



# Naval storehouses on Haulbowline Island 1816-1822: a study in Georgian military architecture

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WHILE CORK HARBOUR HAS LONG been famed for its safe anchorages and natural beauty, over the centuries it has also been intensively fortified, with military defences erected at Fort Camden and Fort Carlisle, overlooking the harbour entrance, as well as in the town of Cove (now Cobh) and other locations on the harbour's periphery (Plates 1, 3). Three Martello Towers protect the northern shore of Great Island, while in the middle of the harbour, facing Cobh, the islands of Spike, Haulbowline and Rocky have also served as military bases, stores and prisons. Today, Haulbowline Island, with its own Martello Tower, remains the headquarters of the Irish Naval Service. Up to recently, Spike Island, distinguished by its large eighteenth-century star-shaped fort, was a working prison, but since its decommissioning it has become a popular tourist attraction. However, by their nature, the fortifications on these islands and headlands are not immediately visible at sea level, and so it falls to the magnificent array of six naval storehouses on Haulbowline to convey the most vivid visual impression of the extent to which, by the mid-nineteenth century, Cork had become one of the most important naval ports in Britain or Ireland. Continual reclamation, excavation and quarrying has changed the topography of these islands, and Haulbowline is now three times as large as it was in 1738 when painted by the Anglo-Dutch artist William van der Hagen (Plate 2). The six naval storehouses, built



opposite, 1 – Robert Lowe Stopford (1813-1898), *THE COVE OF CORK*

c.1850, lithographic print, 20 x 30 cm (detail) (Port of Cork Collection)

above, 2 – William van der Hagen (fl.1720-45), *CORKE HARBOUR, 1738*, oil on canvas (Port of Cork Collection)



