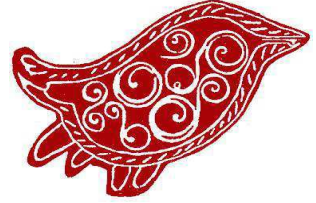


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Author: Holohan, Patrick

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# Cork Courthouse: The Pains, the Deanes, the Stonecutters<sup>1</sup>

By PATRICK HOLOHAN

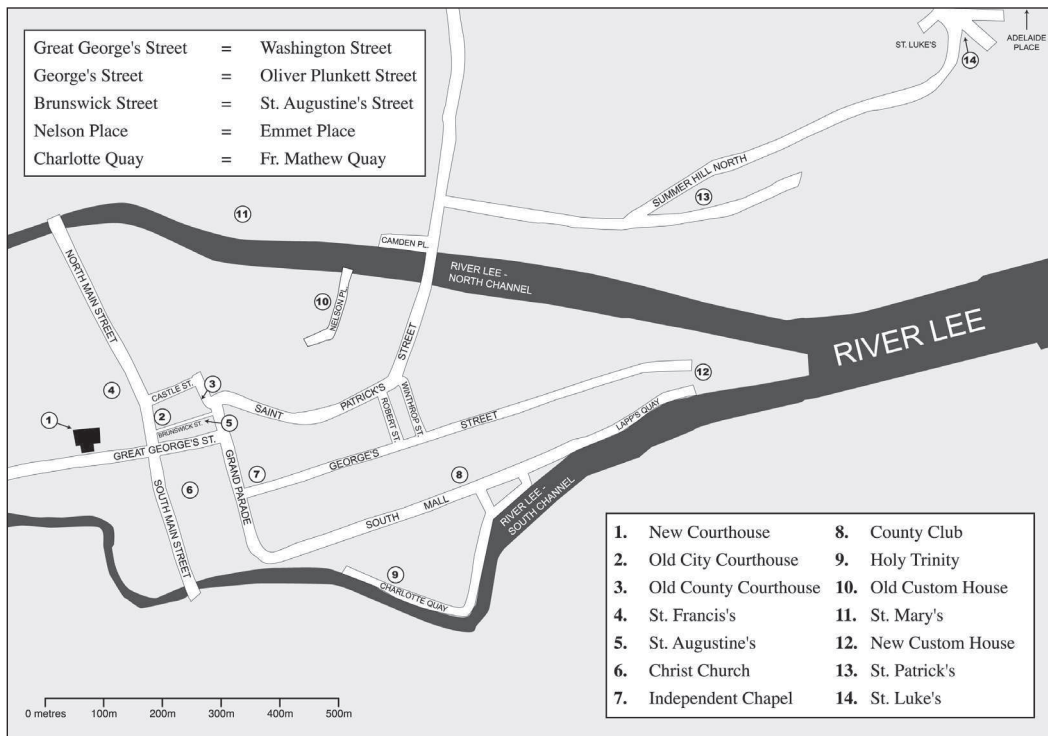
A contemporary presciently described the Pain brothers' courthouse, then abuilding, as promising to be 'the greatest ornament' to Cork.<sup>2</sup> Macaulay later observed that its Corinthian portico 'would do honour to Palladio'.<sup>3</sup> To more recent commentators, the courthouse is one of the several buildings in Cork which 'amply testify to (the Pains') scholarship and ability',<sup>4</sup> its portico their 'classical masterpiece, magnificent yet simple'.<sup>5</sup>

Their masterpiece, however, had a troubled beginning. Both design and contract were elements in the rivalry between the Pains and the Deanes. The Corinthian capitals of the great octostyle portico caused a dispute between George R. Pain and the city's stonecutters. Because of the destruction of records in the great fires of 1891 (courthouse) and 1920 (City Hall), this attempt to examine the building's early history and to relate it to the political and economic circumstances of the time, is obliged to rely almost exclusively on reports and correspondence in local newspapers. These frequently partisan sources have to be treated with caution.

The need for a new building arose from the damage caused to the old county courthouse<sup>6</sup> by fire.<sup>7</sup> It was, in any case, in a 'decayed and perishing condition', a prey to ineradicable dry rot.<sup>8</sup> The city courthouse, 'a small and ill-considered building',<sup>9</sup> was in a 'tottering condition'.<sup>10</sup> The city Grand Jury believed that its cour-

thouse could be repaired but it was suggested, partly for reasons of cost, that it should discuss a joint venture with the county.<sup>11</sup> The city and county Grand Juries had already appointed a committee from each to meet and confer on the building of 'new Court-Houses and Offices at the Old Custom House' in Nelson (now Emmet) Place.<sup>12</sup> The city committee, however, believed that it was not authorised to act in the matter, it being the responsibility of the Common Council<sup>13</sup> of the Corporation to provide a courthouse for the city.<sup>14</sup> The county decided that it would procure plans without reference to any particular site but that it would also remain open to any overture if the city Grand Jury wanted to build a new Tholsel Court in connection with the county courthouse.<sup>15</sup> The county committee accordingly advertised for plans, specifications and estimates for 'Court Houses and Offices in an open and convenient space in the city of Cork', no particular site being stipulated; premia of £40, £20 and £10 were offered.<sup>16</sup>

The choice of site generated much correspondence in the newspapers on behalf of commercial and political interests. Nelson Place was one of three principal contenders, the others being St. Patrick's Street and Great George's (now Washington) Street. It is not clear whether it was intended to demolish the Old Custom House (in whole or in part) or not. It may



be inferred from one letter to an editor that at least some of the building was to be retained<sup>17</sup> but from another's mention of 'materials on the ground' that it was not.<sup>18</sup>

There was a *piazza* (now the site of the Opera House) between the Custom House and the river where a courthouse could have been accommodated, especially if it projected into Nelson Place. Had it been built there, it would have provided a magnificent companion to Kearns Deane's St. Mary's Church on the other side of the river.

Fortunately, the Old Custom House survived and, in fulfilment of a long-standing promise, government presented it to the Royal Cork Institution in 1832;<sup>19</sup> it now forms part of the Crawford Municipal Art Gallery.

Even after the site in Great George's Street was chosen, Nelson Place still had

its supporters. According to one writer, the free site at Nelson Place would spare the Grand Juries the expenditure of £3,000 each on buying ground at Great George's Street which, with the western entrance to the city, had already cost the citizens £70,000 to the neglect of other important parts of the city.<sup>20</sup> The claim<sup>21</sup> that Nelson Place would cost an extra £13,000 (chiefly on demolishing houses on nearby streets to 'insulate' the courthouse) was dismissed<sup>22</sup> as being based on exaggerated or unnecessary expenditure. (A deputation from the area offered to pay for the demolition of a building which obstructed one of the approaches to the site).<sup>23</sup> It was also pointed out that a courthouse at Nelson Place would prevent the decay of that part of the city.<sup>24</sup>

The St. Patrick's Street site consisted of the block between Winthrop Street and Robert Street. It was conceded that the

site was narrow but A FRIEND TO IMPROVEMENT claimed that the plan of the courthouse (at this stage Deane's, as we shall see) could 'be very well made to answer this new form of ground'; this writer also urged that 'this projected beautiful building be placed on the most conspicuous part of Cork', particularly as residents in St. Patrick's Street, presumably business people, were willing to subscribe £2,000 towards the cost of clearing the site.<sup>25</sup> The complaint that nearly £70,000 had been spent on Great George's Street and the western entrance was repeated by A SUBSCRIBER who also said that it would only be fair to let other parts of the city receive a share of the desired improvements and that 'a building of (this) kind, facing the entrance to our own City would be a great public improvement'; he regretted that it was too late to do anything about the site as the Wide Streets Commissioners had already paid some of the purchase price for part of the site on Great George's Street.<sup>26</sup>

It was claimed for Great George's Street that no other public thoroughfare could provide either a sufficiently extensive frontage<sup>27</sup> or the required quantity of ground.<sup>28</sup> One supporter of the site rejected the charge that Cork was not sufficiently beautiful to give value to such buildings as were proposed and he also rejected the charge that it would be 'monstrous to erect a magnificent portico in the midst of hovels and narrow streets, such as will surround the new Courts'; he continued

If any building requires magnificence in design, it is surely our Courts of Justice, the exterior of which should be sublime, the interior awful.<sup>29</sup>

(The last word was used in the contemporary sense of 'awe-inspiring', not as a pejorative.)

Great George's Street seems to have been chosen at an early stage, in late 1829 according to one source.<sup>30</sup> Four parties were involved in providing the site – the county Grand Jury, the city Grand Jury,<sup>31</sup> the Corporation and the Wide Streets Commissioners, the last three of which described a triangle of corruption devoted to the private interests of a small number of interconnected families.<sup>32</sup> The three city bodies were tory controlled and the Corporation, in particular, was under sustained liberal/O'Connellite attack until its abolition in 1840. The city Grand Jury was responsible for providing a courthouse for the citizens but it was argued<sup>33</sup> that, since the Corporation used the building for its meetings and other business, it should contribute to the cost of its replacement. The Wide Streets Commissioners' powers of acquisition and clearance could be used to simplify assembling the site.

The foreman of the county Grand Jury put the matter very succinctly at the 1830 spring assizes. The county received the ground for nothing and, in return, it gave the city one of the two courtrooms and accommodation for the city Grand Jury.<sup>34</sup> According to other sources, the city Grand Jury was to present £4,000 and the Corporation to raise £2,000 towards the cost of acquiring a site on Great George's Street, extra ground, valued at £2,000, being provided by the Wide Streets Commissioners.<sup>35</sup> At the same assizes, the county Grand Jury presented £16,000 (in forty instalments of £400 each) for the expense of building, thus preserving the proportions of one-third and two-thirds as agreed between the county and the other bodies.<sup>36</sup> Different total building costs have been given.<sup>37</sup> They were increased, for example, by the decision to move the new courthouse eighteen or twenty feet further west than was originally intended. This was done on the insistence of a few

country gentlemen who threatened to withdraw their support for the site unless they had a wide street for access to the county offices at the side of the building.<sup>38</sup> George Pain charged several hundred pounds for beautifying the affected side.<sup>39</sup> The demolition of houses may also have caused extra expense.<sup>40</sup>

The saving of the small annual headrent to the government hardly seems a powerful argument for abandoning Nelson Place, but the city Grand Jury, which would have been granted half-ownership of the site, may have threatened blocking tactics; demolition and other costs may also have been necessary. Given the corrupt triangle, however, it is difficult to disagree with those<sup>41</sup> who condemned the choice of Great George's Street as the kind of *job* which the liberal *Southern Reporter*<sup>42</sup> was ironically confident would not be imposed upon the taxpayers, i.e., an arrangement to the advantage of those with interests in that street, prominent among whom were the Deanes who had developed it.<sup>43</sup>

Though not of the most powerful families, the Besnards, Gibbingses and Perriers, Thomas Deane was an influential member of Cork's tory Corporation, 'that large and well-run patronage operation'.<sup>44</sup> He had served on the Common Council,<sup>45</sup> and, an important rung on the ladder of civic advancement,<sup>46</sup> he had presided over it as Common Speaker.<sup>47</sup> He had twice been elected one of the two city sheriffs<sup>48</sup> (of whom the senior chose the Grand Jury)<sup>49</sup> and during his second shrievalty he was knighted by the Lord Lieutenant.<sup>50</sup> Deane's position in city government was invaluable for securing such public contracts as the City Gaol in Sunday's Well,<sup>51</sup> and, all three in the same year, the bridge between Lapp's Quay and Sleigh's Marsh, the Cornmarket,<sup>52</sup> and 600 feet of quay wall.<sup>53</sup> In a climate of endemic Corpora-

tion corruption, it was neither difficult nor unusual for those, notably the Deanes,<sup>54</sup> with a stake in Great George's Street, to use their political influence to promote and assemble a site there for an important building like the courthouse, thus enhancing their investment.

