographers Patrick and David Aher (trained in the style of Rocque) would publish *The gentleman's and dealer's Cork almanack for the year 1778.* 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, not clearly unidentified. John Rocque, influential and respected cartographer of his time, mapped the expanding Cork '*city'* of the 1750s and published his map in 1759 ; with a revised, posthumous, revision appearing in 1773. Intriguing to consider is the north channel of the river Lee as seen on the map; that part of it stretching from roughly Penrose Quay to the Coal Quay, the north bank there indented in places with small docking/landing areas and adjacent warehouses, reminding one of the contemporary view, from somewhere on the ridge above, of the Dutch Billy, gabled house terraces, as painted by John Butts, on the surrounds and quay-scape either side of the Custom House situated opposite the ridge. Perhaps, one might occasionally have heard the hammering of shipwrights making, mending and repairing by the junction nearby of the

Lee and Kiln rivers below Shandon, while elsewhere in the city, cabinet-makers, joiners and carpenters of the guild busied themselves, and a wheelwright mended Deeble's mill-wheel at Liberty Street to the west of Castle Street.

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 as well as outdoor; such as a riding ground and bowling green. All part of a cityscape which the 19th century antiquarian Thomas Crofton Croker would reminisce about as *'the Venice of the South' ;* the '*Venice of the North*' being once a name for Amsterdam - among other canal cities claiming this title, in locations north west of Italy's Venice.

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 George 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 palisaded earthen embankment or a stone built structure, which was known as the Entrance Fort as represented on John 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?





(Storey 1690) (John Carty 1726)

George Storey's Map of Cork 1690. Medieval core at centre with Huguenot Quarter top right side of map below the words River Lee. Source: Cork City Libraries. John Carty's map of Cork 1726 with Huguenot Quarter at top centre left. Source: Boole Library, University College Cork.

It is interesting to note that during the 18th 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.

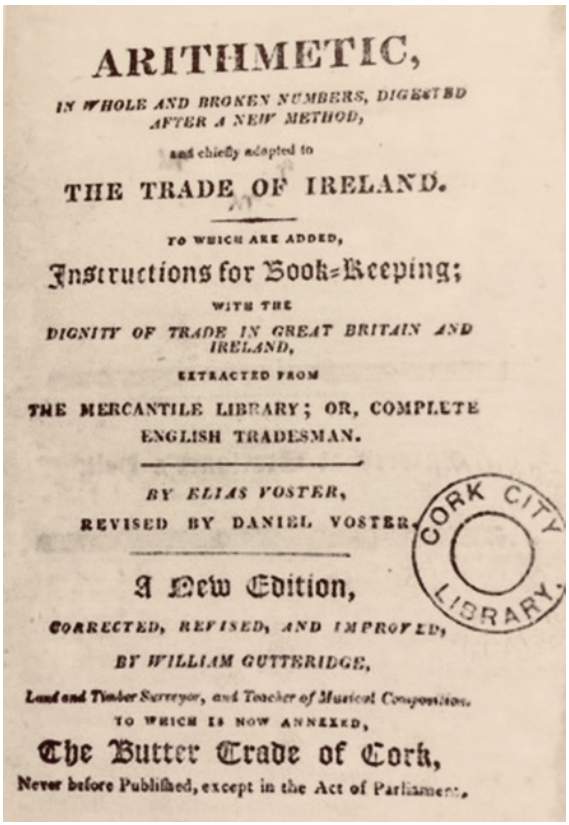
The question may be asked were those quays adjacent to King's Quay, associated with Dutchman Theodore Vansenhoven and Huguenot Joseph Lavitt, indicative of the beginnings of a new commerce in Cork, one which would eventually give it its merchant princes and substantial wealth in the later part of the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

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 18th 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 mercantile 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).


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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.

Title page of Elias Voster's Arithmetic. Source: Boole Library Special Collections, University College Cork.

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; and perhaps a hint of Oude Kerk in Amsterdam - or elsewhere in Holland, in its upper portion, its ball and weathervane style, a cock replaced by Cork's '*goldie fish'*. 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 mouldings and door surrounds from earlier buildings.

The banker Joseph Pike acquired much of the west marshlands form Cork Corporation in the early years of the 18th 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 19th 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;* or does it also have some connection with the refining of sugar, he being a '*sugar baker*'? 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 18th 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 18th century the administrative civic and residential centre of the new city would move to this area, the Sheriff'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 Custom 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 modelling the ambience and appearance of rural landscapes and urban streetscapes were central to envisioning new social landscapes and philosophies during the 17th and 18th 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 moulded, 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 18th 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).