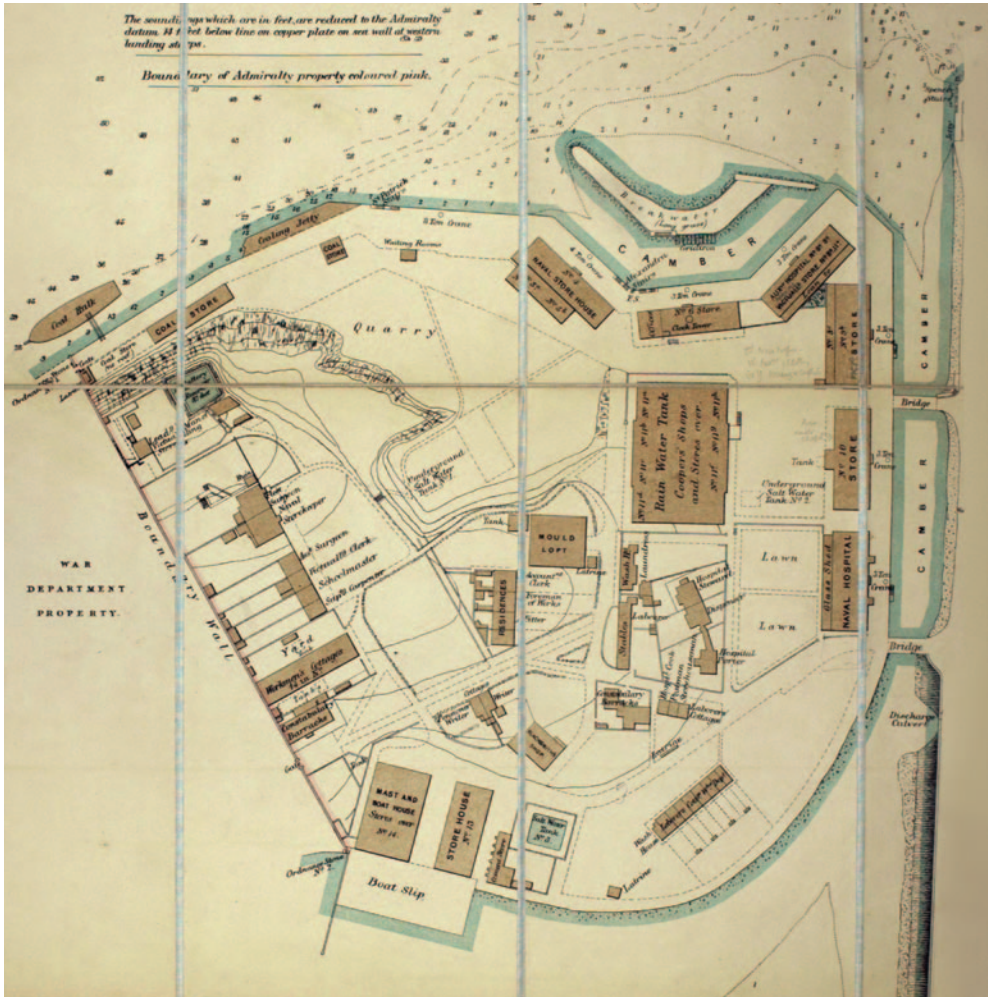


between 1816 and 1822, have survived in varying degrees of preservation, but overall they are in remarkably good shape considering the vicissitudes of time and history. While sharing many design features common to other naval buildings erected in Britain and Ireland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Haulbowline storehouses are distinguished by architectural integrity and spatial elegance in the exploitation of a waterfront site. Conveying a sense of stability, permanence and authority – all qualities ultimately in too short supply in the British administration of Ireland – they are now among the most impressive heritage buildings in Ireland.

Classical but utilitarian in design, the storehouses are divided into two groups of three. The first trio, on an east-west axis, face north towards the town of Cobh. (Plate 5) They are arranged in a wide V shape, with the central store flanked by two others. The second trio are in a straight line, but on a north-south axis. The latter, when originally built, faced the open sea, looking eastward, but in the intervening two centuries there has been much land reclamation, extending the island eastward so they now face a naval dock. All six buildings are of local limestone, three storeys plus an attic, with parapets and hipped Mansard-style slated roofs. The central storehouse in the north-facing trio has a campanile and clock.

The storehouses are not numbered sequentially, but instead, on an Admiralty map of 1897, are designated as follows (Plate 4). The central store, with clock tower and thirteen bays, two of which are for loading, is designated ‘No. 6 Store’ (Plates 6, 7). It has

NAVAL STOREHOUSES ON HAULBOWLINE



4 – Admiralty map of ‘Haulbowline, H.M. Dock and Victualling Yards’, 1897

opposite, 3 – Map of Cork Harbour (illustration from W.G. Blackie, *THE IMPERIAL GAZETTEER*, 1855)

below, 5 – Trio of storehouses facing north towards Cobh







6 – No. 6 Store, rear elevation, seen from SW  
7 – Dockside elevation of No. 6 Store  
8 – North gable wall of No. 3 Store

*(all photos by the author, unless otherwise stated)*

*opposite, 9 – Star-shaped fortress on ‘Halebolin’  
(Haulbowline), from PACATA HIBERNIA (1633)*



been restored in recent years, with new ceilings and internal partitioning. The store to the east, which has not been restored or altered, and has its original interiors, is 'Auxillary Hospital No. 8 / Victualling Store No. 8'. That to the west, with nine bays and no loading doors, is designated 'Naval Store House No. 4'. In March 2008, this building, which housed a newly established Coastal and Marine Research Centre, was completely gutted by fire. The walls are now supported by external steel trusses. On the north-south trio, the southernmost is designated 'Naval Hospital', the middle one is 'No. 10 Store', while the northernmost one, which is quite derelict, is 'No. 3 Store' (Plate 8).<sup>1</sup> Each store has a three-ton crane in front, with No. 4 having a four-ton crane. The area of water in front of all stores is referred to as the 'camber' due to its curved design.