Tory power, however, did not extend to the county whose politics were controlled by the whig aristocracy and gentry. James and George R. Pain, the Deanes' great rivals, were the architects of whig choice. The whig-dominated county Grand Jury had given the Pains commissions such as courthouses, bridewells,<sup>55</sup> and the House of Correction on the Western Road. (James, of course, enjoyed the patronage of the Board of First Fruits throughout Munster). Private commissions included the County Club (now Hibernian House) on the South Mall and, for the grandest whig of all, 'Big George', third earl of Kingston, Mitchelstown Castle.<sup>56</sup> However, the political divide was not architecturally absolute. James worked for the tory earl of Listowel at Convamore and both brothers designed Strancally Castle for John Keily who, in the famous 1826 County Waterford parliamentary election, urged the farmers of Knockanore to vote for Lord George Beresford against the successful Emancipation candidate, Villiers-Stuart.<sup>57</sup>

It should have come as no great surprise to Thomas and Kearns Deane that their plan was passed over in favour of the Pains'.<sup>58</sup> The county Grand Jury, dominated by the Pains' patrons, had taken the initiative in the project, had allowed the city to join in it, had appointed a committee to invite plans, had published the necessary advertisements solely in its own name and had taken responsibility for two thirds of the cost. No fewer than sixteen architects from Ireland and England had entered the architectural competition

for the courthouse, including William Vitruvius Morrison who was placed third. The adjudicating committee could not decide whether the Pains or the Deanes should be awarded the first premium and it recommended that the first and second premia should be combined and divided equally between those principal candidates. The county Grand Jury adopted the Pains' plan and decided to build on Great George's Street.

The *Constitution*<sup>59</sup> enthused that the plan embraced all the modern improvements of buildings of that description, founded upon the principles of the Gloucester Courthouse which was universally allowed to be the most perfect and the best contrived in all respects:

It is in the Corinthian order – a noble portico of six columns graces the centre – and a screen of columns at each side, contributes to the general effect.

The courthouse was not the first competition a Deane had lost to the Pains. Kearns Deane had been placed second to them in the competition for Blackrock Castle.<sup>60</sup> Despite their rivalry, Thomas Deane's relations with George Pain were – on the surface at any rate – correct, if not, indeed, cordial. Deane complimented Pain on the beauty of the workmanship in Blackrock Castle and declared that 'that gentleman could not but be minus by the transaction by less than £500'.<sup>61</sup> They were also contenders for the much-needed replacement of the decaying Christ Church. In 1823, Deane wrote to Crofton Croker that he had declined to give an opinion on Christ Church about which there was a 'great row' but that, if he were obliged to give one, he 'must, and though you may cry out *job*, I think I can not go otherwise than hand in hand with Mr. Pain'. Mindful, however, of the contest ahead, he went on;

I shall not write to Kearns until after the next vestry as there will be immense competition for plans of a new Church and I must get your assistance and his from London.<sup>62</sup>

Both tendered for Christ Church: Pain, appointed architect<sup>63</sup> for the new church, also won the contract.<sup>64</sup> Lack of funds prevented a complete rebuild and Pain substituted a more modest scheme of reconstruction.<sup>65</sup> In a neat balancing act, the vestry appointed Thomas Deane Inspector of Building and it was hoped that he would waive his fee 'from his respectability and wealth'.<sup>66</sup>

In various mutations and phases, the 'great row' continued for years, not least because Dissenters and Roman Catholics vigorously objected to being required to contribute to the costs of worship in the Church of Ireland.<sup>67</sup> Here again, Deane acted correctly, indeed generously, when he certified that Pain had fully and faithfully executed and completed his contract and that he had, at his own cost, considerably added to the interior decoration in the ceilings and columns.<sup>68</sup> Notwithstanding this endorsement, the vestry was dissatisfied with the work<sup>69</sup> and a controversy ensued in the *Constitution* which included an exchange of letters between Pain and Alexander Sharp Deane (a churchwarden of the parish) about, among other things, the spread of dry rot which attacked the new floor.<sup>70</sup>

\* \* \*

Within a few weeks of the announcement of the result of the architectural competition, the commissioners appointed by the county Grand Jury advertised for proposals for building the courthouse 'according to the plans and specifications thereof made by Messrs. J. and G.R. Pain' and, in the following year awarded the contract to George Pain.<sup>71</sup> While, given the political

realities, the progression from architectural award to contract may be unsurprising, it was neither smooth nor automatic.

It is evident from the newspaper report<sup>72</sup> of the 1831 exhibition of the Cork Society for Promoting the Fine Arts that there were three plans in play before construction began. At that exhibition, Deane showed a model<sup>73</sup> and a drawing of his entry for the courthouse commission while Pain showed only a drawing of his. This report explained that Pain's first plan<sup>74</sup> had been adopted<sup>75</sup> but 'being found too expensive was abandoned'.<sup>76</sup> (We may call this Plan A for convenience). Later in 1830, the report continues, Deane's plan (B) was accepted and it would have been built but for the delay occasioned by Government's refusal to advance the necessary funds. This is corroborated by the otherwise mysterious statement, late in 1830, that English architects of the first eminence had given a decided preference to Mr. Thomas Deane's plan and that he was, 'in the most distinguished manner', declared the contractor.<sup>77</sup> (Unfortunately, the *Constitution's* promise of further details in its next issue was not followed up). This report of Deane's double victory, short-lived as it turned out, is itself supported by two letter writers whose principal concern was the site – A FRIEND TO IMPROVEMENT<sup>78</sup> in the liberal *Reporter* favouring St. Patrick's Street, and, in the tory *Constitution*, A SOUTH MAIN STREET SHOPKEEPER<sup>79</sup> supporting Great George's Street. Both letters refer to Deane's model being on display in the county Grand Jury rooms; the first says that 'it is already known that the plan of Mr. (now Sir) Thomas Deane has been approved of, and the second declares that to change that plan<sup>80</sup> would be the sacrilegious act of none but Goths and Vandals and that as long as a stone of it remained, the name of 'Deane will stand

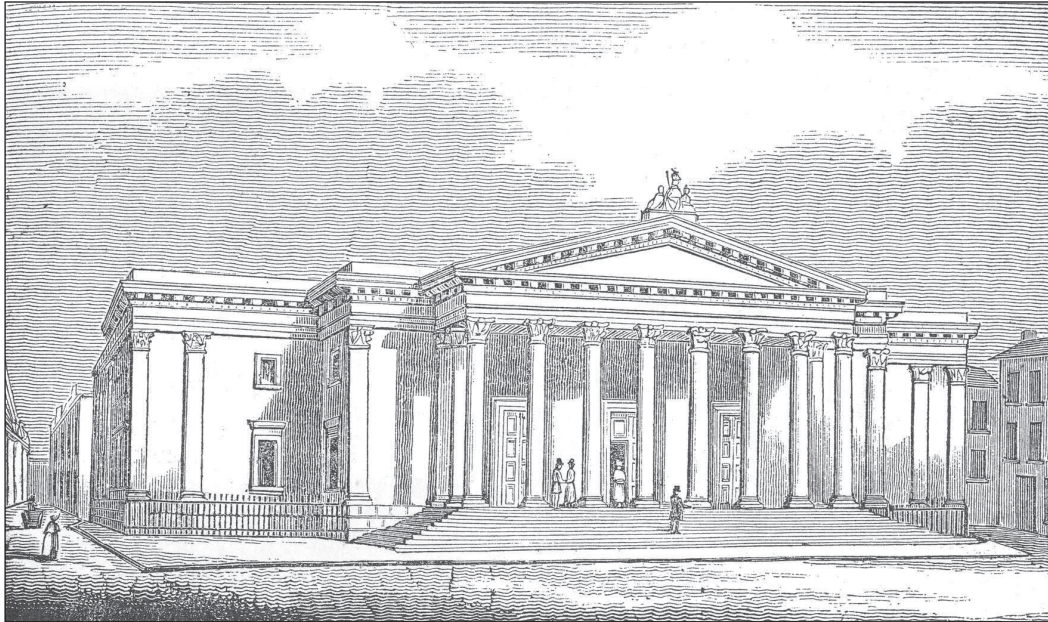
proudly connected with the most eminent Master of the Fine Arts'.

Government, however, refused to make a grant of funds without the fullest investigation<sup>81</sup> and the consequent delay gave Pain the opportunity to take to the field with Plan C. In early 1831, 'a second and improved plan from Mr. Pain ... was finally adopted'<sup>82</sup> and in July, the commissioners appointed Pain contractor,<sup>83</sup> model and plan being available for inspection at his office on Camden Quay. The Deanes had suffered a triple reverse: their design had been passed over in the original competition, it was again rejected in favour of the Pains' second plan and they lost the contract as well. Not to have feelings of bitterness would have taken a saintly forbearance.

The *Constitution* described the Messrs. Pains' plan as a 'chaste specimen of the Corinthian order' with an eight column portico. The Deanes' design consisted of a ten column portico which, if adopted, would have been the first of its kind in Ireland. Both designs

are of the same character, and for the same purpose, and executed with admirable taste. The principal difference is between an eight and a ten column portico.<sup>84</sup>

The tortuous process by which the architect cum contractor for the courthouse was selected took place in a period of severe distress in Cork<sup>85</sup> and those in charge of the project were acutely aware of the need to provide work – hence the announcement that building would commence as soon as possible to afford employment to the tradesmen and labourers of the city.<sup>86</sup> At the start of the decade, over 2500 had been said to be in receipt of public charity and, in the years following, the press carried such references to the situation as 'the frightful mass of human misery ... now exhibited' and



THE NEW CORK COURTHOUSE

Drawn from the model by Samuel West. *IPM* 1, No. 14, 6 April 1833, 1

'the appalling distress . . . besetting us in all quarters'.<sup>87</sup> In the spring of 1832, just before the cholera outbreak,<sup>88</sup> a survey of the seven city parishes showed that of a total population of 86,534, the distressed poor numbered 23,021, of whom 6,250 were destitute.<sup>89</sup> The building trades were particularly badly hit by unemployment, the Board of Health being told on one occasion that only twenty-five were employed out of 250 carpenters and as few masons out of a much greater number.<sup>90</sup>

While the various committees which grappled with these problems were anxious to help as far as their resources would allow, the tradesmen were blamed for contributing to their own difficulties by refusing to accept a reduction in wages.<sup>91</sup> Deane and Pain were reported to have said that, but for the carpenters' and masons' high rates, 'building to a vast extent would now be carrying on'.<sup>92</sup> Common to every 'body', as each trade's local,

independent union was called, was a determination to maintain at all costs, traditional wages<sup>93</sup> and conditions of employment: this was equalled by their determination to control the supply of labour by limiting apprentice numbers<sup>94</sup> and by preventing the employment of non-union tradesmen. The bodies attempted to enforce their regulations by intimidation, fines, strikes, personal violence and destruction of property.<sup>95</sup> These tactics, by no means confined to Cork, followed the pattern common throughout Ireland and Great Britain.