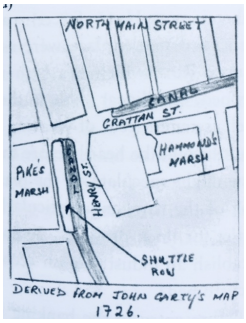
Further research needs to be undertaken regarding Fenn's Marsh and its terrace of early 18th century houses facing Haman's Marsh; as does the origins and progress of those original communities of this area, once lovingly called The Marsh. Along with the Blackpool valley, *'the valley of the mills',* they would appear to be the original centres 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 18th 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 17th 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, techniques and migrant associations. Among other quays was Cotter's Quay - where later Cotter Street, near George's Quay, and the possibility for importation of lumber from the colonies and a large joinery yard, and once a company of many carpenters and a southern mall under construction: masons' trowels and carpenters' saws in frenzied motion; echoes of colonial frontiers in the New World, loggers in forests, river cascades and floating log fells, beaver skins and trappers at Hudson Bay, before the days of Cork's '*Black Eagle of the North*' among the trappers there, before Lewis and Clark, before Catlin's sketchpad; timber cargoes docked at quays for joinery warehouses and cabinet makers' workshops.

Perlin (2005, 263 - 361) contains an interesting overview of the history of lumber in America; one wonders about the history of Cork's mercantile mariners in this regard, as the colonies began to open up and expand, the provisioning for voyagers and their settlements taking place along the city's quaysides; a Quaker from Cork founds a township in Pennsylvania; a memory of Cromwell's Admiral Penn in the West Indies with an echo from a ruined tower-house in Shanagarry near Cloyne; a '*sugar baker*' talking to a '*sugar baron*' once echoed from a Cork City quayside amongst seven distilling ovens or perhaps by the quayside at Ballinacurra (Midleton) where some say Vansenhoven resided and founded a settlement. One is also intrigued by the early 18th century adventures of Capt. Richard Falconer among the Indians of America, and also, later interspersed with them, those of ship's pilot Thomas Randal of Cork (Chetwood 1752). One is also conscious of other tales about privateers and adventures connected to Cork such as the daughter of one time Cork solicitor - and emigrant to the New World, the Caribbean pirate, Anne Boney (Carlova 1964).

In terms of a 'Dutch Crossing' one thinks of the century between 1650 and 1750, beginning with the surrender of New Amsterdam (New York's initial settlement and modelled in the Dutch style) to England in 1664, then the Dutch role in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England, and one thinks of Peter Stuyvesant at New Amsterdam, his protective wall, a ditch being dug, of the Dutch fleet in Cork's harbour in the mid 17th century and its carrying trade to Cork and beyond, of ships provisioning before entering the Atlantic and heading westward in several directions to the colonies, of a Dutch influence and ambience in the initial years of Cork's new city, of a sea journey from old Amsterdam with Cork being a last port of call before a venturing to New Amsterdam.



1.Shuttle Row terrace, and its hipped roof, as seen from its west end, close to the one time Mayoralty House. Source: Author.



2. Henry Street junction with Grattan Street 1726. Based on C.J.F. MacCarthy's revision of John Carty's map of 1726. Foreground shows Shuttle Row at left, Haman's Marsh at right. Source: Cork City Libraries.



3. Linen shop(?) at Shuttle Row with heavily moulded coping at front and gable end. Once an area of land known as Pike's Marsh, a laneway with an early 18th century plaque lies a few yards behind this building. Source: Author.



4. Fenn's Quay terrace, Grattan Street to Sheare's Street junction. Sheare's Street once Nile Street - named for the famous battle, subsequently Sheare's Street in honour of the 1798 rebels whose father's banking house was almost opposite; a place of stuccoed ceilings. Source: Author.