The main walls of all six buildings are of random rubble stone, with cut-stone quoins, door jambs, window surrounds, plinths, pediment and other details. The ground-floor windows and doors have round-headed arches set into rectangular cut-stone panels surmounted by keystones, while the upper windows are rectangular. Wooden sash windows on the ground floors are ten over eight, those on the first floor are eight over eight, while those on the third floor are four over eight. Above the stone parapet, there are dormer attic windows, also four over eight. The north-south oriented trio are thirteen bays wide. Internally, a central stone staircase serves all floors. Cast-iron columns support iron crossbeams on the first two floors, making these storehouses the earliest integrated iron-framed buildings in Ireland (Plates 10, 11). With their curved upper profile, the crossbeams are bow-shaped, making them higher at the centre where the load is heaviest. At right angles to the crossbeams, iron tensioning rods run through the longer axes of the buildings, connecting columns and crossbeams and so holding the storehouses together. This integrated iron frame is probably why the buildings look as good now as when they were built, with very little subsidence, or walls leaning out of true.

The background to the construction of the storehouses lies in the need for the British navy to supply its Atlantic fleet with food, masts, sails and other material. There were Royal dockyards at Chatham, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Deptford and Sheerness, as well as overseas dockyards at Malta, Gibraltar and in the West Indies. Before the construction of the Haulbowline complex, the main victualling centre in the south of Ireland was Kinsale, but even before the Napoleonic Wars it was clear that this was unsuitable for larger ships. Haulbowline Island was seen as a better option, lying within the protective enclosure of Cork Harbour, and with safe anchorages.

An engraving in *Pacata Hibernia*, published in 1633, shows 'Halebolin' surmounted by a star-shaped fortress with four bastions (Plate 9) – a building dating from 1602. Although the island featured during the wars of 1642 when it was occupied by Confederate forces, and in the landing of the Duke of Marlborough's regiments in 1690, by the early eighteenth century it was peaceful enough for the Earl of Inchiquin and his friends to form a 'Water



Club' in 1720 to promote the new sport of sailing yachts. Van der Hagen's view of the island, painted eighteen years later, shows the small fortress, which by then was the headquarters of the Water Club.<sup>2</sup> But by the mid-eighteenth century, the club had lapsed and there was little activity on the island. The 1770s brought a new sense of urgency in resolving how to best victual ships, as the navy struggled to provision and transport British troops fighting rebel forces in colonial North America. The existing arrangements for storing food and supplies, at Cork, Passage, Cove and Kinsale, were unsuitable, and so, when in 1779 the Navy Board was put in charge of provisioning ships, agents were sent to Cork to scout out a new location for navy stores.

On 15th November 1784, Lt R. Bradley wrote to the Admiralty that the ships *Brisett* and *Earl of Effingham* were at Cork and being loaded with stores, the former bound for Nova Scotia and the latter for the Bahamas. Bradley mentioned that Lord Inchiquin was willing to allow the Government the use of Haulbowline Island and could be contacted at his Mayfair home to agree the terms.<sup>3</sup> The following year, on 22nd March, Bradley wrote to Sir Charles Middleton, Comptroller of the Navy, setting out his views on the most suitable place for new storehouses in Cork Harbour. He observed that Spike Island was almost entirely surrounded by mudflats, making it inaccessible, with a difficult and narrow channel between its shoals and those of neighbouring Haulbowline:

Indeed, Sir, if the Island was in other respects fit for the purpose its situation is too low down the Harbour for ships to load at—. I have cast my eye on every situation below Passage, & cannot find any spot that appears to me as eligible as Haulbowling, as from thence a wharfe may be run out to admit of a store ship laying at with safety at all times of tide, the Shoals which extends from the East end of this Island breaks off all sea from the ships that load in Cove—Building & lime stone is in plenty on this Island.<sup>4</sup>