The stonecutters with whom Pain had a dispute were few in number, eighty four of them having been returned in the 1831<sup>96</sup> census, which grandiosely described them as Marble-cutters and Statuary, and of that number only ten were unemployed.<sup>97</sup> Free from the catastrophic problems of such grossly oversupplied trades as coopering and footwear,<sup>98</sup> their



fewness strengthened their bargaining power,<sup>99</sup> especially when construction began on the courthouse and three Roman Catholic churches.<sup>100</sup> Their standard of living was not threatened by large numbers of unemployed stonecutters, by a supply of irregular (non-union) labour, or, as yet, by importation.

Information about the stonecutters is scanty but they seem to have had the same organisational structure as the other trade 'clubs' – for example, they had, according to Pain, a seven man committee 'whose acts are binding on the body'.<sup>101</sup> (It must be remembered that the early trade unions, barely tolerated by law, left few records; such information as has survived has been mostly provided by hostile newspaper reports, evidence in court cases and partisan statements and advertisements by employers and employees). Like the other trades, they put their faith in O'Connell, 'being to a man for Repeal'.<sup>102</sup> They displayed their pride of craft in processions and demonstrations. They made a striking contingent in the magnificent trades procession which welcomed Daniel O'Connell to Cork in early 1832:

*Stonecutters* – Their Beadle led their van, bearing in his hand a wand of statuary marble, and wearing an apron bound with orange and green, and exhibiting the emblems of the trade, which are the five orders of Architecture, with the motto, May God enable us to assist each other – and on the reverse the following lines:

We tread the land that bore us  
The green flag flutters o'er us;  
The friend we've tried  
Is by our side,  
O'Connell, great and glorious

Supported on each side by statuary and black marble columns of the Doric and Tuscan orders. Each man wore a statuary marble star and wand.<sup>103</sup>

The inscription on the banner for the procession on the laying of the foundation stone of Father Mathew's Holy Trinity was suitably less political:

And Solomon commanded that they should bring great stones, costly stones, for the foundation of the temple and should square them 3 Kings, chap.5, v.17.<sup>104</sup>

Trade processions continued to be a feature of city life until the end of the century: in 1890 the stonecutters marched bearing a model of Holy Trinity on which they were again working.<sup>105</sup> According to one reminiscence which survived into the early twentieth century, preserved in Seamus Murphy's classic, *Stone Mad*,

Our banner used to be on a float drawn by four horses an' headed by a brass band and I an' the other three used to wear frock coats an' silk hats. All the other members used to wear green sashes and small aprons with emblems of the trade on them.<sup>106</sup>

This vignette evocatively conveys a sense of the stonecutters' pride in their skill and, indeed, like the trades in general, their confidence that they had completed their long march to respectability.

In the 1830s, however, the march to respectability had scarcely begun. Like the other trades, the stonecutters were resolved to enforce for their body a monopoly of whatever work was available in the city. While not guilty, in this period at least, of the kind of serious assaults associated with other trades,<sup>107</sup> from time to time they destroyed stonework intended for the city though not cut by members of the city's regular body. Between 1829 and 1836, three or four such incidents were ascribed in the press to them. Thus, a workshop and several pieces of cut stone in the quarries of Ballintemple and Carrigeens were destroyed 'in consequence of illegal combination of the trades in this

city'. Cut stone intended for William Hill's new Infirmary was destroyed where it lay on the quay. The only reason given for this was that the work had been done for a master who was not considered to be a Cork city employer; a great quantity of his work had already been destroyed at his quarry in Raffeen.<sup>108</sup> The city body may also have been responsible for the destruction of a quantity of hewn stone, the property of Messrs. Fitzgerald, contractors for the courthouse portico, at Carrigacrum Quarry.<sup>109</sup>

Like employers and the respectable classes in general, G.R. Pain was totally opposed to trade unionism. On one occasion, at a meeting of gentry and manufacturers 'to take into consideration the alarming combinations existing among the tradesmen of this city' he said that he had entered into a combination of other employers of his trade but that he had been deserted by all fourteen of them except one.<sup>110</sup> He had several brushes with the trades before his dispute with the stonecutters. In 1827 he had succeeded in obtaining more than £20 for costs and 'damage done to his dwelling . . . by some combining workmen'. He had extracted this money by ambushing the mayor with the aid of the Act, 23 and 24 George II c.20, which 'reprehensible' proceeding was condemned in the press for its 'secrecy and irregularity'.<sup>111</sup> Family tradition<sup>112</sup> had it that James Pain was 'more the man of affairs whereas George<sup>113</sup> was the draughtsman and designed the elevations' but this case, and others,<sup>114</sup> indicate that the latter, perhaps prompted by his brother, was by no means an innocent in the world of business.

On a later occasion George Pain complained that for the previous four or five days his house had been besieged by, he believed, almost every carpenter in Cork who assaulted every tradesman who

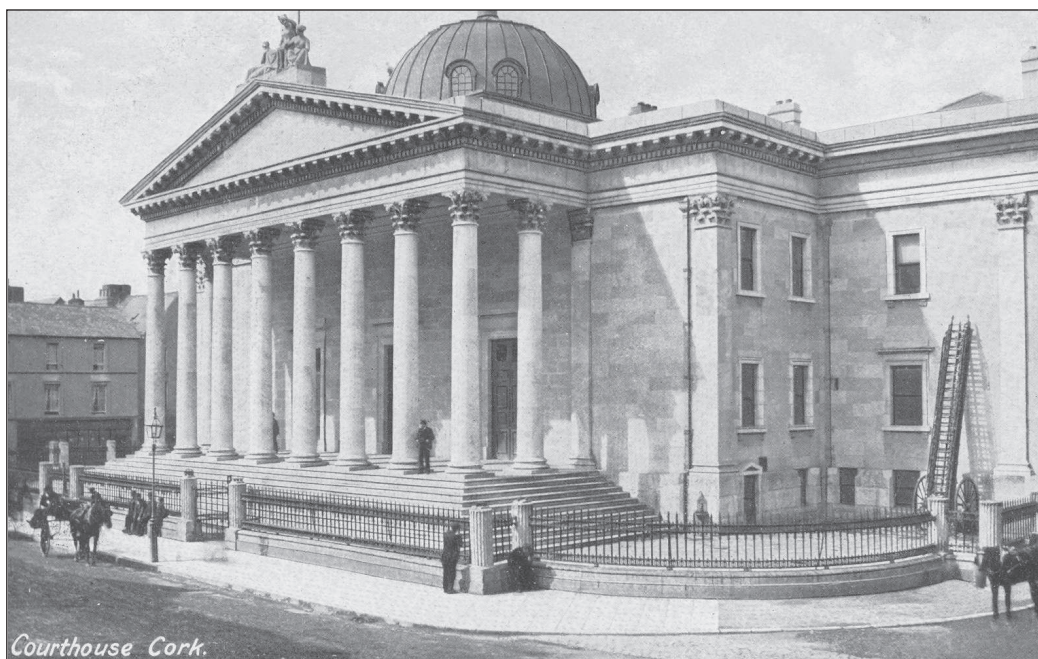
approached.<sup>115</sup> Pain had advertised<sup>116</sup> for carpenters at twenty-one shillings a week, a new rate agreed by masons and architects,<sup>117</sup> instead of the traditional twenty-four. Other victims included a 'country man' (i.e., not a member of the Cork body) waiting for Pain near his house at Camden Quay<sup>118</sup> and a labourer thought to be a carpenter.<sup>119</sup> Intimidation of this kind was the traditional tactic of artisans seeking to defend their standard of living.<sup>120</sup>

\* \* \*

In this climate of economic decline and industrial disharmony, Pain was appointed contractor for the courthouse. Despite the hope that construction would begin as soon as possible to give employment,<sup>121</sup> he appears to have been dilatory. Almost within the year, dissatisfaction was expressed with his lack of progress and with the small number employed by him. One speaker at the Board of Health (then contending with the cholera outbreak), referred to the great number of carpenters (100) and masons (130) out of work, and said

Those who had public contracts should set about them spiritedly. If Deane had the building of the Court Houses he would employ 500 not five. (He) believed Deane's plan for the Court Houses was much superior to Pain's.

Deane contented himself with stating that if his firm got the contract to build the quay wall from St. Patrick's Bridge to the North Gate, they could employ another 150 at once and continue to employ more.<sup>122</sup> An anonymous letter to Pain, read at a later meeting of the Board, voiced the same discontent on the score of employment and the same praise of Deane – 'if he had the Court House to build many the tradesman and labourer would be employed (employment we must have)';



THE PAINS' PORTICO WHICH SURVIVED THE 1891 FIRE

It is surmounted by Thomas Kirk's much restored *Hibernia, Justice and Commerce* (also described as *Hibernia holding the scales of Justice, with Prudence and Commerce*), executed in composition. After the fire, the courthouse was rebuilt to the plans of William Henry Hill, contractor Samuel Hill. (*Laurence Collection ROY 539, courtesy of the National Library of Ireland*)

more ominously, it threatened to destroy what already had been built on the site.<sup>123</sup>

Pain's dispute with the stonecutters was caused by his wish to use imported terra cotta capitals for the limestone columns of the courthouse portico. He claimed that limestone capitals could not be cut deep enough for his purpose and that the stonecutters were incapable of executing his design in the Cork stone. While, for him, terra cotta had the advantage of being cheaper than stone, the imported capitals struck at the local body's monopoly of ornamental architectural stone work and its members need only look about them to see trades ruined by importation. Their campaign, largely conducted in the press, began with an advertisement, ad-

ressed to both Grand Juries, which included an assurance that, contrary to report, the stonecutters were capable of cutting the capitals 'in the first style of workmanship'.<sup>124</sup>

They followed this with another advertisement<sup>125</sup> appealing to the Grand Juries' value for money instincts by pointing out that Pain, by using 'composition ornaments', was able to finish his contract much more cheaply than other gentlemen architects who would use 'good durable limestone'. They acknowledged that a better employer than Pain had not been seen in Cork for years but they rejected his statement that the capitals could not be prepared in limestone. They referred to the County Club<sup>126</sup> and to the New



THE REBUILT CORK COURTHOUSE AND, TO THE EAST, GREAT GEORGE'S STREET

This was a planned street and its buildings were required to conform to regulation prescribed by its developers, the Deanes. It was proposed to demolish unsightly buildings facing the courthouse to form a green square with a public monument in the middle (Windele 20) but this was not done.

Chapel,<sup>127</sup> the ornamental work of both of which, they recalled, had been prepared under Pain's directions. They concluded by stating that Pain had dismissed men in his employment for refusing to sign a document confirming his opinions on the capitals.