In spite of dampness and health issues as described by Doctor Joseph 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 reflected elements of a 'town house and country house' desire among the mercantile and professional

'nouveau riche'. Nathaniel Grogan's painting showing sailing boats below the Tivoli Ridge captures a sense of this reality as also does Castle Street's bookseller, and publisher, William West's description of travelling the waterway below the ridge towards the city in his 1810 directory; which also contains a substantial, illustrated, topographical description of 18th century Cork city - and its personages, as it entered upon the dawning years of the 19th century. West (1810, 18) commented on Woodhill, situated on the Tivoli Ridge and the home of timber and glass merchant Mr. Cooper Penrose, as the '*Irish Vatican*' because of its art collections. Cornelius de Jong of the Dutch Navy visiting Cork harbour 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 was instrumental in the first national cartographical survey of Ireland, nearly a century 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 19th century. There was a tradition of museological and bibliographic collection building which survived into the later years of the 19th 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 English interests followed the routes and connections established by the Dutch company, even to the extent of Cork's subsequently strong associations with the English East India Company - including some East Indiaman ship building at Dundaniel on the banks of

the Bandon River at one time - and the English company's history in colonial India, a little of which is preserved in the Crawford manuscripts as well as the 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 17th century Rostellan estate in Cork harbour 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 18th 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 House of 1724. Number 11 Emmet Place (known as Nelson Place in earlier times), once the Grafton Club, is in Queen Anne style and seems to have some interesting, though modest, nuances of West India House in Amsterdam. Another house in Queen Anne style was the Sheriff's House on Bachelor's Quay colloquially known as the Doll's House. 50 Pope's Quay is referred to as Queen Anne in style also though in its upper story some remodelling may be present or alternatively the influence is a mixture of Georgian and Queen Anne. It is said to be associated with the 4th Earl of Cork; an example of an aristocrat's townhouse perhaps. It was originally set with gardens front and rear. It faces towards that side of the Custom House (Crawford Art Gallery) where once existed a quay-side plaza where the actions of commerce, custom-house men and stevedores once held sway in a cacophony of daily activity; later the site of the Cork Opera House. On the opposite side of the River Lee to the Custom House, a ferry once transported people across. As one looks at images of ships on this channel of the Lee River, as portrayed on an 18th century map, one wonders about the manifests of these tall ships, their voyages and cargoes.

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 Custom House, now Crawford Art Gallery. Source: Author.

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 Mayoralty 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 Custom House and adjacent quays with examples of Dutch Billy style terrace at right and left. Source: Cork City Libraries.

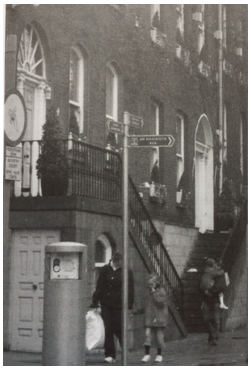
On either side of the building are the store-houses, which form two handsome piazzas. Here is a good quay, furnished with cranes and other conveniences for the discharging of goods; and a new canal made almost quite around the Custome-house, so that several vessels may lie there at a time. In the year 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 (Smith 1750).

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 18th century buildings with steps leading to a first floor entrance. Examples of very similar buildings occur in contemporary Dutch ports; not least at Amsterdam. Though appearing on a later 18th 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 has a familiar ring in the words of the Quaker surveyor Joshua White writing in his diary in 1753 as quoted by David Dickson in his book *Old World Colony* (2005)

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, with one-time quayside basements.
Source: Author.

Cork folklore as related by McNamara (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.



11 Emmet Place. Resonances of West Indies House perhaps?
Source: Author



50 Pope's Quay. A little piece of Queen Anne style perhaps? Source: Author

The South Mall streetscape was laid out and built upon within the first half of the 18th 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 18th 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 (or was it Kieft's Lane?).

Nathaniel Grogan (the 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 Bernard 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 shell-house 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; tales of The Brother Gardeners perhaps (Wulf 2009).

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).

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".

Ballinacurra, Midleton

Once a port connected with the town of Midleton in East Cork, the name Vansenhoven seems to have had resonances with this locality at one time; perhaps in a home and demesne, with ornamental garden, by the sea. A fashion for 18th century Irish demesnes by the sea is described by Edward Malins and The Knight of Glin (1976, 104-125) in their book *Lost Demesnes*.

Dutch Youghal: A postscript



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

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.

(It is of interest to note that a Drury household once existed to the north of Rostellan estate in Cork Harbour and that a local tale of barges carrying pottery clay to Ballinacurra, for export to English potteries including that of Josiah Wedgewood, was once told.)

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 Building

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 is said to contain two views of the Exchange building at Youghal.