Two years later, on 26th October 1787, Lt Bradley was again in Cork, having travelled there with a colleague named William Harding, via Holyhead and Dublin. He wrote to Middleton: 'Having consulted Mr. Fitzgibbon, Merchant in the Place, and on whom I can depend for secrecy and fair dealing, respecting stores for the reception of Kings provisions, He agrees with me that it is by far best to be silent on the subject until your final pleasure is known.'<sup>5</sup> Bradley said that stores for 'wet provisions' (butter, beef, etc) could be had for 'three half pence the barrell' per month, less if the contract was for a half year. Stores for dry provisions was higher, owing to Cork exporting much grain and other produce. Bradley was at pains to emphasise his discreet approach: 'Mr. Harding at present appears as my Friend only, & none but Mr. Ferguson has the most distant idea of our real business.'<sup>6</sup> Five days later, in reply to a request from Middleton for detailed information on Haulbowline Island, Bradley set out a history of the island's ownership, crediting as his source a local informant, 'a Gentleman of Undoubted Veracity & Honor':

That it was in King William's time Garrisoned with a Company of Soldiers as Crown Land, after that the Corporation of Cork took possession of it but did not

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*10 – Ground-floor interior, No. 8 Store, showing rows of cast-iron columns and crossbeams*

*11 – Detail of cast-iron crossbeam bolted onto iron column, with iron stringer at right angles*







think it worth their holding, then the Surveyor at Cove kept it until a Mr. Hamilton was made Collector in Cork who took it from the Officer at Cove, & it remained under the direction of the Collectors at Cork until the late Lord Inchiquin got a lease, or Patent, of it from Lord Harcourt, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland – the present Lord Inchiquin granted a lease of it to Miss Hyde, for her Life, at ten pounds a year and she has let it (since the sketch I had the Honor to send you, Sir, of Cork Harbour) during her term, for forty three pounds Irish money, equal to about forty pounds English – The Gentleman who gives me the above account, tho' he does not wish his Name to appear, thinks that sixteen years purchase at twenty-five guineas a year is the full value of the Island, and tis his opinion that such is the Nature of Lord Inchiquin's lease, that Government may reassume it whenever the Kings Service might have Occasion to Employ it.

Their job done, on 29th November 1787 Bradley and his colleague returned to London, while the acquisition of the island proceeded slowly. On 2nd November 1790, Rear Admiral Cosby reported on the inspection of Haulbowline Island, which was now considered more suitable than Kinsale for storing supplies and weapons. Cosby was asked to provide soundings and tides so that the island might be evaluated in terms of its suitability.<sup>7</sup> Two years later, on 24th April 1792, John Briggs, who had evidently been involved in the conveyancing of Haulbowline, wrote to Middleton requesting payment. The business had not been without complications:

Seven of the Paine Family have already signed the Receipt; Mr. B. will esteem it a favour if Sir Charles will request Mrs. Bouverie not to pay the least attention to a misrepresentation communicated to her by John Paine respecting his Brother Hammond Paine's refusal to sign.<sup>8</sup>

An Admiralty plan of 1807 shows the original extent of Haulbowline, with its star-shaped fort, before the storehouses were built.<sup>9</sup> In 1810 a gunpowder magazine was built on Rocky Island, close by Haulbowline, and around the same time barracks were built on Spike Island for the 120th Regiment of Royal Engineers. Three years later a Martello tower, one of five in the Cork Harbour area, was built within the Ordnance area of Haulbowline, the island being divided between a large Admiralty zone, to the east, and a smaller Board of Ordnance zone, to the west, with a stone wall marking the boundary. An arched gateway at the north end of the wall controlled access between the two zones.<sup>10</sup>

On 30th October 1804, the Admiralty advanced its intention of establishing a depot on the island, and Sir Charles Holloway, Engineer at Cork, was consulted as to his opinion.<sup>11</sup> On 8th August 1806, a letter was drafted to General Bentham, Master General of Ordnance, instructing him to survey the proposed site.<sup>12</sup> On 20th August 1806, William Marsden received Peake's plan of buildings and storehouses to be erected on Haulbowline. Although Marsden approved the plan, he pointed out that in order to victual five ships of the line and five frigates, the buildings would need to be larger.<sup>13</sup> To William Marsden Esq., from the Navy Office.