Pain countered on the same day by publishing certificates<sup>128</sup> from quarry owners and master stonecutters to the effect that it would not be possible to obtain limestone blocks large enough for the capitals and that Cork limestone could not be finished in such high relief as the model. When, a few weeks later, Pain invited proposals from stonecutters and carvers for cutting the capitals,<sup>129</sup> two journeymen forced their way on to the site, assaulted

the watchman and climbed up to one of the capitals to inspect it – all this in view of a crowd which had assembled outside.<sup>130</sup> In evidence at the ensuing court case, Pain said that the 'blundering' Grand Juries had rejected the composition capitals he had imported from England and had ordered stone ones which would 'disgrace' the building because it was not possible to execute his design in limestone; and as for the accused, he claimed that their visit was made more in the spirit of combination and confederacy than with a view of seeing the capital as a model to copy.<sup>131</sup>

There was another exchange in the war of advertisements early in the following year when the stonecutters accused Pain

of rejecting all the proposals he had received to cut limestone replacements for the imported terra cotta capitals rejected by the Grand Juries; they also claimed that he had ordered the discharge of a workman who had been successfully cutting a capital as required.<sup>132</sup> Pain instantly rejected these accusations which led him to suppose that more than the stonecutters were involved. The stonecutters, he said, had been corrupted by others who would eventually betray them and they ought not forget their days of distress.<sup>133</sup>

While the stonecutters eventually succeeded, the last printed word<sup>134</sup> on the matter makes it clear that, crucially, they had the support of the Grand Juries which did not believe that the 'terms or spirit of their contract left it to the option of the architect to make the substitution of the terra cotta for the limestone'. The Grand Juries did, however, agree to pay extra for the limestone. The *Constitution* asked

What could have induced the architect to assume that there were no workmen in Cork competent in skill to execute the capitals in limestone; for whoever will take the trouble of looking into Mr. Fitzgerald's marble and stone yard <sup>135</sup> will see there capitals of the order suited to the portico of the Court Houses, executed in limestone, and after the most finished style of workmanship. The Cork stonecutters have in this example of their skill given the most emphatic reply imaginable to the unfounded presumption of their want of ability entertained by the architect alluded to, and those ingenious and honest men have shown, that, if there be no limestone capitals to the pillars, it is not for the want of artisans able to execute them in the most masterly style. We understand that Mr. Fitzgerald's workmen executed their capitals precisely after the models in terra cotta, and so closely did they adhere to them as to preserve the hollows which are necessary in the process of baking the terra cotta.<sup>136</sup>

This is a rare example of contemporary press support for a trade union but the *Constitution* may have been voicing a general tory satisfaction at Pain's discomfiture.

The story of the stonecutters' courthouse victory,<sup>137</sup> their ingenious vindication of their skill and their defence of their livelihood survived in the lore of their craft,

'Well,' said Centreline, 'the way I heard it was that when they were building the Courthouse, the architect came to the conclusion that the nature of the freeway stone wasn't suitable for the carving of Corinthian caps like he had in his design, and that they should get them in terra cotta instead. The Society got wind of this and they decided to prove the architect wrong by carving a capital in their spare time and submitting it to the Grand Jury Building Committee. They got a member who was working in Little Island to select a good block from one of the grey beds and have it quarry-blocked and sent up to Cracker Scannell's yard in Douglas St. It was set up there on a banker and a model of a Corinthian cap made, and every evening after tea two of the stonies used to come in and work on it until dark. Needless to say there was a great interest in it and every effort was made to carve it as well as possible. 'Twas undercut to read well from a height and great attention paid to the moulded abacus curving out to the corners. The volutes were free from bumps and all the cuts put in with round nosed chisels, and the acanthus leaves were crisp and well-defined.

'When 'twas finished arrangements were made to have it transported to the Courthouse on a day that the Grand Jury Building Committee were meeting. We had a very good secretary at the time with a flair for the dramatic. He decided that we'd mount the cap on blocks of wood in the middle of a four-wheel dray. And have a bodyguard of members to support and sponsor it and green and gold ribbons decorating it. He got a grey dappled horse to match the stone,

and a band. The procession went off down Douglas St. and Mary St. and all the stonies in Sam Murphy's yard there came out in their aprons and cheered and waved their mallets. They say 'twas a great sight. The carved cap standing bolt upright and gleaming fresh and crisp from the chisels and the sunlight making grand patterns of all the dark shadows. Away they went down onto the quay and the dapple grey had to slow up a bit to take the crown of Parliament Bridge (incidentally, did you see that they have repaired that with concrete, blast it! a grand cut-stone bridge!). Well anyway, off with them up the Mall and the Parade and away to the Courthouse with the crowds of Cork cheering from the footpaths. And the Grand Jury and the architect came out and they couldn't say enough in praise of the job. So that's how the Courthouse comes to have caps carved out the native. I needn't tell you there was a great blow-out that night and all praise lavished on the secretary for the way he had carried it off.<sup>138</sup>

While inaccuracy and embellishment may have crept into the story in the intervening years, this piece of oral history vividly preserves a sense of the stonecutters' confidence in their skill, their solidarity, and the tradition of colourful display, showmanship almost, central to the trades' processions.

\* \* \*

The first sitting in the new courthouse was held on 12 March 1836, when the Hon. Justice Crampton opened the commission for the spring county assizes. Addressing the county Grand Jury, he spoke of his satisfaction at presiding on the opening of their 'noble courthouse', worthy of an extensive county, a 'temple suitable to the solemn administration of justice'. He also complained of the inconvenience of the building, having greatly exhausted himself in addressing the

Grand Jury at such great distance.<sup>139</sup>

While the exterior was undoubtedly splendid, the interior remained inconvenient to the end. Shortly after its destruction by fire on Good Friday, 27 March 1891,<sup>140</sup> the town clerk described the courthouse as one of the worst of its kind in Ireland – the accommodation, draughts, everything was bad and the judges preferred the Model Schools as they were more comfortable and had fewer draughts.<sup>141</sup>

Unlike the rest of the building, the portico survived the fire intact and it stands as a monument to the skill of those who cut its capitals.<sup>142</sup> The courthouse was rebuilt to the plans of William Henry Hill.<sup>143</sup> The exterior of the courthouse has recently been magnificently restored by Cork City Council and the interior has been sensitively brought up to date by the Courts Service. In accordance with the Venice Charter the portico capitals were conserved rather than replaced, intervention being kept to a minimum. Due to erosion, however, there was minor replacement of details on the more exposed capitals each of which was dressed with lead to prevent further erosion.<sup>144</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

The assumption that whig patronage of the Pains ruled out other architects, the Deanes in particular, must be modified. There can be little doubt that the initial choice of the Pains' entry in the architectural competition was politically motivated; the whig dominated county Grand Jury had initiated the project, had named commissioners to oversee it and was responsible for two-thirds of the cost. However, the appointment of Thomas Deane in the second round for financial reasons indicates that political considerations were not paramount. At this stage,

government delay allowed G.R. Pain to submit a cheaper plan which was accepted and for which he was appointed contractor as well. The final outcome – site, plan, contract – was the result, on the one hand, of the interplay of political, commercial and financial factors, and on the other, of Pain's opportunistic exploitation of the government-imposed delay in executing his rivals' design combined with the support of his county patrons.

For his part, Deane did not emerge from the matter empty-handed. With the aid of the corrupt city oligarchy, of which he was a leading member, he had secured an important public building for his street. The Tories got the site and, though it was a close run thing, the Whigs got the plan and the contract.

The stonecutters who, in the years under review, enjoyed the advantages of fewness in number and the extra work promised by church building, were not driven to the desperate measures of other, more beleaguered, workers. Traditionally, an oversupply of labour was the great threat to craftsmen's standard of living; importation, which had destroyed other trades in the city, posed a new threat to the stonecutters. They had always sought to prevent outsiders from encroaching on their employment and they now wished to maintain their monopoly of architectural ornamental work by excluding the terra cotta capitals. They won the courthouse battle but their victory was short-lived.

Pain's lack of confidence, professed or otherwise, in their ability to cut Cork limestone to his satisfaction affronted the artisans' identity-defining pride in the skill which set them far above the labourer and justified their higher wages. Their livelihood was at stake. As they pointed out to the St. Patrick's Church building committee, the use of terra cotta would not only 'degrade' them as tradesmen,

but ultimately ruin their trade and their families.<sup>145</sup>

With the exception of the incident involving the hapless watchman, the courthouse campaign was non-violent; the stonecutters attacked neither employer nor fellow tradesman and they destroyed no property. The campaign was waged in the press, perhaps with a bit of showmanship thrown in.

They made their case to the public and, essential for their success, to the Grand Juries. Their tactics, a break with tradition, presaged the later 'self-conscious respectability' of the Cork trade unions and their adoption of non-violent methods which emerged in the 1840s and 1850s.<sup>146</sup>

Given the courthouse's tortuous and protracted genesis, exegetical confusion, beginning with the Rev. C.B. Gibson, is only to be expected. According to him, 'it was built by G.R. Pain after a design by Kearns Deane'.<sup>147</sup> An 1863 article on Sir Thomas stated that 'the front of the Courthouse at Cork', was amongst his earliest buildings<sup>148</sup> and, according to an obituary, he 'erected' the courthouse to which 'he put a classical portico'.<sup>149</sup> Sir Thomas's entry in the 1917 *Dictionary of National Biography* gives him the design of the 'classic portico of the Courthouse'.<sup>150</sup> Several modern architectural historians have published variations on those statements; one comments that the 'Courthouse by George Richard was completed by Kearns Deane, a younger brother of Sir Thomas who added the great octostyle portico';<sup>151</sup> another that Kearns Deane designed (the courthouse) and that the Pains were contractors;<sup>152</sup> yet another that the courthouse 'was designed by the Pains in 1835 and built by the Deanes who subsequently claimed credit for the spectacular Corinthian portico'.<sup>153</sup>

There is an abundance of evidence to counter all this. There is no question of



1869 5' COLOURED OS MAP – PORTION SHOWING LOCATION OF THE COURTHOUSE

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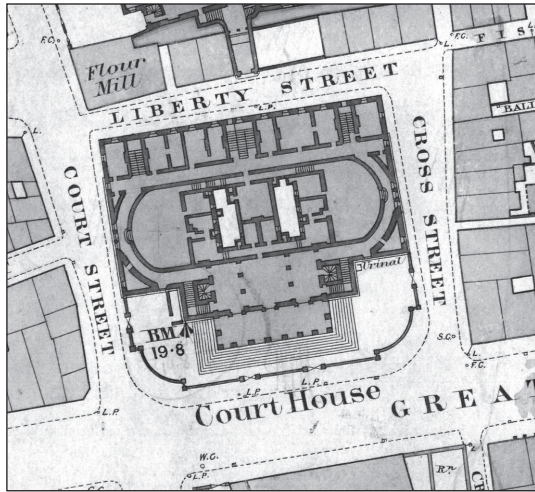
either Deane *adding* the portico, its columns, as we have seen, being up to the capitals at the time of Pain's dispute with the stonecutters in 1832 and 1833.<sup>154</sup> Furthermore, in the aftermath of the fire, Arthur Hill wrote to correct a newspaper correspondent's statement<sup>155</sup> that the courthouse had been built by the Deanes, 'the late Sir Thomas Deane being one of their firm':

I happen to have in my possession copies of the original plans and specification made by

an uncle of my own name. The plans show the portico in connection with the rest of the building, and the specification is headed 'Specification of the cut stone works etc. in the portico and fronts of the courthouse designed for the city and county of Cork by G.R. Pain, April 1830.'<sup>156</sup>

This would seem to exclude the Deanes from any involvement, either design or addition, in the Plan A portico and they hardly contributed anything to the portico of Plan C which replaced their own





1869 5' COLOURED OS MAP – DETAIL

The dual nature of the Pains' courthouse is evident from the ground plan. © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Permit No. MP 002206

scheme. As shown by St. Patrick's Church's sexastyle, which may have been transferred from Plan A's, George Pain was perfectly capable of designing a splendid classical portico.<sup>157</sup>

Contemporary sources make no reference to the Deanes in connection with the design or construction of the courthouse which they attribute either to George, or to both Pains. In 1833, it was reported that the courthouse was 'now in progress of building according to the design and under the inspection of G.R. Pain, Esq., who has contracted for its completion at the sum of £16,000'.<sup>158</sup> When it was completed, it was described as 'a remarkably elegant building, reflecting great credit upon Mr. Pain, the architect'<sup>159</sup> and a later visitor to Cork observed that the courthouse 'designed by Mr. George R. Pain is a splendid building'.<sup>160</sup> Similarly, Lewis's 'a county and city courthouse was erected in 1835 by Messrs. Pain'<sup>161</sup> is echoed by Windele's 'erected

by the Messrs. Pain, architects'.<sup>162</sup> George referred to himself 'as the Architect and Contractor, in conjunction with my brother'.<sup>163</sup> (The functions of architect and contractor had not yet been separated). The only matter which remains unclear is the general one of the extent of collaboration between the two.