To quote Buckley again

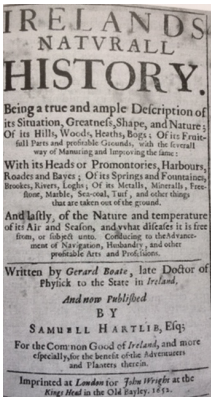
In these the Exchange is shown as a building of the same type as the Bourses in several of the Flemish and Hanseatic towns. The Youghal edifice is represented as having four circular arcades, with wide mullioned windows over them, and dormer windows in the roof. A tower, terminated by a domed cupola (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 17th century such as Skiddy's almshouse. What seems to be an illustration of the Cork city Tholsel (Exchange) which was situated at the junction of Castle Street and North Main Street, appears on the title page of West's 1810 Directory for Cork. Castle Street, once the place of a coffee house at a time when tea drinking was rare, a bookseller's shop and circulating library with, on a table, law texts recently acquired from London, broadsheet newspapers - and those arriving from abroad -

being read, and at the Exchange a printers's workshop compositing, among other documents, broadside ballad sheets for street singers or compositing for a mystery satirist pamphleteer called Alexander the Coppersmith. Castle Street, in its close proximity, in Cromwellian times, the first imprints of the beginnings of a Cork printing press. The Tholsel, a focal point for all such social life.

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

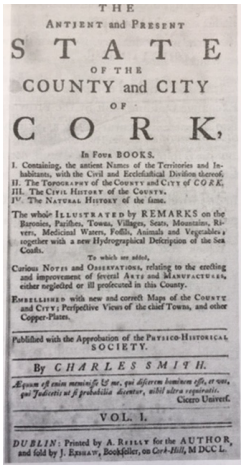

IRELANDS
NATVRALL
HISTORY.
Being a true and ample Description of its Situation, Greatnes, Shape, and Nature; Of its Hills, Woods, Heaths, Bogs; Of its Fruitfull Parts and profitable Grounds, with the severall way of Manuring and Improving the same:
With its Heads or Promontories, Harbours, Roades and Bayes; Of its Springs and Fountaines, Brookes, Rivers, Loghs; Of its Metalls, Minerals, Freestone, Marble, Sea-coal, Turf, and other things that are taken out of the ground.
And lastly, of the Nature and temperature of its Air and Season, and what diseases it is free from, or subject unto. Conducing to the Advancement of Navigation, Husbandry, and other profitable Arts and Professions.
Written by *Gerard Boate*, late Doctor of Physick to the State in *Ireland*.
And now Published
BY
SAMUELL HARTLIB, Esq;
For the Common Good of *Ireland*, and more especially, for the benefit of the Adventurers and Planters therein.
Imprinted at *London* for *John Wright* at the *Kings Head* in the Old Bayley. 1652.

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…

Title page of Gerard Boate's Natural History of Ireland, 1652. Source: Trinity College Dublin.

Barnard (1975, 234-237 and 214-215) describes the background to the history of this text.

In the introduction to his history of Cork city and county, first published in 1750 - with update in 1774 and reprint in 1815 - Charles Smith states


THE
ANTIENT and PRESENT
STATE
OF THE
COUNTY and CITY
OF
CORK,
In Four BOOKS.
I. Containing, the antient Names of the Territories and Inhabitants, with the Civil and Ecclesiastical Division thereof.
II. The Topography of the County and City of *CORK*.
III. The Civil History of the County.
IV. The Natural History of the same.
The whole ILLUSTRATED by REMARKS on the Baronies, Parishes, Towns, Villages, Seats, Mountains, Rivers, Medicinal Waters, Fossils, Animals and Vegetables; together with a new Hydrographical Description of the Sea Coasts.
To which are added,
Curious NOTES and OBSERVATIONS, relating to the erecting and improvement of several ARTS and MANUFACTURES, either neglected or ill prosecuted in this County.
EMBELLISHED with new and correct Maps of the County and City; Perspective Views of the chief Towns, and other Copper-Plates.
Published with the Approbation of the PHYSICO-HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
By *CHARLES SMITH*.
Æquum est enim meminisse & me, qui diserum hominum offi, et eos, qui Judicii ac Probabilis doctrinæ, nihil libros reperiatis.
Cicero Univers.
VOL. I.
DUBLIN: Printed by A. Reilly for the AUTHOR, and sold by J. Exshaw, Bookseller, on *Cork-Hill*, M DCC L.

Title page of Charles Smith's The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork, 1750. Source: Trinity College Dublin.

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, 216-226) 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

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