Navy Office 20th August 1806 –

Sir, We have received your letter of the 21st Ultimo: transmitting by direction

of the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for our consideration and report, a Plan of Buildings proposed to be erected on Haulbowling Island, prepared by Mr. Peake. We desire you will please to acquaint their Lordships that having accordingly taken the same into our consideration, and also conversed with Mr. Peake on the subject, we approve of the situation of the storehouses and other Buildings as proposed on Mr. Peake's Plan and of the general outline of the same unless it should appear to their Lordships that the buildings proposed to be erected are more extensive than a depot of stores for five sail of the line and five frigates can require.

We are Sir, your very humble servants

W. Thompson, R. Barton, Wm. Shrule [?]

*[written in the corner, a note:]* 21 Aug. Acquaint their ... that if it appears to them that the storehouses are more extensive than is necessary for that number of ships, they should propose in what manner they may be most convincingly reduced.<sup>14</sup>

By November of that year, Marsden had reviewed a revised set of plans submitted by Peake and decided the proposed buildings were too large. He recommended that the necessary woodwork be assembled at Plymouth and shipped to Cork in the spring of 1807. Work began on sourcing brick and stone, with the seaport of Youghal identified as an ideal site for setting up a brickworks. In September 1809 a contractor named Thomas Mahon submitted a detailed contract for the erection of storehouses, giving costs per square foot for walls, sash windows, doors, locks, hinges and slate roofs. Joists were to be of oak or fir shutters, were to be 'rabbited and ledged', while the roof was to be of Welsh slates laid on  $\frac{3}{4}$ " deal boards. Timber was to be paid for when landed on Haulbowline Island at the rate of £10 per ton.<sup>15</sup> General Morse relayed this proposal, 'relative to Mr. Mahony's [*sic*] proposals for building the intended storehouse at Haulbowline Island', to the Navy Board, and on 6th November was informed by a R.M. Crewe that it had been accepted.<sup>16</sup>

In most accounts of storehouses being built at Haulbowline, the contractors are identified as the Deanes, a firm of builders and architects run by Elizabeth Deane and her son Thomas. Work on the storehouses began in 1815, although some work appears to have been done before that, as on 5th July 1811 Mr. Bomand, Naval Officer at Kinsale, began moving some stores to Haulbowline Island.<sup>17</sup> In January 1815, Edward Holl, surveyor to the Navy Board, reporting to John Wilson Croker, first secretary to the Admiralty, proposed additions to the storehouses, as well as a hospital. Croker was sent plans of Haulbowline and of proposed cottages.<sup>18</sup> Although Holl's official title was 'Surveyor of Buildings', he was effectively architect to the Navy Board from 1804 to 1824. In January 1815 he visited Haulbowline to monitor progress, with the development of facilities approved five years before. Finding them inadequate, he suggested improvements and additions, including a new wharf, asking that John Urquhart, superintendent of works, begin work on these without delay.<sup>19</sup> By 1817 over 7,000 cubic yards of stone had been excavated to make the wharf in front of the storehouses. Four years later, the storehouses themselves were completed by the Deane firm (Plates 12-14). Named the Royal Alexandra Yard, the complex comprised six storehouses, quarters for the Fleet Surgeon and Naval Storekeeper, police barracks and two large mast houses.