The various permutations of the Deane attribution – that one or both of them designed or added the portico, designed or completed the building – seem impossible to sustain as is the suggestion that, apart from subsequent remedial work, the brothers 'may have had some hand in the building'.<sup>164</sup> Contemporary reports make no reference to them in this context and the newspapers of the time say nothing of their having, for example, completed the contract. In view of the coverage given to the various controversies connected with the building, it would appear to be extremely unlikely, though not, of course, impossible, that a change of contractor would go unnoticed in the local press. Even if the dignity of knighthood inhibited Sir Thomas from publishing his family's claims (if any) at the time it is remarkable that neither relative nor friend championed them in the press. Alexander Sharp Deane, for example, had engaged in a public correspondence with George Pain in defence of Sir Thomas during one of the Christ Church rows.<sup>165</sup> In view of the rivalry between the two architectural families, it also seems unlikely that plagiarism by the county Grand Jury of the Deanes' design<sup>166</sup> would have gone unchallenged.

Given the dearth of evidence to support them, some consideration must be given to the emergence of the Deane attributions which may have originated in the improvements carried out by Sir Thomas some years after the building was completed.<sup>167</sup> Having suffered a series of dis-

appointments – twice on the design, once on the contract – the Deanes had every reason to feel resentful, if not cheated. Sir Thomas's career had been 'marked by shrewdness, opportunism and a strong instinct for survival'<sup>168</sup> and it must have been particularly painful for him to be outsmarted by the equally opportunistic Pains whom, as with his other rivals, he regarded with a distrust 'carried almost to the point of paranoia'.<sup>169</sup> To make matters worse, the Pains, interlopers, had secured a great deal of work in the city over the years while the Deanes had been frozen out of the county. It would be understandable if the Deanes believed that the courthouse was morally theirs. What might be termed attributional acquisitiveness has been imputed to them. Sir Thomas has been suspected of taking credit due to others<sup>170</sup> and it is true that the Deanes were unwilling to support the proposed tribute (in the form of a memoir) to Benjamin Woodward which would have drawn attention to the firm's indebtedness to their dead partner.<sup>171</sup> If a belief that the courthouse owed something to them survived the process of appointing architect and contractor, it was not in the Deanes' commercial interest to discourage it; psychologically, they had every reason to cultivate a consolatory myth.<sup>172</sup>

## ABBREVIATIONS

AH	<i>Analecta Hibernica</i>
B	<i>The Builder</i>
CC	<i>Constitution</i> , later <i>Cork Constitution</i>
CE	<i>Cork Examiner</i>
CEH	<i>Cork Evening Herald</i>
CL	<i>Country Life</i>
CMC	<i>Cork Mercantile Chronicle</i>
DB	<i>The Dublin Builder</i>
DPJ	<i>Dublin Penny Journal</i>
FJ	<i>Freeman's Journal</i>
IAR	<i>Irish Arts Review</i>

IPM	<i>Irish Penny Magazine</i>
JCHAS	<i>Journal Cork Historical and Archaeological Society</i>
LC	<i>Limerick Chronicle</i>
MA	<i>Munster Advertiser</i>
NAI, CSORP	National Archives of Ireland, Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers
NAI, CSORP OR	National Archives of Ireland, Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers Outrage Reports
RIAIY	<i>Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland Yearbook</i>
SR	<i>Southern Reporter</i>
T	<i>Transactions of the Institution of Civil Engineers of Ireland.</i>

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 James Pain (1779/1780-1877) and his brother George Richard (1792/3-1838) trained under John Nash in London. In 1813 Nash sent James, later to be followed by George, to oversee the construction of Lough Cutra Castle. The older brother settled in Limerick, the younger in Cork and, though they sometimes worked individually, they established a large architectural and contracting practice in Munster. The surname was also spelt Paine and Payne but I have standardised it as Pain throughout. (I have also generally used the singular form, *courthouse*, though the Pains and their contemporaries used the plural because the building accommodated the city and county courts separately). The Deane brothers, of a Cork family, set up the firm of Thomas (1792-1871) and Kearns (1804-1847) Deane, and between them they were responsible for the design and construction of many buildings and public contracts in the city and elsewhere. In the year before Kearns's death, they were joined by Benjamin Woodward to whom such successes as Trinity Museum building and the Oxford University Museum were principally due. The firm moved to Dublin in 1853.

2 *IPM*, 1, no.14, 6 April 1833, 106.

3 Macaulay, T.B. 1906. *History of England from the accession of James II.* ii. Dent, London, 1906, repr. 1967, 510.

- 4 Anon. 1911. Some forgotten books, and a family of architects. *B* 100, no. 3, 568 23 June 1911, 773.
- 5 Bence-Jones, M. 1976. Two pairs of architect brothers. *CL* 142, no. 3675, 10 Aug 1976, 307.
- 6 Designed by Richard Morrison and built by Abraham Hargrave, senior and junior, c. 1806. McParland, E., Rowan, A., and Rowan, A.M. 1989. *The Architecture of Richard and William Vitruvius Morrison*. Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin, 76. Part of the facade remains at the Queen's Old Castle, now the Argos store, Grand Parade.
- 7 *SR*, 27 Feb 1827. For a judge's complaints at the 1827 summer assizes, see *SR*, 23 Aug 1827. (I am grateful to Frank Keohane for this and other references).
- 8 *SR*, 8 Dec 1829.
- 9 *IPM*, 2, no. 1, 4 Jan 1834, 2. This was adjacent to the Exchange which stood at the corner of Castle Street and South Main Street.
- 10 *SR*, 8 Dec 1829.
- 11 *SR*, 5 Dec 1829.
- 12 *SR*, 30 Aug 1827. Government was willing to grant the Old Custom House if the Grand Juries agreed to pay the annual headrent of £60. The Custom House at Nelson Place had been replaced by a new building further downstream in 1818 which is now the headquarters of the Port of Cork authority.
- 13 This was the executive branch of the Corporation. D'Alton, I. 1980. *Protestant society and politics in Cork 1812-1844*. Cork University Press, Cork, 92.
- 14 *SR*, 12 Dec 1829.
- 15 *SR*, 17 Dec 1829.
- 16 *SR*, 22 Dec 1829.
- 17 'A Friend to Economy', *SR*, 19 Feb 1831. See also 'A City Ratepayer', *SR*, 19 Mar 1831.
- 18 'Verax', *CC*, 7 April 1831.
- 19 Ó Coindealbháin, S. 1943. Schools and schooling in Cork City 1700-1831. *JCHAS* 38, 54; Murray, P. 1992. *Illustrated Summary Catalogue of the Crawford Municipal Art Gallery*. City of Cork Vocational Education Committee, Cork, 3,4.
- 20 'A Friend to Economy', *SR*, 19 Feb 1831. In the previous year, the city Grand Jury made a presentment of £8,000 for the western entrance, i.e., the Western Road. *SR*, 21 Aug 1830.
- 21 'Verax', *CC*, 7 April 1831.
- 22 'Civis', *CC*, 9 April 1831.
- 23 *CC*, 9 April 1831. See also *SR*, 16 Oct 1830.
- 24 'A Citizen', *SR*, 17 Mar 1831.
- 25 'A Friend To Improvement', *SR*, 12 Oct 1830.
- 26 'A Subscriber', *SR*, 14 Oct 1830.
- 27 'A Friend to Improvement', *SR*, 12 Oct 1830.
- 28 'A South Main Street Shopkeeper', *CC*, 16 Oct 1830.
- 29 'Paddy', *SR*, 18 Sept 1830. It is tempting to infer from this letter's practicality, Romantic sensibility and knowledge of classical architecture that it was written by G.R. Pain. Of Great George's Street, Windele wrote that its site, a few years previously, had been occupied by some of the filthiest lanes and alleys of the old town and that it was densely inhabited by a squalid and impoverished population. Windele, J. 1846. *Historical and descriptive notices of Cork and its vicinity; Gougaun-Barra, Glengarriff and Killarney. A new and enlarged edition*. Messrs. Bolster, Cork, John Cumming, Dublin, Longman and Company, London, 19. Gibson noted that the street 'occupies the sites of a number of the narrowest and dirtiest lanes of Cork'. Gibson, T.C. 1861-64. *The History of the county and city of Cork*. Cork, ii. Newby, London, repr. Fercor Press, Cork, 1974, 324.
- 30 'A South Main Street Shopkeeper', *CC*, 16 Oct 1830.
- 31 This was responsible for roads, public works and such buildings as the City Gaol and City Courthouse in the city and its liberties. For examples, see Gibson, ii, 311,12.
- 32 D'Alton, 96-100. The Wide Streets Commissioners spent about £2000 yearly. *First report of the commissioners for enquiring into the condition of the poorer classes in Ireland*,

*appendix C, part 1*, XXX (35) 1836, 25.

33 E.g., John Reynolds, *SR*, 23 Aug 1827.

34 *CC*, I April 1830.

35 Presentments of the Grand Jury of the county of the city of Cork, 24 Mar 1830 and the Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant of the city Grand Jury's commissioners for building a new courthouse, 21 April 1830. NAI, CSORP 1830/871; 'A City Ratepayer', *SR*, 19 Mar 1831; 'Verax', *CC*, 7 April 1831.

36 *CC*, 1 April 1830.

37 E.g., £16,200. *IPM*, 1, no. 14, 6 April 1833, 106.

38 'Civis', *SR*, 11 Nov 1834.

39 'A Citizen', *SR*, 13 Nov 1834.

40 Twenty houses and a large quantity of building materials were advertised for auction on the site. The inclusion of 'panelling pilasters with carved capitals suitable for country churches or chapels' in the materials may indicate that the area was not quite as run down as claimed by Windele. *CC*, 7 July 1831.

41 'A Friend to Economy', who opposed the Great George's Street site, referred to 'a number of interested individuals, with ground rents etc' supporting it. *SR*, 19 Feb 1831; 'Civis', also an opponent, referred to the 'Citizens' Committee, as it was called, having too many interests in Great George's Street', being willing to consent to moving the courthouse further to the west. *SR*, 11 Nov 1834.

42 *SR*, 5 Dec 1829.

43 For the Deanes as developers see O'Dwyer, F. 1997. *The architecture of Deane and Woodward*. Cork, Cork University Press, 7, 8. For Thomas Deane's advertisements of houses to let in the New Street, as Great George's Street was also called, see *SR*, 14 Jan, 22 April, 6 May 1826. The Wide Streets Commissioners referred to 'Plans of Fronts to which the tenants must conform' when it advertised the letting of building lots on the north side of the street between South Main Street and Cross Street at which latter point the courthouse was built. *SR*, 25 April 1826. The Augustinians, whose chapel, yard and house in Brunswick (now St. Augustine) Street were roofed by

G.R. Pain, received compensation from the Commissioners for houses and bought the right of passage to the New Street from Deane for over £276. O'Connell, W.D. 1943. Augustiniana Corcagiae 1746-1834. *AH* 12, 172.

44 D'Alton, 96. For Thomas Deane's part in the city's politics, see d'Alton, 93, 146, 148 and O'Dwyer 1997, 15, 16. The Wide Streets Commissioners appointed him Inspector of Works. *SR*, 16 Jan 1834. When Deane's salary was increased a year later, 'A Freeman' asked if this arose from the recent general election or merely as a part of the old jobbery system, i.e., a reasonable pay on appointment to avoid alarming the public, followed by increases. *SR*, 14 Feb 1835. It is an indication of Deane's standing in the local establishment that he was one of the witnesses sent to London to defend Chatterton and Leycester, the city's tory MPs returned at the same election, against a petition to unseat them. *SR*, 7 April 1835. In the event, the two tories were unseated in favour of the Repealers, Baldwin and Callaghan.

45 *SR*, 4 Jan 1827.

46 D'Alton, 92.

47 *SR*, 26 Jan, 3 July 1830.

48 1815 and 1830. Gibson, ii, 395.

49 For the Grand Jury as a source of influence and private profit, see d'Alton, 99.

50 *SR*, 9 Oct 1830.

51 For the City Gaol (1818-1824), see O'Dwyer 1997, 550, 551, n. 44.

52 *SR*, 26 June 1827 for the bridge and the Cornmarket. Henry Hill won the Cornmarket design competition but did not get the contract, at twenty years old being 'considered merely a boy at the time and insufficiently experienced'. Hill, H.H. 1939. Architecture of the past in Cork. *JCHAS* 4 no.160, 91.

53 *SR*, 17 Nov 1827. The last of these contracts was part of a project to complete a continuous line of quay on the north bank of the Lee from the North Mall to a point opposite the New Custom House at the extreme east of the city.

54 For the Deanes' developments in Great George's Street, see O'Dwyer 1997, 7, 8. That George Pain was also a developer, though

perhaps on a smaller scale, is only one of the several parallels between the two architectural families. The *Constitution*, for example, reported that he had named his 'beautiful row of new houses in the Middle Glanmire Road, Adelaide Place'. *CC*, 9 Sept 1830. Building lots in Passage were advertised to let 'according to plans and designs by Messrs. Pain, Architects' in *SR*, 2 May 1835. After his death 'three new houses in shell . . . built by the late George Richard Pain, Esq.' were advertised for sale at Toureen, Passage West. *MA*, 16 November 1839. These were completed and sold by 1842. *CC*, 17 Dec 1842. (I am grateful to Dr. Colman O Mahony for the last reference and for his helpful comments on this article).

55 Bantry, Clonakilty, Kanturk, Macroom, Mallow, Middleton and Skibbereen. Major Palmer, *Fourth Report of the Inspectors General on the general state of the prisons of Ireland*. *SR*, 23 May 1826.

56 For this ruinously expensive Gothic extravaganza, see O'Dwyer, F. 2002. 'A noble pile in the late Gothic style': Mitchelstown Castle, *RLAIY*, 18, 30-45.

57 Bence-Jones, M. 1978. *Burke's guide to country houses; i, Ireland*. Burke's Peerage Ltd., London, 89, 266; *SR*, 20 April 1826. John Keily and his brother Arthur of Ballysaggartmore, were admitted freemen of the tory stronghold of Bandon. *SR*, 28 Dec 1826. The grandiose entrances which Arthur commissioned at Ballysaggartmore for a mansion that was never built, may, perhaps, be attributed to the Pains rather than (as in *DPJ*, 3, no. 128, 13 Dec 1834, 186) to Mr. John Smyth.

58 *CC*, 6 April 1830.

59 *CC*, 6 April 1830.

60 William Hill was third. Hill, 91.

61 *SR*, 26 Jan 1830. Crofton Croker's dismissal of Blackrock Castle as 'Cockney Gothic' may be a more accurate reflection of his friend's, Thomas Deane's, views. O'Dwyer 1997, 18, quoting Croker's unpublished memoir of Cork. Premia of five, three and two guineas were offered for plans for repairing and ornamenting the castle. *SR*, 15 Dec 1827.

62 Thomas Deane to Crofton Croker, 26 Sept 1823. Croker Correspondence, i, 143 (microfilm, Cork Central Library).

63 Pain was awarded the first premium of £50. *SR*, 20 June 1826. He published prints of the east and west elevations from 'the designs of George R. Pain, Esq.' *SR*, 20 June 1826.

64 His estimate was £2,837, later given as £3,500. *SR*, 29 May 1827 and 6 Oct 1827.

65 For the list of subscribers, including Thomas and Alexander Deane, and Thomas and William Hill, though not George Pain, see *CC*, 19 April 1832. At a particularly acrimonious stage in their relations with Pain, the Select Vestry had returned his £5 subscription as being insultingly small. G.R. Pain. *CC*, 12 April 1831. In fairness to Pain, however, we have Thomas Deane's testimony that his rival had spent his own money on the decoration of the interior.

66 *SR*, 27 Nov 1827. Pain was superintendent over Sir Thomas Deane and Company on several extensive contracts in Kerry. G.R. Pain, *CC*, 16 April 1831.

67 *SR*, 14, 16, 17 April; 6, 30 Oct; 3, 6, 20 Nov 1827; 16 April, 15 Nov 1829 and *CC*, 8 Nov 1831 are but a fraction of the innumerable reports devoted to the row.

68 *SR*, 18 Dec 1830.

69 At the 1831 Easter Vestry, for example, George Gregg declared that the work was shamefully done and that if Pain had taken proper precautions, they would not be put to the expense of repairing it. *CC*, 5 April 1831.

70 *CC*, 12, 14, 16, 19 April 1831. On the dry rot, see Lewis, S. 1837. *The topographical dictionary of Ireland*, i, S. Lewis and Company, London, 422 and O'Dwyer 1997, 17. Thomas Deane had the last word on the matter, observing that 'the seasoning of timber is seldom sufficiently attended to; and that the characters of professional men are frequently injured, by not being more stringent in demanding proof of the stacking and seasoning of timber for a sufficient time.' Deane, T. 1848. An account of an extraordinary instance of the rapid decay of timber, from dry rot, which occurred in the

Church of the Holy Trinity, Cork. *T.* 2, no. 188, 12 Jan 1847, 76.

71 *SR*, 18 May 1830; *CC*, 2 July 1830.

72 *CC*, 27 Aug 1831.

73 This, presumably, is the 'Model of the premiated design of the court house of the city of Cork, adjudged by three London architects – Sir Thomas and Kearns Deane, architects' shown at the 1852 Cork Exhibition. *Official catalogue of the national exhibition of the arts, manufactures and products of Ireland* (Cork 1852), quoted in O'Dwyer 1997, 18.

74 This is described as Pain's 1829 plan, possibly because the architectural competition was advertised late in the year. *SR*, 22 Dec 1829.

75 See *CC*, 6 April 1830.

76 Two extensions of time for the receipt of tenders had been granted, the reason for the second being that the various estimates had exceeded the sum allocated. *CC*, 15 May, 26 June 1830.

77 *CC*, 2 Oct 1830. The roles of architect and contractor had not yet been separated. Deane's plan appears to have come with a cost of £17,000. 'A Friend To Economy' *SR*, 19 Feb 1831.

78 *CC*, 12 Oct 1830.

79 *CC*, 16 Oct 1830.

80 I.e., to squeeze it into the narrow St. Patrick's Street site instead of building it on the more spacious site on Great George's Street.

81 Letter of Edward Stanley (Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1830-33) quoted in full by 'Tra-verser', *SR*, 3 Mar 1831.

82 Report of Art Exhibition, *CC*, 27 Aug 1831.

83 *CC*, 2 July 1831. An extension for estimates had been granted – one suspects that the commissioners may have done this for Pain's benefit. *CC*, 21 June 1831.

84 *CC*, Aug 1831. The anonymous critic's observations are worth quoting in full.

265 – Is a chaste specimen of the Corinthian order by Messrs. Pain. An eight column portico forms the centre of a front 170 feet long.

The wings are decorated with pilasters. We trust that the objection usually made to pilasters as a substitute for columns will not occur in this building viz., an appearance of flatness from the want of shadows, for which purpose we recommend the artist to give a bold projection to them.

266 – Presents us with a bold effort to produce grandeur by Sir Thomas Deane and Co. The design consists of a ten column portico, and would, if adopted, have been the first of its kind in this country. The portico is surmounted by an attic; pilasters are, as in 265, used in the wings. We doubt the effect of the quoins, and think the pediment of the portico rather too high, though it does not appear so in the model. This building, as represented in the beautiful and tasteful model 267, would do credit to any city. We have not gone at length into the merit of the two designs of these artists. They are of the same character, and for the same purpose, and executed with admirable taste. The principal difference is, between an eight and a ten column portico.

(The numbers refer to the two plans and the Deane model).

85 See O Mahony, C. 1997. *In the shadows: life in Cork: 1750-1930*. Tower Books, Ballincollig, 122-130 for poverty in the city and attempts to ameliorate it; for Cork's decline after the Napoleonic Wars, see O'Brien, J.B. 1993. Population, politics and society in Cork, 1780-1900. in P. O'Flanagan and C.G. Buttimer, (eds) *Cork: History and Society*. Geography Publications, Dublin, 704, 705.

86 *CC*, 2 July 1831.

87 *CC*, 4 March 1830; *SR*, 21 Jan 1831, 14 Jan 1832.

88 For the cholera in Cork, see O Mahony, 94-107. By May 1833, sufferers had numbered 4,926, of whom 1,608 had died.

89 *First report*, 24.