The Deane firm was one of Cork's most successful building and architectural practices in Cork in the early nineteenth century. Although his family originally hailed from Scotland, shortly after 1720 Alexander Dean, a customs official in county Down, and his wife, Grizell Kennedy, moved to Cork. They had three sons, Kennedy, David and Hugh Primrose, who became, respectively, naval carpenter, builder and landscape painter.<sup>20</sup> In 1755 David Dean, who had built Castle Hyde (to the designs of Davis Ducart), married Mary Kearns from a Cork building and architecture family, and their two sons William and Alexander (now called Deane) followed in this profession, as did, in turn, William's sons, while his daughter Sarah married into the Hargrave family, another architectural dynasty in Cork. William's brother Alexander died in 1806, leaving his wife Elizabeth to carry on the business and support a family of seven children. Her eldest son, Thomas, then aged just fourteen, assisted his mother in running the firm, and in 1811 designed the Cork Commercial Buildings on the South Mall (now the Imperial Hotel).<sup>21</sup> Thomas inherited his father's position as storekeeper to the Barrack Department in Cork, which, in 1824, came under the Board of Ordnance. As well as the Cork quays, she and her son also designed and built Great George's Street (now Washington Street).<sup>22</sup> After working in his parents' firm for some years, Thomas Deane went on to become a partner, with Benjamin Woodward, in the firm Deane & Woodward. Reputedly, Mrs Deane oversaw the construction of the stone rainwater tanks, capable of holding 5,000 tons of fresh water, behind the storehouses. However, the correspondence regarding Admiralty contracts gives 'Mr. Deane' (Thomas) as the principal in the firm.

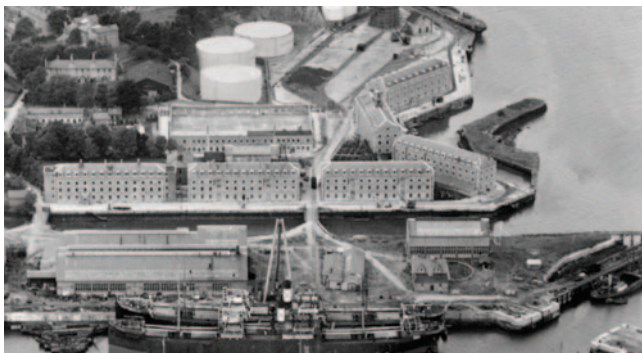
Archaeologist Colin Rynne and John Coleman confirm Frederick O'Dwyer's suggestion that the design of the Haulbowline storehouses can be attributed to Edward Holl, who was also responsible for Chatham, Sheerness (with John Rennie), Portsmouth and Bermuda. The Haulbowline storehouses have distinctive mansard-style roofs with stone parapets. Rynne correctly observes that the Georgian style of the six naval storehouses at Haulbowline are not dissimilar to those at other royal naval bases, with campanile and clock. However the design of the Haulbowline stores is better proportioned than at Chatham. Plymouth (Devonport) has fine architecture in its dockyard buildings, some of which date back to the 1690s, although they were mostly destroyed in the Plymouth Blitz of 1944. The limestone East Ropery at Plymouth was rebuilt in 1813, but its Royal William Yard, which echoes Haulbowline in many respects, was built after the Cork project, in the mid 1820s, to the designs of Sir John Rennie.

14 – Aerial view taken in 1933 showing the six storehouses from the east  
(photo: Aerofilms, London)

opposite

12 – Attic storey, No. 8 Store, showing roof trusses (partially concealed by recent remodelling of attic space)

13 – Cantilevered stone staircase, No. 6 Store







15 – Robert Lowe Stopford (1813-1898), PANORAMIC VIEW OF CORK HARBOUR, ‘THE COVE OF CORK’  
c.1877, watercolour on paper, 43 x 172 cm (detail) (private collection)

16 – George Mounsey Wheatley Atkinson (1806-1884) NAVAL STEAM FRIGATE OFF HAULBOWLINE  
c.1844, oil on canvas, 54 x 84 cm (Port of Cork Collection)

opposite, 17 – Henry Morgan (fl. 1849), CORK HARBOUR AND ISLANDS  
LOOKING OUT TO SEA FROM BROOKFIELD, QUEENSTOWN  
1849, lithographic print (detail) (Port of Cork Collection)

The construction technique used in the Haulbowline storehouses was innovative, with cast-iron columns supporting beams and joists. The use of iron in naval buildings had been pioneered by Sir Samuel Bentham, Inspector General of Naval Works from 1795 to 1807. It was first used in Devonport in 1808 in a workshop.<sup>23</sup> Earlier naval buildings, such as those like No. 10 Store at Portsmouth or the Anchor Wharf storehouses at Chatham, had wooden columns supporting crossbeams and joists. Cast-iron posts were used in the 1811-14 Vulcan store in Portsmouth’s New Gun Wharf, to support a timber floor. The anchor works at Woolwich, built by Sir John Rennie between 1814 and 1816, developed the use of iron further and had an integrated cast-iron frame, as did the Chatham sawmill (1812-14) and the spinning mill at Devonport, the latter two designed by Edward Holl. The Grand Store at Woolwich, designed by James Wyatt and completed

in 1813, was originally intended to have cast-iron columns, but in the end, to save costs, wood was used instead. One of the first fully fire-proofed naval buildings was the great Quadrangle Storehouse at Sheerness, designed by Holl and built in the 1820s (demolished c.1970). In all, some fourteen dockyard buildings using cast iron were designed by Holl.<sup>24</sup> Rynne notes that the cast-iron columns and beams supporting the internal floors of the Haulbowline stores have a profile similar to those in English fire-proofed buildings of the period, where the beams are used to support brick segmental arches.

However, even as work began on the new storehouses, the Battle of Waterloo had put an end to the Napoleonic Wars, and for the next four decades there was relative peace in Europe. Apart from the southernmost of the six storehouses, which was converted into a hospital, the Haulbowline complex was never fully used. The 1820s saw a slump in economic activity, the Napoleonic Wars were over and the British Navy would not engage in any major action until the Crimean War of 1853-56. While Haulbowline would have been moderately busy provisioning the South Atlantic fleet, by the end of the 1830s the storehouses were effectively mothballed. In his 1837 *Topographical Dictionary*, Samuel Lewis describes them as ‘abandoned’.<sup>25</sup> Haulbowline served mainly as a repair yard, hospital base and coaling station for naval steamships during the nineteenth century.

Haulbowline and its buildings frequently appeared in paintings and prints by local artists.<sup>26</sup> Around 1825, a bookseller named Samuel West engraved and published a set of prints of Cork harbour that included a view of the island. Haulbowline also appears in a set of lithographs of Cork Harbour produced by Henry Morgan in 1849 (Plate 17). The storehouses appear in maritime paintings and ship portraits by local artist George Mounsey Wheatley Atkinson, dating from the 1840s and 50s (Plate 16), and also in works by his son Richard Peterson Atkinson (Plate 18). In the later nineteenth century the island appears in both prints and panoramic watercolours of Cork Harbour by Robert Lowe Stopford (Plates 1, 15; see also page 55).<sup>27</sup> Some Stopford views show a long wooden footbridge, built in the latter half of the nineteenth century to enable prisoners from Spike Island to walk to Haulbowline for forced labour. The practice of using convicts to work on dockyard construction was also common in Britain, for example at Plymouth and at





Woolwich, where prison hulks were used to house prisoners.

The closure of the steel plant that occupied the eastern half of Haulbowline Island for much of the twentieth century, the subsequent rehabilitation of that post-industrial site and the establishing of the National Maritime College of Ireland in nearby Ringaskiddy has, hopefully, ensured a future for the Haulbowline naval storehouses. In 2003 University College Cork established a Coast & Marine Research Centre in Storehouse 9. Unfortunately, five years later this building was badly damaged in a fire, losing its roof and internal woodwork. It now awaits restoration. More recently, government funds have been allocated to stabilise and restore the buildings in anticipation of their housing a new generation of hi-tech companies. A recent tourism master plan, prepared by BDP and John Spain & Associates in 2015, proposed the reinstatement of the Spike Island pedestrian walkway.