90 *SR*, 10 May 1832. Other trades, textile, clothing, footwear and glove, suffered severely from a flood of imports; coopers also experienced high unemployment, though from different causes. Cronin, M. 1994. *Country, class or craft?: the politicisation of the skilled artisan in nineteenth century Cork*. Cork University

Press, Cork, 31, 38, 41; also Petition to Board of Health, *CC*, 11 Feb 1830. The construction trades also appear to be suffering from the rise of a new phenomenon i.e., the builder who contracted direct with the client. The builder replaced architect and master craftsman as the immediate employer of the journeyman and, unlike them, tended not to respect the worker's traditional rights. The plasterers and slaters, for example, declared 'their unanimous determination' to work only for Mr. Thomas Deane and Co., Mr. Alexander Deane, Mr. Charles Cottrell, Mr. George Pain and Mr. George Beale. *SR*, 22 April 1826. The masons advertised their decision to work only for (master) masons and for Sir Thomas Deane and Co., Charles Cottrell, G.R. Pain, Abraham Hargrave, Thomas Anthony, Henry and Mullen, and G. Beale. *CC*, 9 June 1831. Forty five builders were returned in the 1831 Census *CMC*, 7 Mar 1834. For changes in the building industry about this time, see Clapham, J.H. 1926. *An economic history of modern Britain: the railway age, 1820-1850*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 115, 116.

91 *CC*, 13 Feb 1830; 'Scrutator', *SR*, 27 Feb 1830.

92 *SR*, 4 March 1830.

93 A breakaway group of masons did, in fact accept a reduction. *CC*, 17, 20, 22 April 1830.

94 Cronin, 37.

95 Cork newspapers printed reports of 'combination' activities, including violence, in the early 1830s, particularly among the carpenters, coopers and tailors. Violence was a typical reaction in beleaguered trades such as the coopers who claimed (*CMC*, 27 Jan 1832) to have suffered a catastrophic fall in employment from 1,200 in 1799 to 450 in 1832. For statistical details of the coopers and their dependants, see *CMC*, 1 Feb 1832 and for a discussion of combination violence, see Cronin, 210-215, 219-220, 231. The exclusive, defensive nature of the skilled trades and their perception of the unskilled ('a mixture of fear and condescension'), are analysed in Murphy, M. 1980. The working classes of nineteenth century Cork. *JCHAS* 75, nos. 241 and 242, 42-44.

96 *CMC*, 7 Mar 1834. For their numbers during the rest of the century, see Cronin, 21. They peaked at 154 in 1881 but fell to 98 in 1901.

97 *CC*, 11 Feb 1831.

98 Respectively 692 and 1,079. *CMC*, 7 Mar 1834.

99 For this point in general, see Cronin, 22. The Dublin stonecutters may have enjoyed the advantages of limited numbers more than their fellows in Cork. In response to Daniel O'Connell's 1837 attack on the Dublin trade unions, the stonecutters of that city denied that they had ever engaged in violence or illegal combination. Given the capital's probable greater demand for their work and that their numbers had never exceeded fifty in the previous twenty years, their claim may have been well founded. *FJ*, 7 Dec 1837.

100 St. Patrick's (George Pain), Father Mathew's Holy Trinity (George Pain), and St. Mary's (Kearns Deane). *CC*, 12 Oct 1833. With regard to St. Patrick's, Bishop Murphy stated that 'the immediate employment of the trades and labourers of the city (was) an important object of the building committee'. *SR*, 17 May 1832. The Holy Trinity committee declared that its principal object was the alleviation of the prevailing distress by 'giving employment to the poor'. *CC*, 14 July 1832. For St. Mary's see *CC*, 12 Oct 1833, and *SR*, 29 Mar 1834. The committees of the three churches acknowledged the generosity of all denominations. One diehard tory, however, was not impressed by the building of 'no less than three additional Romish Chapels' and he urged the public not to listen to 'hypocritical cant about the employment of the poor' 'Publius', *CC*, 19 July 1832. The stonecutters had already benefited from the construction of Charles Cottrell's St. Francis's Church in Broad Lane (*CC*, 7 Oct 1830) and from George Pain's Independent Chapel in George's (now Oliver Plunkett) Street.

101 *CC*, 30 Oct 1832.

102 This was said at a meeting of the Repeal Candidates Committee at which cards were taken for 39 stonecutters. They also subscribed

to the Cork Trades Association, an O'Connellite organisation with a large artisan membership. *CMC*, 24 Oct 1832. For this association see Lane, F. 2001. *In search of Thomas Sheahan: radical politics in Cork, 1824–1836*. Irish Academic Press, Dublin and Oregon, 38–46.

103 *CMC*, 21 Mar 1832 and, for a discussion of this procession, Lane, 35, 36. The stonecutters also marched in the chairing of Baldwin and O'Callaghan, newly elected Repeal MPs. *CMC*, 2 Jan 1833.

104 The solemn procession and the blessing of the foundation stone by Bishop Murphy were reported in *CMC*, 24 April 1833. A brass plate recorded the names of G.R. Paine (*sic*), Architect and Thomas Anthony, Builder. For the invitation to submit plans and for the acceptance of Anthony's tender of £10,000, see *CC*, 14 July 1832 and *SR*, 22 Sept 1832. Lack of funds had delayed commencement but the building committee may have been emboldened by a bequest of £1,000 from Thomas Rochfort, Garretstown (*SR*, 3 Jan 1832) and by a donation of £500 from Father Mathew (*CMC*, 15 Nov 1833). Father Mathew later applied to government for financial aid, but, on this occasion, without success. NAI, CSORP 1834, 3428. Pain's scheme was never fully carried out and the church was not completed until the end of the century. Anthony was also the contractor for Pain's St. Luke's on Summerhill North, the first of three churches to stand on the site. *CC*, 4 Nov 1834.

105 Cronin, 208.

106 Murphy, S. 1966. *Stone Mad*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, repr. 2005, Collins Press, Cork, 194.

107 Cronin, 210,211; 231 n. 22.

108 *CC*, 25 April 1829 for the Ballintemple and Carrigeens incidents. William Hill had difficulties with trades other than the stonecutters. His carpenters once turned out because he had taken on an apprentice against the wishes of the journeymen. *SR*, 21 Dec 1833. He also had problems with a group of breakaway slaters who had sent him a notice demanding the dismissal of two of his workmen. The breakaway men were disowned by

the regular body who considered Hill to be a fair employer. *CC*, 1 Feb 1834 and *CEH*, 3, 5 Feb 1834. An advertisement signed by 101 slaters and plasterers condemned the letter and thanked Hill for his 'spirited conduct in not having acquiesced in the threat so daringly sent to him'. *CEH*, 7 Feb 1834. The Raffeen incident was reported in *CC*, 5 Dec 1833, *CMC* and *CEH*, 6 Dec 1833 and referred to in *First Report*, 25.

109 *SR*, 3 Dec 1836 published a list of subscribers to an award for information on those responsible. The police had already reported the incident to Dublin Castle. NAI, CSORP OR 1836/216 Co. Cork and a few weeks earlier, the destruction of a number of cut stone window hoods at Ovens, not very far from the city. NAI, CSORP OR 1836/162 Co. Cork.

110 *CC*, 16 Feb 1828. The formation of an association of employers, such as had been done in Dublin, had already been suggested by 'A Manufacturer' in *SR*, 12 Sept 1826.

111 *SR*, 7, 9 June 1827. This enactment, which resembles the Whiteboy Acts, was principally concerned with the corn and potato trades but its scope was considerably broadened by section VII under which Pain claimed.

112 Anon, 772.

113 Both George Pain and Thomas Deane contributed to the artistic life of the city, the one an accomplished artist in watercolours, the other more of a patron, notably of John Hogan. They both appear, with W. Hill and Kearns Deane on the list of subscribers to the Society for Promoting the Fine Arts in the South of Ireland (*CC*, 2 Oct 1830, and 4 Aug 1831). Pain, Kearns Deane and Thomas Anthony are listed on the committee of the Society of Native and Resident Artists whose ordinary members included Henry Hill and Daniel M'Lise. *CMC*, 7 Oct 1835. In 1831, Pain exhibited *The Castle of Otranto* which was described as being 'conceived in the true spirit of Romance and treated with corresponding grandeur'. *CC*, 31 Aug 1831. (When shown at the 1852 Cork Exhibition, it was dismissed as 'prettily painted, but wanting in power and



imagination'. *CE*, 13 Sept 1852). For *Otranto*, see Crookshank, A. and the Knight of Glin. 1994. *The watercolours of Ireland c. 1600–1914: works on paper in pencil, pastel and paint*, Barrie and Jenkins, London, 106, 107 and O'Dwyer, 2002, 35 and 43, n.16). At the first exhibition (1835) in Cork of the Society of Native and Resident Artists, Pain showed *Composition*. A local critic (*CMC*, 11 Sept 1835) wrote;

This is an interesting production bringing forcibly to our recollection all the gorgeous descriptions we have seen, or read, of gothic architecture. The perspective, handling and tone are all very good. Light admitted through the medium of painted glass partakes of the richness of the hues generally selected by the stainers; and here its sombre, mellow effect on the floor, and varied among the pillar groups, is deserving our commendation. We recognise as much originality in the piece, as may be in an Artist following the rules of the gothic school.

Pain also exhibited models of Mitchelstown Castle and Cork Courthouse and, like Deane, West and one of the Hills, architectural drawings. Hill's plan and elevation of an Elizabethan villa was especially noted. *CMC*, 12, 24 Aug and 11 Sept 1835. Haverty's 'simply and firmly painted' portrait of J. Pain was also shown. *SR*, 27 Aug 1835. For Thomas Deane and the arts, O'Dwyer 1997, 12-15.

114 He was less successful in *Mabony v. Pain* when the jury found against him and awarded the plaintiff £5 compensation for flags and stones removed for the construction of the County Gaol and the Western road. *SR*, 4 Feb 1826. In *Rev. Thomas Walker v. George Richard Pain*, he was obliged to pay arrears of rent, six years at £10 Irish per annum, for the use of a passageway to his quarries at Gill-abbey. *CMC*, 20 Jan 1832. The verdict in *Messrs. Pain v. Leahy* must have been particularly galling. Pain had sued for £26 for plans and specifications for improvements at Shanakiel House, residence of D. Leahy, agent to the Earl of Cork. The jury accepted the valuation of Thomas Deane, who described himself in court as more a builder than an

architect, and awarded £10 to Pain. *SR*, 18 Mar, 1 May 1834.

115 *CC*, 5 June 1830. He was giving evidence in the trial of a carpenter for assaulting a labourer seeking work from Pain.

116 *CC*, 25 May 1830.

117 *CC*, 20, 22 April 1830; *SR*, 6, 15, 20, 22 1830. For attacks on carpenters who accepted the reduced rate, see *CC*, 1 June 1830.

118 *SR*, 29 May 1830.

119 *CC*, 5 June 1830.

120 In the early part of that year, two hundred carpenters were said to be idle out of a census total of 579. *CC*, 11 Feb 1830; *CMC*, 7 Mar 1834.

121 *CC*, 2 July 1831.

122 *CMC*, 9 May 1832; *SR*, 10 May 1832.