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ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

Caird      The Caird Library, National Maritime  
                 Museum, Greenwich, London  
NA           National Archives, Kew, London

- <sup>1</sup> In a scoping study on Haulbowline, commissioned in 2007, the northernmost store on the north-south axis is designated 'No. 9', whereas in the present text, following the 1897 Admiralty Map, it is designated 'No. 3'. Ian Parkin, Niall Phillips, Allan Randall and Dennis Brennan, 'The potential to create a Naval or Maritime Museum on Haulbowline, Cork Harbour: Scoping study, final report, February 2007', prepared for the Irish Naval Service and the National Heritage Council.
- <sup>2</sup> Peter Murray (ed.), *Maritime Paintings of Cork, 1700-2000* (Crawford Art Gallery, Port of Cork and Gandon Editions, 2005) 11.
- <sup>3</sup> Caird, ADM 106/1281/90.
- <sup>4</sup> Caird, MS 79/115; MID/1/17/1.
- <sup>5</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>6</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>7</sup> Caird, ADM 359/10/161.
- <sup>8</sup> Caird, MS66/0863, John Briggs; MID/1/18/1.
- <sup>9</sup> NA, MPH 1/11.
- <sup>10</sup> Colin Rynne, 'Haulbowline Island, Cork Harbour, Ireland, c.1816-1832: a new archaeological perspective on Ireland's Coloniality"', in Audrey Horning and Marilyn Palmer (eds), *Crossing Paths or Sharing Tracks? Future directions in the archaeological study of post-1550 Britain and Ireland* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2009) 171.

- <sup>11</sup> Caird, ADM 359/26/144.
- <sup>12</sup> Caird, ADM 359/26/147.
- <sup>13</sup> Caird, ADM 359/26/116.
- <sup>14</sup> Caird, ADM BP 26, 1806 Jan-Dec.
- <sup>15</sup> NS, PRO MS 1121, Thomas Mahon, 9th Sept 1809.
- <sup>16</sup> NA, MS 1131, From R.M. Crewe to General Morse, 6th Nov 1809.
- <sup>17</sup> Caird, ADM 359/31B/18.
- <sup>18</sup> Caird, ADM 359/35/A/8; ADM 35C/35.
- <sup>19</sup> Caird, ADM 359/35A/9; see also ADM 359/35C/36.
- <sup>20</sup> Frederick O'Dwyer, *The Architecture of Deane & Woodward* (Cork University Press, 1997) 2.
- <sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, 3.
- <sup>22</sup> *ibid.*, 7.
- <sup>23</sup> Jeremy Lake and James Douet, *Thematic Survey of English Naval Dockyards, Summary Report* (English Heritage, 1998) 25.
- <sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, 24.
- <sup>25</sup> Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, 2 vols (London, 1840) I, 415.
- <sup>26</sup> The images of Haulbowline and the wider Cork estuary might usefully be placed in context by referring to works such as Geoff Quilley, *Empire to Nation: art, history and the visualization of maritime Britain, 1768-1829* (Paul Mellon Centre BA, London, 2011), or John E. Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes: Britain's global visual culture, 1745-1820* (Paul Mellon Centre BA, London, 2011).
- <sup>27</sup> Port of Cork collection and Cobh Museum. See Murray (ed.), *Maritime Paintings of Cork, 1700-2000*, 51.
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18 – Richard Peterson Atkinson (c.1840-1882), *COVE HARBOUR, A VIEW OF CORK HARBOUR FROM COVE*  
c.1876, oil on canvas, 32.5 x 50 cm (Crawford Art Gallery, Cork)

19 – Robert Lowe Stopford (1813-1898), *EVENING GUN*  
n.d., lithograph, 26 x 38 cm (Port of Cork Collection)