123 The mayor condemned the letter of which Bishop Murphy said that this 'malicious fabrication' could not be the work of the builders in Cork. *CC*, 22 May 1832. Thomas Deane subsequently defended the trades from the accusation that combination might destroy the good effects of employment – he knew that they had no notion of combination and desired no more than a fair remuneration. He also suggested that public works and private hirings to do small jobs would employ hundreds of idle tradesmen and labourers. *CMC*, 27 May 1832. The Deanes appear to have been popular employers and their only dispute recorded in the press of the time was one which occurred with the masons during the building of the workhouse. *CC*, 28 May 1840. For a Deane-related incident of window breaking arising from taking on an apprentice obnoxious to the trade, see NAI CSORP OR 1840/6/3809. On public works, a caveat had already been entered at a meeting of the Relief Committee when a member said that they were anxious to benefit the lower classes but would not take money out of men's pockets to put it 'into the pockets of Mr. Deane or Mr. Pain'. *CC*, 23 Feb 1830. Emigration was also advocated as a remedy for unemployment. An advertisement invited masons, stonemasons and labourers to embark for Halifax and St. John's

in Canada where the skilled were said to be able to earn 8s. 6d. per day and the unskilled an unimaginable 4s. 6d. *SR*, 21 Jan 1832.

124 *CC*, 27 Oct 1832.

125 *SR*, 30 October 1832. Reflecting the exclusiveness and dignity of their craft, they dissociated themselves from a letter to the *Southern Reporter* (apparently not printed) from the 'stonecutters, quarrymen and labourers of Cork'.

126 Now Hibernian House, South Mall, the County Club (1829-1831) was designed by James and G.R. Pain, the latter of whom was also the contractor. The invitation to tender 'agreeable to plan and specification furnished by Mr. Pain' appeared in *SR*, 28 Mar 1829.

127 This was the Independent Chapel in George's (now Oliver Plunkett) Street, designed by the Pains and completed in 1831 on the site of the old Assembly Rooms. Gibson, ii, 323. 'In the front is a small portico of four fanciful columns resembling the Corinthian order'. Samuel Lewis, i, 426.

128 *CC*, 30 Oct 1832.

129 *CC*, 13 Nov 1832.

130 *SR*, 1 Dec 1832.

131 *SR*, 1 Dec 1832. The journeymen were found guilty and ordered to appear before the court from day to day to prevent any act of combination. One of them was a namesake, perhaps a relative, of John Draddy (Seán Ó Dreda) the noted stonecutter and Gaelic scribe, for whose scribal work, commissioned by Bishop Murphy, see Ó Conchúir. B. 1982. *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí 1700 – 1850*, Clóchomhar, Baile Átha Cliath, 61, 63; also, Richard Henchion, 1968. The gravestone inscriptions of Co. Cork – 3. *JCHAS* 73, no. 218, 176, 180; and 1974. The gravestone inscriptions of Co. Cork – 10, *JCHAS* 79, no. 229, 47, 48.

132 *CC*, 19 Feb 1833.

133 *SR*, 19 Feb 1833.

134 *CC*, 22 August 1833.

135 It was recalled in the aftermath of the 1891 fire that the cut stone work was executed by the late James and Edward Fitzgerald of

Carrigacrump, and, though the Messrs. Pain were of the opinion that the columns and capitals could not be properly made out of Carrigacrump stone, the work was completed to their greatest satisfaction. *CE*, 31 Mar 1891.

136 *CC*, 22 Aug 1833.

137 The stonecutters did not entirely succeed in routing terra cotta. In a rare example of solidarity, the stonecutters of the county and city of Cork addressed the committee of the Brickfields Church (St. Patrick's) objecting to the proposed use of composition capitals from England, similar to those rejected by the Grand Juries for the courthouse. Such capitals, they claimed, would ultimately ruin their trade, very much injure their families and degrade them as tradesmen *SR*, 9 May 1833. It was later reported that workmen building one of the new Roman Catholic chapels (unnamed) had refused to use terra cotta and, their reasons being unanswerable, that 'no opposition was given to their determination'. *CC*, 22 Aug 1833. The stonecutters had asked the St. Patrick's committee to receive a deputation and, if their request had been granted, it appears from a letter in the press to have been unsuccessful. 'Iconoclastes', writing in *CC*, 30 May 1835, asked if the union of trades had been at work with paving stones on the Corinthian capitals which had been rejected for the courthouse and purchased for St. Patrick's. Terra cotta capitals were used for the exterior of that church. (Pers. comm, Chris Southgate).

138 Murphy, 216, 217.

139 *SR*, 15 Mar 1836. Lee, D. 2005. *James Pain, architect*, Limerick Civic Trust, Limerick, 188, 189, quotes complaints of defects in the early years of the building as does Nolan, D.M. 1974. *The County Cork Grand Jury: 1836-1899*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, National University of Ireland, Cork, 100, 101. (I am grateful to Dr. F. O'Dwyer for the latter reference). Allegations that the courthouse was structurally unsound were rejected by Charles Vignoles, Civil Engineer, London. *LC*, 14 June 1837. Within two years, however, major repairs had to be carried out on the

- roof which had begun to sink. *CC*, 11 July 1839. George Pain's defence was that his plans were so materially altered as to affect to a great degree 'the proper accommodation so essential in the interior of the courts'. *LC*, 18 Mar 1837.
- 140 *CE*, 28, 30, 31 Mar 1891.
- 141 *CE*, 1 April 1891.
- 142 The colonnade remains, the connection of the capitals has not fallen but they are cut off from the main building and are prominent because they are isolated. *CC*, 30 Mar 1891. After the fire, Patrick Murphy, who had worked on the original construction, stated that all the carving had been done by local stonemasons like himself, (whom he named as Daly and Purcell) not by sculptors – this in response to the claim (*CE*, 31 Mar 1891) that Edward Ambrose, the sculptor, had worked on the capitals; Pain himself employed twenty to thirty stonemasons but others also contracted for stonework from Beaumont and Gillabbey quarries. Patrick Murphy, *CE*, 2 April 1891. A few days later, another correspondent quoted from his copy of the contract between G.R. Pain and Messrs. James and Thomas Fitzgerald of Carrigacrump and Grand Parade to the effect that the portico stone came from that quarry. James Fitzgerald, *CE*, 4 April 1891. It appears that only the portico was cut in Carrigacrump stone, the rest of the limestone being principally supplied from Beaumont and Gillabbey.
- 143 For the reconstruction of the courthouse, see McNamara, T.F. 1981. *Portrait of Cork*, Watermans, Cork, 89-102.
- 144 Pers. comm., Neil Purkiss, City Architect's Office, Cork.
- 145 *SR*, 9 May 1833.
- 146 Cronin, 213-215.
- 147 Gibson, ii, 324. This statement may have been based on an inaccurate recollection of the Deane model exhibited at the 1852 exhibition.
- 148 *DB*, 5, no. 78, 15 March 1863, 49.
- 149 *B*, 29, no.1497, 14 Oct 1871, 804.
- 150 It also refers to his term as mayor, an office he never held: this statement and the reference to the courthouse and the portico are taken from the obituary.
- 151 McDermott, Matthew 1979. Notable Irish architectural families, 4: James and George Richard Pain, *RIAY* 67.
- 152 McNamara, 88.
- 153 Williams, J. 1994. *A companion guide to architecture in Ireland, 1837-1921*. Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 68.
- 154 One wonders whether the much delayed (1861) addition of Kearns Deane's Ionic portico to St. Mary's on Pope's Quay may not have thickened the fog. Confusion has also attached itself to this portico. Rowan, A. 1994. Irish Victorian churches: denominational distinctions, in B. Kennedy and R. Gillespie (eds) *Ireland: art into history*, Town House, Dublin, 225.
- 155 'Corkonian' had lauded the Pains and listed most of their work; however, including St. Mary's, Pope's Quay in it as well hardly encourages confidence in this source of information. *CC*, 31 March 1891.
- 156 *CC*, 1 April 1891.
- 157 There is a magnificent octostyle in George Pain's *Caius Marcius at the ruins of Carthage* (c.1831). Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, 107.
- 158 *IPM*, 1, no.14, 6 April 1833, 106.
- 159 Barrow, J. 1836. *A tour round Ireland through the sea-coast counties, in the autumn of 1835*. John Murray, London, 323.
- 160 Binns, J. 1837. *The miseries and beauties of Ireland*. Longman, Orme, Brown and Company, London, ii, 145.
- 161 Lewis, ii, 419.
- 162 Windele, 19 where he described the courthouse as 'decidedly the finest structure of the kind in the south of Ireland'.
- 163 *LC*, 14 June 1837.
- 164 Bence-Jones 1976, 307. In 1844 Sir Thomas Deane was responsible for designing and superintending improvements in the city part of the building which supplied a comfortable

and commodious Court, 'where doors can be opened without danger, witnesses can be heard, suitors can be accommodated, ingress and egress be effected without a struggle'. *CC*, 21 Mar 1844.

165 *CC*, 14 April 1831. See n. 68-70 above.

166 This suggestion is made in O'Dwyer 1997, 18.

167 Lee, 188.

168 O'Dwyer 1997, 367.

169 O'Dwyer 1997, 367. George Pain was not free of jealousy either. When the Kerry Grand Jury expressed its appreciation of the work done by Messrs. Deane and Notter on the construction of gaols and courthouses in that county, an ostensibly anonymous advertisement (hardly unprompted by Pain) pointed out that Tralee Courthouse had been built according to the plans and under the supervision of Mr. Morrison and that the Killarney Gaol and Session House, and the nine bridewells in the county, were built to the design of and under the supervision of Messrs. James and G.R. Pain. *SR*, 26 March 1835. See also O'Dwyer 1997, 552, n. 8 The invitation to tender for the new Session House in Killarney referred to the plans and specifications of Messrs. Pain. *SR*, 28 June 1827.

170 Bence-Jones 1976, 306. Sir Thomas Newenham Deane (Sir Thomas's son) published four of Benjamin Woodward's Holy Cross drawings under his own name. O'Dwyer 1997, 369.

171 O'Dwyer 1997, 366, 367.

172 As in the case of Christ Church, Deane had the last word on the disputed capitals when, years later, he referred to the rejected terra cotta imports and to the craftsmen who disproved the charge that 'no one in Cork could be got to chisel them' and presented the public with the 'fine Corinthian capitals which now adorned' the courthouse. *CC*, 8 Jan 1850, quoted in Murray, 225. He was speaking at the opening of the new Cork School of Design.

LICENCE NO. 03E0791  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT  
CORK CITY COURTHOUSE 2003  
by Maurice F. Hurley

INTRODUCTION

Excavation in the basement and ground floor of the Cork City and County Courthouse on Washington Street commenced in May 2003<sup>1</sup>. As this building is within the Zone of Archaeological Potential for Cork City, it was deemed necessary to monitor all groundworks during the internal refurbishment. The works were carried out by Ascon/Rohcon on behalf of the Office of Public Works. Initially concrete slabs were removed by mechanical excavator from all 32 ground floor rooms. In the majority of these rooms the full depth of excavation did not exceed 0.6m below existing ground level. Two lift-shafts were to be built in the former boiler room and toilets in the centre of the building. Pits for these shafts were excavated to 1.5-1.85m below present ground level. The most significant area of excavation was in the centre of the building where a new basement corridor (the prisoner tunnel) was excavated. Excavation of the tunnel was a complicated process due to safety requirements surrounding the upstanding walls of the building, which needed underpinning.

THE EXCAVATION

Three key areas of the ground floor were prioritized for archaeological monitoring due to the depths of the proposed excavation. The three areas were: lift shafts I and II, the prisoner tunnel and rooms B6 and B7.

The excavations of the lift-shaft pits and the prisoner tunnel were considered likely to penetrate post-medieval and